BLACK the BOMB!

WHERE DOES IT STAND on the H-Bomb? This is the acid test for every movement, party or grouping. Where does he stand on the H-Bomb? Every individual must produce his political passport at this—the frontier of contemporary capitalism.

Nothing has bared the fibres of Britain's body politic as the anti-Bomb campaign. Marches, mass meetings, monster demonstrations, lobbies, feverish activity everywhere—every section of the population is carrying its distinctive mark on the mushroom stalk. Each offers its solution: 'deterrence,' 'no tests,' 'talks,' 'no Bomb' 'jostle one another in endless turmoil.

Where do we stand? Is there a solution? What can a social democratic programme offer that is not merely another voice added to discord?

A socialist cannot see the Bomb as something that happened unforeseen and unwanted. He cannot consider it except as one more ghastly refinement in the business of war—the business which underpins all other business. We know that war solved the slump of the 'thirties. We know that production for war has since kept the world on an 'even keel.' We know that increased war production is seen as the remedy to the present recession in America.

We know this, and more. That the working class has the power to make or break capitalism. That its acquisitiveness makes the Bomb and war production possible. That its revolt will destroy these dreadful agents of destruction.

We know that the fate of humanity hangs on the answer to one question: will the workers stop work on rocket bases, on H-Bombs and all the other paraphernalia of death and mutilation?

Capitalism itself provides much of the answer. As war production grows and permeates the system to its very core, more and more workers are sucked into its orbit, more and more does it become the battlefield for a different war—between wage-earner and profit-taker. As it grows, it makes greater and greater demands on the economy, more and more production is for waste and more and more intense becomes that battle for what is left.

Preparation for war will rouse the workers to their own war. But socialists cannot leave it at that. Already, the organized workers are beginning to claim their place at the head of the anti-Bomb campaign. True, only hesitant and halting steps have yet been made. Here a union branch demands that work on Bombs and Rocket Sites be declared black; there a Trades Council offers to support such a move. One national union blackens sites officially (but not Bombs). The movement is small but growing.

The socialist's function is clear. Everything must be done to bring the support of the whole Labour Movement behind the armaments and building in this country. Every working class organization—from the humblest to the most august, economic, political and social—must commit itself to supporting any industrial action taken for peace.

The movement must speak with one, clear voice: Black the Bomb! Black the Bases!

Every section of the working class must be prepared to put the workers' veto to capitalism's orgies of violence as the first step to workers' control of the war machine and the destruction of capitalism.

"There is no greater determination in the world than the will of a people to be free"—it is this will and the struggle in which it is embodied that has made the fight of the colonial peoples against imperialism the greatest ally the industrial working class can have in their battle for socialism. Nothing could undermine the power of British capitalism so much as the forced withdrawal of British occupation forces in the colonies before the combined attack of the British workers at home and the colonial peoples abroad under the slogan 'withdraw the troops now!"—Editor.

BLACK the BASES!

CYPRUS—withdraw!

CYPRUS, the tragic island, is trembling again. In the March 1 issue of this journal I warned, "the events of the last few days show ... that the pause in Cyprus will not last for ever and the Cypriot people are not going to rest content with the hollow goodwill of the new Governor.

Events have borne out the truth of this statement. The Tories have learnt nothing and continue to be as bloody-minded as ever. After waiting for 14 months EOKA has resumed its campaign. The issue is once again before the whole world.

The recent series of by-elections has shown only too clearly that the Tories have forfeited the confidence of their own supporters. Yet it is this government that tyrannises a small island in the name of the British people.

We have a terrible situation in which justified wage demands are turned down, educational grants are cut and housing programs slashed in the name of economy. But, vast sums are spent to manufacture and explode carriers of annihilation and to suppress and enslave a small number of people. Is there any justification, any logic in this madness? Yes, there is! It is the logic of capitalism keeping itself aloof by armaments and war.

The time has come to put a stop to this lunacy of the governing class of top people. We are tired of the futile and endless game of diplomacy which has led to the deadlock in Cyprus. Empty gestures are useless. If anything, such gestures aggravate an already inflated situation. For months past there have been no inspired efforts of this or that brilliant move which would solve the problem. We do not know what these moves are. We do not believe that a realistic attitude to this question is to be found among the ruling class of Britain. It is reported that Sir Hugh Foot is coming to consult the authorities here. We are afraid, however that as in the past, it will lead to nothing.

stop scabbing! see page 3
TU COMMENTARY

● Safety

THE CHANCELLOR of the Exchequer has been compel-
led, after protests, to lift the pro-
posed Purchase Tax on Miners’ safety helmets. How often when we think of danger attend-
ing jobs do our minds immediately turn to the coal miners’ occupa-
tion.

Too little has been said of the tremendous improvement that has occurred from a safety angle in the recent past. Life compared with the record of the pre-
nationalized industry. Whilst a deficit in the accounts of the nationalized undertakings hits the headlines, the saving in the number of the lives lost is not worth a mention on the front page.

One industry which is perhaps overlooked from the point of view of danger is the building industry in Scottish Tyre Company of Glasgow is a good example. This worker took time off one day in April without permission. 4,000 workers at Fisher and Lud-
low were stood-off on the 25th April to “restore production pro-
cision”—again calculated to contrib-
te to good relations in indus-
try. Perhaps the best example of all to demonstrate their good will is the policy statement from the Federation of British Industries calling for 3 per cent. or 70,000 unemployed.

