DEMOCRACY

in our MOVEMENT

WITHOUT DEMOCRACY, our Movement is a blunt instrument. The short report of the London bus workers’ Delegate Conference to be found in our industrial pages within, is a lesson not to be forgotten. The biased constitution, the set of rules weighted against changing opinions of the rank-and-file, was a major factor in swinging the decision from strike to arbitration, from dragging the Tories to their knees to arguing about things that need no discussion.

Our Movement is nothing without the millions in factory and mine in every place of work; it is nothing without their conscious participation in its affairs, unhampered and uninhibited. Those that shout “apathy to justify manipulation and slick committee work have no place in our Movement, no place in history—apathy is born where interest and action have met with no result, where the committee men have smothered rank-and-file initiative. And when this happens, our Movement is in danger.

The fight against the Tories and the bosses cannot be manipulated, nor negotiated. It is ours, wherever we work and talk, wherever we picket and march. It is our fight, and being ours, it is ours to direct, to plan, and to execute. Decisions must rest in our hands, securely. They must be democratically arrived at. There can be no separation—the fight against the Tories and the fight for democracy within our Movement are one.

Nor can we have any truck with the Wynatts and Haxells of this world. The men who pick up democracy like an added egg to hurl at their opponents. Can a Wyatt, who sees dictatorship rampant in the eru, but remains blind to bureaucracy’s activities in other unions and blind to his own activities on the “Daily Sketch,” make the word do anything but stink in our nostrils when he uses it? Can Haxell and his ilk represent democracy in the Movement after gerrymandering the elections in their union to stifle opposition? Who are they to accuse each other of lying, deceit and malpractice? As long as the Movement suffers anti-democratic practices in its midst, so long will it harbour a malignant tumor of its conscience—a source of weakness.

TRANSPORT WORKERS
turn to pages 2 & 3

FORTNIGHTLY FOR INDUSTRIAL MILITANT AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW, BUT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

8th YEAR : No 4 MID-FEBRUARY, 1958 SIXPENCE

The struggle against missile bases, against nuclear madness, for peace and socialism, goes on. We are happy to be able to print the resolution passed unanimously by the Labour controlled Dalkeith Town Council and the important speech made by Cllr. David Smith in moving it. We believe that his example should be followed as widely as possible, that this is the way in which the organs of government can be used as tribunes of the people to propagandize and as levers for a mass movement for peace.—Editor.

MOVE FOR PEACE!

by Cllr. David Smith, Dalkeith

I formally move "That Dalkeith Town Council strongly condemns the proposal to establish missile bases in Scotland, believing that the implementation of this policy will heighten world tension, hasten the drift to armed conflict and render this country vulnerable to total annihilation."

How to save the peace is the most vital and most critical problem facing mankind today. The prospect of a third world war dwarfs everything else into insignificance. Those who remain indifferent to world politics abdicate their responsibilities to the human race, and if war comes it will be the consequence of that indifference.

A calm and reasoned approach to the question of war or peace is no easy matter. All the propaganda weapons of the modern state machine are utilized not to educate public opinion, but to manufacture it. Not to enlighten the human mind, but to poison it. Not to elevate human dignity, but to debase it. Thus ignorance prevails over knowledge, and prejudice over reason.

The doctrine of ‘my country right or wrong’ is used as a cloak to cover up the most inhuman of deeds and, invariably, the isolated critic of conventional outlook is labeled either as a social misfit or a Communist... and no further argument is necessary. Meanwhile, the so-called scientific statements pursue the same old policies which for centuries have been proved to be fallacious and disastrous, and, if not halted by the common people, will destroy this planet altogether.

If you want peace, prepare for war; if you want to put out the fire, shovel on more coal. Each power block strives for a preponderance of military strength, supposedly to deter the other side. An arm’s race is set into motion, more and more weapons of death and destruction are poured out of the factories, military alliances are created only to deepen an existing mutual distrust, suspicion and hatred. If, a year the bombs explode... each side accusing the other of aggression while claiming to possess right on its side. This is the lesson of history.

£40 billion a year

For how much longer are we to ignore it? The world is spending £40,000,000,000 on armaments... yet two-thirds of humanity are engaged in a desperate battle to procure the bare means of life. Millions of people all over the earth are crying out for food... and we offer them hydrogen bombs!

We have been told for nearly 13 years that unless we arm ourselves to the teeth, Red rain will descend upon us and the Russians will steal away our liberties. Yet Churchill himself once said that if the Russians had attacked shortly after the end of the war they would have been at the Channel in a week.

German re-armament

I remember the great debate three years ago over the question of re-arming the Germans. We were told that that was a matter of extreme urgency in case the Russians were preparing to attack. A fully equipped German Army hasn’t come into being but still there has been no Russian attack. Now we are told that rocket bases are necessary in Scotland for the same reason.

