THE INEVITABLE showdown between Capital and Labour is becoming more apparent day by day. The desire of the employing class to utilise labour as and when it thinks fit has once again become an immediate issue which the working class must face up to. As unemployment flows through the veins of their economic system, the employers and their Tory spokesmen are becoming bolder; the old evils begin to reassert themselves as the strait-jacket of full employment loosens.

Easy come, easy go

For a decade since the war, union organisation, wage increases and general improvements in conditions were comparatively easy to come by due to the tight labour market. Now the tables are turned. Shylock, the employer, is demanding his pound of flesh. He has begun the offensive. For the workers to withstand the assault successfully and, ultimately, go forward again, we must evaluate our forces, recognize our weaknesses and attempt to overcome them.

The official figure of registered unemployed now stands at 476,000 (see Peter Morgan’s article in this issue for the reasons for believing the real figure to be somewhere around double that). And the Tories at their annual Conference let it be known that the figure would continue to rise throughout the winter (the Economist predicts 600 to 700 thousand). Workers who in many instances have become flabby in their belief that full employment would continue are now looking for the leadership which the trade unions and Labour Party should be giving.

Said to say, it is at this crucial time that the leadership necessary to inspire and guide working class action does not exist to any great extent. The General Council of the TUC which should act as the workers’ General Staff in this fight, showed themselves to be a spineless collection of individuals during the first skirmishes earlier this year between the busmen and the London Transport Executive and its Government.

Cost of TUC

The failure of the TUC to give effective leadership has already cost us dearly. Nearly all outstanding wage claims have been settled for an amount equal to that which the busmen managed to wring from the Government, but which in no way has compensated for the rise in the cost of living. By bucking out of an industrial dispute which was at the same time a political fight against the Tories, being cut off the green light to the Government to increase its offensive and gave a moral boost to those sections of the employers which were not then convinced that the time was ripe.

The employers are already considering what next steps to take. MacDonald, Minister of Labour, has announced the abolition of compulsory arbitration which restricted the employer to a certain extent. Macmillan told the British Employers’ Confederation at their meeting of October 16 that unemployment, now 2.2 percent, "may well go a bit higher" and prefixed the remark with: "another blessing is that there is no difference between the main political parties, or at any rate their more responsible members, over our basic economic objectives."

However, these general aims of the employers and their government have still to overcome one serious obstacle before they can use the working class as they want. It is not enough for them to have many of the top union leaders kicking their boots and jostling one another in the queue for knighthoods; it is necessary that the power of the union on the shop floor — the shop stewards’ committees — be

(....continued to page two)

PETER MORGAN, editor of the Birmingham Trades Council Journal asks: are there 1,000,000 UNEMPLOYED?

WITH THE APPROACH of a General Election, the Tory Government is striving might and main to present an atmosphere of calm and normality at home. Naturally, great attention is being paid to the question of employment.

Full-time trade union officials have for long suspected that pressures were being applied on local offices of the Ministry of Labour to present as rosy a picture as possible. But even the figures appearing in the Ministry of Labour Gazette reveal a steadily deteriorating situation — both as regards unemployment and under-employment.

One of the most significant statistics is the continual fall in the size of the working population in Britain. The total number in work at the end of July (the last figure available to me at the time of writing) was 24,086,000. Twelve months previously it was 24,210,000.

In other words, there were 125,000 less people at work. Does this mean that there were less available for work? Certainly not. The population of this country has never been higher. What it does mean is that redundancy forced OUT of employment a number of married women, older workers, West Indians and Irish who returned home, and so on.

Not comprehensive

But this is not the whole story. For the purposes of these figures the Ministry adds a revealing footnote: "Part-time workers are counted as full units." In other words the total would not be affected by the reduction of a married woman’s employment from a full week’s work to Saturday afternoons only.

Nor are the statistics given by the Ministry fully comprehensive. For instance, for some time now, that some people would not dream of approaching the Ministry if they fall out of work. They prefer to make their own efforts independently or through their trade union office.

(south-bank pages 2-3)

HAULAGE page 4

DOCKS page 5

ANTI-STRACHLEY pages 6-7

FORTNIGHTLY for the Industrial Militant for International Socialism

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW, BUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

