The Road to ALDERMaston and BEYOND

EVERY INCH of the way to Aldermaston is paved with protest; every pace in the fifty-mile march cries out at the havoc created by the Bomb in men's minds, in their bones and in their future generations. The anti-Tory whisper is now a statement. The statement must become a roar. The roar a mighty thundering—Ban the Bomb! Out with the Tories! Brotherhood not Blood!

There is not one of the marchers but wants an end to this mass murder; not one of the onlookers but is chilled by the paralysis which the rulers of West and East have invoked. Each and every one of us wants an end to the awful threat. Ban the Bomb! Out with the Tories! Brotherhood not Blood!

But how? Marchers to Aldermaston, can our uniform tread shake the Tory edifice of 'defence'? Can we disarm the damn deterrent? Is it enough to form a peaceful column, wind out of the Capital and say: Look! Look at this mighty demonstration?

We know the Tories. They hear not, see not, nor speak not. They house the file of marchers in their scabbard of police and turn to other business—the making of the Bomb, the building of Bases, the gouging of profits from death and mutilation.

But that business is our business. It is we who make and build. It is we they profit from and then pound to radioactive dust. It is we they despise as playthings and obedient servants. But it is also we they depend on for their armoury.

Marchers to Aldermaston, let us never forget—ours is the power to make or break the Bomb. We have dedicated ourselves to its destruction. We have shown a unanimity of will and feeling surpassing anything seen for decades. Now is the time to march on, beyond Aldermaston, into the factories and the building sites, back to our normal lives and occupations, to BLACK THE BOMB! BLACK THE BASES! to put a workers' veto to capitalism's orgies of violence as the first step to workers' control of the war machine and the destruction of capitalism.

Anti-Strachey — 1 page 7
The industrial front pages 2–3

FORTNIGHTLY for the Industrial Militant — for International Socialism

"Let the socialist in the trade union branch sort out the local bus garage and get his branch to send the busmen a message of support. Let the local trades councils invite the busmen to send representatives to give the facts and counter the lies that will be spread by press and radio should a dispute develop."

We're all in the busmen's fight! writes a garage delegate

THE MARATHON London bus wage talks have at last reached the "show-down" stage. The positively last "venue" has been explored. The last "channel" has been investigated. The appeal to "reason" has been listened to. The urge for "restraint" has been observed. The last "red herring" has been employed. The positively "final" appeal to the "impartial" arbitrators has failed. Sir John Forster has made his award—it spits in the face of the London busmen and through them—of the seven million trade unionists now prosecuting wage claims.

A class issue

The award, on which the London busmen's delegate conference must now take its decision, has been dictated by the Tory Government and is in complete accord with their declared policy. The award fully meets the requirements of the LCT and of the employing class as a whole. The award is the carrying out in practice of the views of the "Cohen Council." The fight on this pay claim now ceases—is a matter between 50,000 London busmen and their employer. It becomes a class issue upon which the future standard of living of our people will depend—and it must be fought as such by the whole Labour Movement.

The award offers 8/6d. to 36,000 central drivers and conductors—nothing whatever to 7,000 country area drivers and conductors—nothing at all to 8,000 garage maintenance staffs. On the cost of living index alone an increase of 9½% for ALL staffs is indicated since the last award. Even while the wage talks have been under way—a whole series of "economy" measures—tightening of schedules, reduction of services, "localization" of operations, reduced Sunday work (carrying pay at time-and-a-half) have combined to reduce the busmen's earnings by a sum greater than the present award. Thus, the London busmen are asked to endorse an award which, in March, 1958, will leave every man and woman involved worse off than when the pay claim was first made in February, 1957.

turn to back page

"It's real mink—wasn't it clever of him to make all that money when there wasn't a look?" —Daily Herald
**TU Commentary**

- **Black the Bomb!**
  
  Putting teeth into the campaign against the H-bomb and rocket sites was the news that Aberdeen power workers intend to stop work to join the new strike calling this week at the sites. Glasgow Council, Liverpool Trades Council and numerous ETU branches in Kent have declared solidarity with any similar action. Now from Willesden comes the news that the local area committee which have requested their (London) District Committee to contact other unions in the field of construction and transport to declare an embargo on rocket site construction. Their resolution continues.

  We believe that only the organised industrial power of the workers can stop the political power of the Labour Party can force the Tory Government to rescind its suicidal policy.

  A similar resolution calling for the Blacking of all work on rocket launching sites was passed by the East Acton branch of the AEU to be sent to their District Committee. It is also announced from Willesden Trades Council. More and more such resolutions are needed to transform verbal opposition into action.

  Let the organised might of the Trade-union Movement show the Tories that when we say NO to H-BOMBS! NO ROCKET SITES! then we really mean it.

- **Ban overtime**

  With unemployment figures rising all over the country, sections of workers are beginning to see the folly of years of overtime working, and bans on overtime are starting to become a force in factory after factory. The same is occurring in the shipyards and in the coalfields. Engineers and electricians are operating an overtime ban in the Tynes and Blyth ship-repair yards, and in the North of England 9,000 ship-repair workers are unemployed. In the coalfields, where recruiting officers are out malinger, the wage pressure is now mounting for the National Union of Mineworkers to put an end to stoppages.

  Sections of London dock-workers have also banned overtime working; over 1,000 men are unable to find work each day. From Mersyside, comes news of the ban by 40,000 building workers in order to avoid redundancies (reported elsewhere in this issue).

- **Sack Mac**

  As readers will know, the Cohen Committee Report suggested that wool would not be alarmed if unemployment was at a somewhat higher level. The Prime Minister, in a powerful reply to Mr. Chas Pannell, one of the trade union MPs, said the Cohen Committee is an independent body and the Government is not responsible for that. While the Government is not responsible for the views expressed by the Committee, some ministers at least hold similar views. I presume MacMillan is responsible for his own Minister of Labour. Macleod, who, speaking at

  Mitcham on 5th March, said: You would expect form now that the figures of unemployment are going to fall as the national trades begin to pick up. But it may be this year that the decrease in unemployment will be less marked than usual.

  Surely the only people who should really qualify for redundancy at this moment are the Cohen Committee, the Minister of Labour, and his Tory colleagues.

