To all...

Dear Readers,

We haven't always been like this. One year ago the Socialist Review was a small paper in size, in circulation and appeal. But one year ago, under the pressure of events in Spain and Hungary... facing the demand for a paper that stood for international socialism, independent of the blocs ruled either from Washington or Moscow, we took the plunge and increased our size by 300 percent.

It first was difficult to keep it up. But we won through. Our readership has doubled over the last twelve months.

The time has come to plunge again. The Tories' attacks, the sharpening industrial struggle, the attempt to sacrifice full employment to the needs of the rich - every one of these, and more, make the need for a fighting organ greater day by day.

We hope to provide this organ. We hope to become one of the clarions in the class struggle in Britain, gaining in volume and strength as workers gain in number and organization.

To this end we are turning into a fortnightly next year. Help us. Send articles, money, orders. Write more, pay more, sell more. Build the fortnightly Socialist Review, lay the basis for a weekly one.

Yours, Editor.

Now is the time to WAR AGAINST CAPITALISM

1957 is ending, and with it a period in British working class history. The important domestic development of the past ten years - "writes the bosses' organ, the Economist" (November 9) - "is that the Government has made claims to the tax payer that the nation was not better served this winter by standing up to strikes, rather than by giving way to inflationary wage settlements." The private employers "are saying," according to another of their organs, that "strikes are not necessarily a national disaster and are less disastrous than surrender" (Times Annual Financial and Commercial Review, November 18).

There is nothing new in the words. We've heard them before. But the background is different. There is a hardness in the air, a mood we haven't felt for a long time.

And they are organized. Private capital in engineering, in building, everywhere, is limbering up. State socialists have already struck the first blow and rejected a wage award granted to health workers by their arbitration boards. And the Government, their government, is deploying their forces, instructing their troopers in the strategy and tactics of class struggle.

They are organized. Are we? Must we allow them to pick time, place and victim? What plans have been made to spread the strikes that the bosses are touching off? Where is our alternative to their combined power in industry and government?

It is no good waiting for the top to move first. Transport House is not known for its mobility. The TUC is rusty with "responsibility." The British workers must build an alternative in the localities. We must, as Comrade Heffer points out in an article on page 2, revive the Trades and Labour Councils and make them the organs of class defence where each can be helped by all.

And their task? And the task of every other working class organ? To support fully, with every weapon in the armoury of solidarity, every strike in defence of standards, every strike at Tory policy. The bosses attack where they are strongest; we must counter-attack where we have power - in the factories.

This Issue includes:

Next step for Trades Councils
Facts at Briggs
Buses and Wages

MURDER OF A MOVEMENT (on p. 4)

YOUNG SOCIALIST
The meaning of Wolfenden
IRA, etc., etc.

NEXT PAGE - THE INDUSTRIAL FRONT:

BILL JONES, the London bus crews' leader
FRED TINSLEY, the Briggs militant
ERIC HEFFER, the Liverpool activist
ERIC HEFFER, EC Member, Lancashire Federation of Trades Councils, EC Member, Liverpool Trades Council and Labour Party, shows the

MANY YEARS AGO, Robert Blatchford, then MP, who was editor of the small pamphlet on what the functions of Trades and Labour Councils should be, published a book, but retains an amazing freshness even to-day. The conception developed, with striking clarity, that the Trades Councils were the local fighting unit of the workers' movement.

And this is not new. Although at certain historical moments, Trades Councils have come close to that conception, as, for act on Hitlerization, the 1926 General Strike, today they are in danger of becoming mere talking shop. The time is let off, without any real influence.

There are two types of Trades Councils. There are the city councils, which is considered by the TUC as its local agent, and the Industrial and Provincial Councils are both TUC instruments, and City Labour Parties. These joint bodies are national and they serve both as local. They are not delegates from the Co-operative City Councils, the Labour Committees, the Trade Unions, the Socialist Medical Association, the Fabian Society, and other bodies.

Conference certain?

To-day, some of these bodies are threatened by the decision taken at the Labour Party Conference, that only the National Conference of Trades Labour Parties should meet only quarterly with two special meetings in between.

This decision could run against the run

of all that had been happening in the Trades Councils of the last few years. It is over-centralization a bureaucratic rest on the backs of the rank and file, as it exists, and to some extent is already, in relation to the Trades Council movement.

Initiative from below is being gradually stifled, and increasingly the provincial and city councils are expected to act on circulars from above, rather than the General Council which directs the movements from above and requests from below. Federations of Trades Councils and Trades Councils themselves are discouraged from making any move, which has not first got the approval of the General Council.

I am not speaking of examples when the TUC officials have encouraged Conferences against the other. The action of the General Council of Trades Councils is so designed that the most controversial issues are kept out of the General Council, and the main in as full as the captaincy of the damage is as well as the upwinder of the跳舞.

Sometimes delegates are able to according to the TUC officials who is not always in the main conference.

The current agitation can best be understood when seen against the background of events at Dagenham.

Until the Ford takeover of the Briggs concerns the Briggs workers had one of the most unique organizations in the country. The old Briggs management, acting as a caretaker organization for the private shareholders in Detroit, recognized the Briggs Union in their establishment at a purely local level. The Briggs under the new procedure there were only two stages of negotiation, first the Shop Stewards Negotiating Committee, and second the District Committees of the Local of the Federation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

Local negotiations

Faced with a phalanx of progressive local Trade Union officials the Briggs workers were determined to get nothing to be gained by taking any question up to the final stage of procedure so on most questions in dispute agreement was universally found at the shop-stewards level. Wage claims affecting 10,000 workers and other major items were negotiated at this

Briggs the facts

Since the lurid pronouncements of the national publicity, the happenings at Briggs have interested the newspaper worker until a slump in the workers' interest in possible standardization proposals.

