FORTNIGHTLY
for the
Industrial Militant —
for
International
Socialism

BEFORE OR AFTER THE ELECTION

LIFE IS BITTER WITH THE TORIES

Life is bitter with the Conservatives. They have already given us bitter rents, bitter pensions, bitter victimization of shop-stewards and militant workers. If they are returned on the 8th we can expect them to proceed rapidly to unfinished business. "Some time in the next five years," warns the Economist, spokesman of Big Business, "the trade union leaders are . . . likely to face the full impact of a problem which last year's bus strike projected as a pale shadow."

A third period in office will give them the confidence to hit harder, more openly, more directly at the source of all their problems—the factory floor, the building site and all the other concentrations of workers. It will harden them in their fight against the stewards and militants who form the spine of the organized working class and provide its leadership. It will crystallize their dreams of anti-labour legislation on the American pattern into Acts. It will multiply the disgusting spectacle of get-rich-quick take-over bidders ruling the country.

A Tory victory would mean more. The colonial people have reason to fear even more vicious attacks than Suez, Nyasaland and Hola. The Tories mean Central African Federation—a mortgaging of the Rhodesian and Nyasa peoples to white dictatorship, an extension northwards of the inhuman racist bloody-handedness practised in South Africa, a guarantee of bitter civil war for years, if not decades. Tory rule in Britain means, quite literally, death in Central Africa.

And more. The Tories in power means control of the H-Bomb by a party that hasn't even begun to discuss the supreme issue of our time, hasn't even begun to doubt that a solution to the problem of peace can be found in collective annihilation.

Then there is the effect of a Tory victory on the internal life of the labour movement and the future of socialism in Britain. What can we expect in this regard?

There are many exponents of 'the-worse-it-gets-the-better' school who expect a Tory victory to trigger off the process of criticism and reformulation of policy we need badly in the party and who believe the fragmented socialist movement will grow together under the impact of defeat.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Capitalism's present prosperity puts a premium on a non-political labour movement, on a movement whose energies are devoted primarily to the industrial struggle. In this atmosphere the Labour Party's empire tends to shrink, and has been doing so. Every defeat will lose off yet another section of the movement; you don't want to know, militant workers can't be bothered, intellectuals aren't stimulated. And as these sections drop the Party machine becomes a professional's tool and the labour movement is left increasingly without a central axis. Fragmentation flourishes: a strike here, a rent demonstration there, this Labour Council takes a line on the Bomb, that trades council initiates a movement against youth employment. And in this chaos, socialist groups of every kind and creed flourish in isolation, each intensely loyal to its fragment, but each adding to the Movement's fragmentation.

Labour's defeat can breed only despair in its ranks, greater apathy amongst its supporters. It could lead to mass desertions from rank-and-file activity and even from membership, and could face the weakened socialist movement with the stupendous task of building afresh in extremely unfavourable circumstances.

Criticize we must, and mercilessly, but Labour must win. Every socialist must see it is his imperative duty to help break the Tories' hold and put Labour back in.
LABOUR COUNCILS AND THE CLOSED SHOP

by P. Mansell

ALL MILITANT trade unionists must support the principle of the closed shop. It is not necessary for them out of the arguments in favour of fighting for it or to expose the fallacy of the argument that it is undemocratic for the workers to force out of employ- ment individuals who refuse, for whatever reason, to accept union membership.

But the issue is not quite so simple when the closed shop is imposed by, for example, a Labour-controlled local council on some section of its employees, against the wishes of the majority of those employees. Readers will remember the case a few years ago when Durham County Councill tried to insist on the closed shop for the teachers in its employment. Earlier this year the St. Pancras Borough Council in London (then under Labour con-

CAPACITY

According to the National Institute Economic and Social Research, in the autumn of 1958 there was nearly 10 per cent idle time in the chemical industry. 12.5 per cent in paper, 20 per cent in rubber, and 6.6 per cent in tins (where "capacity is still growing fast"), and so on. And as they point out: "At the end of 1958, raw materials were purchased each with a heavy investment programme, were in serious difficulties, coal mining, zee and the railways." (National Institute Economic Review, January, 1959).

The Labour government let alone the production of £1,000,000 million extra goods could be produced over the next two years. (Ibid, March, 1959.)

HOURS AND THEIRS

YOUR HOLIDAYS COMPARED

It is a mistake to imagine that British workers are better off in respect of hours of work than European workers simply because the normal working hours of the Continent are still slightly longer than it is here. Holidays with pay must also be taken into account before a fair comparison can be made. In Britain two weeks' paid holidays plus six paid public holidays is equivalent to approximately 140 hours of paid holidays and if we work out the total number of hours worked during a whole year and divide by 52, we can calculate that a British worker is employed for 52 weeks of 413 hours each. But in many European countries the number of paid public holidays is much greater than in Britain, while paid holiday periods are longer. Thus in Belgium there are 10 paid public holidays, in West Germany 10-13, in Norway it, in Sweden 12 (though four fall on Saturdays), while in Italy there is no fewer than 21.

Sweden's establishment holiday with pay and in West Germany 15 days appears to be the average. Making the same calculation as above we get the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Normal Hours</th>
<th>Paid Leave</th>
<th>Work Week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Germany</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden (1960)</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus Sweden and West Germany are already beyond the 40 hour week. Holidays are taken into account as well as the length of the normal working week.