Let us assume that the Kremlin is intent upon world conquest. Would the Kremlin leaders not realize that a successful war could only be waged provided they attack first and destroyed all those bases before they could be used? It is a fair argument that within the first hour of war, the Russians would direct rockets against all military bases in the Western Alliance and Scotland.

(turn to back page)
LIKE A FESTERING SORE which has long maimed the Mersey dockland continuously erupts into strike action: strike action which has been, and is still going on, in the form of the co-called “Blue Union,” the NASD.

It is precisely this question which was behind the NASD decision to refuse to replace the t&G dockers who have been, and are still, refusing to work.

Many of the older dockers have remained in the t&G because they have tremendous sympathy with the Blue members. Many of them retained their membership of the White because of benefits accruing over many years, and not due to complete endorse the t&G policy. That is why, when discriminating action is taken against Blue members, all dockers react.

The central problem is recognition.

The attitude of the TUC is far from helpful. After a court case, they were forced to recognize that those dockers who had joined the Blue must be allowed to remain in the NASD, despite the Bridging

The workers are therefore now forced to work under the most difficult conditions, with no hope of recognition.

Throughout this dispute, the TUC has consistently taken the view that the Blue Union, and the NASD, are not union members.

At a meeting of the NASD, the Blue Union, and the NASD, on one occasion, held out for six weeks. They did this because of a principle, and in fact, had no chance of monetary gain.

One of the disquieting features of the Mersey dockland situation is the growth of non-unionism among the more backward workers. The Blue Union District Committee, after twelve months ago, proposed to the t&G to jointly tackle this problem, but received no answer. Too many people are behaving like ostriches.

The Blue is here to stay in the Northern ports, and must eventually be dealt with. The question of recognizing the fact that the t&G has made concessions to the rank-and-file must be faced. The practice of discrimination and non-unionism must be stopped. The action of the Blue Union, and the NASD, is clearly an attempt to stop progress, because a man is in the Blue, must cease. The Garston episode must not be allowed to occur again.

Support is needed

There is much discussion among the dockers that to solve the problems, the need is to reform the unofficial rank-and-file committees as existed for many years after the war. This may well be the way forward, but only the dockers themselves can do it.

In conclusion, let me say that in Liverpool, the dockers are held by the mass of the workers in high esteem, and their solidarity in a strike is a great object lesson to all. Esteem is not enough—they must be given full and unqualified support. Their fight is truly ours.

RICHARD WILLIAMS

Liverpool

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.

At a recent ballot held to elect two representatives of the Mersey dockers on the local Dock Labour Board, two ballots were held: one organized by the t&G which featured t&G candidates only (the ‘Closed Shop’ ballot) and the other by the NASD which featured NASD candidates only. The total vote cast for all seven T&G candidates in the ‘Closed Shop’ ballot was 1,478, which was less than the number of votes cast for either of the NASD candidates in the ‘Open Ballot,’ J. Benbow (1,854) and G. Green (1,729).

SR Industrial Reporter from Liverpool

THE LATEST DOCKLAND STRIKE

RECENT weeks have seen eruptions of rivalry between the Transport and General Workers’ Union and the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers in the northern ports, notably on the Mersey. On this occasion, the issue has centred around the right of a registered docker to secure employment on either side of the river.

As is well known in dockland, after having been duly registered, men are allocated to a control point and, if employment is available, are sent to a particular ship to discharge or load cargo until the job is completed.

"Whites" only

On January 20, men were required to discharge a sugar cargo. They were sent to the usual manufac
turer from a control point. On arrival at the job, they were met by officials of the t&G who demanded that the security be inspected. They found that two of the men were hired members of the NASD. The t&G officials immediately ordered them back to the control point, where their books were returned to them.

When this action on the part of the t&G officials became known, the men immediately stopped the work. Later, these two men attended a meeting of the men concerned and addressed by Bro. W. Johnson, Area Organizer of the NASD, and others, who advised a return to work pending further talks. This was agreed to by the men.

However, on the Thursday, January 23, a similar incident occurred and the job stopped once more. It became evident to all concerned that these incidents were part of a deliberate policy engaged in by the t&G officials, and the stoppage spread.

A large number of other ships were affected, and there is little doubt that had the strike continued for any length of time, the Mersey port would have been at a complete standstill.

Local NASD officials had meanwhile gone into touch with head quarters and were quite prepared to advise a return to work pending discussions at the highest level. As was understood later, this meant that National Officials of the NASD would have consultations with the National Dock Labour Board, the Ministry of Labour (this is the first time that the Ministry have intervened in the dispute between the two unions) and the TUC.

Free choice of union

The mass meeting of strikers to which the above was reported agreed to return to work unani mously pending the talks which are awaited with considerable interest.