The current agitation can best be understood when seen against the background of events at Dagenham.

On the death of old Walter Briggs, it was decided to sell the majority shareholdings in the company. The Ford company had been quite content to let the Briggs concerns produce their car bodies for them at whatever competitive prices but faced with the possibility that one of their largest competitors might step in and purchase the plant they made an offer of 6 dollars for every 1 dollar Briggs share plus shares in the Ford Motor Company. In this way the old Briggs shareholders, were hoisted on their own petticoats for their money. Ford got a plant at bargain prices, and the Briggs workers were left to face that employer who had secured from national trade union officials a more favourable thing for them) procedure agreement and working conditions agreement than that which existed in the Briggs factories.

And so, attended, as an interim measure, of the Annual Conference of Trades Councils have greater power, and that the agenda be more controversial, with items included on the agenda even if the TUC have already taken the action at Congress. A standing orders change should be elected from the conference itself.

Trades Councils must have the right to act on the basis of local feeling, according to local feeling, and must be allowed to meet as often as they wish. This would not be possible if they are General Council level or NEC Labour Party.

Organs of struggle

They must become what they were intended to be, organs of struggle, which can express the creative power of the collective. They should be open and the TUC's Associations and such like bodies, to participate in their work, and for this to be possible, should be able to take up quietly the problems of production, and full defence of the trades unionists, which shall mean class collaboration.

They must take up the role of the trade unionists and with every sectional interests, in the interests of youth and women in particular, much remains to be done.

The Ford Management is working for a showdown with the well-organized Briggs workers. This is the culmination of a long, bitter campaign; but it is also an indication of the type of struggle facing workers in general. This article, written by FRED TINSLEY, a toolmaker at Briggs who was on the Negotiating Committee and Works Committee for seven years, gives the background to the present situation.

Briggs the facts

Since the lurid pronouncements of the national publicity, the happenings at Briggs Motor Bodies ceased to be of any interest to the newspaper worker until a slump in the workers' interest in possible standardization proposals.

The current agitation can best be understood when seen against the background of events at Dagenham.

On the death of old Walter Briggs, it was decided to sell the majority shareholdings in the company. The Ford company had been quite content to let the Briggs concerns produce their car bodies for them at whatever competitive prices but faced with the possibility that one of their largest competitors might step in and purchase the plant they made an offer of 6 dollars for every 1 dollar Briggs share plus shares in the Ford Motor Company. In this way the old Briggs shareholders, were hoisted on their own petticoats for their money. Ford got a plant at bargain prices, and the Briggs workers were left to face that employer who had secured from national trade union officials a more favourable thing for them) procedure agreement and working conditions agreement than that which existed in the Briggs factories.

Since then there has been a constant round of negotiations with the Ford management endeavouring to get a trade union agreement for their proposals. At the first stage a compromise was effected and a procedure agreement alone was established leaving the question of working conditions to a later stage. The procedure agreement, which covered all Ford factories, was a considerable improvement on previous Ford agreements. Despite this arrangement the Ford Company never lost sight of their objective and a series of negotiations have not been prepared to amend any of the conditions they wish to impose on the Briggs workers.

The conditions

These conditions include the loss of stipulated washing time (5 minutes at lunch and end of shift); loss of afternoon break (45 minutes); reduction from 35 to 30 hours per week, and the imposing of compulsory overtime. In an endeavour to gain acceptance of these proposals, Ford has undertaken to dangle the bait of wage increases for the lower paid workers in the Briggs body class, and over 600 members of the Briggs lads are not averse to accepting
BILL JONES, London's veteran busmen's leader writes of BUSES and WAGES

from the Midlands - AEU PROFILE

so Ernie Roberts has finally made the grade. After a second ballot in which he beat Manchester's Jim Conway by 32,914 to 27,249—Clr EAC Ball has been elected Assistant General Secretary to the Amalgamated Engineering Union. No one would be surprised to see him in a PC within a year or two. For he has come long a road and a hard road.

He was one of the first thirty or so to be dismissed. Ernie presents a tall, slim, trim figure with the good looks of a film star (although of pre-war vintage) and enjoys a very persuasive voice which he uses to good effect whenever he enters discussion. He knows how to wear clothes well and an added advantage.

Craddle cars

A Coventry man, he was in the cradle of the British motor industry. Why does it need a man with a Warwick University degree of 179 to be a Coventry factory than any other man in the country (although his enemies hint darkly at "professional tycoon")?

He was one of the youngest Councils ever to be elected hereabouts when he became representative for the Coventry South Ward. It's only since the first year that municipal elections were run in the spring. He was re-elected in 1920 and has served on the Education, Finance, Housing, and Planning and Re-developing Committee. He has also been the City Council's representative on a number of outside bodies.

Some say he is now in the Employment Committee and the Coventry Health Executive Council but even more important he has been a Gov- ernor of Birmingham University since last December.

The greatest impact on local government must surely be his part in the epic work of the Coventry Civic Centre. This included the suspension of Civil Defence; the payment of wages and salaries under closed shop and agreed union rates; and the early introduction of automation in their offices.

In, out and up

My principal impression of Ernie is that he has always been a rover. Never (according to my information, anyway) a member of the CP, he "fellow-travellers" for quite a few years. He has been a member of a dozen or so of us who gathered in a Midlands schoolroom to inaugurate the Midlands branch of the Socialist Fellowship—though Ernie didn't stop... He has also turned up at meetings of the Victoria League for Colonial Freedom and 101 other bodies on the Left.