INDUSTRIAL

WHAT WE
STAND FOR

The SOCIALIST REVIEW stands for international socialist democracy. Only the mass mobilisation of the working class in the industrial and political arena can lead to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism.

The socialist argument is that a really consistent Labour Government must be brought to power as a basis for the following programme:

- The complete nationalisation of heavy industry, the banks, insurance and the land with compensation payments based on fair valuation. The nationalisation of all demoralised industries without compensation.
- The re-nationalisation of the railways to form an integral part of an overall economic plan and not to be used in the interests of private profit.
- Workers' control in all nationalised industries i.e., a majority of workers' representatives on all national and area boards, subject to frequent elections, immediate recall and receiving the average skilled wage rate in the industry.
- The establishment of workers' committees to control all private enterprises within the framework of a plan for the efficient production economy. In all instances representatives must be subject to frequent elections, immediate recall and receive the average skilled wage rate in the industry.
- The extension of the social services by the payment of adequate pensions, the abolition of all payments for the National Health Service and the development of an industrial health service.
- The expansion of the housing programme by granting interest-free loans to local authorities and the right to requisition privately held land.
- Free State education up to 18. Abolition of fee paying schools, comprehensive schools and all maintenance grants — a means test — for all university students.
- Opposition to all forms of racial discrimination. Equal rights and total protection to all workers wherever their country of origin. Freedom of migration for all workers to and from all countries.
- 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 complete freedom of speech and the withdrawal of all British troops from overseas areas.

The abolition of the H-bomb and all weapons of mass destruction. Britain to pave the way with unilateral renunciation of the H-bomb.

A Socialist foreign policy subservient neither to Washington nor Moscow.

SHOCK STRATEGY

A MYSTERY SOLVED

This year's printing strike is a matter of strike machinery sometimes comes up with a lesson worth learning. So it is this time. A correspondent wrote the editor of the Daily Telegraph asking how on earth the national dailies could continue appearing day after day after they had announced that ink supplies were giving out. Assistant managing editor, D.W. McLachlan replied in these terms:

The national dailies are able to go on appearing in limited size because ink is being imported from abroad. It was agreed with the union leaders that this solution of a temporary difficulty would be acceptable, and the arrangement should be given no publicity. Then mischief-making elements tried to interfere with the handling of the ink.

This brings us to the heart of that paragraph again: "it was agreed with the union leaders ... in case of mischief-making elements. Get it? The union leaders' come to terms with the bosses to allow them to continue publishing anti-union, anti-strike papers and keep the glorious news from their own members who might object and might take things into own hands."

It's a wonder Briginshaw hasn't been offered the Chairmanship of Times, Pears & Sons Ltd or whatever it is.

D.B.
NATIONALIZATION or Public Ownership of the building and civil engineering industries will not in themselves be a panacea for the ills to which they are heir. Much more will have to be done if the needs of the public and the personnel employed are to be met.

There is no royal road to the transfer of industry from private enterprise to the State or some public authority. The first essential is the application of a common sense approach to the problem.

Why do we want a change of ownership? The brief answer is: to end the chaos which exists in the present set up and to introduce a more efficient and economic system of construction.

From the point of view of the nation, but not the contractors, the present cut-throat competition, the absence of planning, is neither good for the public nor those employed in the industry.

This anti-social aspect of the industry has been recognised and so bad are its effects that the government has devised ways and means of mitigating some of the evils by the setting up of a system which function almost in secrecy. Such a method can hardly be said to be conducive to the public good.

Tempted

Further, there is ample evidence available to show that public ownership and control can provide the finished product cheaper and quicker than private contractors whose main concern is the making of a substantial profit.

We are tempted to ask the question. What is nationalization? There are many in these days who use it synonymously with socialization, but that is a debasement of the true meaning of socialism.

The State, it must be borne in mind, is not the nation and rarely does it act in the interests of the nation; except when those interests coincide with those of the class which it represents.

It can well be designated as a Executive Committee acting for and on behalf of the economically dominant class in the country.

This applies even though the label attached may bear the words 'Labour Government'.

Right direction

The danger is therefore always present that the State, acting through its agents, such as the Board of Building, will see that the industry is run in the interest of the class it represents. When this occurs, the change is no more than the transference of the ownership of the means of production; thus leaving the social relationship of the worker unchanged.

Though this is not socialism, it is a step in the right direction, but only a step in the process of the recognition of the contradictions inherent in the system of private capitalism.

As long as capitalism is not new, nor is it a post-war feature of capitalist development. In some capitalist countries it has been established for many decades as a bulwark to a tottering system. When discussing this problem as an economist we are tempted to ask: What is to be nationalized; men or materials?

The industry is large. Though small, it is the largest/' industrial employer in the country, employing directly over 400,000 and a million persons. This includes Civil Engineering.

Grip of the Banks

In combination these two industries provide indirectly employment for roughly three million persons. The gross annual product is over £2,000 million. In the industry there are over 100,000 registered contractors in competition with each other and many of these, owing to their size do not possess fixed capital of any appreciable value. In fact, they have little capital at their disposal.

This lack of capital restrains them from providing the necessary trained by its per- sonnel. They provide the facilities for research and experiment.

Moreover, these firms are in the grip of the banks and the finance houses whose only interest in building is the size of the returns on capital invested.

In consequence of this state of affairs the labour turnover is so great it cannot be estimated.

Doing well

For many of the small and medium sized firms mechanical equipment is not available owing to the enormous capital outlay needed for its installation.