- **Land workers**

  The Biennial Conference of the National Union of Agricultural Workers is being held on the Isle of Wight next month, and the motions on the Agenda show that this union is just as wide-awake to the problems of the day as are other unions. There are 35 resolutions from branches calling for a 44-hour week, 38 for wage increases, 27 for payment of wages during periods of sickness. On problems not specific to agriculture, one from Fullwood branch, Holland, Lincs, etc., says:

  "That this Conference calls upon the Government to immediately abolish the policy of conscription into the armed forces and to use the money and resources thereby made available to help to raise the standard of living of mankind throughout the world."

  Last but not least, there are four resolutions demanding the ban of the H-bomb. Our country cousins are giving a lead which their town brothers would do well to follow.

- **Time to change**

  It seems likely that agreement has been reached between the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and the TUC over the plans for the public ownership of the aircraft and machinery tool industries. The change of ownership could not come quick enough for those employed in these industries. On the redundancies on the Isle of Wight, we have to add 400 more at Bristol Aircraft, 150 Boeing and 100 workers in Worcester and about 100 more at the Victoria Machine Tool Company in North Acton. These are just a few examples from a long list in all parts of the country.

  If these firms can't find jobs for the workers who helped build them prosperous, then it is high time that a change of ownership be effected.

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**Mines & News**

WORKERS OF DARFIELD MAIN COALFACE, Yorkshire, were on strike for four days in early March over a wage grievance, pending discussions they returned to work. Like workers elsewhere in all other industries, I have no doubt they received the usual hard luck story from the Mr. "Work harder—earn more," etc.

If only those workers on strike had been ex-mineworkers! They don't have to work harder to get their share; there's plenty of money in the kitty for them! Since nationalization of the mines £300,000,000 has been paid in compensation to the ex-owners.

Surely we should demand, when a Labour Government is installed, that every new nationalization scheme should be based on a basis of workers' control, with compensation payments based on a means test.

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**Correction**

Correction. Although it is true, as stated in my last trade union commentary, that a number of ETU branches in Kent had resolved to block work on rocket sites it is now reported that the RC had sent a commission of inquiry to find out what was being done. It is difficult to obtain authentic information on workers of the present strike. That might come later.

GEOFF CARLSSON

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Our Trades Councils have a glorious history of fight in defence of workers' standards. Although a lot of them are at the moment suffering from the lethargy that is only now beginning to be shed by the Labour Movement as part of our armoury and one which we shall use more and more in the future. Militant socialists want to know about them and their activities. So far, there are only a few such summaries in the press. We think it right to bring a few of these to readers with as balanced a picture of the British Trades Councils as possible. — Editor

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**BIRMINGHAM TRADES COUNCIL**

1. condemns the Tories 2. almost fights them

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Industrial action, past, present and future featured prominently at last month's meeting of the Birmingham Trades Council when a motion submitted by Birmingham AEU No. 4 Branch was debated. The motion read: "that this Trades Council is opposed to the findings of the Coventry Committee. We protest most strongly against this further attack upon the living-standards of the working-class. Furthermore, we ask the TUC to convene a meeting of all trade unions, especially those with wage-chains pending, with a view to calling for national industrial action to impress on the Government that the workers will not tolerate any lowering of their living standards."

Delegates quoted the Coventry Report as a green light for further attacks on working-class standards, criticized the lack of fight in the leadership of the Movement (Roberts, who thinks strikes are 'electrifying and dis-honourable mention') and called for support for bus- and railway-worker in their present struggles.

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An amendment deleting all reference to national industrial action was moved and seconded. It substituted for the deletion: "We ask the TUC General Council to convene an emergency conference of the TUC to find ways and means of combating the Coventry Report."

**Amendment carried**

A spirited attack on the amendment and on the faint-hearts that could not support the resolution and solidarity of the working class could not save the day and it was carried by a narrow margin of 38 to 33. Put as a substantive motion it was carried overwhelmingly.

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**Insurance contribution**

Also carried, this time non-controversially, was a resolution to include insurance contributions in the Coventry Report. "That this Trades Council vigorously protests at yet another increase in insurance contributions; condemns the Tory Government for deliberately putting up the cost of living in contradiction to its election promises; deplores the attack on the workers' standards of living which makes no provision for any call for wage restraint under the present conditions. It further requests the TUC to examine the whole method of financing the National Insurance Scheme."

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In moving the resolution, the first speaker made some telling points. He opened out: "How peculiar that the Tories can find any money for armaments, rocket sites and massive suppression in Suez or Cyprus, but yet cannot find a few million when it comes to financing the Health Scheme. But remember, they are our God: human life is a secondary consideration for them."

next page
The fight against unemployment begins

by Eric S. Heffer

TWO IMPORTANT EVENTS have recently occurred, which have begun to close the struggle against unemployment here on the Merseyside. The first is that from March 1st, a complete ban on overtime has been imposed by the Mersey Branch of the NFTIO in the Building and Civil Engineering industries, and secondly the Confederation of Ship-Building and Engineering Unions have reached an agreement with the Mersey Ship

Repair Employers on the recruitment of labour. This last measure is designed to combat the re-emergence of the evil "standsystem," a system which degrades the worker, and delights the employer, as it emphasises their power and economic control.

Both the events are, in themselves, a symptom of the growing unemployment, and emphasise that the time has arrived to attack, before we are unable to do so, because of the weakened state of the movement.

1—The Building Ban

This ban will affect 40,000 workers and will be strictly applied. Some workers would consider that the ban is overdue, but at the same time, they are aware of its effects on the output, its effect on the ability to compete at all and the hourly wage rate. On the leaflet issued by the Federation the point is made, "A worker who cannot reasonably be undertaken during the working day can be done by organisation of shift work, and will be shown for this will be supplied from the ranks of the unemployed."

On the 44th day, it says, "If we are to secure our demand, then we must end systematic overtime.

The leaflet also gives some interesting facts on Profits, Safety and the Bank Rate effects, which help to underline the points on the building industry already made a year ago in the number one.

It is understood that the larger employers are not going to agree to this demand for mass meetings to be addressed by officials on the Ban and the Federation's demands, also a meeting and march are being organized centrally for all the workers involved.

Building Ban—end

He referred to the Labour Government opening the breach by first introducing charges and reminding delegates that at the time the Birmingham TC had warned that the Tories would take full advantage of it. He felt that there must be some end to these continual increases in contributions, that surely we could find a "more enlightened way of financing Insurance." He ended by throwing out to the delegates the suggestion that a "pay as you go" system could be adopted.

Some delegates were not sure about the ban, considering that since workers are taxed too much anyway, but the motion itself found general support.