● Good relations?

A MINISTRY OF LABOUR pamphlet just published called Positive Employment Poli-
cies is reputed to give examples of management practices contributing to good relations in indus-

entreprise. The Scottish Trade Union Congress rejected the policy and called on the next Labour Government to “proceed without delay to extend national-
ization to all big industries”.

The Scottish Metalwork Union at its annual conference also had many hands things to say on the policy. Five of the 20 Divisions had resolutions attack-
ing the policy statement which announced a “retreat from socialist principles”, a “retrograde step” and a “re-
strictive policy” that must be resisted.

Let us look at the nationalized section of industry and see where the employers employed in it support their unions’ attitude.

On April 21st, 900 workers employed at the Royal Ordnance Factory in Dalmuir, Scotland, stopped work and marched through Clydebank in protest against the proposed transfer of the factory to private enterprise. At the end of their demonstration the men unanimously resolved on demanding the reten-
tion of Government control. What better recommendation could be given for nationalization as opposed to free enterprise in-
dustry.

● Policy under Fire

THE LABOUR PARTY’s policy on public ownership is still coming under attack from the unions. The Scottish Trade Union Congress rejected the policy and called on the next Labour Government to “proceed without delay to extend national-
ization to all big industries”.

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dustry.

● Convener sacked

ANOTHER STRIKE, involving the engineering workers has been settled by Ministry of Labour conciliation officers. After a ten week’s stoppage at Armstrong Whit-
worths (North Shields) a return to work was obtained. The reason for the stoppage was once again the sacking of a shop stewards’ convener. Unlike the disputes at Levine’s and the Yorkshire Engine Company this did not receive official blessing and in the case of the two former were sacrificed, the dispute at Armstrong Whitworths, did have official backing. However, the basis for the settlement was not one with which we in the AEU have grounds to be satisfied. The work of a worker in question was given back not his former posi-
tion as convener.

● Industrial union

IN A PREVIOUS ISSUE I men-
tioned the need for an in-
dustrial union for railway-
men. Since then a call for closer rela-
tionships between existing railway unions has been made in a resolu-
tion to be considered by the annual conference of the TSSA. This resolution, from the line in Manchester No. 1 and West-
minster branches—

ance will go far to help the worker, the employer, and the public. It is the first step in the right direction, a step which we must support. The resolution, and the one for a united front in the building trade, is a step forward in the right direction.

● Workers’ control

BY WAY OF CONTRAST we have press reports from Dublin of a strike that even the Lords of Fleet Street have been able to blame the complaint.

Twenty-five workmen making a fence at Tooglass in County Mayo stopped work be-
cause it was “fopen, whether it was ‘fairly’. A former Cabinet Minister was brought in and a solution was found: the fence, instead of going through, went round the corner”, and that work was achieved. At least if it was not the communists we may be assured that it was the work of “bad fairies”.

GEOFF CARLSSON

BUILDING WORKERS

Strike and lose on Southbank

by Bro E. J. Scott, T&G Branch Sec. (1/721)

THREE MONTHS ago McAlpine started showing strong oppo-
site in the building trade workers organizing on the Southbank Site: We have every reason for believing that this was part of a concerted effort between all the employers to smash us if they possibly could.

Our conclusions are based on two trends noticeable recently within the industry. First there have been continual attacks on standards in such a way as largely to dispense with any charge of victimization against the firms. The favourite trick when trans-
fering a steward is, to transfer him to a site which is nearing completion, which then gives the employer a legitimate reason to declare redundancy. Very active stewards are of course becoming increasingly suspicious of such transfers.

Protect the stewards

The second method — proof of the depths to which a Tory is prepared to sink in order to smash, organized labour and rid himself of the more militant workers — is to sack half a dozen stewards and try to get rid of one active trade unionist. New agreements need to be drawn up for the protection of Stewards.

These methods have a direct bearing on the dispute on the Southbank. One of our active members organizing this site, a steel bender and fair by trade was made redundant. The 60 steel benders and fitters immedi-
ately laid down their tools and came out on strike. The strike lasted five days, terminating only after the employers agreed to the steward and gave an undertaking that they would give him the first chance of returning. To the Southbank if they should require any more steel benders and fitters. The men then re-

The strike and after

The following week the bottom fell out of our agreement when the employers started 11 more steel benders and fitters. An approach was made to the employers to stand by their agree-
ment. This they refused to do. The men got very angry, and they all agreed to strike till the employers took the transferred steward back on the site. The strike was unofficial. All kinds of appeals were made for money and also for official recognition.

The money came in alright, and, after seven weeks official re-
cognition too. The site was be-
ing brought to a complete stop.

Many men were being made re-
dundant. The Transport and General Workers Union put more and more pressure on to try to get the steward back on the site.

The steel benders and fitters fought very hard, but they also grew more and more short of money. This was the main rea-
son for the men returning to work after seven weeks’ struggle, and without reaching any agreement.

INDUSTRIAL

These pages have been set aside for a socialist review of the industrial struggle. Help to make them complete by sending in news and comments.