When and where it is an im- portant the building is hired from some Plant Hiring Company on a daily or weekly basis.

They are, although technically outside the building industry derive their sustenance from with- in. This is a factor that must not be lost sight of when devising schemes for taking over the con- trol and ownership of the building industry.

An examination of the structure of the industry will reveal that the smaller size of the firms and 'one man' firms are little removed from those which pre- vailed in the generations long since gone.

The only firms able to take advantage of scientific and tech- nical advancement are those high up in the hierarchy of the in- dustry.

They not only exploit their ability to obtain loan or other capital but take full advantage of the State; State aided schemes and institutions devoted to experimen- tation and scientific research.

The economic activities they derive financial benefits which are channelized in the coffers of the banks and not, as is to be done, passed on to the community which bore the brunt of the expense.

Therefore, the inefficiency so characteristic of the industry it has succeeded in ensuring hand- some profits for the industry and as reported in the annual reports of some of the larger ones, exorbitant wage increases. Ineffi- ciency pays a dividend.

Indirectly, the Government on occasion has stepped in and assis- ted the contractors when faced with the problem of insufficient capital by providing the plant and equipment needed to carry out the constructional work on hand.

If the private contractor was left to his own resources, the equipment could not be found and the job would not be done. In all these cases the contractors have done extremely well out of State aid.

Democracy

The present system of society encourages this sort of thing and private enterprise, reaps full advantage of social aid and while at the same time safeguarded against any loss financially or otherwise.

The State building a Guarantee for the private entrepreneur.

Such a system is not in keeping with present day needs and there is a valid reason for nationalizing the industry outside social control.

It is clear from what has already been said that the conven- tional approach to nationalization cannot be successfully applied to the building industry, but it is equally clear that some new form of control and ownership must replace the present jungle-like conditions.

The new organization, which ever form it may take, or what- ever the name for it is, shall have to conform to certain basic principles from which there can be no departure.

Large scale organization would replace the multitude of small units so familiar to everyone con- nected with the industry.

Industrial democracy in the widest possible terms would be a condition; thereby relating to those who actually participate in the technical and productive process and in its administration.

There must also be a means whereby the organization can be linked and geared to a national economic planning commission.

In addition, every care must be taken to avoid over-centralization which invariably leads to bureau- cracy and eventual inefficiency. As a safeguard against this tendency the administration must be made to many determined places respon- sible on the spot, subject to the observance of the Regional or National policy of the controlling Commission. There is also the industrial reason for referring day to day problems to the bureaucrats en- tractors and will be responsible to City offices, who more often than not pigeon-hole them.

Every conceivable step must also be taken to encourage the active participation of the per- sonnel engaged in the day to day work.

The plan

They must be elevated from the status of cogs in the productive machine to participants in the Managerial functions; possessing the same social rights and sharing the rewards arising from their activities.

There must be co-operation and co-ordination with other groups, such as the unions con- cerned and connected to this field of work. This principle must operate at all levels in the organ- ization structure. Is this any industrial operation? How should we proceed to nationalize? There is no royal road but the advocates have presented many ideas on how it should be done, but no scheme has been put forward to enable the Labour Party or the Trade Unions outside of the NBTO.

The scheme put forward by the NBTO is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and adaptable to the needs of the industry.

With other ideas it proposes as an initial step that all firms em- ploying twenty or more men be taken over by the State; or alter- natively, that firms with a turnover of not less than £10,000.

The plan offers two alternatives; (a) The establishment of a Ministry of Building to replace the Ministry of Works which is mainly concerned with the main- tenance and repair of government property. (b) The setting up of a National Building Corpora- tion, which would hold under whose direction, firms which come under its control, continue to function as now on the employer employee basis, or client-contractor relationship.

Area

It is also suggested that a Banking Finance Corporation be set up for the financial side of the business.

The base of the new structure will be the Local Building Organiza- tion. The area covered by the Organization could be that area covered by the Local Authority.

In practice it would fill the role now played by the private con- tractors, and will be responsible for the execution of all work assigned to it whether it be from the Local Authority or private individuals. At all times it will...
YOUTH

The following points chosen by a number of young people active in the L P and TU's begins the discussion on A CHARTER FOR YOUTH

CLARITY without activity is valueless. Activity without clarity can be dangerous. Too often in recent years the youth of the British Labour Movement have fallen into one or the other of these traps.

Labour Youth sections throughout the country have painstakenly tried to solve the problems of youth and done nothing to apply them. The national conferences of the old Labour League of Youth published its demands for youth and these were left to moulder in the files. Has the Young Workers Meeting called by Keep Left earlier this year produced anything concrete?

On the other hand, Youth have often demonstrated, gone on hunger and been heard of no more. A shocking example of this was the May Day march of 1,000 young people through London this year. Has anything been heard of their slogan "For a Socialist Youth Movement in Britain" since then? Apprentices and students have fought out numerous discontented battles. They have been defeated not really a fraction of what their energies merited. They have achieved so little precisely because they struggled in isolation and because they believed too often that militancy could make up for lack of clarity in their aims.

- Preface

Below are points chosen by a number of young people active in the Labour Party and Trade Unions as a skeleton for discussion and action. It can be said at once that there are serious gaps—it is a long way from a Socialist policy towards secondary education written from the viewpoint of these undergraduate students; the voices of Socialist students need to be heard more strongly and those of young workers on the land and in the offices; the problem of leisure has been ignored. But a number of important and probably controversial points are raised—full daylight training, a National Educational Service, extension of Junior Workers' Committees and the training of apprentices by technical colleges.