The claim made by the t&G (Dockers’ Section) that they, and not the NASD, are the official union of dockers is entirely false. Figures issued by the local Dock Labour Board show that over 7,000 men were on strike.

This problem has to be solved. It can only be solved by giving the men the fight to decide which union they wish to be in.

LABOR

THANK YOU for replying to my Forum article. You are right to say it bypasses crucial issues. That is because Forum asked me to deal with the doctrine of democracy within the Scottish Area of the NUM in 1,000 words. So I concentrated on that, rather than the crucial issues. And in doing so, I condemned those miners who force their lower-paid mates to make sacrifices without the democratic right of consultation and without the least attempt at negotiation to avoid unnecessary sacrifice. Such actions do not "raise the political consciousness of the working-class and prepare them for revolutionary action" (James D.

Lawrence Young). They create discontent. When they are undertaken by men who never (or very seldom) attend a trade union lodge meeting, it is doubly ridiculous to describe them as "front-line fighters" or "militant miners.

You are wrong in suggesting that I say "unofficial strikes are bad as such." In the very forum that you published my article, I put a highly unsuccessful unofficial strike—not for the first time. But unofficial strikes of the kind I described are very bad, for they create resentment between miners, and make a bad impression (continued on next page)
GOFF STEVENS Presents THE CABMEN'S DEMANDS FAIR WAGES, END CADGING

out of the most familiar sights in the centre of London is the taxi, the little black beetles which go scurrying round as red-armed monsters—the buses, and the rest of the traffic; at times to everybody's consternation.

But despite the anonymity of the vehicles, probably less is known about the working conditions of the public transport worker. Both cabs and drivers are controlled by the Public Carriage Office, a department of the Metropolitan Police, and therefore subject to the regulations of the C.O. Before a man can receive a Metropolitan Police licence he has to satisfy the C.O. as to his character, knowledge of London and driving ability. The knowledge of London examinations are spread over a period of about twelve months. The possession of a driving licence is not a sufficient qualification: a licence alone is not a special test to have been passed.

Having satisfied these requirements, a candidate must pass a Metropolitan Police licence and a copy of, and a large antiquated

GOFF STEVENS, author of this article, knows what he is talking about. He is Chairman of the Cab Trade Committee of the Transport and General Workers' Union and is a cab driver of long standing—Editor.

budge with his number on it, which has to be worn on every occasion while on business, or "on the mugging," i.e. buy his own cab. If he is fortunate enough to have the necessary deposit, around £300, and to get a loan on the licence payments over a period of five years he can become what some people call a "professional" in the cab-trade—an Owner-Driver. He has the choice of joining the Cab Section of the Transport and General Workers' Union, which caters mainly for journeymen drivers (although a number of owner-drivers also belong to it), or an organization which caters for owner-drivers only.

If he goes to one of the larger garages, which will operate from 4 to 300 cabs, he will find that there is a Union Steward and a "Committee" and he will be expected to join the Union. In many garages he will not be allowed to work unless he does. He is now one of 2,000 drivers who drive the 6,000 cabs which operate in London.

Odd customers

He now goes to work subject to the Hackney Carriage Laws, some of which date back 180 years, and is completely reliant on the generosity of the public for a large part of his income. He gets a fraction—over a third of the fare shown on the clock—in commission, plus tips. Unless the journey is over six miles, when he has the right to make a bargain, he has no say in what proportion of his fare, i.e. including tips, shall be.

Once he is on the road he will be faced with a variety of clients, such as probably no other individual worker comes into contact with, from some irascible old gentleman out of the terrific mental strain and frustration imposed by present-day traffic conditions in Central London. Traffic conditions—this is perhaps the biggest bugbear facing the car-driver. Remember, no taxes, commissions, only that if traffic congestion means that he can only take three fares in the same time he should have been able to take four, that means money lost to the driver. Because a number of drivers are in a double pre-war and because of the criminal indiscriminate parking of these cars the cabs can no longer slip through the "back doubles" as they are able to do before the last war. Indeed, one is scared to turn into side streets now, for fear that in a street wide enough to take three lines of traffic, cars are parked on both sides and a vehicle appears travelling in the opposite direction. Then there is a complete deadlock.

The question of traffic conditions is one that cannot be answered by the cab trade alone but there are problems facing the

Daly replies

on millions of fellow trade unionists. Slogans about "class struggle" will never change these facts. Our demands are genuine and commonsense. We are not the spokesmen in Scottish 300 circles, except for the emphasis on workers' control. Indeed, sudden and concerted elaboration is not helpful. I am in favour of experimentation with workers' control. But what form it would take, what powers a workers' committee will have, its relation to the trade-union, and a host of other problems must be seriously considered.

Unlike James D. Young, I don't take my opinions about trade-union leaders from the Manchester Guardian. I have put words into my mouth that are not, I am afraid, what unofficial strikers. I have participated in; and on that practical experience do I base my conclusions.