INDUSTRIAL

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

2—Ship repair 'stands'

Prior to the Second World War, during the "good old days" unemployed Ship-repair workers formed "stands" outside of the offices of the employers along the dock road. Such stands were actually recognized in the local agreement. Since 1947 such stands have officially been abolished, although recently they had begun to form again due to the growth of unemployment. Such "stands" take away completely the dignity of the worker and reduce him to the level of cattle. Foremen would look the men over, like a bull in an agricultural show, and almost feel over muscles for strength.

This system, the unions quite rightly say, must never again be revived. Firstly because of its degradation, and secondly because the "Blue-eyes" get chosen, whilst the Tandem Trade Unions test others who have stood up against the bosses are continuously overlooked. Equally the pernicious system of buying one's job in a public house must be defeated, and these are the reasons why the Mersey District of the Confederation of SEUs have gone forward to strengthen the old agreements on the engagement of labour.

All labour now must be re-recruited from the Labour Exchange. Men must not seek their employment by going to the firms or the ships and neither must the employer take lists of names to be contacted when required. The most serious weakness in the agreement, however, is the fact that the employers have been left with the right to nominate 10 per cent. of their labour force for repair jobs. A right which is being openly serious abuse. The officials are hoping that because of the numbers involved this clause will largely be a "dead letter."

Equally, as yet, the agreement has not been applied to Cannell Lairds, the large Ship-building firm at Birkenhead, who employ almost as many men as the rest of the Ship-repair firms combined. Stands have been formed of late at Lairds, one Joiner describing to me in detail its operations and stressing that Cannell Lairds cannot be made an exception, and it is understood the Cannell Laird management are unscrupulously considering the position.

One real difficulty is the problem of the "finishing trades" who work both in Shipping and Building. Many of these men, sign at Labour Exchanges which are not designated as Shipping exchanges, and therefore feel they will be at a disadvantage when work is available in shipping. These problems too are under consideration and a Min-istry of Labour officials are meeting TU representatives on the whole problem in the near future. The problems outlined above are obviously the result of the capitalist system. Employment is its product, and to resolve the questions completely, the system must be ended. That is our main job, all else must be considered as interim measures, which ease the burden, but never completely solve the problem.

Recruitment through T.U.'s

I would suggest that on the question of recruitment of labour in both Shipping and Building, all labour should be recruited through the Trade Union. A system which operates to some extent in the US Building Industry, and to which we must demand a Labour Government that this be their policy, coupled with theolde to bring both industries under public ownership. In the meantime this resists all such attacks and fights every slight increase in unemployment. The lead given on recruitment can well be followed elsewhere.

Let the TUC really begin to give leadership and not to lie behind events, as is the trend at present.

Page six and...

"In present circumstances, they (i.e. the Government) would not make extra money available for further inflationary wage increases, and their attitude in regard to those the Government directly employs is in line with what they expected from others. Mr. Heathcoat Amory, Chancellor of the Exchequer speaking at Shaldon, Devon, Times, January 18, page 6.

... page four

"The British millionaire is no longer a vanishing phenomenon. Figures issued by the Inland Revenue demonstrate that the number of people in the millionaire class—generally accepted to be an income of more than £100,000 a year—is increasing."

Times, January 18, page 4.
Apologies

We must apologize for two errors in our last issue: our editorial stated that the Glasgow plumbers have blacked works on rocket sites; we meant the Aberdeen plumbers, but hope that their Glaswegian brothers will prove that our error was no error but merely a case of faulty timing. The second occasion was when we failed to attribute a reference to the article on William Cobbett. The Editorial Board would have liked to have claimed it as its own, but readers should know it to be the work of Henry Collins.—Editor.

A battle, too, ought to be waged on the day nurseries. Tory authorities are causing these to be closed down at a time when the social climate has so altered that many mothers are now compelled to work, so that a greater need than ever exists for the nurseries.

In town and country planning matters, the emphasis is permissive rather than directional. Here, as in all else, we have a field peculiarly adaptable to socialist methods.

One final word. County Councils play a big part in civil defense. Progressive Labour Candidates will be pledging themselves to abolish this wasteful service which today is no more than a branch of internal propaganda.

VFS

Militant Socialists have a duty in defending the right of Victory For Socialism to organize around their opinions against the NRC’s bureaucratic interference. But VFS has a duty to militant socialism not to retreat and compromise. If they fail in that duty, the rank and file will suffer severe disappointment.

I am alarmed to see the anxiety with which members of the VFS Executive are rushing to dissociate themselves from official connection with the Aldermaston March. For the record, one of the bodies intimately connected with the march is the Hydrogen Bomb Campaign Committee. This Committee was set up by, you’ve guessed it—VFS! So much for the principle of not carrying out the policy of the old VFS Committee.

I see from Tom Paine in Tribune that VFS have set up a committee to consider policy in relation to Industrial Democracy consisting of full-time trade union officials. With all due respect to these officials, and if I have many friends in this category, I cannot see anything very much related to real industrial democracy coming from people who have a vested interest in keeping things pretty much as they are.

Labour lawyers branch out

I see that the socialist lawyers were asked to consider setting up a parliamentary panel and fund, “in order to redress the balance at selection conferences.” Out of 273 members, this organization claims to have 24 members in the Parliamentary Labour Party. I bet Cousins would like to have that kind of balance in their own party! This resolution originated from the Manchester Branch. It appears the taking of silk and whatever solicitors take, enables this pressure group to form branches without incurring the wrath of the NEC.

Ron Lewis

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Socialist Review

LABOUR PARTY

Commentary

Kelvingrove means ‘renounce the bomb’

Kelvingrove, another Tory seat, falls to Labour but victim more of the Rent Act than Labour’s alternative. With no official Liberal in the field, some 40 percent of the electorate didn’t even trouble to vote. An increasing number of people are now crying unstoppably, plague on both your houses.

The one thing which would save the situation is to produce a swing towards Labour, would be for the Party leadership to take a bold line on the H-bomb.

The seven-point program

They have it true, in consultation with the TUC produced a seven-point program which represents a considerable retreat from the bad old days of implacable hostility to any kind of unilateral action. But the extent to which they believe in their new program, or believe it to be a reflection of the wishes of the members, may be shown by their plans to hold a series of delegate conferences of Labour Party members throughout the country, the purpose of which is clearly not so much to launch a campaign to rouse the people, as to try and win over the Party. The last time such meetings were held was over German re-armament. In the end it was not the Leadership who converted the members, but the members and events which converted the Leaders. If the world stays in one piece long enough I am sure that we will witness a similar retreat on the H-bomb.