To conclude, it is interesting to note that McAlpine are about the biggest building contractor and are a leading firm in the Master Builders’ Federation. We may ask ourselves, is this the spearhead of an attack on build-
ing trade workers? Are all the other Employers subscribing to this attack? If the employers succeed in smashing trade unionism on their very large contracts we shall find it increasingly dif-
culty to establish organization on the smaller sites. The trade unionists must not be satisfied with our position within the building in-
dustry, or we shall be sunk for years to come, and it will be much harder to achieve our 40-hour week and also our 8d. an hour claim.

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A SCOTTISH NOTEBOOK
by James D. Young

AT THE MOMENT there are just under 90,000 Scottish workers on the dole. Many others, from the north of Scotland and from the east to the west, are working on short time. Simultaneously, however, Scottish Labour movement is growing by leaps and bounds. Trade union membership, having jumped by over 19,000, now stands at 471,235. Individual membership of the Labour Party is up by nearly 10,000 to 67,487. Moreover, class consciousness is being heightened day by day, as workers see that one class struggle drives the homes of the real nature of contemporary capitalim. By marches, demonstrations and strikes to defend living standards and working conditions the workers are showing the bosses that they are prepared to wage war on capitalism.

Over 10,000 Dundee workers were dramatic in joining a mass demonstration to protest against rising unemployment and the closing of local factories. This march of workers from factories, workshops and building sites was one of the greatest demonstrations of working class solidarity since the 1930s. The decision to do it was announced after a meeting of the Dundee district committee of the Foundry Workers’ Union at the TUC hotel.

At the same meeting the committee pledged full support to the national executive committee of the men’s union in their efforts to get a 40-hour week. A control, and if necessary, a complete ban on overtime will be imposed if the employers refuse to agree to the men’s demands.

At this giant demonstration, which took over two hours to enter the city centre, the Dundee workers demanded a 40-hour week; the resignation of the Tory Government; more employment for Dundee and Scotland as a whole; and the nationalisation of the building industry.

The committee, which organized the demonstration decided to send two special train loads of workers to Edinburgh on May 24 for a protest march through the capital.

This will culminate with a deputation going to St. Andrews House (the Scottish Whitehall) to demand more employment for Dundee.

Mr John Strachey and G M Thomson, the city’s two Labour MPs, were unable to attend the demonstration owing to business in London. Perhaps they were really afraid to look into the face of their contemporary capitalism.

EDINBURGH’S TORY PARTIES have banned the Trades Council from showing the A-bomb film, Children of Hiroshima, which won a prize of merit at the 1955 film festival.

Last month, at a meeting of the council, the magistrates were in favour of introducing political bias into their decision.

The council secretary applied to them to mark May Day by booking a cinema to show the film.

Back came a letter from the town clerk saying that the magistrates had met and refused the application on the grounds that they did not approve of the film. So much for Tory democracy!

A RECENT SURVEY of the unemployment situation in Scotland published by the Scottish Board of Industry shows reasons for the recession. . . . . . . .

Cuts in expenditure; Government planning; the failure of the large, percentage of Scottish industries which are not modern or up to date; the lack of demand not sufficiently diversified by newer industries.

Their remedy is more industrial revolution. Our remedy is the nationalization of land and industry under workers’ control. While we accept part of their analysis, we do not accept their way out of the jungle that they have helped to create.

ALL REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS will be sorry to learn of the death of the Scottish socialist James Burns. Although he turned away from direct political activity after his expulsion from the Communist Party in 1939, he never lost his faith in Socialism. In fact his whole faith shines through The Land of the Leed, which was written just after he had been kicked out of the party. He may have made political mistakes during the last years of his life; but his greatest testimonial is the diligent way countless Scottish workers have read his novels on the life of Robert Burns.

We do not believe there is a single man or woman operating L.T.E. underground trains today who would not prefer to be standing alongside their colleagues in dispute. We do not believe there is a single oil-tanker driver who would not be happy to use his vehicle in the garage—join the strike—and put once and for all by the attempts to organise scab coach services.

So, we can only wait and see. This is no time for standing upon constitutional ceremony. Men and women must ACT NOW—and have the constitutional debates later. STOP THE UNEMPLOYMENT—END THE STRIKE—HASTEN THE VICTORY—DEAL A KNOCK-OUT BLOW AT THE TORY GOVERNMENT.