Yours truly

LAWRENCE DAILY

Ballaghy, Fylde.

MORE LETTERS on back page

LONDON BUSMEN miss their S

SO IT'S ARBITRATION. Despite the fact that the Trade Group Committee of London's busmen decided 12 to 1 abstention that they would ask the National Conference (held on February 3) to seek plenary powers to seek satisfaction of their claim and to convey a National Conference of all busworkers in the country—private, municipal and London Transport Executive, maybe an Industrial Court; maybe another rejection of the just claim. Who knows? One thing is certain: London busmen have missed the bus. They are not at the wheel where they should be.

What happened? After four hours of debate, the Trade Group Committee decided in favour of what can only be understood as strike action. They decided to appeal to their conference throughout the country for support. They believed they would get this support and decided to proceed on the basis of all the difficult question of differentials between London and Provincial rates. They would also give the bosses' constant charge of "laziness." And they would answer the "Becks' attacks charge of "stepping on the gas." An excellent resolution, by all accounts.

But it upset what one delegate called "their Lordsships," those delegates who consist of the leadership. It upset London differential so important that they are not willing even to discuss the matter with the Provincial and municipal representatives. They amended the resolution to read "plenary powers to seek satisfaction of their just claim." It is a complete deadlock.

The question of traffic conditions is one that cannot be answered by the cab trade alone but there are problems facing the

LONDON BUSMEN miss their S

Unholy alliance

This confused the delegates and gave the General Secretary the opportunity to move a resolution calling for arbitration and a National Conference. Of course it was defeated by the militants, the "differentialists" (their Lords) and the two-thirds majority. So what remained? Arbitration alone. Carried by two votes above the two-thirds majority, but defeated by confusion, tiredness, a non-democratic voting rule and mistrust.

We have missed a glorious chance—to lead the organized working class in a fight against the Tory Government, to refurbish the wage freeze, to knit the public transport workers into a single strong organization, and to show the unions shall come again. It is not for nothing that London's bus workers are known for their militancy.

SR Industrial Report

London
Labour Party

Commentary

by Ron Lewis

Victory for Socialism was founded in 1944. It was one of those organizations which spring up from time to time in the Labour Movement, such as the Constituencies Association, the Socialist League, and more recently, Socialist Fellowship. Such organizations, it could be suggested, are manifestations of the radical socialist spirit of the active members of the Party, but they are also used by careerists as springboards to promotion. Because their leadership tends to fall into the hands of M.P.s, the course of such organizations is often chequered. VVS, however, was led very largely by ordinary rank-and-file members, which accounts for its comparatively long life.

But towards the end of January, the smoothies moved in, dispelling the leadership. VVS was dissolved, and though the name is to go on, the character of the organization is dead.

The new leaders are convinced that the reason the Left has failed to make progress within the Party is because it is not organized around business unions. Accordingly, the new VVS is to be organized into lots of committees which will be staffed with certificated ‘thinkers’ (graduates in Policy-making Engineering?) These committees will produce alternative policy statements to those of the National Executive of the Party, and hey presto, the battle is won.

Control of VVS was seized by a combination of infiltration, seduction, and crude appeals to the necessity for the ‘unity of the Left.’ If anything, the people now in the saddle have as bad, if not worse, ethics than the Right-wing bureaucrats. But none-the-less, militant socialists would be unwise at this stage to consider themselves with documenting the methods of this group. For there is a real wilf towards organization now. And it is not only the business union of the party. A will that the old committee of vvs had recognized, for long before these new boys came on the scene, steps had been taken to build a national organization.

The first result of those measures convince me that notwithstanding the restricted and reformist character of the new leadership, they keep their word and continue with our program of building local branches, there will be a large membership within a few months. But if such an organization is to be anything more than a chearing section for the ambitions of certain people, then its membership will need to be faced with a good number of militant socialists.

Congratulation to Holborn and South St. Pancras Labour Party for reminding us again of the injustice which is still being done to Tom Braddock. First by calling upon the National Executive to remove Woodrow Wyatt from the panel of Parliamentary Candidates, and secondly by nominating Tom as a candidate for the seat. The refusal of the NEC to agree to the first, while it refuses to endorse Tom should serve only to reawaken a campaign for the rehabilitation of Braddock (whose only crimes are consistency of socialist principles and a fearless refusal to succumb to the smooth boys).

Victory for Socialism!

Very Fishy Situation! writes Woodbee Wyatt

Turned up to the a&m of VVS and was elected on to its executive. In the negotiations which followed these people constituted a Trojan horse.

The open negotiations consisted of a number of demands which amounted to the resignation of the vvs committee, its replacement by the Seven, the summoning of a Special General Meeting of vvs at which all the decisions pending the constitution was to be moved.