He is next in a group of Parliamentary candidates though he has never been successful in obtaining that goal. He has been a candidate for several seats, including the anti-communist monthly, said: "We think that they made a poor choice. The author feels that he has little to worry about, Ernie's wild days are over. He has arrived..."

MORGAN JONES

In order to develop closer links with workers in other countries, the Trades Councils should develop the movement for a two-way exchange of delegations from all countries, particularly Western Europe, France and Italy, also the Colonies. 

The Councils must increase their political consciousness and should clarify their attitude on political matters. They are a purely industrial bodies. The General Council does discuss political issues from internation al and national perspectives. The H-Bomb debates and the Rent Act, and Trades Councils should refuse to accept any suggestion that the General Council and something different for the Councils.

All existing bans, on Communist Party members, or others who are barred from specific annual conferences, and certain Trades Council meetings, should be lifted. The branches must have the right to discuss the issue if they wish, and in any case the arguments of the Socialists can only be defeated in open debate.

Trades Councils should also consider the establishment of youth sections, and having their own Youth Clubs or Advisory Committees strengthened.

Some may argue that I have painted too gloomy a picture, that most Trades Councils are not as poor and pitiful as I have portrayed. That is a point of view I do not contest. But I suggest that the general trend is apparent, the signs are there, especially where direct interference takes place with regard to the standards of conduct of the Trades Councils. I have the bitter experience of the London Trades Council before us, and the results are not unique. 

The task now, is to reverse the trend, to fight back before it is too late, make ideas a two-way process, with those of the Trades Councils for the benefit of the General Council. We shall need the Trades Councils as the struggle unites with creative forces, with the worthy of the task history has set before them.

more cash but there is a sense of frustr ation felt by the workers who believe they are entitled to these increases by virtue of their productivity without consideration of the economic conditions. Whilst there is sectional opposition to all the Ford conditions, there is a compulsion: pressing for the workers against acceptance of compulsion over time and of meeting tight times.

Union attitude

From statements made by some members of the Ford executives it appears that several trade union execu tives are prepared to sign the standardization agreement as laid down by the Ford Motor Company. The executives argue that the members are losing morale. They are, of course, but that anyway these conditions are in operation at the Ford factories. In my opinion, the union executives have not used their strength to maintain the conditions for the Briggs cars and improve the conditions for the Ford workers.

It is further argued that the over time arrangements are not compul sory, the final say over time lies with the car. I think it quite clear that workers must be prepared to bring their domestic arrangements into play, bearing in mind their requirements and that any worker not working a particular overtime must find an excuse prior to the overtime working.

Small wonder that workers like Briggs and Jones are in despair. Even "Times," should feel that against the background of quiet during the last six months, the mood of rest is not consistent with industrial peace and are deliberately provoking trouble. How-
Algerian freedom is being murdered

SILENCE WOULD BE COMPPLICITY!

By Andre Giacometti, Paris

On September 1 Messali Hadji, the founder of the Algerian nationalist movement (MNA) and its present leader, was gunned down in an appeal to the Algerian people.

For several months, the flight between the two major parties of the National Liberation Front (FLN) had grown worse. The slaughter by French police of whole villages, near Melouza, in the Soummam valley, near Relizane, near Saiqa, near Mascara, were bloody episodes in this struggle. In France, assassinations and attacks on the nationalist militants became increasingly frequent. As we have explained in detail in earlier issues of Socialist Review, there cannot be any doubt that the criminal responsibility for this situation lies with the leadership of the FLN which, in the absence of a firm political base and programme, falls back on terror as a means to monopolize the coming negotiations with the French government.

The appeal for truth

This is not to say that the MNA has not used terror itself. However, in the assessment of responsibilities, two facts stand out: the militant struggle of the MNA against a widespread slaughter of whole groups of population in regions that have never been proclaimed as Free Zones, and also on September 24. Messali Hadji has never denied the right of the FLN to exist as an independent political party, and he also participated in the FLN to participate in negotiations with the French government. The FLN, on the other hand, has defined the MNA as a "counter-revolutionary" tendency which must be wiped out, if necessary by force.

In his appeal to the Algerian people, Messali Hadji pointed out the tremendous danger inherent in this situation. Not only does the French colonial press spread these crimes all over its pages to justify the persecution of the "colonialist" as, but the spectacle of division within the Algerian nationalist movement worries many sectors of French and international public opinion who are ready to support the Algerian people for self-determination. Every political crime thus represents a waste of the French government's public opinion and at the United Nations. The public support which the Algerian revolution has acquired in all circles, Messali continued, is one of the conditions of its success. The Algerian people have the right to allow a handful of adventurers to jeopardize its common cause. The vast majority of the Algerian emigration in France is opposed to murder as a means of settling political differences: it must isolate and remove from its midst the irresponsible elements that discredit its cause.

For over two weeks after the appeal, the political murders ceased completely. Then came the answer of the FLN.

The bloody reply

Ahmed Semamche, the treasurer of the USTA in Paris, was shot at Colombe (Paris) on September 20.

Hocine Marcou, an auto-worker at Panhard, member of the USTA regional organization for Paris, was shot on the Boulevard de Saint-Germain on September 24. His brother, Mohammed Marcou, is one of the leaders of the FLN serving a two-year sentence in Paris for his activity in the nationalist movement.

Mohammed Said, secretary of the USTA at the Renault works, was heavily wounded by a gunman on September 21.

Abdallah Filihi, Assistant General Secretary of the U.N.K., was shot on October 7 near the headquarters of the union on the rue du Faubourg.