8th YEAR NO 20 NOVEMBER 1, 1958 SIXPENCE

(turn to back page)
The industrial struggle— from page one

smashed. What good does it do them, or their families, to count on the "services" of the unidig big guns, but find that the men on the shop floor pay more heed to the shop stewards? The employers know this for certain. Instead of sticking to the points at issue in the BOAC dispute, they opted for "the conclusion of a wages agreement, the management introduced a total new set of rules (also, there was supposed to be enough room for anyone to walk through. Wednesday night, there was a three hour overtime and by Thursday morning a new set of rules had been drawn up by which only two pickets were allowed at each gate. This, however, was only a sign of things to come. Friday morning the traffic was allowed to come to a standstill and the boys in blue came to Waterloo in support of the "hard core" of professional strike breakers, the specially picked, more experienced policeman who know how to deal ruthlessly with any worker who "gets out of hand." Some ten arrests were made after the most blatant provocation and intimidation. It is known that some policemen actually asked the stewards to go and work. So it continued for the next few days. Massive forces of police trying to get the pickets in, and failing miserably. It is estimated that more than twenty got on to the site on any day for the first four days. During this period trade union officialdom was moving in many different directions. The General, the Unions Engineering Union, which caters for a small minority of these disputes, the shop stewards, (but who are nevertheless key men) was the first to black the site by instructing its members not to cross the picket line. Similar action was taken by the No. 1 Divisional Council of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, who told their members not to work on the site while the men were still in dispute with McAlpines. The members of the Electrical Trades Union employed on the site refused to work whilst there was still a picket line. On Friday, 17th, they returned to work, held a meeting the same day and agreed to withdraw their labour on Monday, 20th, if all stewards were not offered employment by that date. The offer was not forthcoming as expected, and to date the ETU members on the site are still out. Their hierarchy has made a mockery out of its promise. On Monday, 20th, the No. 1 Divisional Council of the AUBTW rescinded its decision to black the site and an official of that union went on to the site and tried to eject a steward amongst the pickets. It is interesting to note that of the eight members of the Communist Party members and another couple are "friend travellers" to the UK. The Communist Party had declared its fervent support for the locked-out stewards. The only conclusion to draw from this is that either the Party has done a most astute piece of work or that the Party members on the site have aligned themselves with the employers who are the leadership of the AUBTW (with the change due to the alleged "Trotskyist" leadership of the strike?). The other leadership brought another blow to the men. The General Secretary of the CEU declared that as far as the officials of that union were concerned the CEU members were no longer bound not to pass the picket line.

The Southbank Sellout

Prices and Profits

Between June, 1957, and June, 1958, the Government's index of retail prices shows that prices have increased by 5 per cent. Fuel and light have increased by nearly 8 per cent and rents by nearly 12 per cent. It is therefore surprising that the index of food prices increased by only 5 per cent. During this period, industrial profits for the manufacturing industries have increased by 11 per cent, and dividends by 15 per cent, whilst with very few exceptions our basic industries have increased, on average, by over 20 per cent.

SR Industrial reporter JOHN PHILLIPS reviews

The Southbank Sellout

Two sides of the Law

When McAlpines tried to open the site on Wednesday, the 8th, the strength of the picket lines, supported by lads from other jobs, was such that only a handful of stewards were able to get in and many prospective scabs were turned away. On this day the police allowed any number of pickets to go in, as there was room enough for anyone to walk through. Wednesday night, there was a three hour overtime and by Thursday morning a new set of rules had been drawn up by which only two pickets were allowed at each gate.

AUBTW's decision to black the site and an official of that union went on to the site and tried to eject a steward amongst the pickets. It is interesting to note that of the eight members of the Communist Party members and another couple are "friend travellers" to the UK. The Communist Party had declared its fervent support for the locked-out stewards. The only conclusion to draw from this is that either the Party has done a most astute piece of work or that the Party members on the site have aligned themselves with the employers who are the leadership of the AUBTW (with the change due to the alleged "Trotskyist" leadership of the strike?). The other leadership brought another blow to the men. The General Secretary of the CEU declared that as far as the officials of that union were concerned the CEU members were no longer bound not to pass the picket line.

Scab's rule-book

While all this movement was going on, the great bastion of immovability, the T&GWU, clung to its scabs' constitution like a beacon. Even though they were aware of the fact that the stewards who found themselves to McAlpines for employment four years ago had been refused, nothing was said. The T&GWU is not without evidence that there are steel fixers working but no union card, being "private contractors" (i.e. who are using steel fixers' tools) and, of the total number working, a good proportion who have never worked on the site before. What did the T&GWU do? Two things. First, the employers' booklet on the Civil Engineering Conciliation Board, to which the T&GWU is a party, issued a statement on October 26th, the relevant points of which are:

- There will be a progressive buildup of the number of workers in numbers and trades as quickly as the repaying of the job permits.
- To date the firm have already offered employment to 100 men, all of whom were previously employed on the site.

Any difficulty arising out of the operation of this agreement shall be the subject of arbitration between the firm and the district according to the agreement, and if and when necessary, the agreement may be terminated.
The authorities are doing their utmost to smash the morale of the pickets by other methods than police violence. Firstly, no one who was sacked can get unemployment benefit from their labour exchange because (here’s the joke) they say that the men are in dispute. Who are we to believe? The authorities say there is a dispute, or the unions who deny it? Secondly, one of the pickets, Kenneth Weller (labourer) who was arrested on a charge of using insulting language, etc., was convicted at Tower Bridge Magistrates Court even though there was no evidence against him and despite conflicting evidence of the police officers.