In subsequent issues we want your criticisms and improvements of this draft, and the views of others in your Youth Section, youth club, trade union, CND branch or Young Co-operators. We will also discuss other plans being offered to Youth at the moment, starting with Labour's Younger Generations next issue. But it must not stop there. We also want to know what your Youth Section or Junior Workers' Committee is doing—what demands you are putting forward, what methods you are using, what support you are getting and what results you are achieving. We all want to take advantage of your successes and learn from your failures.

- Preamble

We, the Youth of the British Labour Movement, recognise that the fundamental problems which we face are faced also by ordinary people of every age and every country where Capitalism is dominant. As socialists we recognise that these problems can only be solved by the transformation of this present social order, and in this work we are pledged to play our part. We recognise that we have a special duty to fight for a solution to some problems peculiar to Youth and which we list below:

- Youth and work

Young workers face the same general problem as other workers but they face it from a position particularly exposed to the attacks of the employers. The general problem is the crisis inherent in capitalism and the reduction in the proportion of jobs graded as skilled. For young workers this shows itself in inadequate opportunities to obtain skills, with four times as many now seeking apprenticeships as there are apprenticeships available, and by the exploitation of young workers as cheap labour followed by the sack when they become eligible for the adult rate of wages.

For all young workers

1 For all young workers the first steps to be taken are the same—to join their appropriate trade union; to be active in it; to bring other young workers into activity within it, to get the union interested in the needs of the young workers, nationally, regionally, at branch level, and particularly on the shop floor through the shop-stewards' movement, to see that the special needs of these young workers are expressed collectively through such organs as the Junior Workers Committees, forming these where necessary and to see that these expressions are heard, through specific representatives of the youth on union, branch and works committees.

2 The needs of the young workers, as of all others, can only be met eventually, through the control of industry by the workers, and this task at the moment is the only goal for the activity of young workers.

3 While overtime continues, plus rates shall always be paid; overtime must be banned for all under 21.

4 Young men and young women doing the same work must be paid equally.

5 Young workers must have a minimum of four weeks paid holiday each year, and an annual medical check.

6 The Guaranteed Annual Wage must be the immediate solution to the problem of unemployment among young workers.

For young workers in training

1 More must have the opportunity to train for skilled work which makes real use of their abilities; and there must be planned opportunities for them to use this training.

2 No indenture fees or other charges should be made to apprentices, articled pupils, trainees or students.

3 Restrictions in indentures and similar agreements on the participation of the young worker in trade union life, including industrial action, must be eliminated.

4 There must be no artificial obstacle to the equality of the sexes to enter training and there must be far more flexibility in the ages at which it is possible to enter training or to transfer to training for another skilled job. We recognise that this last will intensify the problem of the wages of workers in training.

5 Training is too often unorganised, too often the responsibility of nobody in particular or of someone with too many jobs to do, too often spread out too long and too thinly. This affords an additional excuse to the employer to hold down wages for the workers in training. Either the present amount of training must be concentrated in shorter periods of training or the amount of training must be expanded to justify the length of the apprenticeship. In all cases training should start as soon as the apprenticeship begins.

6 The differentials between the wages of young workers and adults are too wide and are a main basis for the exploitation of the youth and thus a threat to the skilled workers as well. As a first step we support the demand of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions for new rates for engineering apprentices, rising from 52% of the adult rate in the first year of apprenticeship to 65% in the last year. Where apprentices are doing the same work as the adult workers they should receive the same wage. Eventually the apprentice and the adult worker must receive the same wage in all cases.

7 The cost of tools and technical books deter many from trying to enter skilled jobs. There must be generous non-repayable grants to young workers for this purpose since it is on them that this demand falls most heavily when they are least able to afford it.

8 The system of day-release for education is either not possible being operated by employers or is operating badly. Our immediate aims must be to secure this right to every young worker; to win the right to full day-light training; and to expand the opportunities for sandwich
coursing in June months and school in six months in industry. The choice between these various systems must be made upon the basis of the employee’s preferences and ways of working and studying.

9 The long-term solution to the problem of training must be the training of all young workers at technical colleges, with periods of work at a number of different factories.

Youth workers in less skilled jobs
1 The work and problems of young less-skilled workers are often the same as those of older workers in the same trades. The wages of less-skilled young workers must be raised to those of the adult workers.

2 Piece rates must be opposed. To the exploitation normally associated with this is added the trick of fixing the piece rates in proportion to the lower juvenile basic rates. The young worker is thus doubly exploited.

3 The Guaranteed Annual Wage is of particular importance to the young less-skilled worker, as it is the only guarantee that he is taken through the union in the individual factory, shop or office and on the individual building site.

- Youth without work

1 While the economic system is still allowed to leave youth without employment we must demand that it should not allow these to suffer. At the same time we must struggle harder to end the system which allows such waste and injustice to continue.

2 School-leavers shall at once be eligible for full employment and health insurance benefits.

3 Careers advice given to young people still at school must be the job of a fully qualified officer with the assistance of the local Trades Council.

4 When young people return to school after a vain search for a satisfactory job they must not be expected to merely repeat their studies of the previous year but must be given the opportunity again to improve their technical or professional qualifications.

- Youth and study

1 Schools must be removed from the control of the Local Education Authorities to reduce unnecessary local disparities and to create a National Educational Service. Trade Unions must have a substantial representation on the executive bodies of the N.E.S.