SUPPORT THE BUSMEN! SPREAD THE STRIKE!
H-BOMB CONFERENCES

ST. PANCRAS TOWN HALL was half-empty the Sunday before May Day; too many delegates had gone to Labour’s Greater London conference on nuclear disarmament. It was a put-up job. And though it was, it did succeed in doing a job of work. Coalition (for the TUC) and Bevan spoke for an hour-and-a-half, and the 40-odd minutes left for questions were mostly taken up by Bevan’s often ponderous and wordy answers. But in these answers, Bevan made the afternoon worthwhile; he discredited himself irrevocably, stripped himself of any pretentions to leadership of the working class. In this process he gave nothing but delight to the right-wing. So, to ‘The New Statesman’, Charlie Brain, London boss of the T&G was beaming broadly throughout; no attempt was made to protect Mr. Bevan from the arrogant delegates; buckling, no attempt was made to fill his oratorical panes with cheers, to cap his witty phrases with laughter. He fell down and lost his tense; his public session ended: he pleaded that we should not call him insincere, should not polarise the movement with charges of dishonesty and postured for the newscamera-man to shout: ‘Those who desire Great Britain should have no allies and only Russia should have allies are enemies of Great Britain and not only that, they are enemies of the working-class movement.’ A delegate near me echoed Johnny McLoughlin’s answer to Rosthstein at the Easter Congress a year before: ‘You are the enemy, you baying old wire puller’. That Bevan’s own foreign policy was brushed aside as coming from a ‘microscopical portion of the British working class movement’ and he was not to be influenced by a few voices of sort. With the press safely out of the hall, some questions were permitted but many of them went unanswered. A delegate asked Collinson why the TUC was not prepared to support the German trade-union movement by blacking the Bomb, blacking the Bases. Collinson patiently reread the section of his brief marked ‘Germany’ and looked surprised at the shout of answer! from all parts of the hall.

From then on, Bevan ‘answered’ all the questions, screaming abuse at large numbers of comrades, none of whom cared for industrial action ‘resolutionsaries’—those who believed that anyone would press the button ‘sadists’—this in answer to questions whether he himself would be prepared to give the order. Although he could not imagine a situation which would demand it, that didn’t mean to say, he admitted, such a time wouldn’t exist. Uproar. The conference was ended.

We knew where we were. If we wanted leaders (rarest of our grown men) we must choose people committed to socialist principles. Then we can go forward.

2— Would Mr. Gaitkell press the button?

asks Midlands delegate
OFFICE WORKERS

the problem

by Janet Walker and Susan Lang, Hackney C Youth Section

WITHIN THE LAST FEW DECADES the importance... of the activities of the state. It has become necessary for the bosses to employ vast armies of clerks, doing for the most part routine jobs.

How does this development affect youth? Many young people enter the white-collar profession straight from school and start on the road of repetitive and uncreative work. Because of the nature of their jobs, all character development and personal satisfaction must be left for leisure time. Young clerks drift from office to office in search of satisfaction from their jobs, but the only reinforcements available to them are increased wages and pleasant surroundings.

No satisfaction

The reason they receive no satisfaction from their work is that under Capitalism everything is subordinated to profit-making, and the needs of the individual are not considered; since youth is not interested in the profits, they feel apathetic towards their work.

Before the need for large numbers of clerical workers arose, the position of the clerical worker was different. The responsibility of the paper work of the firm rested completely on one or two clerks who worked in close contact with the boss and, because of their intimate experience with the firm, were indispensable.

No organization

For these reasons they were isolated from the rest of the workers and felt that the interests of the bosses were theirs. They therefore took no part in working class organizations.

Gradually, with the expansion of trade and production, great numbers of office workers were recruited. Now, each worker was limited to one task. If one operator in this production line of in-voice-books and ledgers failed, the continuity of the workshop was broken.

Although each worker could no longer comprehend the whole of the firm’s business, the attitude of being connected with the bosses’ interests permeated through. Thus it is that, although there are now great numbers of office workers, they still did not regard themselves as part of the Labour Movement and their Trade Unions are not used as weapons against the bosses.

The next step

The transition to automation that is now occurring, reduces the differences between the mental and manual workers. The former ‘supremacy of pen-pushers’ will be replaced by the machine tender; similarly in the factory, skilled operators will be replaced by machine tenders. Eventually the differences between the mental and manual workers will have completely disappeared.

In this article which gives the background to the problems of the young office-worker, and points to their solution, two comrades from the Hackney Central Youth Section continue our discussion of issues facing young workers. We hope that comrades will write in about the PARTICULAR difficulties facing them in their own jobs, and how to solve them.

In this article we mention the community of office workers in the workshop and the office. It is a problem that affects the whole group of workers.

With the onset of Automation, new problems arise for the office workers. Who will raise the slogans ‘No sackings!’ and ‘shorter working week without loss of pay?’ Obviously these demands can only be fought for through an active Trade Union. It is only through organized action that the bosses can be made to fulfil any demands.

The politically backward office workers have yet to learn by experience that the basis of class struggle is not on the same side of the fence as themselves. They must be made to realize that every demand fought for and granted, is a step towards the abolition of Capitalism and with it routine and drudgery.

TONY DAVID SMITH, EC. member

POLICY for YOUTH

I AM ONE of the several million individuals who enjoy a special privilege that carries with it a number of special obligations, special passes, special duties. In the year 1958 we are fortunate enough to be under the age of thirty. This means that we shall probably live just long enough to see a completely new society established. Or, at least, if all fails and the whole of civilization is blown to pieces we at all events will have the slight compensation of knowing that in no way has it been our fault.

A strange new light is breaking over Europe. It is the light of a new generation. This generation is waking to political consciousness and as it does so it becomes necessary for those who are already awake to see that all goes well. A similar movement occurred in the thirties but failed. And it seems to me that it failed for lack of a decent political philosophy. Just as now, a generation was craving for a new belief; but their intellectual hunger had to be satisfied with either the hard crust of Stalinism or the bitter stone of Fascism. It will always reflect to the discredit of the leaders of those times that they did not succeed in preventing this happening.