New enemy

What conclusions can we draw from the events so far? The main one is that out of the mists of arbitration, conciliation and disputes tribunals there has arisen a new enemy of the working class: the union officials who are paid by their members to act on their behalf have betrayed and sold them down the drain in such a desperate and cowardly way that there can be no doubt as to their side of the fence they are on.

The men on South Bank are fighting for a principle of working class solidarity against a profound betrayal of the working class by the State and the union bureaucrats. (I think it is worth mentioning Labour Party “nobles” who live in another world.)

The scargate

It is the scorge of unemployment arising out of an inevitable crisis in the capitalist system that has brought the class struggle into bold relief against the almost unchallenged power of the State. But the, who are leading the struggle are not so well coordinated or full of optimism. Let the bloodied-handed-employers see such an example of solidarity from other sections of the working class that we shall not only bring McAlpine to its knees and establish the government and system that backs them up.

The committee

The committee has staked its claim to the working class and its support. The solidarity committee has staked its claim to the working class and its support. The solidarity committee has staked its claim to the working class and its support. The solidarity committee has staked its claim to the working class and its support. The solidarity committee has staked its claim to the working class and its support.

The green light

No one wishes compulsory arbitration, it has been criticized often enough and from the workers’ angle, but it is common practice when Jan McLeod, Minister of Labour, tells the employers that the Government is going to stop it. The green light is being given—the BOAC strike, the McAlpine lock-out and others at Belvedere Power Station, all will be seen against the back-ground of rising unemployment and economic blizzard. The ruling class are taking the only way they know how.

Solidarity plus success

The worker must meet the challenge, sharpen their weapons, and fight back, as they are doing in Pickering, Yorkshire and Merseyside, to support their Brothers. It is the only way forward.

Numbers Unemployed in Building and Contracting

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<th>Month</th>
<th>1956</th>
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<td>31,299</td>
<td>48,569</td>
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<td>August</td>
<td>23,797</td>
<td>31,516</td>
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(Building Worker, October, 1958.)
"One out, all out" is no longer expedient
writes Joe Kelly

THERE IS no doubt at all that the employers are fully organized to combat future strike action, whether secretly, supported by the present Government. That being so, the extremely adroit workers' side of the Joint Industrial Council for Drivers and Mates have been finding the process of negotiation even more a stilted uphill battle, with the most just claims failing to obtain concession. In fact, very nearly to wheelskidds; procrastination, the red herring of artificial redundancies aggravated by the temporary recession in trade, allied to the actual handing over of so-called "demobilized" workers to the United Carriers, are some of the methods introduced by the employers to obstruct progress.

One cannot deny that there is an unprecedented shortage of imported beef, which might perhaps suggest some excess of labour, but of one thing we may be sure, there is no shortage of profit, for profits are simply the specific function of present-day capitalism, as has been pointed out by Mr. T. W. M. McAlpine, the secretary of the employers' association. Kept under control, this surplus wealth can be used to increase the comforts of the workers or, alternatively, the employers can use it to increase the comforts of the workers or, alternatively, the employers can use it to increase the comfort of the landlords.

Of course, the cynical reader might say, "if they call that a victory, then thank Heaven they weren't defeated!" but to that mark, my reply is that one should remember that not only did the joint committee fail to gain nothing, but the Government itself, added and abetted by the men's own union, And after nine long months without any money, they still had the desire to continue the struggle with a resolution undeceived by the past few years, so that the most biased of the employers, the Government, and the unions cannot fail to give them credit for their stubborness.

Moral of the story might say that it doesn't require a lot of brain to be stubborn, nevertheless, under the circumstances of the times it most certainly required a concentration of backbone and so I say to all meat drivers, "Put yourself on the backbone, brother, you earned and obtained the admiration of every militant in the country." If you can't say something to the effect that you can't spend admission, which is, of course, true, then this is true, you won something that no increase could buy.

Up hill drive

Since the return to work, however, the representatives of the workers' side of the Joint Industrial Council for Drivers and Mates have been finding the process of negotiation even more a stilted uphill battle, with the most just claims failing to obtain concession. In fact, very nearly to wheelskidds; procrastination, the red herring of artificial redundancies aggravated by the temporary recession in trade, allied to the actual handing over of so-called "demobilized" workers to the United Carriers, are some of the methods introduced by the employers to obstruct progress.

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An appeal to coloured workers and a statement of solidarity
from the Defender, a colonial publication (135 Evering Road, London N16)

All colonials and coloured workers who are employed or are about to be employed must make sure that they are not being used as an instrument by the employers to undermine the struggle of the British workers in general, and the struggle which is now being waged on the South Bank site.

The fight which is being hammered out between the British building workers and Sir Robert McAlpine is not about which of the colour workers of this establishment (McAlpine) must enter on the side of the British workers without fear of the employers and their police.

Disregard prejudice

Regardless of the hostility we might have experienced from a section of the coloured workers in the past or even at this present moment, their struggle which is our struggle, (by the status of class) must not fall short of a single man as a result of such hostility and prejudices. In fact to overcome these prejudices it is necessary to help the British workers, if not to defeat, at least to hold in check the monopoly which is responsible for the existence of these prejudices; the employing class of which McAlpine is a powerful member.