...and the five

These demands were presented to a committee meeting without prior notice; i.e., they were not on the agenda. The suddenness of the proposals, coupled with the vagueness concerning the plans of the Seven, naturally gave rise to some opposition at the meeting.

But the fact that there existed this Trojan Horse of members who were not merely privy to the negotiations of the new leaders but even assured of places on the committee, enabled the Chairman, Secretary, and Vice-Chairman (who were also assured of their place in the plan) to steer this rather difficult motion through the meeting with only ‘appearance’ concessions. One of these was that vvs should elect five of its committee to serve with the seven in the selection of the new executive. Of the five, four were already wedded to the idea of the destruction of the old vvs.

At the meeting of Twelve a list of personnel proposals were presented by the Seven which was agreed to virtually without amendment. The odd man out was one or two names of the old vvs committee without success.

At the next meeting of the vvs committee, the proposals of the Twelve came under considerable attack on the grounds that non-professional members and old members of the vvs committee were conspicuous by their absence. The meeting resulted in two main points. That Hugh Jenkins, Chairman of vvs should be a second vice-chairman, and that five other names (old vvs members) should be added to the new committee. In addition, the committee was persuaded to carry by one vote a resolution which placed the unqualified support of the Seven, whether the new proposals were accepted or rejected.

Following the communication of these proposals to the Seven a war of nerves commenced. The Secretary of the Seven advised the Officers of vvs that the time was after all perhaps not opportune for the merger and that they had decided to proceed alone. This threw the Chairman, Secretary and Vice-Chairman into a panic and they went down on their hands and knees and begged the Seven to proceed. And the night before the Special General Meeting of vvs, the Seven agreed to take over the name of vvs if the resolution suspending its constitution was carried.

The meeting itself, held in the House of Commons was possibly the most disorderly and rowdy meeting of this kind that has ever taken place. For in spite of the fact that the platform was crowded it was declared that after having heard an outline of the proposed members the proposals should be resolved . . . and so forth, no names other than the Seven were mentioned.

The meeting was a response given for this that there might be a press leak.

The meeting itself was largely a close-the-ranks orgy, virtually every other word uttered by the platform was unity. And though a few people outside the meeting had discussed their ideas, the meeting voted for the resolution, many of the arguments expressed these feelings about the way things had been done.

Of course, the committee which has been set up is only a provisional committee. There will, the meeting was promised, be further meetings in September. If members or prospective members of this organization will be well advised to be vigilant. For the smell of this process will make the CF look like amateurs.

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Page Four

Socialist Review

SUCCESS STORY is the title of the latest pamphlet issued by Transport and General. It is a defence of the record of the nationalized industries. Within its limits it is a good pamphlet, the common wonder who reads this stuff. It seeks to answer the type of criticism made by bank directors, city editors and other high priests of capitalism, that is that nationalization is not working. This last is an important point. It does this job quite well, but that the Party need bother itself with the blatherings of Sir Oswald is open to question, and may reflect the mood of the leadership who see themselves now merely in the role of consultants to the Tories in the running of capitalism.


2. This House of Commons Meeting of Forty; and the subsequent manoeuvrings leaked into the News Chronicle, January 2, 1958.


5. The size of the new committee as we go to press is about 50, but whether all those invited (?) have accepted, is not yet known.
FIGHT FOR IDEAS

There are some ideas so deeply rooted in our condition, so part of our lives that no amount of suppression, of distortion, brainwashing and propaganda can wipe them out. Every human problem, every social problem, and every political problem, has ideas as its underpinning—commands that we take notice of these ideas as a guide. Such ideas are the ideas of scientific socialism. They live on, sometimes in cells and hideouts; in the minds of a few, in the phrase of many; waiting to burst out and engulf the consciousness of the masses whenever conditions allow. In this way they become a palpable, material force. The ideas become embodied in the conscious activity of the mass of workers and oppressed peoples. They make history.

Youth is often the channel for such ideas. Still studying, still dealing with the raw materials of ideology; yet uncorrupted by self-satisfied or self-scrutinizing complacency; young people for whom the struggle for security, youth has often played a glorious role in the history of social revolution. In our time, the Hungarian youth—from workbench and school-desk—have stood at the forefront of the struggle for national freedom and socialism. We can learn their heroism, study their example. We may need it yet.

But the Hungarian youth are not alone. Twenty years of beatings, prisons, murder have not succeeded in smashing the socialist youth movement in Spain. Fascist repression, paid by the landlords, blessed by the Church, armed by the US capitalists could not, and cannot still their struggle. Once again, youth is taking a leading role, its rightful place as the heir to a future of peace, plenty and the fulfillment of man.

We are happy to print the following letter from Spain, the first, we hope, of many. We wish our Spanish comrades courage in their struggle against dictatorship, darkness and oppression.