A new feeling

Those of us who have been helping and watching the campaign for nuclear disarmament in recent months will have noticed the political naivety that has gone together with the profound sincerity of the people who for years have thought in terms of rock’n’roll rather than of human survi-

NALSO everybody from Greenland to Korea from Florida to the Cape of Good Hope. We hope to make sure that the whole of our youth we hope to build must be one in which everyone is a partner because everyone is responsible. To find this we must first destroy colonialism, imperialism and class exploitation, for wherever these institutions exist civilization is historically indigested. To do this we have to begin at home. All political change has to be unilateral (like charity). Only by working to break down the class distinction, by creating opportunity for all, by ensuring the success of whatever institutions we already have that we are working toward this new society — parties, trade unions, campaigns—can the first step be taken. Unilateral action is the only practical method because it is the most democratic—it encourages the others without dictating to them; it is a demonstration of solidarity because it is a gesture of trust.

For instance, only by disarming unilaterally can we help until we give impetus to the movement all over Europe that are working for the same ends. All political work of this kind tends towards a similar end, the frustration of the capitalist power over society. And in the East as well, the end is similar, because it tends towards the frustration of totalitarian power and bureaucratic prestige.

One of the things learned from history is the necessity for the unity of the socialist movement. We have to work with everyone we can. This is necessary because we have to fight harder than ever before. We are fighting for our lives.
NOTEBOOK

IT WILL BE INTERESTING to see what happens at the London Labour Party Youth Conference on May 18th. Due to start at 3 p.m., to be followed by a social in the evening, it doesn’t look as though there will be much time for any more useful work than a couple of hours of procedural wrangling. However, there may be a treat in store. Comrades appointed delegates should take the trouble to turn up, if only to let the bureaucrats know we exist.

A SALUTARY SURPRISE was given to Birmingham MP Denis Howell when he addressed a recent West Midlands Labour Party Youth School. After outlining the Labour Party’s official policy on the H-Bomb—keep the Bomb, suspend the tests—he asked for his audience’s views. When a vote was taken, two-thirds of those present voted against the NEC line for unilateral renunciation of the Bomb.

LONDON SCHOOLS LEFT CLUB has been started partly as a result of large numbers of school students on the Aldermaston March, partly because of an increasing number of V and VIformers who are beginning to take an active interest in politics. Every Friday at 5.30 a discussion meeting will be held at 7 Carlisle Street, Soho Square, W1. At the first meeting on May 9 Michael Foot spoke on ‘What is Socialism’; on May 16 Karel Reinz asks ‘Can cinema survive?’; on May 30 Ann Swineller and Louis Watts discuss the Comprehensive School. A small membership fee is being charged to help pay the cost.

SHOREDITCH & FINSBURY YOUTH SECTION are holding the second of a series of day-schools, on Sunday June 1 at 114 Shepherdess Walk, N1; two sessions, followed by a social, are planned—the first session will deal with Capitalism, Socialism and the Family; at the second, SR’s TU commentator Geoff Carlsson will open a discussion on ‘Youth and the present industrial struggle’. Full details of the school and social can be obtained from the Youth Section at Shepherdess Walk.

UXBRIDGE YOUTH SECTION plunged into activity within three days of getting started at the end of April. Carrying banners supporting industrial action against the Bomb and the rocket-bases, these comrades accounted for a quarter of the march organized by the local Nuclear Disarmament Committee from Uxbridge to a big meeting at Viewley; the following, May Day, week-end, the banners were out again, and the members did a good job distributing leaflets in support of the bus strikers.

THE STRONG, LEFT-WING EXECUTIVE which NALSO has just elected has announced its first major activity: a summer discussion camp on the Suffolk coast from September 12-19, entitled ‘Beyond the Welfare State’. The week will cost only £5, and from a look at the program so far it seems well worth it. Comrades wishing to go should send £1 deposit now to Ken Coates, 9 Waldeick Road, Nottingham, who can also supply full details.

Among the MANY who marched to Aldermaston to make their contribution towards ensuring that the human race has nowhere to run from the H-Bomb. The reasons why he marched are clearly laid out in his excellent little pamphlet, Stop the H-Bomb race, issued for the modest sum of sixpence by that useful body the Union of Democratic Control. The front page puts the tone, with a grizzly cartoon by Vicky on the arms race, with the caption “A winner? There won’t be a winner in this race!”

Questions to answer

I am certain that after reading the carefully weighed arguments everyone with any spark of intelligence will agree with Earl Russell’s message: “I think that what he says live under a Russian, or any other, society, and that the whole paper wants out to answer the following questions:

1. What is the arms race costing?
2. What could we do if we were ended?
3. Does it make us any safer?
4. What is the root cause of the conflict?
5. How can we get disarmament?
6. Couldn’t Britain give a lead?
7. What else needs doing?
8. What can you do about it?

Does he answer convincingly? I believe he does, although naturally one cannot expect a profound analysis of the causes of modern war in so small a pamphlet.