He survived having been hit by four bullets—in the back, as always—but he is not yet out of danger.

Mansour Bouali, who had replaced Semamche as treasurer of the USTA, was shot on October 11.

Aneur Lahouati, regional leader of the MNA in Clermont-Ferrand, was killed by a gunman on October 17.

Ahmed Bekht, General Secretary of the USTA in France, was killed on October 22.

A man's body was found on a vacant lot in Colombe, a suburb of Paris. He had been kidnapped and murdered. The USTA had attempted on his life a few months ago.

The guilty men

The striking circumstance about this series of murders, is that it is directed primarily against trade-unionists, militants of the USTA. Without a deliberate attempt to decapitate and to smash the Algerian trade-union movement. It is well known who are the killers. These assassinations are carried out by professional agents of the North African underworld in France, who are paid for each job done (the equivalent of £20, it seems). The important question is: who is behind the killers? Traditionally, the responsibility for a crime is laid to those who benefit most by it. By these standards, circumstantial evi-
dence points to three groups, which together constitute the government's most rigid and powerful organ in organizing political murder in the past:

(1) The bourgeoisie leadership of the FLN, which is interested in the destruction of its main base and strong-point of the MNA. From its point of view, the latter's existence means an interruption of its policy, in France and in Algeria, of exterminating political opposition in the Free Zone.

(2) The Communist Party, which is interested in eliminating the only independent, democratic and militant working-class organization that can block its path in Algeria. The affair of the cot arms cache in Lyon, among other incidents, has proven that it actively helps the FLN in the organization of its political murders. This is its calculation. If the USTA takes a break, and is lying down, it will eventually be smashed; if it retaliates against the assassins, CP will be able to say that the "Messali provocateurs" are "turning against the French working-class movement."

(3) The French police, who would be delighted to smash the spearhead of the revolution which are bearing a heavy blame on the other nationalist organization. Since the thirties, the police has always tried to infiltrate the Algerian nationalist movement; it is naive to assume that it has not succeeded to this end.

The looseness of the structure of the FLN, its lack of internal control and discipline, are elements which favour such infiltration.

This is a "united front" of a new kind: a political cospool in which professional criminals, police provocateurs, political adventurers and Stalinist agents can operate at ease. The French unions who have been shaken by these murders have taken a terrible responsibility before the Algerian people and in the international movement; they have turned a significant part of the Algerian nationalist movement into a tool of its worst enemies.

The victims

Who are the victims? The personality of the two main leaders will serve as a demonstration of their importance.

Abdallah Filihi, who narrowly escaped death, is an outstanding veteran of the Algerian working-class movement. In 1927 he was one of the co-founders with Messali Hadji of the "North African" (MNA), the pre-independence party and the first nationalist organization in North Africa. He participated in nearly every struggle against colonialism. Under MNA leadership he became convinced to demand for forced labour, then to death for contumacy. He is one of the leaders of the USTA, and represented this organization, with Bekht, at the recent congress at Bamako of the "Rassemblement Démocratique Africain", the leading nationalist organization of French West Africa.

Ahmed Bekht was twenty-seven years old. He had been a metalworker and a welder since the age of sixteen. At twenty years, he was one of the leaders in the trade-union work of the MLTD (forerunner of the MNA) and of the MTFO fraction in the centre. He was one of the outstanding leaders of the North African labour movement. He has been known to remember him for his clear intelligence, his warm humanity, his absolute honesty and integrity.

The men who are being killed now represent the hope and the best human element of the labor movement in the North Africa. Their death is an irreplaceable loss.

The movement will go on and grow, as it did after the murder of Ferhat Hached, founder of the Tunisian UGT. But its growth will be slower tonight than it would have been had these men lived.

(1) A statement, signed by leading French and African intellectuals, socialists, and trade-unionists of different tendencies (*) after the attempted assassination of Filihi, it was written: "We do not know who has armed the assassins, and it is astonishing in deed that the recent attacks were directed against those who are the leaders of the resistance of the Algerian working-class unions of the USTA. But, even if these crimes were committed at the instigation of nationalists, they nonetheless remain crimes. . . . We cannot but cry out in anger over crimes against men of the value of Abdallah Filihi and his union brothers. What is involved here is our basic conception of human equality and brotherhood."

"Moreover, these acts terroristically the Algerian cause and build up a wall between the French and the Algerian workers.

"Only the ultra-colonialists can welcome such actions. All the other men who have survived the repression.

"As to those organizations and militants who speak of the disintegration of the organization to colonialism and support to the Algerian people, they must cry out in indignation and in defense of their cause.

"Silence would become complicity.

Our task

We await the statement by the leadership of the FLN and of the USTA dissociating itself from these murders, condemning the practice of settling political differences by murder and renouncing their willings to strike an agreement with the MNA to end all mutual aggressions.

We await the statement from the French CP, condemning the murders of the trade-unions of the USTA.

We await the appointment by the IJCP of a neutral investigation commission into the murder of Algerian trade-unionists, and speedy action with all means at its disposal to protect the USTA from further repression.

We await the statement from the Moroccan (UMT) and from the Tunisian UGT, whose founder Ferhat Hached was assassinated by the French, dissociating themselves from the circumstances, condemning the murder of Bekht and of his comrades.

(*) among which Jean Cassou, Claude Girard, Andre Breton, Yves Depro- vaches, Marcel Frion, Jean Roux, Edgar Mirin, Colette Auvity, Paul Kull, Alain Sainte Herber, Daniel Grosier, Pierre Lambert, Daniel Renaud, and others.