Throughout history the police (the instrument in the hands of the power) in this instance the 'Forces') always operate against the similar forces of the working class for the organised and so it is in the case of South Bank. The actions of the police are not strange to us colonials. We have seen them in the colonies. The only difference is that those in the colonies are recruited generally from that section of the ruling class "servants" which possess the mentality of the "mounted police"—a Fascist mentality.

The police are trained to be the most backward section of the working class and understand that they are a section of the working people, despite their social rank, but of which they belong. The "foot police" in particular are nearer to the people and under certain conditions are regarded as the people. The working class has a leadership which serves them and has no other interest but that of the working class) the most intelligent section will see reason and will understand that their interest lies with the rest of the workers: those who 'provided' them with food, clothing and the buildings in which they live. The truth must be told to the police. No one can tell them but the workers, in this case the South Bank workers must take the lead. If they cannot be won today, tomorrow we may succeed.

Unite to fight

But we must be bold, because under a government which gives McAlpine & Sons the right to displace the workers, we shall be deprived of the rights that we like, police are taught not to think for themselves but to do as they are told. If the workers of the starting points from which the employing class are preparing to move, they have a chance, black and white. If the coloured workers are not in a position to give active support to the building workers, at least they must make sure that they are not an obstacle in their path.
Porticus warns off threatened sackings in dockland

EXAMINING the wave of strikes and unrest which have beset the major industries over the last few months, one is forced to conclude that it is the inevitable result of the present Government policy of attempting to discredit and eventually smash all branches of the workers' movement. No matter where you look or how impartial you may be, the answer is the same - unrest is being forced upon all workers by the Government.

Arbitration is a device the Government can reject a pay award for health service employees, but the workers are completely unconscious that if they refuse any such offer. If the Government is to be believed, everybody is out of step except themselves and possibly a few trade union leaders who do not believe in industrial action.

Why this attitude to industrial action cannot be justified, for it is the prerogative of every single citizen in a true democracy to tell the Government of the day exactly what it wants and to throw it out if it doesn't do the job it is required to do to his or her satisfaction.

Industrial 'tycoons', shipping magnates, farming interests, the landlord class, etc., in fact all the bigwigs are represented in Parliament, so why all the fuss when the machinery of arbitration is taken action? Everybody, including the Prime Minister, says that they uphold the right to strike, and yet they are completely inconsistent when it happens. The busmen were wrong, say the Government; the dockers were wrong, the meat drivers were wrong, only we are right.

Throughout the last few months, practices everywhere of industry has had a difference of opinion with the powers that be. Whether one has been lucky enough to creep away with their tails between their legs because of their leaders' reactionary attitude, or whether one has fought a long and in an endeavour to safeguard trade union principles, only to find themselves ostracised and discredited by the majority of the national press.

Next step - the docks

It is, of course, natural to expect a Government to dislike orders contrary to its policy; but when a Government like the present, as an added attack upon working-class conditions, introduces a landlords' charter which increases rents up to 900 per cent and then tells the people hardest hit by this action, that they will get no pay increase to offset this new demand, they are simply inviting trouble.

They have it now on the airfields where it is not becoming to their dignity for the employers to meet the unions; they have it on the Shell-Mex strike where the workers are too interested in safety measures for the liking of their employers; and at Almondbury, where the employers have seized upon the precedent created by the McAlpine management to dispose of those men who have the temerity to speak for themselves and yet they still look elsewhere for more.

The next move may well be the docks where the men are much too militant for any self-respecting Conservative Government. They haven't forgotten that they couldn't break Tooley Street no matter how they tried. Suddenly it has been discovered that the National Dock Labour Board is making a loss of £1,000,000 in the red.

The board says

Elsewhere the cry would be greater productivity, increase the volume of work, but not here. The answer is simple and fits in with this Government's desire to increase unemployment. Work is falling off, there is still the same number of men registered, so let's reduce the register.

The board says, in respect of this latter statement, "Some progress has already been made, and further steps are being taken, to bring the size of registers more in line with immediate requirements for labour."

We resist

In view of this statement, it is more than possible that attempts will be made to get rid of the more militant elements among the dockers by some device or other. Accordingly, it behoves every worker in the industry to resist equally all the power at his command, any suggestion of a reduction in the number of men registered. The Government must be told, in no uncertain fashion, that they have gone far enough.

Ron Lewis

WHAT WE STAND FOR

The Socialist Review stands for international Socialist democracy.

One of the main mobile assets in the working class in the industrial and political battle to overthrow capitalism and the enslavement of man.

The Socialist Review believes that a really conscious Labour Government must have the power on the basis of the following:

- The complete nationalisation of heavy industry, the banking and insurance industries and all the other industries where complaints based on a means test. Re- nationalisation of private industries without compensation. The nationalised industries to form an integral part of an overall economic plan and not to be used in the interests of private profit.