Dangers and Diplomats

He blasts mercilessly arguments presented by the Atom-warriors, like General Montgomery, John Foster Dulles and Macmillan. He warns of the increasing danger to human health and quotes convincing figures (which frankly scare me) to show the increase in Strontium 90 in Britain and its likely effects on our children. He demolishes the deterrent arguments, and reveals the nakedness of Bevan’s plea that the Bomb could be used as a diplomatic bargaining weapon. He does this by implication rather than by actual name.

No to suicide

He makes the point that he has “no desire to commit mass suicide”. But on the other hand, doesn’t want the human race to commit mass suicide.

Program to fight for

Frank Allana proposes a program which he suggests should be adopted by all in the Labour Movement as well as in other organisations. The Four points are:

1. Stop building rocket bases in Britain;
2. Stop flying loaded H-Bombers from bases in this country;
3. End unilaterally the testing of H-Bombs; and
4. Press for top-level discussion with Russia.

The question naturally arises, are these points sufficient? I think not. They present a good start, and should unite wide sections of the people and are of course a big advance on the official LPIC statement.

Unilateral action/militant action

The need is to put teeth into the program.

Firstly, I think we should demand that the building unions, backed by the TUC “black the bases”, withdraw all labour from them, and demand alternative work on housing, schools, etc.

Secondly, we should demand the closure of all US bases and the withdrawal of American troops.

Thirdly, demand the withdrawal of Britain from NATO, and demand that a future Government to pursue a policy of “positive neutrality”.

Finally, unilateral abolition of the H-Bomb. Let us take it off the moral plane, and present it in the form of an economic necessity for survival. To get unilateral action the workers will need to take militant action, they will be forced to use their industrial strength. I do not place any reliance on Summit, talks, in the Labour of Nation Charter. Nationally talking is better than dropping bombs but I prefer to rely on the action of the working-class. Call me cynical if you like but I don’t trust any of the so-called “leaders” of any of the Great Powers. That is why I feel an appeal to the workers of Russia and America, based on our example would be more successful, and a revolutionary action hard to combat.

Act on it

Despite any criticism I have to make, they do not do in any way invalidate Frank Allana’s argument. Rather do I mean that Frank’s policy can only be carried through by militancy and not by resolution alone. If I criticize at all, its purely to strengthen the program.

Buy this pamphlet, read it, and pass it on to friends. Above all else act on it, and help forward the work begun by the committee for Nuclear Disarmament and carried a stage further by Aldermaston. More power to your elbow Frank don’t let up in the good work. Thousands of us, millions in fact, are with you all the way, and a little further too. This pamphlet can be obtained from the Union of Democratic Control, 86, Rochester Row, London, SW1. Price 6d.

E. S. H.

Other H-Bomb pamphlets: Britain and the Bomb by Ben W. , 4d.
Eric S. Heffer asks us to remember

JAMES CONNOLLY — Revolutionary Socialist

ON MAY 14, 1916, Connolly died by the bullet of British Imperialism. He was wounded, then strapped in a chair and shot. With those bullets ended not only a great man, but an entire epoch in Irish working class history. The Irish workers have not yet recovered from his loss, although signs are unmistakably there of a new awakening.

Connolly, was the opposite of his great contemporary Jim Larkin. Larkin, master of the winged word, gave a fiery emotional turn to his speeches, and was loved by the workers by the sheer magic of his tongue. Not that Larkin’s contribution to socialist theory should be underestimated. He was no fool; he had ideas as well as being a great agitator. It was Connolly however, who was the serious thinker and the revolutionary strategist. It was he who clearest expressed the goals of Socialism, like Father Kane S.J., and it was he who wrote the history of Irish Labour.

Every inch a worker

Connolly was every inch a working-man, but the working-man made consciously by understanding Socialist theory. He had many jobs; worked as a labourer, as well as a Union organizer. At times all he worked unceasingly for his class, and never once wavered.

He married a Dublin girl, Lilie Reynolds, who bore the hard tasks of being a revolutionary socialist’s wife untriumphantly, without complaint. They had a number of children, some of whom still live today.

Religion—a class issue

Connolly, although accepting the Marxist view of history, nevertheless remained a Catholic, and prior to being shot, had the last rites performed by a priest. This may appear inconsistent but Ireland at that time, such that the Church was itself a product of revolutionary struggle, and to Connolly this meant everything.

Class—before all

Connolly’s views on religion, are best stated in his pamphlet Labour and the Kingdom of God. He argued that the question of religion was not dominant, Class came before everything else, and always strove to unite both Protestant and Catholic workers in common struggle. He believed that the anti-religious bias amongst socialists was wrong and unnecessary, and when he was in America he opposed Daniel De Leon strenuously because of his opposition to the Catholic church. Connolly based his attitude on the fact that the early Christian communities believed in communal property, often quoting the early Christian fathers to back up his views.

The written word

In 1998, he founded the Workers Republic, a paper which surprised publication after eleven issues through lack of money. It resumed in 1899, and by May 1903 had issued 85 copies. It was the organ of the Irish Socialist Republican Party founded and built up by Connolly.

Workers’ republic

Connolly’s conception of the workers’ republic can be summed up in the following: “A socialist republic is the application to agriculture and industry, to the farm, the field, the workshop, of the democratic principle of the nation ideal.”

Having started the ISRP in 1896, he accepted the organizer’s job, with the magnificent salary of £1 per week. Even this small sum was not always forthcoming, and the Connolly household went short.