For their attitude on this question can no more be sustained by logic than their German re-armament views. Even the new program makes a mockery of the conception of the H-bomb as a means of defence. Either one believes in the value of the deterrent, in which case arms oneself with the most modern means of launching it, or one renounces the Bomb altogether. You cannot have the Bomb and say you will not use it first, and will not fly continuous patrols with it ready for action. And such is the essence of the official view in the Party.

In reality our leaders are not deceived about the defence value of the bomb. Their chief motive is the same as the Tories—-to keep Britain in the big-power club. The danger is that this ambition is contagious. France has already announced her intention of joining, and next, who knows? Sooner or later some crank will let one off, and the situation will be beyond control.

Events will force their hand

I am convinced that before long, the Labour Party will come under pressure to renounce the bomb. How much better it would be to do it now and ride on the crest of popular opinion rather than be dragged by it.

The behaviour of the Stalinists on this question is interesting, for they too are opposed to unilateral action. One is tempted to recall Ernest Jones’s charge against the anti-German re-armers at the 1954 Conference, that they were following the Commuist line. Any comments, Ernest?

Socialist policy for local elections

In April we shall be having a little ‘general’—the County Council Elections. The result of these will show a big swing towards Labour for we had big losses the last time they were fought (1955).

It is not easy to arouse enthusiasm for things of state, for the apparent remoteness of County Hall, with the possible exception of London, where that body is a housing authority. Yet the scope for Socialists is far wider than in Borough and Urban District matters.

For County Hall is the nearest thing we have to a regional parliament. Properly used by Socialists, the county council can have an enormous influence upon the community, as in the case of London. And even opposition, Labour members can perform a real socialist job on these authorities.

What are the issues likely to be this time? Education will as usual be first, with promises to end the eleven plus, and make the schools fully comprehensive. And since the introduction of the block grants, socialists will be making even a stronger appeal for election because of the justified fear that Tory majorities will put education out. Because the school teachers are better organized than anybody else there is a tendency to think that education is the only service likely to be affected by the block grant system. But, of course, every service will be, and Labour Groups will have to face up to the fact that local government is going to cost the ratepayers more.

I have always believed that the fear of electoral reaction to an increase in the rates was unjustified. Provided the money is spent on things which are to the evident benefit of the community, rate increases may be proceeded with without fear.

What is needed is a little more imagina
tion in local government and I give full service likely to be affected by the block grant system. But, of course, every service will be, and Labour Groups will have to face up to the fact that local government is going to cost the ratepayers more.

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tion in local government and I give full

POLICY FOR YOUTH

by Harold Freedman, Chingford YS

A FAVOURITE pastime of charitable organizations, bishops, anguished and disinterested newspaper editors is to denigrate youth. "Lazy," "apathetic," "inquiring," "ignorant," "too much to spend"—the epithets could be multiplied infinitely.

These are the opinions of people, moreover, who occupy important positions in society, the people the "posh" newspapers designate as "responsible." Their opinions matter. So they do, indeed, and this, to Socialists, should be a cause for concern.

Profit and loss

Their views are negative, and this for a very good reason. "Responsible" adults would like to coach young people in the ways of the old world, the world of capitalistic exploitation and the world of responsible government, of constitutional monarchy; they wish to "fit" youth into the limbo of the boy scouts and the girl guides' movement, into clubs run by superannuated colonels, they wish to beat on youth the blessings of the Salvation Army, the Archbishop of Canterbury's (youth is sin, sin, sin, homosexualit...). The history of political and economic struggle, all show young people in the world of the Establishment; hence, too, the battalions of research workers, heavily armed with the very American sociological jargon, engaged in the pursuit of youth.

In other words, according to the "responsible" role of youth in society is to educate themselves in the ways of the old world, to fit in with things as they are.

But this has never been the case, and is not so today: variably young people, both individually and collectively, have been on the side of progress. The history of art and of science, the history of political and economic struggle, all show young people in the ways of progress, as initiators, as revolutionizers, as people concerned not with what is, but what should be. That youth lacks the experience and knowledge accumulated in the past is true, but not tragic. In our world of continual movement, of birth and decay, of perpetual renewal, the task of youth is to absorb the best of the past in order to seek for the new light of the future.

What is today will not always be, therefore it is the duty of youth to change.

Young people should ignore the

"experience and knowledge" necessary to perpetuate things as they are and concentrate on the future.

Fathers and Sons

On this question even the Labour movement is confused. Witness the recent correspondence on the question of Youth in the Railway Review, the weekly journal of the National Union of Railwaymen. Every correspondent assumed a static world in which there are good things as well as bad. This was the world that had to go. Amongst the good, some seemed to imply, was the bureaucratic framework of the union! An attraction for youth, indeed! Another correspondent wrote, "In this world of change, affairs, in adjusting the fine balance of human relations and in maintaining a just standard of equity, matters which are not solely governed by law or logic, age must always be superior to youth."

Oh? Is the "management of affairs" so efficient? H-bomb, depression, stenotism, overcrowding, arbitration, bureaucracy—fine management indeed! Adjusting the fine balance of human relations—"we" Listen to Dr J A C Brown.

Between 1911 and 1936, the death-rate from epistolomorphic goitre in England rose by 50 percent in males and 230 percent in females —in spite of improved methods of treatment. In 1924, it was estimated that about 140,000 people in the United States died of high blood pressure, but in 1948 the figure had risen to 375,000. From the United States it is further reported that every second bed in hospitals is occupied by a mental patient; that one in every six men rejected by the army is turned down on grounds of mental disorder, that 600,000 people are in institutions for chronic alcoholics with an estimated two million heavy drinkers outside. In Scotland between 1931 and 1936 the period when unemployment was at its height, statistics show that gastric ulcer increased by 130 to 140 percent, "irritability" by 90 to 100 percent, and gastritis by 110 to 120 percent. I am not unaware of the various fallacies involved in these figures. But, whatever the figures may be accurate, the fact of the increase of stress diseases is beyond doubt. The psychological and psychosomatic disorders are diseases of stress, and their increase has occurred predominantly in Britain, the United States, and the industrial countries of Western Europe.