The only viable trade union organization for Algerian workers is being crushed in France. Gangs of thugs are threatening the Algerian National Liberation Front, aided by the French Communist Party and ignored by the French police, are systematically assassinating leaders and rank - and - file members of the Algerian workers' organisation. USTA. Readers should demand unions for the defence of their Algerian brothers, protest through their branches to the union headquarters, to sign the FCFTU, and send all possible material help to Union des Syndicats des Travailleurs Algériens, 13 Rue d'Enghien, Paris, 10c.
FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS youth has been stirring into revolt. In Hungary and Poland, young workers and students fought against extremist policies and economic oppression with the techniques and slogans of socialist revolution; here, in Britain, it was only a politically conscious minority of young people who came out into the streets to stop the Suez War. But although tempers in Britain have been cooled with the usual bromides since then, undercurrents of resentment and rebellion remain.

Militant young socialists can get more than nostalgic memories from those heroic days last November. We can see what huge powers exist in youth, what huge energies are released under pressure; under pressure and with a militant lead, these powers, these energies will be transformed into action.

Editorial

The need in Youth Sections for a primer of Socialism is generally recognised. Here The Young Socialist prints the opening of our new pamphlet, What is Socialism? by MICHAEL KIDRON, which will be out in the new year.

WHAT'S SOCIALISM? -

Socialism is a type of society in which all the members of the community collectively determine their conditions of life and their way of living. In order to do so, they must control, collectively, the use to which machines, factories, raw materials—all the means of production—are put. Unless the means of production are effectively in the hands of the whole society, not as in Britain today where 1 per cent. of the population owns more than half the national capital, there can be no question of the collective control of the conditions of life. This can best be illustrated by seeing how Capitalism works.

The capitalist competes with every other one for a market. When they sell similar goods, their competition is obvious. Even when they sell altogether different goods, like TV sets and houses, they still compete for the limited wage-earners of the world. If one capitalist does not compete, he is lost. Others will take his buyers.

Competition means underselling and price-cuts on the one hand, and on the other, an increasing waste of the resources of the world. The price of a packet of detergent is the cost of advertising. Whichever can undersell or spend more money on advertising is sure to win and knock the others out of the running. In other words, the aim in this system is not to produce the goods we need but to create a demand for them. Hence the constant creation of new commodities and the permanent destruction of the commodities we already possess.

The socialist system is fundamentally different. The socialist system brings into being a centralised economy. From a centralised economy arise socialism's basic principles: public ownership of all means of production, planning, and the principle of distribution on the needs of the people. Such a system, a system of planned production, is the only one which will provide the conditions of life of the future.

EDUCATE, AGITATE, ORGANIZE. And Education must still come first.

The aim of THE YOUNG SOCIALIST is to help us in these tasks: to examine the issues affecting us, and present them in socialist terms; to work out a programme, and see how to bring it into effect; to weld together individual Youth Sections into one Labour Club unit for international democratic socialism. And socialist education is the tool.

YOUTH SCHOOL

Report from Guildford

NINE MONTHS AGO the London Labour Party Conference rejected the advice of the Young Socialist Officers and Party Secretaries was called, and at last on November 9/10 we had our result: a week-end school.

The living conditions, in the words of an organizer, were grim; the program was uncertain; the food was a trying task for a meal of raw vegetables and lentils. But the organizers and the students proved to be the best of friends, and the result was a very good week-end. The students were given courses in the history of the movement and the theory of the movement and the theory of the movement.

The theoretical lectures were given by the Chairman, Bob Mellish MP, without a touch of conscious irony, that our democratically-elected EC had made up his short-list selection and after the four short-listed had carefully shown they were not socialists, the Chairman asked for a show of hands; of those present, the Chairman would have been unable to get a show of hands by a small majority; there was no count; Resolution lost. The selection proceeded, and after the Chairman had pointed out that there was no time to get further nominations, the ballot was taken. The least objectionable candidate, who is sure to go far, got 24 votes; there were 14 blank papers, and the three others shared 16 between them. It was all most instructive.

As I was leaving the Regional Organiser told me how pleased he was that I had come; I don't know whether they'll ask me again. Meanwhile, Lon- don's EC has promised more schools, more activity for the future; amongst other things, they hope to have members of the NEC working-parties on open discussions on the subjects of the 1958 Policy Statement before publication.

This is good news.

ROBIN FIOR, Uxbridge.
THE MEANING OF WOLFENDEN

Why have the Tories got cold feet about the Wolfenden Report on Homosexuality and Prostitution? Why are they willing to implement its recommendations on prostitution but not those on homosexuality? What should the Socialist attitude be? This article explains the social background to these abnormalities and the political background to the recommendations.

The meaning of Wolfenden

A critique of the Wolfenden Report presented here goes beyond the sphere of our normal daily activity in the Socialist movement. Our routine activities are a concern of the daily life of the man and woman between whom men and women will be liberated from the bonds of class society. A critique of the Report may necessarily enter the realm of the ends themselves, the ethics and morality of the world which men and women will create. The simple reason that the sores of homosexuality and prostitution, touching as they do on man’s basic urges, on his innermost being, can scarcely be alleviated except by a violent rebellion of his crushed and wounded spirit and its uplift to the heights of real liberty, equality, dignity and all that we aspire to for our individual and social liberation. Between the hurt, perverted person of today, and the proud, free man of tomorrow there is an abyss that cannot be crossed in little steps.