- A man-controlled, publicly owned nationalised industries, i.e., a majority of workers' representatives on all national and area boards subject to frequent election, immediate recall and receiving the average skilled worker's wage.

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

- The establishment of workers' committees in all concerns, to control 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 social security in case of unemployment, and in a realistic cost-of-living index, the abolition of all payments for public health, family, unemployment, etc., and the development of an industrial health service.

- The expansion of the housing program by giving interest free loans to local authorities and the right to requisition of unused buildings.

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

- Opposition to all forms of racial discrimination. Equal rights and adequate union protection to all workers in the United States of their country of origin. Freedom of migration for all workers and for free immigrants.

- Freedom from political and economic oppression to all areas, in the form of political and economic assistance to the people of the underdeveloped countries.

- The unification of an independent Ireland.

- The abolition of conscription and the recall of all British troops from overseas. The abolition of all wars of aggression.

- A Socialist foreign policy independent of both Washington and Moscow.

LP COMMENTARY

Conference backwash

I MUST HAVE READ a couple of dozen articles in the last few weeks on the significance of the Social Democratic Party. I have only read that they scored some sort of victory, at all events "Scarborough is a challenge to the Parliamentary Labour Party" (Ian Makard). But my impression was that the Party leadership is simply quarrelling with the Tories on some aspects of foreign policy, such as Quemoy, Cyprus, and the bomb tests. It has also drawn up a foreign policy considerably to the Left of what it was when Robens was shadow foreign minister. And Bevan talks very refreshingly about Labour's religious bigotry. But while the big issue - the Bomb - remains outside all this radical talk, such talk must be considered part of a program of dishonest the Left.

My impression of the Conference was that the Party leadership no longer feel they are under any pressure at all from an organized and educated Left. And they are right. VFS because of its isolation from the workers is ineffective and underfunded, its few and disoriented.

Yet the potential for a Marxiste stream in Britain is, in my view, considerable. Quite a number of people in the Labour Party are groping towards some better means of promoting the struggle for socialism within the Party and would respond to a properly organized minority for the unity of the Left.

One of the reasons for the disarmament of the Left is the fact that the Party leadership is completely quarring with the Tories on some aspects of foreign policy, such as Quemoy. Cyprus, and the bomb tests. It has also drawn up a foreign policy considerably to the Left of what it was when Robens was shadow foreign minister. And Bevan talks very refreshingly about Labour's religious bigotry. But while the big issue - the Bomb - remains outside all this radical talk, such talk must be considered part of a program of dishonest the Left.

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Ron Lewis

Page Five

Socialist Review
Contemporary Capitalism

In the British population of 50 million there are nearly 5,000,000 retirement pensioners, 1,000,000 widows receiving special benefits, nearly two million war pensioners, not far short of 500,000 older necessitous industrial injuries and disablement allowances; almost 500,000 receiving old age pensions around two million men, women and children dependent on the State. Add to this the millions who are in mental hospitals and other institutions; over 750,000 disabled persons; including spastics, two millions of children's homes and innumerable thousands of children in chronic sick living at home. Then there are those who cannot leave their homes unassisted. Finally, in all the large families, among whom recent surveys have confirmed, many young and middle-aged widows with children to support and many working men still earning less than £2 or £3 a week.

(P. Townsend in New Statesman, October 18, 1958.)

Labour power—a commodity with frits

What he ignores is that labour power is a peculiar commodity. A motor-car, once sold, does not lose its value. The signboard showing that the price has been increased; or of refusing to travel on certain roads or at certain specified times, by getting prices up. Has Deskin been running a campaign against the trade union? Probably he would have been saved the embarrassment of seeing a large part of his merchandise refused to be sold by him.

The point is that the wage level is not determined by the fact that the trade union executives are good salesmen but by the fact that the goods they sell are good fighters. In no period has it been possible for the workers to "front" the bosses. In fact they are always ready to give a chance to the bosses to make a move, and to take action only when driven by pressures which are in the open. The method of their action, and not many of the workers' struggles have been based upon a proper understanding.

Less complex triangular relationship between the bank, the union, the state and the workers. What this indicates is that this is evidently an important feature of contemporary capitalism.

Slump or war—false alternative

Although the wage packet is the key objective in the battle for the division of the product, it is not impossible that wages are 50 per cent of statistic of contemporary capitalism is the importance of struggles over norm, speed-ups, demarcation, redundancy and so on, of all of which have the effect of keeping all attack is upon the manipulation of copulation. What he will not admit is that capitalism is a jungle in which two fighting classes are-products of the attacks. We are not here to discuss the suppression of the existence of a class struggle which is an absolute and inevitable from the social factor which divides him from the tradition of Marxism which for long has been in dispute with the Labour theory of value: are simply a cover to avoid even fighting the developments of the last century.