A delicate adjustment indeed! Statements such as those that appeared in the Railway Review assume that this is the best of all possible worlds, that our younger generation have things under control, and that society as we have it today is the conscious construction of mature minds. I cannot agree with this and therefore reiterate my point, namely, that the youth are the heirs of the future and the future implies a radical break with the past.

A socialist program

This is, I think, a positive, Socialist attitude. However, we need more than mere attitudes, we need a program around which youth may educate and organize themselves. As this is only a contribution to a discussion I shall limit myself to a few points which I think are fundamental to any Socialist youth policy. I hope that other contributors will add to it and elaborate.

(1) Reorganization of the educational system. This would include:

(a) Comprehensive school system;
(b) Free State education up to 18;
(c) Apprenticeship as part of the educational system.

This would be the first step towards the abolition of the division between mental and manual labour.

(2) Full adult status at 18. This, of course, would include the right to vote.

(3) The abolition of conscription.

(4) An independent Labour Youth movement, with the right to be in the formation of Labour's policy.

Universities poetry 1

If, in fact, as the fly leaf of this anthology maintains, Universities Poetry is an attempt to bring together in one volume a comprehensive selection of poetry being written in the Universities of Great Britain by undergraduates, then we have here an opportunity to make some observations on the prevailing ethos of undergraduate life. At such a time as the present when the universities seem to be coming out of their political isolation, when students are entering into national politics on questions like Suez and nuclear weapons, the attitudes of the more articulate students such as are represented in this collection must give us pause.

Personal isolationism which microcosmically repeats the pattern of political isolation is to be found permeating most of the poems in this collection. Many of the contributors are still

"in the shades of love and fear."

(Part Eleven of Celebration by

* Universities Poetry One, price 3/6d. Available from the EDUCA-

Tory College of North Staffs, Keele, Staffs.

Reed) where "Loneliness blooms on a wild wet wind."

(Nocturne by Naomi Wentworth.)

By themselves the lines of Wentworth and Reed give no indication of the literary merits of UPI, but they have a certain sociological importance—they are thematic and represent very well a pervading feeling of individualism gone sterile. But the poets here are terribly aware of being cut off from wider areas of social consciousness, social effort and social values; this is a change for the better which you must examine for yourselves.

Some of these apprentices are making an honest attempt to reach out for larger themes, as you will see when you read Ghose for example, or Sar- jeant and Udoffel.

The fact that we find in this collection a serious attempt by a few contributors to break with impressionism and to establish new formal relationships based upon wider, social, experi- ence is a sign of the times and one which is very welcome.

RAYMOND SOUTHELL

The 'Young Socialist' has recently received complaints that its attitude towards youth is vague and that it lacks a clear and consistent program. We do not completely agree with this. Yet we feel there is a measure of truth in this criticism. We are, therefore, inviting readers to discuss "A Policy for Youth." The first article appears below. It discusses what a Socialist attitude towards youth should be and suggests a minimum program of demands. Further articles will follow.—Editor.
YOUNG SOCIALIST

TOM MANN

Revolutionary Socialist

By Jimmy Young

TOM MANN was born at Foleshill, near Coventry, on April 15, 1856. He died at the age of eighty-five on the 13th of March, 1941, aged 85. He was a railway telegraph clerk; his mother died when he was a small boy. At the age of ten he was apprenticed to the telegraph service. In 1871, by the time he was fifteen, he had begun his apprenticeship as a railway telegraph clerk and three years later he came to London.

The country was then in the throes of an economic crisis. The end of the “epoch of prosperity” had come and ushered in mass unemployment. The workers were beginning to stir and shake the chains of wage slavery; and revolutionary socialist ideas were in the air.

In 1881 Tom Mann joined the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the forerunner of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. At about this time Henry George’s book, Progress and Poverty, made a deep impression on Tom Mann and other workers who were awakening to the realities of class society. He wanted to study further to see through the weaknesses and inadequacies of George’s proposals for the reform of the capitalist system. In fact, as Tom was blacklisted for helping to organize the unskilled workers on the job he gained a much clearer insight into the nature of the economic workings of capitalism than Henry George.

Tom Mann joined the Social Demo- cratic Federation in 1885. It was at this time that he learnt from Eleanor Marx the fundamentals of Marxism and economics which he passed on to thousands of workers during his life. But like many others, he found it difficult to make an initial breach of the doctrines of Marxism.していたのは、彼の教育の基礎であり、彼はそれを新しい世代に伝わった。

Tom Mann was a revolution- ary Socialist. Consequently, he tried to persuade the workers that final emancipation could only come with Socialism and that only they could bring it about. So from the very begin- ning of the strike Tom Mann warned the other strike leaders against listening to the advice of the astute Cardinal Manning, who had been acting as a go-between between the strike leaders and the dock directors. Then when whole families were starving, and when the dockers were really against the wall, the dock directors issued an ultimatum refusing to pay more than 5½p. per hour. At this very critical stage in the strike Tom Mann persuaded the strike committee to put out a strike Manifesto. It was to All-London dock workers in support of the dockers.

The Tory Press was infuriated. The strike committee took fright and called in the strike Manifesto. But the Australian and American workers had already begun to put their thousand pounds into the strike fund; and Cardinal Manning persuaded the dock directors to make some sacri- fice rather than run the risk of “riot and revolution.”

The dockers’ demands were met in full. And the unskilled workers had gained a share of the first lesson in the strength of working class solidarity.

Then in 1906 he helped to form the Victorian Labour Party in Australia and became editor of its paper, The Socialist. His views on the need for working class unity and participation in the day-to-day struggles are, in a typical editorial, put thus:

We are not of those who contend it is sufficient to preach Socialism to the doctrines and await results, without taking part in political agitation and directing the attention of those we convince to the political goal. And so it is necessary to be clear minded in our programs and use the measures to be submitted for the consideration of the electorate.

However, he had subsequently to point out that the Australian Labour parties and trade unions had, so to speak, captured the bourgeois Parliaments, but were unable to make them carry out that they made no effort to ad- vance towards working class power.

In 1908 Tom Mann participated in the bloody Australian Prime Minister’s election. He discovered the real source of the working class power by— at the point of production. He then and later vigorously and propagated and encouraged the idea of the workers resorting to economic action to overthrow capitalism.

In 1912 he was arrested for his “Trotskyite” views in the “Trotsky’s Speech”. He got six months in jail. But the strikes of 1912 into a continuing channel for the realization of the Socialist Com- monwealth.