Homosexuality is rare in some societies (including many for which we have little data) but very prevalent in others, such as Greek slaveowning society. In capitalist society homosexuality is quite widespread. Dr. Kinsey, in the United States, found evidence to suggest that 5% of all males were exclusively homosexual throughout their lives after the onset of puberty. He found further evidence to suggest that 10% of the white male population are more or less exclusively homosexual. People have not always agreed how many—three years between the ages of sixteen and sixty-five, and that 57 per cent of them may have at least some homosexual experience, to the point of orgasm, between adolescence and old age.” (p. 3, emphasis added.)

There is no equivalent statistical evidence for Britain, but some medical writers, such as Dr. Kinsey, suggest figures somewhat lower for Britain, of course, because of the sensibilities of the times. Wolfe’s Committee figure suggests somewhat lower still. Wolfe’s Committee figure suggests somewhat lower still.

The case for the report is that it may be perhaps not be sought in the inferior position of women in the home. The prevailing money element in capitalist society turns the male breadwinner into the head of the family and makes it his real destiny to which the rest have to submit. The young boy looks up in admiration to the strong man, the father, the man in an inferior being, and with a fitting mental make-up and/or suitable contributory circumstances, will develop into a homosexual.

The contributory circumstances may be the type of school attended, lack of a hard and arrogant attitude. Any progressive measures it recommends—in particular, the abolition of the law which between consenting adults in private be no longer a criminal offence—merely make the law smoother and more consistent, and bring it into line with legal practice in a number of other countries (for example, in Germany, France, the Netherlands, Sweden). Whatever the origin of the cases we must not doubt support this measure which is quite a step forward in Britain.

The actual number of persons against whom proceedings were taken in respect of homosexual offences in 1955 was 480.

The Wolfenden Report starts by stating that the Committee was conscious that the sexual offences against it, which were indeed its terms of reference. Such a committee, it appears, is not merely a body of enquiry, is bound to take as its point of departure bourgeois morals and prejudices, the limitations built in as materialise and defend them. It is by this very fact, and by its exclusion of attitude to the problem based upon a fundamental analysis of its social and economic context, as it has done in this case. The Report says explicitly: “... we do not consider it to be within our province to make a full examination of the moral, social, psychological and biological causes of homosexuality or prostitution, or of many of the theories advanced about these causes. Our principal concern has been to consider the extent to which homosexual behaviour and female prostitution should come uppermost in the consideration of the criminal law...”

In line with its general outlook, the Committee makes the commission of homosexual acts easy for those who are not frightened by the law. It says: “It is our intention that the law should continue to regard as criminal any indecent act committed in a place where members of the public may be likely to see and be offended by it, where there is a case, for instance, of public offence of this nature it becomes a matter of the private response of the persons concerned. Thus, as such, in our opinion, is outside the proper purview of the criminal law.” (p. 25.) This makes it easy for those with housing to spare, difficult for those without, particularly if they may try to hide their acts from those near to them, as conventions push them to do.

In summary, the Report states that there is a number of homosexual “offences”: 1. Prison and police.

In spite of the damning evidence, the Report commits itself to a general condemnation of all homosexual ‘offences’: “... prison will always arise as a matter of punishment for homosexual offender, whether as a salutary deterrent for some offenders, or as a place of residence in which they should be put to the protection of the community...” (p. 70.) Besides its complete futility as a cure, prison life is so degrading for a man who might be 2. A Socialist Critique by C. Dallas

Socialist Review

Highly-strung and very sensitive, that it might cause permanent mental damage.

The Report further completely justifies police snooping in plain clothes. It says that “... the law should be such that in the detection of some offences and this is one of them, the officer acting is entitled to a degree of subterfuge in the course of his duty.” (p. 43.) It does not also whether it is one of our witnesses that in carrying out their duty in connection with the taking of sexual offenders as agents provocateurs.” (p. 43.) To dispose of the question, or lack of evidence, is from the police themselves. “We feel bound to re- on the method of punishment, but we place on the whole favourably impressed by the account they gave us of the way in which they carried out their unpleasant task.” (p. 43.) The victims have a different tale to tell.

We feel bound to re-

A Socialist Critique by C. Dallas

The real solution

As I pointed out before, the possibility of a solution of the problem under class society is remote. It is a contradiction in terms. There are conflicts and inequalities between the sexes in all aspects, beginning with economic equality and extending to the forms of life; when psychological development will be more balanced through freedom from the struggle for existence that we fight today, and people more tolerant; when submission for gain is unnecessary because the economic effect of the money cancer is absent, that homosexuality would disappear naturally. If nature then produced an abnormality which it might do in a small measure in such a situation, the treatment would take good care of it.

Meanwhile some alleviation of the condition is being achieved even today by insisting upon universal co-education, by doing away with condescension, by taking care about all the young people of the community (those who are attracted to young boys, in particular), so that these should have a minimum of restriction in their daily lives while undergoing their socialization, and by the further needed scientific study of the subject and spreading psychiatric treatment as widely as possible.

If

When the report deals with prostitution, its submission to prevailing prejudice, ignorance, contempt for the human sympathy, and intolerance towards the victims of the system are even greater. Any Socialist who reads this section must be angered by its

[continued next page]
In Defence of IRA

By W. P. Larkin, Glasgow

MAY I BE ALLOWED TO express regret that it is physically impossible for me to write a further contribution to the Socialist Review. I should have used the columns of a Socialist publication to make a contribution to the discussion of the Labour movement? My article might have been written by an official agent of the Labour movement.