2 Primary and secondary schools shall be abolished and their buildings and resources incorporated into the State system.

3 The comprehensive school must become the only school, to be obtained by the steady standardisation of the organisation of the other schools and their quality of teaching.

4 The school-leaving age must be raised, but it is not enough to do this without at the same time building more and better schools and training more and better teachers.

5 Village schools should in future take children only to the age of 11.

6 The syllabus in schools shall be broadened by the inclusion of more economics, more social studies, more about the peoples and cultures of the Soviet Bloc and the Underdeveloped Areas and history taught from an international standpoint. The middle-class and middle-biased prejudices which exist in reading material must be eliminated. The study of political and religious philosophies shall be encouraged, to enable young people to better understand the ideas of people of other countries.

7 The 11 Plus Examination must be abolished. While other exams continue there must be a continual review of examination technique and of the need for examinations at all.

8 The state should take over all correspondence courses now being run, often badly, for profit. The running of correspondence courses for profit must be banned.

9 All students undergoing higher education must receive grants sufficient for a decent standard of living and for making full use of the opportunities available for cultural and other activities. These grants shall also be given to all full-time students over the age of 15 and without a means test.

- Youth and politics

Introduction
It must be recognised that youth today is largely uninterested in politics. This attitude is encouraged by the superficial absence of difference between the Parties, by the widespread apathy among adults and by the present boom in the living standards of most sections of the British people, which cloaks any realisation of the need to destroy the present economic system. On the other hand the n-race may be induced to look for solutions, unless alternative ideas are offered to them and shown to be related to their own life, to mean something in terms that they understand. Not least we need to explain to them what the effects of automation on their lives can be under Capitalism or under Socialism.

1 Young people must have the vote in industrial elections and referenda from the time of their becoming employed, and in political elections and referenda from the age of eighteen.

2 Conscription must immediately be ended and all British troops withdrawn from overseas.

3 A Socialist Youth Movement must be formed within the present Labour Party; any attempt to establish such a movement outside the Labour Party will be meaningless.

4 We must study what methods and recruits can be offered by the organised youth movements of certain trade unions, the British Federation of Young Co-operators, the National Association of Labour Students, the Students' Union in the Technical Colleges, V.F.S., U.L.R., the London Schools Left Club, the Youth Campaign of the C.N.D., the Direct Action Committee, and overseas Youth Movements.

by J. C. Baskley

Our share of the cake

The British Economy and the Workers’ Cause 1944-5 by Kurt Map, Workers’ League, 2/6.

This pamphlet is the first attempt, of which I am aware, to analyse the workers’ share in the economy from the standpoint of the economic theory and practice, based on official figures. Anyone who has tried to derive any significant conclusions from the mish mash of government national income figures will appreciate the difficult nature of this task—and ardently sympathise with the author for any shortcomings.

For the first time facts such as the workers’ and bosses’ share in the national out-pot and consumption are presented in a straightforward and objective way. Kurt Map has done much to change the national income statistics from a convoluted official dogmatic theory to concrete facts which can be understood and acted upon, on the factory floor.

The basic conclusion is that in the post-war period because of the bankruptcy of British capitalism, class collaboration was necessary to keep the system going. In fact the workers received their thirty pieces of silver, calculated to be a 5 per cent. increase in their share of personal incomes. I believe this figure is misleading. Any increase in real incomes in the past two decades has resulted more from the increase of people working in the factory (“If I didn’t work, I wouldn’t have a job”) rather than an absolute increase in real wages.

Other conclusions are less controversial. Profits, as a percentage of national product have been consistently higher than the pre-war level. 1938 was 13.5 percent, 1951, 21.5 percent. But in recent years this has declined, 1958, 15.5 percent, resulting in the scramble for automation—that is, cutting employment and speeding up exploitation.

This is underlined by a table which shows that wages increased in relation to profits until 1955. Since then the trend has been reversed. I cannot vouch for the accuracy of these figures but they are certainly confirmed by the great increase in strikes in the last three years.

A trend is noted, since 1955, for the number of manual workers in the manufacturing industries to decline and for the salaried employees to increase. This point is not developed but it is implied this will be a permanent trend. It could, however, be a technological lag. It will not be long before the white collar jobs are threatened by automation and rationalised out of existence.

The most interesting part of this analysis is the vast fall in relative consumption and the increased anti-worker class nature of the taxation system since 1946.

Consumers expenditure, as a percentage of gross national product has fallen from 85 per cent in 1938 to 74 per cent in 1958. This decline is not adequately explained—it does not result from increased capital accumulation, but from the development of the most perfect class nature of consumption goods under capitalism.

—ARMS

An advantage is that they gloss over one of the basic contradictions of capitalism—over-production. To burn food rather than give it away is an evil that everyone can understand and fight against. To scrap arms because they are obsolete and manufacture more is not so obviously immoral. It is the task of every socialist to emphasize this fundamental aspect of contemporary capitalism and it is the main failure of this pamphlet that it does not examine these theories of arms consumption and the increased role of the state during the last two decades.

Finally, it is extremely useful to have the evils of our biased socialist system adequately documented. Besides showing the fiasco of tax capital it also reveals how indirect taxes are in this country particularly under the rule at the expense of direct taxation. Indirect taxation, being a flat rate on consumption (purchase tax, etc.) hits the poor more than the rich as their purchases form a bigger percentage of their total budget.