It is not a period in his life.

In 1923 he identified himself with the revolutionary section of the British Socialist Party. In 1927 he joined the Communist Party. Four years later he became the President of the National Minority Movement. In 1930 he was elected to the House of Commons. His efforts because of his agitation for the unemployed.

In 1939, at the age of 84, this great revo- lutionary Socialist he fell into the mire of Stalinism, but the real, the genuine Tom Mann belongs to us.

THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY has come in for quite a lot of criticism recently, so it is a pleasure to be able to report to our confreres in the magic of common ownership and socialization the spirit of their party. The leave is always refused of course — what have the Conserv- atives given a majority for? But each motion provides a good opportunity to remind the Government and the public of the misery that the Tories will unleash on the country in October.

This has been happening nearly every week for at least two months and the Government is fast coming round to the view that it is not really very funny. Mr. Orbach of Wythenshawe, East, in moving one such motion said that he had himself received a notice of eviction and the Minister had repeatedly stated that he did not believe that an eviction would be available from October as the Government had no plans. In accordance with the Minister’s ad- vocation of the freeholder’s right to freehold, the owners and agents all over London. He sent out 24 letters to a group of tenants for a meeting to sign replies: the first from a Tory, the second a Conservative. On the Rent Act, and sent him the keys of a flat which was not usable; the second from a Tory, the third a Conservative. On the Rent Act, and sent him the keys of a flat which was not usable; the third from a Tory, the third a Conservative. On the Rent Act, and sent him the keys of a flat which was not usable; the third from a Tory, the third a Conservative. On the Rent Act, and sent him the keys of a flat which was not usable. The minister advised him that his waiting list for flats was now so extensive that no useful purpose would be served by adding further names. He quoted a case which is prob- ably not as well known.

A Hampshire property was being sold in 1954, and a sitting tenant was paying £190 and £20 for repairs. The landlord took the three flats. To the other two tenants, as new lessees, he offered leases at £50 each a year, exclusive of rates and repairs. (Opposition cries of ‘shame!’)

The Minister’s advice was negoti- ated, and yet:

They have to be two or more parties to a negotiation, and when the landlord would not negotiate, what did the tenant do? The Minister meant that negoti- ation should mean the accept- ance of the landlord’s will.

Mr. Rippon (Norwich, South) was the only Government mem- ber to reply. (They probably draw short straws for the unen- able task.) His only real argu- ment was, ‘that there was likely to be a surplus of houses for sale.’

Although this is possibly true, the only reason for it is that few people are building houses. After all, the cheapest houses start at about £2,000 and money is now at 7 per cent, which works out to pay- ments of at least five pounds per week, and in building the cheaper estates some speculators are try- ing to extend the suburbs of Lon- don halfway to the Midlands, to Leighton Buzzard for example.

A FORTNIGHT AGO, the basic division in what Fleet Street in- terpreted as ‘Angry Young Men’ became obvious to even the most thick-headed pub- licist. The division was said to fol- lowed the performance of an anec- dotal play by one of the ‘what- abouters’ in the Daily Telegraph. The statement attributed to Colin Wilson, that ‘We’ll stamp out you and your gang, Logue!’ may be a portent for the future. If we get much more un- employment, it won’t only be Left-wing intellectuals who will have to hear such threats.

ANTI-STRACHYE— from page 7

of trust and co-operation could have effects beyond imagination. But Strachye sees none of this: management is sacrosanct.

All this can be summed up in a sentence: Strachye, in his revolutionary and in his reformist capacities, is involved within the framework of accepting the division of society into a class of producers and a class of consumers. In doing this he is giving expression to the credo of a bureaucracy which would like to be included more fully into the State and believes that it could do the job better than the private capitalist can.

The most fully developed example of such a bureaucracy is the ruling working group which has most com- pletely propagated the ideological position which Strachye shares: it too criticizes capitalism only in terms of “idle rich”, slumps and pas- sive revolution. It does not attack the economic aspects of production, for it practises a similar division in its own factories. The propaganda of a picture of socialism in its own image is the most pernicious of the many anti-working class acts of the Russian government and its satellite communist parties in every country and must be held largely responsible for the low ebb of revolutionary socialism after the second world war.
John Strachey's 'Contemporary Capitalism' has become the bible of right-wing Labour. In this first article of a series devoted to analyzing Strachey's ideas, SEYMOUR PAPERT deals with:

STRACHEY, SLUMP AND CLASS

Mr. Strachey has two sides which warrant attention. The one is his ability to analyze the variations in the labour market. The other is the evolution of his concept of socialism. In his first aspect he needs to be refuted because, in many ways, he is a specially clever individual, and we shall do so in subsequent articles; in his second aspect the specimen which is important just because there is nothing special about him. His development is typical of many thousands who have retreated from militant socialism to reformism or abstinence.

But it is not a healthy organism which dies so young. In this article we shall examine the corpse of Strachey's 'socialism' to show that right from the start it was diseased, malignant and rotten. Our main concern is not Strachey but the diagnosis of the disease and the identification of the sources of infection.

We shall examine two books by Strachey: The Nature of Capitalist Crisis (1935) and Contemporary Capitalism (1956). Capitalist Crisis is written as a text-book of "marxist" economics. Contemporary Capitalism is rided with fatuous attacks on Marx, many of which could be answered directly by quotations from the earlier work. Capitalist Crisis contains statements such as: "Equipped with this knowledge (i.e. of Marxian men) will comprehend the necessity of revolution. [...] Capitalist Crisis emphasizes rationalization of reformism. Nevertheless we shall show that the position of the new Strachey follows logically from that of the old. State capitalism is that form of revolution in form which can be ever so conservative in content.

The critique of capitalism

The heart of the socialist doctrine is the critique of capitalism. To find out what kind of socialism inspired Strachey in 1935 we start off by looking at his critique of capitalism. He writes (p. 19):

...whether the occurrence of crises (i.e. slumps SP) is accidental or inherent in the capitalist system... This is the matter question. For upon it must necessarily depend our attitude to the existing society. If we come to the conclusion that catastrophic crises are accidental to capitalism we can set about work for their gradual elimination by appropriate reforms. For who would be so mad as to recommend the scrapping of the system itself if the catastrophies from which it is beseeng us were remediable?