Many weird things have been said by Ireland's enemies about the struggle for freedom. In his recent (and currently in existence) speech, the lot of an Irish senator to plumber the utmost depths of fatuity by suggesting that newspapers in England are demanding the unconditional surrender of the British Empire. Not content with this gem, he goes on to inform us that "it is Ireland, North and South, that produces the IRA." I should have thought that anyone would have known that the IRA was "produced" by the British Government and that as long as there is a British Army in Ireland the IRA will be there too.

Mr. Sheehey Skelton maintains his former position that Blarney is an opinion blaming Hitler for the last war, just as imperialist propaganda blamed the Bolsheviks. This is a vicious one. There is no hint that the war was in any way the outcome of the rivalry of competing imperialist and capitalist powers. It is simply a question of propaganda that "Nazism" is something more evil than capitalism and that of course more diabolical, more charmed by the soldiers of the Irish Republican Army. Mr. Skelton does not mention these facts.

He quotes with evident approval a letter written by his father (whose name is Newsag) in existing Ireland (thinking Irish people) saying that he dreaded the temper of men who could bring about the end of Ireland crissmsoned with blood rather than that the country should be partitioned. But it is not exactly what happened, and is still happening, as a result of partition—the kind of Socialism used to condemn in unmeasured terms which was actually approved in the case of Ireland by a treacherous Labour Government. And of course uncompromising hostility to Britain is no new policy of Mr. Skelton's. His position as a senator forbids me to conclude that he does not know that it was well expressed by James Fintan Lalor more than a hundred years ago when he wrote: Deliverance or death—deliverance, or this island a desolation.

As for the IRA being in honour bound to produce a blueprint of the solution of the republic for which they hope to establish "by violence": it would have been interesting to Mr. Skelton if he had made such a proposal. But, you see, a minority of English Resistance movement a few years ago. And with regard to violence, the so-called "successes" of destroying Ireland imposed by violence? Did not the British Prime Minister himself say that it was an unfortunate incident (emphasis not plenipotentiary) with war without stint if they did not go on the wrong track. And, not, in short, the present unhappy state of Ireland, like many an honoured United Kingdom, Lloyd George creation? Mr. Skelton speaks of the deed, he forgets that the end is the beginning, the good will of the rest of the world. Well, the Hungarian courtiers of the Irish Republican O'Gadd had the goodwill of the rest of the world last year—and much good would have been the men of today if they had seen that other watchword: Sinn Fein, otherwise Self-Reliance.

Is Mr. Skelton really believe that the soldiers of the IRA are murderers? If so, I should like to remind him that at a time when this monstrosity of murdering was being freely traduced by arrogant British parishes the Bishop of Killaloe, Dr. Fogarty, was writing in the Freeman's Journal: "It is true that the long suffering freedom has passed into the hands of the young men of Ireland . . . and, as I write, the same breath of freedom is being felt back at their oppressors it is not for an old man like me to cry 'Foul'!

Neither Stormont nor Dublin

I should like to comment upon many of the points in this offensive letter, apart from what Mr. Skelton says about Ireland—against Ireland versus the IRA—which prejudices the whole question, but considerations of space forbid. May I, however, say a few words on an aspect of the Irish question which I believe is one of the greatest problems of our British comrades. They are, as a rule, willing to concede that McNeill and others were justification for opposing the Stormont Government, "as it represents a quasiminority with the majority of the British. In the case of Ireland it seems to mean that it guarantees them to the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of negroes. It is possible, however, see no reason why the Dublin Government should be opposed. The reason is that the Dublin Government's judgments which have held sway in Dublin since the Irish Revolutions have been false, always respectable and sometimes of them have descended the blood-stained mantle of the British rulers of Ireland. They have been able to say to the British that the decision of this country or to endeavour have it to take its old and rightful place amongst the nations of earth.

Prison torture

As an instance of their methods of dealing with those of their fellow-countrymen who expose their treachery I take the case of some of the soldiers of McLaughy—one of many. Sean McLaughy was charged with assault and unlawful detention, punishable at common law by fine or imprisonment. He was tried by the old Stormont Government and declared that he should be tried by a military court. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in 1941. The sentence was later commuted to one of penal servitude for life. After serving his sentence, McLaughy entered the Soviet Prison for four years and nine months. In all that time he was confined in a prison cell. He refused to wear prison clothes and during the whole term of his imprisonment which I never had his prison blankets. He went on hunger strike on 19th April, 1946, and on Third strike on the 25th of the same month. On the eleventh of the following month he died in his cell. When his body left the prison, the jury having been obligingly selected by the police. The Deputy Coroner refused to give counsel for the next-of-kin to cross-examine the Examiner. I give a few details of the case of McLaughy, the medical officer of the Prison, Dr. Duan, under cross-examination:

Mr. McLaughy: "I am going to tell you that during the four and a half years he was in prison the hair was never cut out in the fresh air or sunlight? Dr. Duan: As far as I am aware he was not tortured.

Mr. McBride: Would I be right in saying that up to twelve or eighteen months he was subjected to this cruel physical confinement and not allowed to speak or associate with any other person in the prison?

Dr. Duan: That is right. Mr. McBride: Would you treat a dog in the same way? Mr. McBride: (After a pause): No."

0
H. Bomb -- contd.

Every comedy, it is said, has its more serious aspect, and this pamphlet is exception. Throughout the course of the play, it seems to me, one bomb: even this would be grim enough, but what enemy is going to drop a really powerful bomb? Of course the real fact is that this tightly packed little island would be saturated with radioactive fallout within a short time of nuclear war breaking out.