We have seen that the so-called law of pauperization is false precisely because it does not take account of the whole. But this is only an example of a much more general point. All attempts to formulate purely economic laws which will make long-term predictions about capitalism are, in the last analysis, misleading. We have in this idea we shall discuss something about the second "myth" mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

In a series of articles published some time ago in which the author and editor of this book have expressed the view that "This is all that capitalism can offer. Either a slump in which workers starve wage

Welfare State

The belief is firmly fixed in British minds that the United Kingdom has a welfare state well ahead of its contem- petentials.

ILO surveys, however, indicate that holidays on the continent are longer than in British businesses. Social services benefit covering sickness and retirement are, in several countries, more liberal than in the United Kingdom. Medicine and housing is Britain ahead.

(The Times Review of Industry.)

Workers can stabilize capitalism

But in all this theorizing a possibility has a certain advantage. It is that the workers can be able to extract higher wages. Depending on the extent to which they are able to do so, they will be able to prevent a slump, or keep it level so low that the workers' actions will not depend on the relative class struggle which divides him from the tradition of Marxism. But this is not the case.

To make this more concrete we shall look at the way in which capitalist economies have actually expanded in recent times. In 1956 the U.S. produced about two and a half times its 1929 output. That means, very roughly speaking, that for every hundred units produced today, 40 duplici- ation of the output of 1929 and 60 are "new".
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i.e. represent the increased production. What happens now? 60 new units! A rough calculation shows that they are divided up as follows: 
- Industrial consumption: 36 units = 60 per cent.
- Arms: 10 units = 15 ... 
- Other government works: 7 units = 12 ... 
- Private gross investment: 7 units = 12 ... 
- 60 units = 100.

Thus the greater part of the increase has been chopped up by salary and wage increases and there is no theoretical reason to suppose that the present production could not have fought for and won the full 60 units. In the case of Britain a similar picture can be presented, where the present production represents new output. The technique of making up wages and salaries and about 8 for armaments. Moreover, of all capitalist countries, it is Britain which has increased the proportion of the new production.

Class relations—basic

Strachey, too, makes an attack on "purely economic" relations. Their only real difference is that he has a severe economic sense. But the two are closely related in the sense, I think, that there is a real difference between their political and social classes in the production of class relations. Strachey thinks that a class is related by the failure of the democratic system of production, and that the fact that it is the dynamic of class struggle which enables us to see why this thing is true and how this confirms the key idea of Marx's that class relations are the historical importance of Marx's discovery of the crucial historical role of the class.

The reader will have noticed that we have said nothing about the economic sense of himself in his philosophical sense. The economic sense of himself, the corner stone of his thought. We could draw attention to the extraordinary effort energy to struggles aimed at bettering the condition by what is even concerned with the class. The economic sense of himself is the deep and conscious result of the fact that the collective unconscious of the British worker, the very soul of the British worker, has been the basis of the British worker's economic sense. To do to deal thoroughly with the problem demands a careful analysis of the class relations of the basic contradiction of the economic sense of himself in his philosophical sense of the class.

The first comment concerns the misleading use of quotations. For example, on pp 104-5, we write: "Marx wrote in 1818 that a "law" which decreed that while capitalism existed, the wage capitalist merely inevitably declined, because the condition of existence of his own class that there must inevitably be an increase in the wages of the working class. We note that the two occurrences of the word "inevitably" are Strachey's addition and are not part of the quotation from Marx. The full quotations (Communist Manifesto I.5) reads: "The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of capital, sinks deeper and deeper below that level..." In other words Marx is describing, very realistic, the impoverishment of the working class, while Marx himself is describing the fundamental economic elements that set up as a prophet to say that must inevitably lead to a depression of the working class.

The second comment concern the confusion between Marxism and the perversion of it by Moscow and its CPs. Here there is no doubt. The Moscow line has been a dominant feature of CP doctrine. One thing which does differentiate between what Marx said and what the Moscow line (capitalism as a historical law) is the latter is a development of the former. (For a discussion of this see the The movement has not built on the basis of Marxist ideas.)

But the most serious misrepresentation of Moscow's "theories" is not their tenacious links with Marxism but their misinterpretation of the profoundly anti-working class policies and ideology of the Russian bureaucracy. And in connection with this it is important to note that in the case of the Spanish revolution it is clear that Strachey is incapable of making an analysis and his economic sense of himself in his philosophical sense of the class.

You say that George Adair (1890, October) writes on the need for a united Ireland. If he believes there is such a need why does he say that the Stormont government is a pernicious, corrupt and practically unchallenged regime? It is difficult to see how any democratic party can view with equanimity the continuance of the rule for any considerable length of time of a religiously and politically intolerant junta.

It is well known that a former Prime Minister explained that he wanted a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people, blindly ignoring the existence of thousands of Catholic-Irish in his fascist statistics. And in the shining light of the North wanted to retain a building in which Mr. Audair had been said. Still another Northern luminary, Mr. H Midgley, who is mentioned by Mr. Adair and who retired from the Labour Party to become a minister in the Stormont government, banned a school book in which he was Minister in the opposition.

People who are inclined to view the Stormont clique as a legitimate group representing any section of the Irish people should keep in mind its class and its class composition.