SPAIN: YOUTH against FRANCO

IT IS TWO YEARS since the students demonstrated against Falangist terror and Franco's military dictatorship at the University of Madrid. The Catalan uprising, in Barcelona, started just one year ago. Then there were the famous Franco's peace for two weeks. In spite of overwhelming military and police forces, the students continued the strike against the indignity of Franco's regime, maintained since 1939 only by force of arms.

The UDE (Students' Democratic Union), a secret students' organization, drew up a manifesto for the last days of 1957. Here are some excerpts from it:

"We do not wish the University to continue at a mediocre level of thought devoid of any consideration of national problems in a country which is suffering from repression throughout the academic year 1957-1958. The University should not only be a centre for scientific and humanistic studies but also a highly sensitive political catalyst—a voice giving expression to the aspirations of the nation. To make it such is our most important task during the academic year: to complete the political penetration of the University in order to transform it into a weapon in the hands of young Spaniards against the dictatorship."

The following is the program of action for University students which the UDE recommends to fellow students throughout the country:

1. Progressive democratization of University organizations and the calling of a meeting of the Free Congress of Students representing the body of students on democratic basis.
2. Strengthening and development of united action on the part of University opposition groups—Christian Socialists, Christian Democrats, Liberals, Syndicalists and Socialists—for the purpose of laying down basic aims in the struggle against the regime, furthering a knowledge of this struggle among the student body, and attracting those sections of opinion at present undecided and who may have cherished the hope—now no longer tenable—that the regime was capable of being reformed. This unity of action at the University level will be the first step towards the unification of all democratic parties throughout the country in a future National Democratic Front.
3. United action and solidarity with the people in the struggle against the dictatorship as expressed last year by means of demonstrations in force carried out peacefully and in good order; seeing that a common front of University students and the workers is the most effective means of ensuring victory over the present regime, of convincing the world at large of the justice of our demands, cultural, social, political and economic, and of ensuring the peaceful existence of all social classes within the community in the days to come.

The UDE is resuming its activities and makes known to all University students, to the academic authorities, the government, and all democratic bodies throughout the world that the principles which inspire its members in their struggle are as follows:

a. An independent and democratic national organization of students.
b. The union in the struggle against the dictatorship of all groups and sections in the University having a democratic character.
c. Fraternal solidarity with the Spanish people and with the aspirations for justice and redistribution of resources.
d. Opposition to all antidemocratic theories which fail to respect the decisions of the majority or the liberty of minorities.

c. The overthrow of the present regime, the liquidation and renunciation of the spirit of the Civil War, and a return to a peaceful national life within the framework of a normal social order, freely chosen by the Spanish people.

f. The introduction of a national program of reforms in the social-economic field which would make all Spaniards truly

one, united in common effort and common gain.

The two instalments from Michael Kidron's forthcoming pamphlet—The Fight for Socialism—which we have already published, argued that capitalism has always to fear over-production, glut and crises; that its old insurance policies against these ailments have greatly depreciated in value; and that its main alternative to slump today is arms production and preparation for war.

The Fight for Socialism - 3

How does arms production get round the problem of overproduction? After all, even the Merchants of Death spend less on wages, salaries and their personal belongings than the value of their products. Where can they find a buyer who will spend more than his income?

There is only one such client—the State. The State can print money—in 1956 the British Government printed £125 million. The State can borrow money—in 1954 it borrowed some £160 million. We are interested in the latter.

Debt and Destruction

When the State borrows money, it gives in exchange riotous of various kinds. The most important are called Consols, which bear interest of about 3 per cent per year (currently) for ever. There are also National Savings Certificates, Savings Stamps and other types. They all amount to the same thing: the State takes over the savings of the people who can afford to save, spends it and promises to repay in the form of interest. The accumulated borrowing is called the National Debt. Before the Second World War the National Debt was about £500 million. After the war it soared to £24.500 million, more than four times as much. Clearly war and the National Debt are inseparable. (Even the pre-war figure was largely the result of the first World War and the wars preceding it right from the days of the Napoleonic Wars.)
Eric Heffer presents the case for the Industrial Union

What is true of USA is, although different in context, true of the Soviet Union. All unions in the Soviet Union are official, and they are in fact organized and manipulated by the bureaucratic caste, which owns and controls Soviet industry.

That is why Soviet trade unions become the spearhead in production drives, and also in State insurance schemes, and only regulate wages and conditions, instead of formulating independent policies on these questions. This is recognized to some extent in the No. 3, 1957, issue of "Soviet Trade Unions" (as in Soviet-Skle Prosyozh, which says Soviet unions "have in many respects lost their independent character. They are staffed principally with paid personnel. Trade union officials are replete with form- and red tape which disfranchise trade union organizations from real activity, prevent them from participating in the struggle for production, and from a businesslike attitude towards the problem of competition.