Victims already claimed

I have given just a brief outline of what can be expected if war should come, but what of the testing being carried out by the British? What of the trials being produced by the trials being produced by the testing? For November 2nd, the Manchester Guardian reported what it called a "stalling" analysis by 45 members of the staff of the Harwell research station. The startling information is that the tests of two children (a 2-year-old and a six-month-old) respectively who died in the world this year, when found to contain nearly a quarter of the concentration of strontium 90 above the level which is that thought to be the threshold, which, the health research council has said would require "immediate consideration." Add this to all the other items is jotted into thinking of one only obvious that there is real danger from the continuation of the tests alone.

Our job is clear

Are we, then, just to resign ourselves to our fate? The answer to this question for Socialists must be to wage a political campaign of opposition. For only by such a campaign can Britain be defended against nuclear war.

First and minimum demands must be the immediate halting of the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons by Britain. We must advance a positive socialist foreign policy which involves a complete break with the so-called "Western Camp" of NATO, SEATO, etc. This would help to negate the polarization of forces and could be the starting point of a movement for a world free from such entanglements, Britain could then play its proper role in the world for a political struggle against the imperial rivalries of Washington and Moscow.

It will be a long and tough struggle with no place for the faint hearts and political dilettantes, but there is no other road ahead, to a full life and a lasting peace.

For the American Political Scene Read

LAbor ACTION

Independent Socialist fortnightly

NEW INTERNATIONAL

a Marxist Quarterly

ANVL

a Student Socialist Magazine

Obtainable from us

SOCIALIST REVIEW is published monthly by A. S. Newcomen, 16 Vicarage Yard, North Lambeth (Tel. North Weald 494). Annual subscription (post paid). Opinions and policies expressed are those of the Socialist Review and do not necessarily represent the views of the writers to whom the articles are given in editorial statement. Printed by H. Palmer (Harlow) Ltd. (TUC)."

PARLIAMENT

Mr. Darling (Sheffield, Hillsborough, Lab.) said that the categoric statement that responsible arbitration should not allow wages to go up would be broken down in collective bargaining. It was no longer free bargaining if a Government inter- mediate from the time that it was merely a matter of arbitrariness, unless there could be no increase.

There is a certain amount of distress, he said, typical, in the Labour Party at the threat to arbitration caused by the Conservative refusal to provide a three-per-cent award of the Health Services Tribunal and by its attitude to arbitration tribunals in general. Those of us on the Left can, of course, say, "We told you so!" with cheerful complacency. Whenever an independent tribunal on wages possible under any system?

People with the Conservatives is that they are so incompetent that they scatter cards all over the floor and try to walk in them. Under smoother operators there never would have been a Health Service award turned down in this way. And the independent arbitrators would have refused wage increases which are being instructed in Parliament to do so.

DURING A DEBATE on housing there was an interesting example of Tory mentality.

A Labour MP Mr. Arthur Lewis cited the case of an old lady of 92 who received notice to quit on her hundredth birthday. The Housing Minister, Mr. Brooke, said that the house was in her son's name as the landlord got to know of the old lady, he immediately cancelled the notice. While the Conservatives were warmly applauding this reply they apparently overlooked the fact that in the case of a hundred-year-old lady would be around seventy years old himself. But then, seventy is just the right age to strike out for a vigorous new life in the workhouse, for example.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

The Socialist Review stands for international Socialist democracy. Only the mass mobilisation of the world working class can lead to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism. The Socialist Review believes that a really consistent Labour Government must be brought to power. Labour must

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

[2] Workers' control in all nationalised industries, i.e., a majority of workers' representatives on all national and area boards, committees and in boardrooms.

[3] The inclusion of workers' representatives on the boards of all private firms employing more than 20 people. These representatives to have free access to all documents.

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

[5] The establishment of the principle of work or full maintenance.

[6] The extension of the social services by the payment of adequate pensions, linked to a realistic cost-of-living index, the abolition of all payments for the National Health Service and the development of an industrial health service.

[7] The expansion of the housing programme by granting interest free mortgages to local authorities and the right of local authorities to requisition, immediate recall and receiving the average skilled wage ruling in the industry.


[9] Opposition to all forms of racial discrimination. Equal rights and trade union protection to all workers whatever their country of origin. Protection of migrants from all workers whatever their race.

[10] Freedom from political and economic oppression to all colonies. The offer of technical and economic assistance to the people of the under-developed countries.


[12] The abolition of conscription and the withdrawal of all British troops from overseas.


IRA -- contd.

The evil against which Sean Mc-Caughtry fought, and in fighting which he laid down his life, had, of course, a religious tag to it. But why under the "treaty" which dismembered Ireland the terms of which Dublin governments of both parties seen determined to carry out regardless of the well-nigh unanimous and genuine desire expressed upon the country. There is one way, and one way only, to bring peace to Ireland. This is the way outlined in report XII of "The Socialist Review" Parliament: "The withdrawal of all British troops from overseas." And may I emphasise that Ireland is "overseas." Without the backing of the British army there could be no partition of Ireland.

W. P. LAVIN

Conrade Lavin showed his characteristic, and it is to be regretted by some, for in Conrade Skelfing's article was not called "Ireland vs. the IRA." But "Socialist Policy vs. the IRA." Skelfington did not hold Hitler responsible for World War II but explicitly stated that "British and French policy after 1918 did much to produce Nazism." It is in this way that Conrade Lavin cannot see the trees, can we be sure that he has seen the wood? And this is the way, and should be, Ireland's way, why do they not, why does he not, show us the wood? Why violence if it leads nowhere? If, indeed, it hinders us from getting anywhere? This is the way of Conrade Skelfington's article. This is what Conrade Skelfington, the poet, was speaking about and by so doing, he has blunted what would otherwise have been some telling points. — Editor.