This excellent pamphlet can be obtained from:

The Workers’ League

16 Reform Street, S.W.1.
POLICY FOR WALES

Welsh nationalism became a coveted party-political prize during the election campaign. What it is and what it stands for are the subjects of John Reynolds' informative article from Cardiff.

During the period of political reaction which has encompassed the present decade, Welsh nationalism has had to deal with the present Tory Government has been not only to sustain the Labour Party but to seek some intermediate position. This has resulted in an attempt to construct a Liberal Party in England, but in Wales it has resulted in greater support for Plaid Cymru (pronounced Plaid Cymrech), the Welsh National Party.

The Welsh Nationalists are less well known than either their Irish or Scottish counterparts. This is partly due to their leadership being mainly drawn from the Welsh-speaking community. This community has its own distinct language and values, and its national outlook by means of the National Eisteddfod for over 100 years, and it is significant that the Nationalist Party was conceived and born during the 1925 Eisteddfod, starting with six members. Prior to the war it did not achieve much success, and, indeed, a split occurred on the War Question, which led to the living off of the small Welsh Republican Party.

Yet a visit to Plaid Cymru has little success in the purely political field, its largely professional class membership helped it to gain considerable influence in Welsh educational and cultural life, and it is successful in furthering the teaching of the Welsh language even in the most Anglicized parts of Wales. As a result, the Glamorgan County Council (strongly Labour controlled) has laid down that 30 per cent of its teaching should be in the Welsh language. It has also had a significant influence among the staff of the Welsh Region of the BBC.

Since 1951

In the post-War years it has become a more potent political force. The national feeling it has engendered was partly responsible for the creation of the Council of Wales by the Labour Government, although credit for this must go to the Parliamentary Labour Party. It is, however, since the 1951 General Election that its main political advances have been made. At a by-election in Abergavenny in 1954 the Plaid Cymru candidate obtained over 5,000 votes and edged the Conservative Candidate to the bottom of the poll. In a by-election at Newport in 1956 the Nationalist candidate succeeded in getting almost 2,000 votes in this mainly Labour English town. It is also clear that a recent election for a seat on the Glamorgan CC in the Rhondda Valley, the Nationalist candidate came with four votes of the winning vote. These are not only bye-election successes but part of general improvement in their standing during all the General and other elections that have been held in Wales since the war.

What of the policy of this Party which has succeeded in little more than three decades in becoming both an amalgamation and a challenge to the major political parties in the Principality?

Nationalist Party

There is little doubt that the recent decision of the Labour Party to promise a Secretary of State for Wales in the next election manifesto has been influenced by this pressure. A great part of the policy of the Nationalists is bound up with the preservation of the Welsh language. A recent pamphlet by the Party Chairman, Gwynor Evans (who some observers expect to see in the next Parliament), this point is repeatedly made. Welsh nationalism is far more bound up with this language question than either the Irish or Scottish movements, for the Welsh language is far more alive than either of the other Celtic tongues. Thus one of the major aims of the Party is to establish it first as one of the official languages of the Principality, and then to return to the original Welsh as the first language of 100 per cent of its citizens, as it was as recently as two centuries ago. They believe this can only be achieved if the Government is granted to Wales. A Parliament for Wales would not be sufficient to ensure this, they believe. Only if complete independence is obtained can the Welsh language and the Welsh nation—they consider the two inseparable—be fully restored to its earlier unity.

Internationalism

As recently as 1929 the Labour Party manifesto was advocating a Parliament for Wales and many members which does not seem so far away. It has made little headway among the industrial workers and its policy of urging the formation of separate Welsh Trade Unions has not helped it in gaining influence among them. It has gained both support and sympathy however in its recent fight against the ban on political broadcasts imposed on it by both the BBC and ITV, and the "pirate station" operated by its supporters has been of much publicity value.

- END -

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Experiment

The hero of Room at the Top is closer to Julien Sorel, the hero of Stendhal's Scarlet and Black. When Stendhal was writing, the wake of the French revolution was still discernable: monarchists were still in a majority. But the man of will, the task of restoring the Bourbon dream, and the burnt-out republican had not become a potent force. But the seeds of that revolution had borne formidable fruit: the change was irreversible.

Julien Sorel was the delinquent child of that change. He was, as Irving Howe says in a criticism of Stendhal, "the modern hero, the man who forces society to accept his demands. The modern hero by will rather than birth..." and he carries with him the disease of our time, a disease which pervades among those who are most committed to the doctrine of equality and spread wide the superior pride of the restored Bourbons try to suppress that doctrine. Before the revolution men had been concerned with privations, not expectations; now they dream of success, that is, of a self-willed effort to lift oneself or another from a more or less chancy transition to a higher social level. Life becomes an experiment in survival, an adventure, a plan, a crusade and combat; the hero is not merely ambitious but sensitive to the point of paranoia, discovering and spoiling every opportunity of reaching his end, his project, his morality with his morals and sexual acrobatics. (Now Britain joins the BEDROOM BRIGADE, and adds a slice of Yorkshire pudding: so ran the headline in Daily Herald. This lightning, smoke without fire signified only one thing—that these critics had surrendered their criticism. Yet, despite the fact that the film was an inevitable and somewhat heavy dilution of the novel, sagging from the implications to the hero, it would seem that there were threads that led tantalisingly to ideological and political roots. And these threads the critics could not, or would not, see.