Observe what he does. He seizes on a particular feature of capitalism, erects it into a permanent and necessary feature and finally makes it the very criterion for judging and condemning capitalism. The miserable life of the worker even under boom conditions, the dehumanization of work, the debasement of all values to the money motive... all these are now nothing. If we can only prevent slumps we should not be in any urgency about scrapping capitalism. The extent to which he makes everything centre around the one partial aspect of capitalism comes out vividly in his remarks on fascism:

We are told that the fascists are the agents of a separate class... to set up a workable economic system which would end the constant threat of crisis... then there would be a great deal to be said for the fascists.

What he says about fascism is not of any importance in itself but it casts an interesting light on his critical analysis of the capitalist system. The last elements of workers' control had been wiped out, one man management installed in the factories, millions of peasants had died, the trials had begun... but Strachey has one criterion for judgement: no slumps in Russia. Surely the Russian workers would be mad to recommend a revolutionary overthrow of their regime.

How important is the slump?

True to his guns, he assumes that the workers, too, see only one evil in capitalism—that it throws them into ever increasing crises. "Indeed if it were possible to reform capitalism so that it would maintain human civilization even at the level of the last fifty years (! !)! capitalism would probably survive indefinitely" (p. 18)

A statement full of contempt for the working class that could hardly be imagined: they are beasts who might be driven to stampede by ever increasing torrents but will remain docile indefinitely if their stomachs are kept even half full! In the light of this it is not at all surprising that Strachey given up any idea of throwing capitalism as soon as he finds himself in a situation where no deep slumps are apparent.

"Perhaps," an intellectual is not important: what matters is that hundreds of thousands of militants absorbed this idea—from Strachey and others—that the essential feature of socialism is a stable, slump free economy (i.e. capitalism). It is the survival of the inevitable, absolute pauperization of the workers. The devastating effects of this are still a dominant feature of the labour scene. When these militants came into a period which was not dominated by pauperizing slumps they were left with the conclusion that socialism had nothing to offer them and was irrelevant to their problems.

And, equally important, they had no theoretical arms with which to analyze the varied processes of capital accumulation, in terms of what they had been taught Russia is socialist and British nationalism a false-taste of socialism. No wonder, again, that they turned away from "socialism" as an experience; that what rationalization was and time brought a fuller picture of Russia.

Class division—the fundamental issue

But if workers turned away from "socialism" they did not turn away from struggle. Not only have the post-war strikes been numerous; in many ways their content shows a new maturity. It is significant that Strachey can write a whole long book on capitalist without the slightest attempt to analyze these strikes, or even to discuss the problems of industrial relations which have become more and more worrying to the industrial economists. The point is that these lie outside his horizon. He knows how to criticize capitalism in only one way: whether it pauperizes the workers or raises their standard of living. The fact that the class struggle can continue despite lower wage and poverty levels than were considered possible before has no place in his philosophy.

To us, however, and to a whole tradition of socialism, these things are comprehensible and a constant confirmation of the real importance of Marx—the class division. This appropriation of capitalism is that it divides society into those who produce and those who have control over the means of production. From this division comes the host of particular features which we criticise in capitalism—the dehumanization of relations, the irrationalities of production (of which the possibility of slumps is only one)—and from it comes the chronic state of conflict which exists between them. Our picture of socialism is determined by this. A socialist society is one in which this division has been abolished and with it the whole material and ideological apparatus which emphasises to the workers the capitulationary nature of the state, the domination of the police, the hierarchy of foremen, managers, etc., in the factories, social prejudices, the possession mania, etc. etc.

Workers' control of production

We cannot discuss here how every aspect of life would be rapidly transformed in such a society—we shall confine ourselves to only two of these in order to show up the nature of Strachey's ideas.

In Contemporary Capitalism Strachey makes it clear that he believes the hierarchy in the factory to be necessary. In fact he writes (p. 19):

"For it must be agreed that the leaders of the economy, the skilled technicians and the high executives (as contrasted with the functionless shareholdets) must, at our stage of human development, exercise a very considerably higher level of skill and ability than the average worker.

Against this we say that daily experience of workers' organization under capitalism and, especially, the few but brilliant examples we have seen of actual workers' control of the factories are at variance with the indications of a system in Russia in 1917 and Germany in 1919, Hungary in 1956 all teach us that workers are perfectly capable of organizing production without any high executives at all, let alone highly paid ones.

Smashing the chains around production

The second aspect is the prospect for increased production in a re-organized society. We have already seen that he doesn't grudge high executives their excellent salaries; and for good reason because he thinks that they organize production in the best of all possible ways. He is prepared to criticise the finance and the marketing side of capitalism, but not a word is said against the managerial side. The only prospect he see of increasing the welfare of the workers (apart of course, from preventing slumps so as to stop it from falling) is the appropriation of the surplus value. This appropriation could be used, he says, to increase investment and so, eventually, consumption but he warns that although it "would not indeed double the rate of investment ... it would ... make a useful difference" (p. 192).

As opposed to Strachey's "useful difference" we see quite other possibilities of increasing production and making it more human a large part of which is increase workers' control over the factories. On the most obvious level it is obvious that many methods of production could be used which are now impossible either because they don't suit the capitalist or because workers will not accept them on account of the very real danger that they may lead to redundancy or to the undermining of hard-won price- and time-agreements. One of the proper levels of control is the introduction of a system which reduces the bulk of work to uncreative routine; the freeing of the creative abilities of the whole factory in an atmosphere (contd. on page six).
The Busmen’s fight ctd.

Exclusion of the so-called "country" staffs from the award is a typical tactic in industrial disputes — but in the central area is more "irk-some." This tender regard of the entire province can only be explained by the driver piloting his red jugh- nernaut along Oxford Street is true. I am sure that the city drivers believe — if we didn’t know that it was a hypocritical lie to conceal their real aim. They can’t be too precise.

The county service staffs have been excluded from the award solely for the reason that 177,000 monetary claims by the busmen, whose wage claim is pending, have traditionally fought for parity with the London Transport. The differential character of the award is thus designed to decimate the provincial busmen, even before their claim is tabled. The provincial busmen want to march in step with the county busmen. For it’s all right, very well. Give the L.T.E. county men nothing—and thus decide the fate of the county staffs. The L.T.E. men even reach the negotiating table.