In refutation of the English Prime Minister's abstention contention that there was in the North of Ireland a "homogeneous population alien in race, colour, in sympathy, alien in tradition, alien in outlook from the rest of Ireland," the Bishop of Derry, Dr. McHugh gave the following details later alia: (1) the Catholic population of Ulster, living west, was greater than the total of the other denominations by some 200 souls; (2) in four of the "homogeneous" counties—Tyne, Ardmagh, Fermanagh and Derry—Catholics were in a minority of only 53. As far as I know, Dr. McHugh's figures have never been questioned.

Mr. Adair rightly says that the Ireland Act strongly reinforced Partition and as a loses by-product brought about the bitterness, hatred and class to Irish working-class politics. Surely the 1922 Act is a sufficiently weighty reason to make everyone whose democracy arrive for a united Ireland.

Apathy in the Trade Unions

Apathy means lack of feeling, want of passion or emotion, indifference. Do these phrases adequately sum up the trade unionism of today?

At the beginning of the modern trade union movement, most members knew each other as their meet-"saw help were usual and formal. Members dealt exclusively with their own trade or craft, striving to better their conditions, partly by training their own apprentices or partly by the first example of "closed shop" working.

Between 1982 and 1992 union membership rose from 1,500,000 to 1,750,000, during the same period the old trade guilds slowly disappeared, giving rise to the general trade unions which dealt with larger bodies of workers in a variety of trades.

In this era, indeed up to 1940, the unions were militant, fighting for better working conditions and pay rates whilst successfully attaining a new higher standard in the commercial world. During the 1939/1945 war rates of pay and working agreements were signed, conditions improved and full employment ensued.

At the same time, the unions streamlined themselves by amalgamation, racial federation, the number of unions dropping from 1,019 to 75, which would lead to lack of specialization and individual unionism. The union became a passport to employment. Shop stewards' committees started taking greater participation in joint Advisory Councils with management. Unions were now less militant since there was little left to fight for, official strikes being avoided in favour of arbitration.

Today the trade unionist enjoys the conditions obtained by the older generation, conditions as near perfect as possible. He either forgets or does not know what his forbears fought for. A union card is now a necessity rather than a simply privileged good. Outside entertain- on reading such phrases "Show your card" or over dulled union meetings. Social life is still strong amongst members of certain trades, such docs meet, trade workers, meat workers. But even in such there active trade unionism is con- fined to the minority rather than the majority. Trade union rules are often flouted for the sake of individual gains and not so militant as it was in the past. It is often oneself and self last instead of the other for the sake of oneself, whilst everything runs smoothly, the union often loses interest.

Bacon is resolve to fighting to retain his right to work against growing unemployment think that unemployment is not more now than ever, is to fight against apathy, not accept it—Editor.
SR exposure
Raymond Challinor reveals
The strange case of Mr Summers

LAST YEAR'S Bank Rate increase was, as the Financial Times and the Economist have pointed out, the key factor in the collapse of many small and medium-sized manufacturing firms. This year, the Bank Rate increase will be even more serious. The Economist predicts that many small and medium-sized firms will go bankrupt, and that the number of bankruptcies will increase by 50% compared to last year.

But what happens when public and private interests conflict? This is the quandary that confronted W.J. Keswick, as a director of the Bank of England. His job was to defend the pound and stem the speculative run that threatened to lead to a loss of the pound. However, in his private capacity as a financial adviser, his job was to ensure that clients understood how they could make the most money—at that time by selling, and thereby weakening, sterling.

£6,400 a minute

And, as the inquiry showed, very much money was made by financiers. In five minutes one firm made £3,000—more than most of us make in a life-time of toil. Whereas for the overwhelming majority of people, the increased Bank rate meant higher rates and rents, for the financiers, it was the opening of a new wealth. Whether their profitable anticipation of the Bank rate increase was due to clairvoyance, chance—or some combination of both, it all remained a mystery. The beans—we shall probably never know. But, as was pointed out at the time, one thing is sure: the highly equivocal position of members of nationalized boards, like Mr Keswick, who have access to inside information from which they could derive great personal gain.

One man—11 firms

Unfortunately, with the Bank Tribunal receding into the limbo of obscurity, this question has tended to become forgotten. But it is—and will remain—an important issue so long as the management of banks and other State-owned industries and utilities are determined by private individuals.

One man, Mr Richard Felix Summers, a Director of the London & North-Eastern Railway Co., sits on the boards of eleven other concerns. They are: John Summers & Co Ltd, United Steel Co Ltd, Steelco Ltd, Steelco (Chester) Ltd, Steelco (Cork) Ltd, Castlefrederick o Ltd, British Ferriics Ltd, Iron & Steel Co Ltd, Royal Steel Co Ltd, Steelco Liverpool & London & Harrow Magnesium Ltd. 