Further, the role of the trade unions as a weapon in the production drives is clearly shown in an article in Pravda, (October 10, 1957), where it says (speaking of the new role of union committees) they will get the possibility of looking deeper into the question of production planning, into the problem of increasing productivity of labour, and will exert influence in the productivity of enterprises and construction sites.

Pioneers on the State

Again we can see how far this is gone from the original concept of what Industrial Unionism should be. These pioneers were being trained, with their fanatical kind, believing that the workers, acting independently through their industrial organization, could own and control industry themselves. They would be appalled to see that here had become mere appendages of the state apparatus, used against the workers instead of for them.

I would like to call any attention to the view of James Connolly, as I feel he has a most important message on the question of organization principles and the control of industry. It must be remembered that Connolly was a keen supporter of the Industrial Union, which therefore, given added point to his observation.

The real battle—control

In that brilliant little pamphlet, The Axe to the Root, and Old Windmills in a New Wave, he wrote:

"The real battle is the battle against being bought out every day for the power to control industry, and the capture of the progress of that battle is not to be found in the number of votes making a cross beneath the symbol of a political party, or in the number of workers who enrol themselves in an industrial organization with the decisive purpose of making themselves masters of the material equipment of society in general."

But further on he makes the point that without the ballot box, building the revolution is impossible and indispensable for the efficient training of the working class in the science of class struggle, since the ballot box should accompany action in the workshop.

On organization he has to say (a lesson we can all learn):

"I believe that the development of the fighting spirit is of more importance than the creation of a theoretically perfect organization; that indeed, the most theoretical organization is inadequate because of its very perfection and vastness, be of the greatest political importance without the revolutionary movement if it tends, or is used, to repress and curb the fighting spirit, the comradeship in the rank and file."

Fighting spirit and organization

My last quotation from Conolly, also deals with the vital question of the fighting spirit or perfection in organization. He says: "In my opinion we must recognize that the only solution of that problem is the choice of officers, local or national, from the standpoint of their responsiveness to the call for solidarity, and having got such officials, to retain them only so long as they can show results in the amelioration of the condition of their members and the development of their unions as a weapon of class warfare."

"If we develop on those lines, then the creation of a great Industrial Union, such as I have rudely sketched in my opening reminiscences of the formation of those much more clumsy federations and amalgamations now being formed, will be of as great importance to the working class as the revolution; if on the contrary, we allow officials of the old, narrow, sectional kind to infuse their spirit into the new organizations, and to strangle these with rules and confine them to a somnolent working class, then the Greater Unionism will but serve to lead us into the swamps of the movement."

"I do not believe in a federal or co-operative Commonwealth."

Connolly's foresight is quite relevant today as if he could foresee the Soviet Union and the CPC.

Trades union can only play a limited role. They are primarily economic organizations and therefore cannot be expected to do more than that. Therefore the Industrial Trade Unions of the future must have in addition to a watchful milit- tant rank and file, also a definite Socialist consciousness, a consciousness that will link the unions with the overall struggle for workers' power. At this point I feel a quotation from Leon Trotsky is appropriate, where he says in his pamphlet Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay: "The trade unions of our time can neither offer nor show, therefore submit all the instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can increasingly penetrating the consciousness of the United States workers, as opposed to their leaders. And lastly, the Industrial Unions would make the place of work the focal point of organization, and therefore lessen the remoteness of the leadership and the workers, which is so greatly pronounced today.

These factors, coupled with the democratization of the organization, could give us the fighting forces necessary to the workers require. Linked locally in Trades Councils and Labour Party and on the EC of the Lancashire Federation of Trades Councils—Editor.

In his first article on the subject (SR, February 1), ERIC HEFFER showed the importance of industrial unionism as a weapon in modern conditions. He pointed out that technical progress has forced many small craft unions into Federations and will push further the further amalgamation. He underlined the importance of industrial unionism as a weapon in the tradition of socialist thinking and ended by comparing the pioneers' vision with the experience of this form of industrial organization in the USA. In this concluding article he investigates industrial unionism in Russia, considers the importance of trade-union organization in the fight for Communism, argues for industrial-union lines and poses the difficulties that arise in practice.

Eric Heffer is well placed to write on this thorny issue: he is on the EC of the Liverpool Trades Council and Labour Party and on the EC of the Lancashire Federation of Trades Councils—Editor.
The tactics of the Labour leaders were the same as when the Health Service workers' pay claim was refused. All that they said was that it was wicked of the Minister of Labour to refuse to appoint Committees of Inquiry and to interfere with arbitration and such. Whereupon the Minister of Labour stands up and says that the decision is up to him; he has made up his mind, with the assistance—possibly in—of the other members of the cabinet and that was that.