International socialism

By 1900 the ISRP had become established enough to send him as delegate to the Paris Industrial Socialist Congress. There he met the many great figures in the movement: Kautsky, Bebel, Guesde, Jaures, and renewed his acquaintance with people like Keir Hardie and Hyndman. In 1902 he made a lecture tour in the United States, and in 1903 left Ireland for America to live. He first went on his own, then stayed for his family, but an entire epoch came before everything else, and always strove to unite both Protestant and Catholic workers in common struggle. He believed that the anti-religious bias amongst socialists was wrong and unnecessary, and when he was in America he opposed Daniel De Leon strenuously because of his opposition to the Catholic church. Connolly based his attitude on the fact that the early Christian communities believed in communal property, often quoting the early Christian fathers to back up his views.

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National and social struggle

Although he was mainly concerned with the situation in America at this stage, he never forgot Ireland, and in 1907 he landed in New York, the Irish Socialist Federation, with a small paper called The Harp.

The Harp

The Harp then wrote: “we propose to show all the workers of our fighting race that Socialism will make them better fighters without being less Irish.”

This theme was constantly with Connolly. He realized that Socialism in Ireland could never be built until the yoke of British imperialism was first destroyed. The national struggle merged with the social struggle in 1916 were merely two sides of the one coin to Connolly.

Industrial unionism

Connolly’s life was certainly full and varied. He became an organizer for the IWW and once more showed his great talent in that direction. He was able in appeal to all workers, of all nationalities and creeds, calling all times for industrial solidarity.

Connolly passionately believed in the Industrial Unionism, as opposed to the Trade Party Trade Union. His views on this are best summed up in his pamphlet Wine in New Bottles. He preached the sympathetic strike, and fully endorsed the stand of Jimmy Larkin in his struggles in Ireland, whilst he was in America.

In 1910 he left the US to pick up the threads in Dublin. Connolly was now a more experienced organizer and leader. He was therefore all the more dangerous to the capitalist class. In 1911 he went to Belfast, and was appointed Secretary and Ulster District Organizer of the Irish Transport Workers’ Union. He was a brilliant negotiator and built up a movement that gained considerable successes.

General strike and after

His greatest days, however, were yet to come. The first great test was during the 1913 struggle when practically the entire working class of Dublin were either on strike or locked out. At Larkin’s request, he was invited to Dublin to assist in this dispute, caused by the employers demanding that the workers renounce membership of their unions (the Irish Transport Workers in particular). Both Larkin and Connolly were arrested. Connolly received a sentence of six months, but immediately went on hunger strike.

The reason for the success of this struggle was the formation of the Irish Citizens’ Army. A force organized themselves against the brutality of the police. It played a considerable role in the 1916 Easter rising and also later during the civil war, at the time of the Treaty. The Citizens’ Army united itself in struggle with Patrick Pearse’s Volunteers and with them, despite betrayal from some, to fight for the Irish Republic.

REMEMBER!

In UGANDA, four out of five children do not reach the age of 5. A doctor who has spent six years studying malnutrition there—Raymond Ntawo new report from the KENYA Government has decided that no advance can be made on the health of its citizens, which is 85%. A month in Nairobi, the capital, the allowance for meals for a worker is (in rural areas it is often much less). The Kenya Committee on Africa’s Wages recommended in 1954 that the statutory minimum wage for an African with a family should be two-and-a-half times the basic bachelor wage. 85% a month.

In NORTHERN RHODESIA’s copper-belt, white miners earn an average of £2,295 a year in contrast to African miners’ average annual wage of £660. The Soweto (South Africa) government has proposed the introduction of legal sanctions for work that would take up more than the basic 40 hours per week. The government would also introduce a new scale of salaries for workers in the private sector.

In SOUTH AFRICA, too, 78,000 miners are on strike on the Rand and the courts to 13,000 Africans a year. This figure is roughly three times the amount it was before. The provinces of the ANC is a sector of the basic wage. For the 40 miners, the temping company acting as the basic wage: 85% a month.

From P&O, organ of the Movement for Colonial Freedom

Many British Socialists could not understand Connolly’s stand in 1916, and thought that he was betraying his socialism in supporting the national struggle. This was the view of Tom Johnstone, editor of Forward. Not so Lenin. Lenin’s view was that the lesson of the Irish is that they rose prematurely, when the European revolt of the proletariat had not yet matured. Connolly’s attitude to the 1914 war was that it was an imperialist war which should not be supported by the workers. He paid great tribute to the stand of Karl Liebknecht and, unlike others in Britain, decided that his stand ought to be the same. Fight the war, said Connolly, but don’t support it.

Connolly’s struggle for socialism and National Independence, still goes on. Let us play our part to bring it to complete fruition.
PARLIAMENT

READERS may be surprised to find that this column was being written on the eve of the London bus strike, but one of the penalties of a small fortnightly is a longer lead time and two weeks before publication. (Therefore, what we want is a larger audience!) So far this strike has had surprisingly little effect on Parliament. For some time the Labour Party has been against the Government, but the back-benchers have been calm, and only a few Labour members owe their seats. The Opposition (one supposes) know as well as anyone else that this strike is of the greatest importance to their supporters, since it is the first round of an attempt to reduce real wages by increasing the cost of living, and allowing prices to rise, and that poor Mr. Cousins is in the position of Siberia behind the strike. We wonder how fast the consequences of what concessions he makes, the Government, like the Austro-Hungarian Empire, are determined to have their way. However, take comfort. The Austrian Empire started something that did not end until the State collapsed. And so, one day, will a Conservative Government.