Schizo-Summers

This gives rise to a number of interesting points. Four of the above-mentioned firms are in steel industry. Mr Summers & Co Ltd has, in fact, been taken over by the Iron & Steel Employers' Federation as an example of a first-rate firm. In its campaign against re-nationalization of steel, they have had half-page advertisements in most of the leading daily newspapers showing what idyllic conditions exist at John Summers' factories and what a terrible disaster it would be for all concerned if it went back into state hands again.

We can, therefore, see the schizophrenic existence Mr Richard Summers must lead. On the London Midland Board of British Transport Commission he works for re-nationalization, trying to make it a success; as a director of John Summers he works against nationalization, trying to prevent its success.

The type of situation from which W.S. Gilbert wove the plots of his comic operas.

Pecunary interest?

But for railway workers the present position is far from funny. As Councillor N.F. Bradshaw, an engine-driver pointed out, "The issue is not a financial one, but a question of self-respect. They are suffering from redundancy and loss of earnings. This is primarily caused by British Railways' modernization scheme, which cuts down on staffing requirements..."

Interestingly enough, some of the steel for the Railways' modernization scheme is coming from firms where Mr Sumners is director. Therefore, while this scheme means hardship and loss of earnings for railwaymen, it means increased turnover and higher profits for the firms where Mr Sumners is director.

On local authorities, when matters arise where a councillor has a pecuniary interest, they have to state it openly and are debarred from taking part in the discussion on that issue. To the best of our knowledge, no such procedure is adopted on nationalized boards.

The Socialist Review is not in any way suggesting that Mr Sumners—or anybody else—has sought to influence the decisions of nationalized boards so that private concerns with which they are connected receive valuable contracts, the present position is, in our opinion, highly unsatisfactory. Large sums of public money are in the hands of nationalized boards, and decisions are being taken by men with direct pecuniary interest in such decisions.

All this leads us back to a fundamental point: namely, the role of the railway and other nationalized industries in the interests of the people. Is it possible that the workers of the railways could take over the railways and run them along the same capitalist lines?

The very fact that Summers is a director of 12 concerns in the railway and steel industries shows that to be a director it is not necessary to have a detailed knowledge of each firm's work, merely to have an interest in keeping down the board policy the firm should take. For this reason, the argument that workers' control is an impossibility because workers have not got the "know-how" is sheer nonsense. All that is required is that they should lay down the general lines along which the industry should operate.

See page 5
WHAT WE STAND FOR

This is just what happens on local authorities. Infinite officialdom, sitting in an advisory capacity, give advice and technical reports. We have the Council, a body elected by the people, and are responsible for implementing its decisions.

There is no reason why, in the same way, democracy should not be taken to the workshop floor, with the management elected by the workers. Indeed, only when industrial democracy is achieved will the words, when the people own and control industry, will democracy in its fullest meaning be realized. Furthermore, only when workers have control of industry will they be assured that it will be run in their own interests, not those of the bosses.

The answer, therefore, to the present crisis in the railway workers' strike, is to take the railways back into workers' hands, and make the bosses, not the workers, the victims.

1,000,000 UNEMPLOYED

Others, again, set themselves a deadline of a week or a fortnight during which they will seek work or obtain the assistance of the Ministry. But even by this standard the situation is ominous.

National Assistance boom

Figures given in the press on October 7th revealed that the mid-September total of 476,000 was 30,000 up on the mid-August ceiling. This was the highest for very nearly twenty years (with the exception of the short period after the last war). And of these, 416,000 were wholly unemployed—a rise of 13,000. Even more serious, however, was the sharp hike in the numbers of those out for eight weeks or more—193,000 (almost double the figure—compared to 144,000 the previous month and 108,000 twelve months ago.

Perhaps a more reliable standard for the growing tide of want is afforded by the increased number applying for National Assistance. The number dealt with by the Board during 1957 (apart from those requiring grants to meet charges under the National Health Service—in itself a revealing admission) was over 2,000,000—or a quarter of a million up on 1956.

The number on short-time also increased. In the week ending August 22nd it numbered 160,000—4,000 more than in July. And the number in manufacturing industries working overtime in the same week was 1,196,000—or 358,000 fewer than a year ago. When it is reflected that this is a drop of 25 percent (and that it is almost certainly an incomplete reflection), the effect on the workers' standard of living will be appreciated.

Four major points

We therefore ask readers to consider the following:

(a) The fall in the size of the working population;
(b) The numbers of workers forced OUT of full employment and into part-time em- ployment;
(c) The fewer vacancies available;
(d) The increased length of time during which people remain out.
(e) The numbers on short-time and the very substantial fall in overtime;
(f) The stagnation in production;
(g) The failure of prices to fall despite improved terms-of-trade for this country in world markets.

Conclusions

IT IS QUITE EVIDENT THAT

(1) WE HAVE ALL ACCEPTED A PAY CUT

(2) IT IS NOT RISING WAGES THAT ARE HINDERING THE ECONOMY

(3) THE UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURE IS VERY MUCH WORSE THAN GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE AND MAY VERY WELL BE NEAR THE MILLION MARK.