But Joe Lampton's sexual adventure cannot be abstracted from his "experience of life. Each affair complicates the route to the top, so that in the end his remark—"I always go straight for what I want"—seems a paradox of his unequivocal ring. He falls in love.

With sun-tan

Like Joe Lampton, Alice Aigill is an outsider. She has no experience of marriage or of marriage to a man who is not in a position of power and respectability. She finds herself as the second wife of a man who is not a better one than the first, but that they could be any more than "loving friends"—especially when Joe has already set his sights on the sullen girl in the Aston Martin. The relationship is apatolic. Joe Lampston's calculating-machine personality is temporarily wrenched away. He sees the truth. "Somebody along there has the assembly line, "...somewhere along the assembly line, which is what the assembly line means. They know all, and yet remain surprisingly free of enthusiasm for the latter part of the book). The novel is about the people Joe has grown to know and the shadow of war about them, who come from the working class, who are rejected, and who have also rejected the middle class. They have therefore, their own ethical code when it comes to earning a living. They know all, and yet remain surprisingly free of enthusiasm for the latter part of the book). The novel is about the people Joe has grown to know and the shadow of war about them, who come from the working class, who are rejected, and who have also rejected the middle class. They have therefore, their own ethical code when it comes to earning a living. They know all, and yet remain surprisingly free of enthusiasm for the latter part of the book). The novel is about the people Joe has grown to know and the shadow of war about them, who come from the working class, who are rejected, and who have also rejected the middle class. They have therefore, their own ethical code when it comes to earning a living. They know all, and yet remain surprisingly free of enthusiasm for the latter part of the book).

Wandering Absolute Beginners is an utterly contemporary novel, both in style and form, so you have to "dig" the contemporary scene and language in order to get right inside it. It is written in the form of a documentary, for the hero records his own experiences as a narrator who leaves little room for him to change. And here lies its only fault, for his comments are neither sharp nor on the mark, nor wonder what would happen if he applied them to himself, and the result is that he records the consequences of his own actions. I found it a little hard to imagine that the futility of it all, the fact that everything going on about him, without it in some way affecting his attitude to himself and his own attitude to the colour problem (which incidentally is well worth reading for it is gone into with great detail and insight in the latter part of the book).

Little relation

The first part of the book deals mainly with the hero's occupa
tional wanderings (he's a portrait
grapher and gives us plenty of time to get used to his apt and alarmingly same
collections of film posters and camera equipment). In so doing, he sorts out the teds from the teenagers, the suburban variety bands and imitators, the queers from the punks and so on.

But you must read it, for it has echoes of so much more than a sordid story going on today and so points forward. It also links up with other books like The Celts and they go to America and also some of the lyrics in West Side Story as well as the best of jazz today which fiction writing, or poetry for that matter, does not seem to have caught up with at all.

What are we to expect if we bring up our children to know all, especially about themselves, both in fact and in a bad thing provided we accept the consequences and if we continue in our capitalistic way to divorce the image of the television set, means to an end, and keep money so bound up with success, it bearing little relation these days to the work done for it? Society

Society stamps on the evil it tries to forget that it has bred it, rarely encourages the good, usually ignores it.

A must

What is happening to the most aware and talented of our younger generation? The ones who could become designers, painters, musicians, or workers that in the past might have learned a trade in a craft or a liberal art, if society is unable to bridge the gap between the rich and the moulded student, and the middle-class market product, which means that the only place for the otherwise talented is on television or, meaner still, Absolute Beginners to find out what happens to the rest of them.
work in conjunction with and in accordance with the instructions issued from time to time by the Regional and National Boards. To enable it to carry out its assigned tasks, members, plant, and personnel will be placed at its disposal; it will be in possession of all the technical and other local and national necessities for its efficient operation.

The Local Building Organizing Committee is composed of Technicians Trade Union Representatives; Local Authorities and other interested bodies, thus qualifying it to serve as a better organized, and at the same time, providing the liaison essential for efficiency.

Working in conjunction with the various technical and administrative departments of the Local Building Organizing Committee, the Labour Department with local offices at convenient centres to attend to the various problems affecting the personnel, including the task of removing as far as possible the causes of discontent, and the employment of the various operatives arising from technical and other factors connected with the process of building. As a side line, the Labour Department will be able to bear the steady flow of employment, and thereby decumulate the thicker pinnacles.

There would be, of necessity, a close working relationship between the Regional and National Organizing Committees, and the Local Organizing Committee, which would dovetail one into the other.

Should the Existing Firms be Taken Over?

To take over the vast majority of the existing firms would be essential to maintain a large labour force, because they have little more than the labour force and its discipline.

The aim is not to nationalize men, but to take over and control the means of producing the nation's wealth so that it can be utilised to the good of all and not the few.

The larger firms, it is true, possess considerable sums of capital, especially those operating as Co-operative Organisations.

Any take-over on conventional lines, that is, on the basis of compensation, would simply mean pouring out treasure on those who have thrived on human exploitation.

When it has been said and done, it is far better to set up a completely new organization under direct control and ownership of the Government.

This would permit the existing Contractors to act as Agents or employees of the State being permitted to carry out such work as has been assigned to them, but this provision would only be resorted to during the transition period.

Should the Take-Over be Confined to the Building Contractors?

To be successful any scheme introduced will have to embrace the allied trades, in order to cut off the materials used in the construction of buildings. To lessen these trades, the monopolies and trusts would be to lessen the beneficial effects of public ownership of the building trade.