In our study of the debate (which is open to correction) the Labour Member said that these workers had a case for a wage increase, let alone arguing it. That, surely, is sufficient to show that the L.P. is not a workers' party, as it should be. Yet—while present attacks upon our living standards are possible because of the weakness and timidity of present leadership—MICHAEL MILLET

"Witzer than the whitewash on the wall.
Wash me in the water,
Here wash your dirty daughter
And I shall be white.
"Then the whitewash on the wall."

Army song which has nothing at all to do with the report of the Bank Rate Tribunal.

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**Youth Summer School**

"Labour's National Youth Summer School will be held from the 5th to the 12th July at Collington Rectory, Bustleigh, near Exeter. The house is a very attractive guest house with a large recreational hall, equipped with stage, dining room, library and lounge.

"It stands in seven acres of playing fields and has a swimming pool and is only ten minutes walk from the sea."

About 70 members of Youth Sections in the London area attended a weekend school at Battersea Sports College. About 70 members of Youth Sections in the London area attended a weekend school at Battersea Sports College. About 70 members of Youth Sections in the London area attended a weekend school at Battersea Sports College. About 70 members of Youth Sections in the London area attended a weekend school at Battersea Sports College. About 70 members of Youth Sections in the London area attended a weekend school at Battersea Sports College.

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Letter: What sort of paper?

IF THE TORIES are "hammering home the need for class politics," then we need a Socialist Review that will be tolerably readable and attractive to working-class people who are now in the Labour movement, but who are not yet dedicated Socialists. Beyond certain limits, they do not need a Maida Vale Daily Mirror. Even for "egg heads" like us it is an effort to get through it. Is the Editorial Board really so complacent? If the fortnightly is to survive, a wider readership, a broader foundation is essential.

What is wanted—and quickly—is a heavyweight Marxist version of TWN but with a style that will not only attract those already involved, but increase our production costs (though the present large format is somewhat cumbersome and unattractive). Contributions can be attracted when they see what the editors are really trying to make of the paper. If Socialist Review is to have a political function, the following changes in editorial policy are essential.

1. A weekly or twice-weekly layout, especially to break up the longer features, even though this means increasing the use of space. This means taking newspaper design seriously; the old rule-of-thumb methods just won't do today.

2. More popular, topical items, such as are found in other Left-wing papers, are needed. The odd concession to this principle pleases some, but it does not mean a Marxist Daily Mirror. Briefly, it means being a bit more human, getting closer to the readers, getting beyond the political cliches, rigid ideas about class struggle and class attitudes, however defensible they may be. Socialist Review should not stop being Socialists when they talk about books or holidays or sport or music and so forth. We need a paper that shows by its interests that Socialism is a real brotherhood and way of life, not a paper confined to a narrow political compartment for round-the-clock activists. Whatever abuses involved, British CP journalism is way ahead in this respect.

3. A direct political stuff, a witty columnist, with an anecdote about politics at the last CMC or Union Branch meeting, faced with racy workshop humour, can often get the point across while political ideas are more successfully—than a frightening 'theoretically correct' analysis, lumbering across four tedious columns of close black print, and which has no style fit for a book or learned journal—not a fortnightly Socialist paper.

4. Keep the long, heavy stuff down to one or two items: they will get the attention they deserve. Even these can be made easier to try explanation in simple, concrete terms taken from workers' everyday experiences.

Then the article will live and be read. If you write about Workers' Control of Industry, and you have to say "Participation in the running of an enterprise would embrace more than merely the dignity of labour," at least remind the readers what you mean by 'dignity of labour' by specific reference to any of the countless daily incidents in factory and mine in which the 'dignity of labour' is flouted almost as a matter of course.

These, we believe, are the main problems facing the fortnightly, and the key to its future. An open discussion in the columns of the paper, followed by definite decisions about what the paper should look like and read, is urgently necessary.


Are we so out of touch as the commentors to seem to think? We are proud to state that since September last year, that is, in the space of only 6 months, without any control from the SWP or from SR: we are also proud to state that circulation has not dropped at all despite our increasing the frequency of publication by more than double. These facts certainly disprove the allegation of being out of touch. There is, of course, an explanation for the growing interest in SR. Whatever its technique, its content, there are many, we know: it provides a political service and a political appeal that militant socialists cannot fail to appreciate. What other paper in Britain presents such a clear, consistent socialist program? What other paper other than SR itself, dares to print by what it states for itself? What other paper raises so consistently the question of socialist thought and socialist practice?

Our readers are attracted to what we say, and to our content. If they find that we are insufficiently important, they will forgive a certain amount of looseness in form.

Finally, this letter that we like our technical incompetence. We are very conscious of it and are doing our best to overcome it. But if our readers are really are, very limited. Readers can help by writing, criticizing and building up the paper. The final line of the letter is to be happy to print the letter from our comrades in Harlow. We hope it will stimulate correspondence amongst, and correspondence-from comrades elsewhere. The paper is yours, Comrades. It is yours to fashion as you see fit.—Editors.