Possibly by coincidence there have been a series of debates about various aspects of transport in Britain. The most interesting is that it is essential for British Railways to be completely re-armed and re-capitalized. All steam locomotives must be replaced by electric or diesel engines and there ought to be a very big program of replacement of tracks, buildings, etc. In which case whatever justification there is for interest payments to stockholders who amount to well over a pound per week for every day’s use of the railways? The equipment that the shareholders provided was used up long ago but their demands continue. Yet there probably are some odd bits of stockholders’ equipment hanging around, like the clock on top of King’s Cross station, which, we suggest, ought to be raffled to provide a final payment of compensation.

ON THE MOTION for the adjournment (Tuesday, April 27).

Mr. Stonehouse (Wednesbury, Labour): complained about the detention of Aschagi Onofo, one of the leaders of the African Union, who, he said, had been charged with being an organizer of Mau Mau, tried with Kenyatta, and acquitted on appeal to the Supreme Court of Kenya in 1954. In spite of his acquittal he had been kept in detention for the last four years. It was a case of outrageous injustice. Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mid Beds, C.), said that he had been detained on the authority of an order made by the Governor of Kenya, which authorised such action whenever he was satisfied it was necessary for the maintenance of law and order. The Governor, he said, in advising him on the case, had consulted the local body, local authorities, etc. The Governor had also consulted the local government, and had been informed of the need for the detention.

One day a politician will speak the truth and his opponents will be dumbered, and the Government will take days to think of a retort. For example, Mr. Lennox-Boyd would have stronger case if, instead of the dreary little piece of evasion quoted above he had said: "Onofo is in prison because he is out of it he will organize political movements highly injurious to the pride, prejudices and pockets of myself and my friends. Since we are at great pains and expense to prevent large numbers of soldiers in or adjacent to that area and Onofo has none at all to let him go would be as intelligent as exporting Guinness to Dublin".

One sometimes feels that the real objection to British Colonial rule is not the actual things that are done—even in Kenya the English are comparatively liberal as colonial masters—but the nauseating hypocrisy that is put out by the Government is enough to turn over the stomach of any body but the most hardened readers of the Daily Telegraph. MIChael millett

RUSSIANS...

the Bomb....and us

I saw a copy of Socialist Review brought back by an Exeter person who was in the Aldermaston March last Sunday. Though I thought he was nuts, I didn’t think that he was. When you look at the front page you realize that the Labour Party should stand for what it stands for. The March was successful. I think that an issue during the Aldermaston March was very good as on the front page you outlined what the Labour Party should stand for according to its constitution, that is real Socialism. I think it would be a good idea to keep it on the front page, etc.

At the present time the working classes are crying for a lead and they will not get from the present Government. I think the See-lubing Labour Party could do it. As I have said before, it is better for the Labour Party to stand on socialist principles than in office with the Tories. That is why we must reject letters from Nye. I am for unity in the Labour Party on the basis of compromise with the Tories. On the contrary there will be unity when you stand for the policy outlined in Socialist Review. "What we stand for".

A Johnson Exeter

Cousins Kings Cross and the Colonies

Socialist Review.

THE SOCIALIST REVIEW STANDS FOR

International Socialist democracy.

Only the mass mobilization of the workers in the trade and political arena can lead to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism.

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

- The complete nationalisation of heavy industry, the bank and insurance, and with compensation payments based on a means test.
- Nationalisation of all denationalised industries without compensation.—The nationalised industries to form an integral part of an economic plan and not to be used in the trade conflict.
- Workers' control in all nationalised industries, i.e., a majority of workers' representatives elected by trade unions or boards, subject to frequent election, immediate recall and re-election. The trade unions to have the right to bargain wages ruling in the industry.
- The inclusion of workers' representatives on the boards of all nationalised industries to represent more than 20 people. These representatives to have free access to all documents.
- The establishment of workers' committees in all concerns to control hiring, firing and working conditions.
- The establishment of the principle of work or full maintenance.
- The extension of the social services by the payment of adequate pensions, linked to a realistic cost-of-living index, the abolition of all taxation for the National Health Service and the development of an active social insurance policy.
- The expansion of the housing programme by granting interest free loans to local authorities and the abolition of all requisition privately held land.
- Free State education up to 18. Abolition of foreign policing schools. For comprehensive schools and adequate maintenance grants—without a means test—for all university students.
- Opposition to all forms of racism, discrimination and exploitation by the British colonial master for all workers whatever their country of origin.
- Freedom to travel for all workers to and from Britain.
- Freedom from political and economic oppression to all colonies. The offer of technical and economic assistance to the people of the under-developed countries.
- The unification of an independent Ireland.
- The abolition of conscription and the mustering of all British troops from overseas.
- The abolition of all forms of military destruction.
- A Socialist foreign policy independent of both Washington and Moscow.

M I C H A E L M I L L E T T