One has only to understand that the British Transport Commission is the biggest provincial bus operator to appreciate the real motive for exclusion: the L.T.E. staffs are the source from which such a policy springs. The Tory Government instructs the B.T.C. Transport Committee to instruct the L.T.E. to avoid any arbitration, the British Transport Commission instructs the L.T.E. to arbitrate, the L.T.E. refers the case to the Court of Session. The Tory Government instructs the Industry to refer the case to the country men—and the provincials have "had it" before they even get cracking. Nice work—if you can get away with it.

Cut-price Judas?

So much depends on the London busmen’s decision on this award—and particularly on the conduct of the general meeting of Judds. Judds was offered thirty pieces of silver as the price of betrayal. The central London bus driver and conductor is being asked to act the role of Judas at cut-price. He is asked to betray his immediate colleagues operating in the wilds of Watford, Leith and Leatherhead, in the process, to help defeat the provincial busmen and slow down the pace of the wage movement.

The London busmen never has—and never will—play such a role. They will, I am confident, reject this award and demand plenary union conference to take action. Such decision rests in the hands of the General Executive Council of the & G & Ow,—and whether they accept the offer of the Tory Government and the British Transport Commission—will be made not alone by the 50,000 London busmen by but the attitude of the rest of this million and the whole Labour Movement.

T & G plus NUR — victory

One of the most encouraging features of the last few years past is the development of closer relations between the busmen and the underground railwaymen in the course of their joint wage negotiations. The Central Bus Committee (T & G & Ow.) and the London District Council (NUR) have each expressed full support for the other. Quite openly, each has expressed the view that neither should continue working if the other becomes involved in disputes. This is a sound position, and it is one which the Labour Movement should adopt.

It is high time the local organization of the London Transport began to take a hand in this bus fight. London Transport is not just a matter for argument between 50,000 busmen and the big-heads of the L.T.E. More than ten million Londoners (and nearly all who depend upon public transport services for their only means of transport. With the concurrence of the Tory Government this great public service, once the envy of the world, is being stripped to the bone in the interests of bondholders and tax collectors.

More than 1,000 busses have disappeared from the streets in the past three years. Fares have reached impossible levels. The Tory Government has become so bad that the ironical question can be asked: "Have we time to ride or shall we walk?"

London Transport is seen—not as a vital public service—but as a huge million-dollar delegate conference. Every year £6,000,000 is taken by bondholders as their "interest" rake-off. A further £10,000,000 Government coffers on diesel-oil tax alone. The "state-owned" vehicles pay the Government a "rental" in vehicle tax and license fees for the privilege of running on the road. The busmen have become so bad that the "iron" can be asked, with horror from the prospect of spending £4,000,000, to meet the bondholders claim to the "interest" and thus hands out a cool £11 million in this way.

Truly, London Transport is tiring. London for a ride—in more senses than one—and it is time the Londoners began answering back. Each and every man, woman and child in the L.T.E. area makes 300 journeys a year on London's buses. You are the cash customers — and that gives you the right—and the duty—to take a hand.

What to do

Let the delegate on the local trades council and labour party—the shop steward—the woman in the two-apartment flat meeting the busman on the tube—the man in the bus queue—join in the argument. Let the social democrat on the Labour bench sort out the local bus garage and get his branch to send the busmen down to the Labour Movement. Let the local trades councils invite the busmen to send representatives to give the facts and counter the lies that will be spread by press and radio should a dispute develop. The London busmen are alone as a group—backed by the millions of trade unionists who jealously guard their work—they are an invincible army.

I have always supported the Irish struggle for independence. I agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Lavin’s article on your columns on this matter (SR, December, 1957).

Yours sincerely,

J. C. MacLean standing in the dock in Airdrie Sherriff Court, charged under the Emergency Powers Act for speeches made to locked miners. He was accused of both his arms straight out in front, one above the other. He said that the top hand represented the ruling class, and the bottom hand the working class. He proudly revealed them, bringing the top one on top, and said: "revolution means..."

That is the John MacLean I wrote about.

Yours privately,

Barry McShane,
Glasgow.

SOCIALIST REVIEW is published twice a month by the Socialist Review Co., Ltd., 339 Priory Terrace, London, N.1. Postage paid in the U.S.A. Subscriptions, from this address, post free, to every 12 months: 4s. Opinions and policies expressed in signed articles by correspondents do not necessarily represent the views of Socialist Review which is given in the columns of this paper. Communications should be sent to: Island Hall, 39 Holborn Viaduct, London, N.1. (Tel.: CUNileamington 9416). Printed by H. Palmer (Harlow) Ltd. (TU), Potter Street, Harlow, Essex.

We have recently noticed an increasing tendency to use political language which can only obscure the support of the more serious-minded socialists. The writer, Marquis, supports the cause of anti-capitalism, but may tend to use political language which can only obscure the support of the more serious-minded socialists. The writer, Marquis, supports the cause of anti-capitalism, and has had to use political language which can only obscure the support of the more serious-minded socialists.

A.J. Bowett
John Sharpe

Again — Maclean

... and us

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There are ominous signs of economic storms ahead, and if we are in a position to assist our political friends, we shall do so.

A. J. Bowett

What we stand for

The Socialist Review stands for International Socialism. One of the mass mobilization of the working class in the industrial and political struggle against the overthrow of capitalism and the capitalist state.

The Socialist Review believes that the working class in Britain must be brought to power to carry out the following programme:

- The complete nationalisation of heavy industry, the banks, insurance and the land with an end to the burden of interest on the masses.

- The nationalisation of all denationalised industries without compensation. The nationalised industries to form an integral part of an overall economic plan, not to be used in the interests of private profit.

- Workers’ control in all large companies. The majority of workers’ representatives on all national and area boards of directors. The right of workers to select, immediate recall and receive the average skilled wage ruling in the industry.

- The resignation of Labour representatives on the boards of all private firms employing more than 50 men. These representatives to have free access to all documents.

- The establishment of a national government committee on control hiring, firing and working conditions.

- The establishment of a national body of work or full maintenance.

- The extension of the social services by the payment of adequate pensions, linked to a realistic cost-of-living index, the abolition of all payments made to the National Security and the social services of an industrial health service.

- The expansion of the hire purchase programme, offering interest free loans to local authorities and the right to refusal privately and publicly in their country of origin. Freedom of migration for all workers wishing to leave their country of origin. Freedom of migration for all workers wishing to leave their country of origin.

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

- The nationalisation of an independent British industry and the abolition of all conscription and the withdrawal of all British troops from overseas and the built-in disarmament of weapons of mass destruction.

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