While the manufacture of the materials is allowed to remain outside and in private hands the State or the Government will remain at the mercy of the profiteers and without doubt, the anti-social policy of restricting goods and other products to a well-known extent, can only act to the detriment of the scheme.

These financial tycoons must not be allowed to hold the nation to ransom.

It is essential that the Government has the power vested in it to legislate against these anti-social acts and exploiters, and known how little legislation has proved where profits are concerned. Even the Labour Government failed ignominiously in its attempt to curb the profit-making proclivities of the capitalists; therefore, it is hardly surprising that the Social Conservative Government has not committed itself to assailing the profit-making system.

Should the Contractors be Compensated?

Here is where we come into contact with a number of conflicting views, not only on the fundamental issue but on the form of payment, or, if at all, should there be any.

Some believe that the assets should be bought at the prevailing market value of another school of thought says, a price based in the average profits made during a determined period prior to the take-over. Against these are those who say that in the years that have passed the contractors have appropriated enough profit to reimburse them for the capital expended by them.

Theft

In the eyes of many people this question of compensation is confounded with the same old theft, an act which is repugnant to their moral principles. If this be the case, many of the large firms offer no pangs of remorse for having appropriated vast sums from the producers by means of theft. What have they passed to think of the hardships their acts have inflicted on their hapless employees.

Legalised theft has been their stock in trade; therefore, any property confiscated would mean the reimbursement of the rightful owners which was taken away from them.

We guarantee the contractors or the expropriated, a fixed sum in the way of compensation, even if it be for a limited period, in an admission of the right to exploit the exploited; a right which no progressive can admit.

It has already been seen that thousands of the contractors have little or no capital in the way of plant; therefore any compensation to them would mean the capitalization of the abstraction right to live parasitically on the producer.

Many of the larger ones already have had their capital advanced, and they have the machinery and plant and have comparatively low economic value. Thus leaving the owners with no claim for special consideration.

It is clear that any form of compensation will still be a burden on the producing class.

The parasitic elements will continue to survive at the expense of the state and will remain members of the leisure class.

They will exact a toll on industry and the nation and give nothing in return.

Is there any sound reason for placing these redundants in a socially favoured position?

They have already enjoyed the plums which fell from the tree of wealth and while they feasted at the banquet, the workers were gazed on the worker eating the crumbs which fell from the master's table. Their reward has been adequacies.

There is no case for granting these privileged gentlemen special consideration because the tables have been turned.

They can devote their mental and physical abilities to a far better cause, they can contribute to the building of a new and better form of society and live by the fruits of the toil of the labourers of their own hands.

The common ownership of the industry not for its own sake; nor because it has the elements of greater efficiency; nor because there are some few and some had employers of labour; we need it because it is essential for the further progress of our children and of new way of life and a new social order.

We need it too, because there is no hope within the existing framework of private ownership of removing the gross injustices of our time.

Notting Hill Notebook

Notting Hill Notebook is written and edited by members of the Coloured People's Progressive Association of Notting Hill who are acting as hosts. All views expressed in this column are those of the CPPA and all correspondence in connection with it should be addressed to: The Secretary, Coloured People's Progressive Association, 14a Tavistock Crescent, London, W. 11. (Tel: BAYwater 3736).

The Coloured People's Association is a non-political body, nevertheless, when a political attack, such as Mosley's, is made upon us, we have become politically involved. For that reason, we have accepted the offer of this paper to express our views, free from any political obligations.

The CPPA was formed in 1932, and its object is to fight against the attack of fascism, and to strengthen ourselves in order to resist future aggression from whatever quarter it may spring.

We have invited into our ranks; all peoples who believe in the freedom and dignity of all men, but as our name implies, we are naturally more concerned with the welfare and protection of the coloured peoples in England, than in those of the infinitely better equipped and protected white peoples.

We make no apologies for this. Ours is a divided and persecuted race, and those Europeans who are genuine in their desire to see an improvement in our well-being, will understand and support us, though they may not always agree with us.

We are not saying that there is not an element of anti-social or anti-semitic feeling in this country, which seems like segregation. There are certain needs that only apply to us, and certain tasks that only we can undertake.

Absent from the rally-calls of the major political parties is the electorate. One can only be amazed that a monster is now twitching its slimy tail in Notting Hill.

"Mosley cannot win," the compliant political pundits murmur condescendingly.

Nevertheless, he'll get votes. From whom?

On the other hand, one can hear workers in the area saying: "Mosley is a man of action. Mosley gets things done.

A sad reflection, we feel, on the failure of the Labour MP who has represented them for two consecutive years.

Mosley's main attack is levelled at the coloured peoples in England, and it is the CPPA's duty to hit back, but let no one think it is for itself, for we are convinced that not being Jewish was no protection from fascism.

Now that a general election is here, we hope that all parties will take the opportunity of combating Mosley where it is most effective—on the doorsteps.

We, the Members of the CPPA, would like to take this opportunity of recording publicly, the unyielding gratitude that we owe to Mr Alexander, our Public Relations Officer, who has left us to take up a position in the West Indies on behalf of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

During the period he was with us, he has been an inspiration to us all, and all those who have met him, I'm sure, will want to join us in wishing him good fortune in his new task.

The CPPA is in need of non-fictional books for its library, otherwise we are not in a position to offer payment of any kind, but we will be only too pleased to collect any books that are offered.

All books sent by post should be adequately covered by postage and addressed to:

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