*** FORTNIGHTLY for the Industrial Militant — for International Socialism ***

**LEFT MARCH, LABOUR!**

The election defeat has cleared the air for debate within the Labour Party. The Right-wing can no longer hide behind organizational arguments or behind charges of disloyalty and disunity. On the contrary, the Left swallowed its tongue to maintain Party unity; we saw glossy after glossy eradicate the vestiges of a socialist platform and still swung into the election campaign with energy and enthusiasm. The time has now come for the reckoning.

... ... ...

For a few months at least, the Left will have the initiative. It was not our policy that was presented to the electorate; it was that of the Right; it was not our unprincipled opportunism that went chasing after the floating voter, but theirs; it is not the Left that is gougng out the last morsels of socialist tradition within the Party, that is selling out to Liberalism, but the Right.

In these coming months the Left must take the debate into every corner of the Movement. Every Ward Party and General Committee must be made a battleground for the defence of socialist nationalization, national planning and control of industry and society by the workers. The fight against the H-Bomb and military pacts, against British atrocities in the colonies must be made a fight for the conscience of the Labour Movement. The Left has the initiative for the time being. Let us make the most of it.

... ... ...

It is a time for the debate on principles. Many in the Party will be asking themselves afresh: what do we mean by Socialism? what is a socialist program? This paper will do its best to help clarify the fundamentals of socialist thought. We shall do our best to service the movement, by presenting clearly and undogmatically the case for nationalization and national planning under workers' control, for internationalism and for the class nature of the British Labour Party.

**LIBERAL KISS OF DEATH**

**PETER SEDGEWICK**

GRIMOND has dropped the hint. Roy Jenkins, Labour MP and (according to the Observer) one of Mr. Gaitskell's Poodles, has mused openly about the possibility. The Observer itself, in the same issue in which it launched it new column to prove that capitalists are Human, has welcomed the idea in an editorial bearing the somberous heading "LEFT". The Liberal-Labour alliance of the nineteenth century is once more being canvassed as a remedy for present ills.

**Labour vices**

Certain okay words are being banded, whose pestering influence associations are calculated to further the proposed union. Pro-observing, Anti-Labour Left. Are these qualities we wish to lie behind this smoke-screen of fine words?

The Labour Party, whatever its faults, is a party created to represent the working-class as an independent social force. Its vices and failures, whether of reformism or of jingoism, largely reflect the stage of consciousness which the working class of the oldest imperial country has attained. The history of the Labour Party began when the organized section of the working class realised that it had no need of benevolent bosses to speak for it in Parliament.

No tendency

The Liberal Party, on the other hand, however radical certain of its foreign and colonial policies may appear, is a bourgeois party. Its proposals for intervention in the affairs of trade-unions, the extension of trade-union militancy by the Labor party, and its desire to make the working class suffer are only the consequences of the party's pitiful fitness to speak for the working-class. Its opposition to the British Bomb is only the mirror...

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A BERLIN

DIARY

by Dev Murarka

As THE PLANE comes down in darkness, Berlin emerges, a blaze of light. Even in those few minutes one cannot help noticing the characteristic width of roads and the uniformity of the city it is familiar with. One notices also the fresh look of the buildings. Behind this lay the public and private story of terrible destruction which has reduced the city to a heap of rubble. Reconstruction is impressive, particularly in West Berlin, while East Berlin looks somewhat shabby and sad in comparison. The other 13,000,000 appearance of the two Berlins is a real illustration of the character of divided Germany.

Politically, it is a tragic situation. The city is divided in two parts none of which theoretically belongs either to East or West Germany. In practice West Berlin with a population of more than two and a quarter millions is part of the Federal Republic though cut off from it by East Germany. In particular, Berlin is the nucleus of East Berlin, part with a population of about one and a quarter millions is not only part of the German Democratic Republic but also its capital.

Weak Left

There is no telephone communication, no bus services and no common currency between two Berlins. But, the underground and overhead railways are owned by East Germany and are used by West Berliners and West Berliners use East Berlin and remain the only formal public transport between the cities. The East German Zone. To maintain this partition the police are very much in evidence on both sides of the dividing line. Once working class East Berliners and East Berliners and had to make a phone call to West Berlin rather urgently, I was driven to a checkpoint on the eastern side where I had to get out of the car, cross the road to the western side, make the call and cross back within a few minutes. Such is the infuriating reality of Berlin.

Consequently, the level of political consciousness is high in Berlin but it tends to be of a reactive nature. It is the side which is constantly blamed for all the ills. Propaganda is crude, heavy and controlled. There is hardly any attempt to inform or educate the public and workers with objectivity. In East Berlin all political activity is controlled by the Socialist Unity Party under the domination of the Communists. But Berlin has a long tradition of support for the Social Democratic Party and in West Berlin it is still the favoured party.

Their leader, Herr Willy Brandt, is a shrewd politician who has benefited from the cynical behaviour of the communists in Berlin. He is formally charming and popular he ultimately aspires to lead the SPD to power in Western Germany. It is his contention that only they can get into power the party must drop its socialist tenets and become simply an alternative political party somewhat at the lines of the Democratic Party in America. The left inside the party is paralysed and weak and there is a conspicuous lack of youth.

The hol of the old leadership was weakened due to repeated failure in elections. As such the prospects for socialism in Germany is very gloomy. It remains to be seen however, if Berliners can cash in on his reputation made in Berlin and carry the party with them.

In Berlin itself, employment is high and wages average 2.8 DM per hour which is 5 per cent lower than in West Germany. A representative of the West Berlin Federation of Trade Unions claimed that real wages were 10 per cent lower in East Berlin and 20 per cent lower in East Germany but I was not able to check these figures. There are still about 38,000 unemployed but it was claimed that most of them were old while the younger, a left over from the days when Berlin was the capital, and it was difficult to find jobs for them. The Trade Unions are avowedly non-political and not very militant. Until 1950-51 they followed a policy of wage freeze and are now shifting their attention to 40 hour week. An interesting feature of Berlin is that every day about 37,000 workers who live in East Berlin come to work in West Berlin and all the workers earn East German Marks for one DM. Above all they are worried that the example of a consumer economy, made easier by various types of direct and indirect subsidies, forces them to divert their resources towards a competition they would rather not have. The Western Powers are sensible enough not to slip such a wonderful opportunity of carrying on cold war in the heart of enemy territory.

Travel

So the people must suffer. What is happening is that youth is leaving Berlin at such a rate that the city has almost ceased to grow. The economic prosperity and political deadlock has combined to produce a mood of dangerous cynicism and political apathy. One consequence is the remarkable interest in travel which the youth display in Berlin and bring to it that dedication which they reserve for studies and work. It has a pleasant result too. As a very dear old lady said to me in Berlin, "In 1914 and in 1939 the young men went to war with enthusiasm. Now, they travel and come back saying that all the other people are so nice. Why should we fight them," That is a gain. I hope it lasts even while the name of "Cold War" remains a real threat of total war are being created and organized.

CLASS

IN EDUCATION

Unfortunately we find considerations of caste im- pinging on the education system at points other than the mere existence of caste and religious sectors. The LEA system is its caste- ridden particularly in the secondary stage.

Top caste

The typical organization of secondary education under an English LEA shows three types of school: grammar, technical and modern. Theoretically there is parity of esteem between these three types: in practice there is not. Grammar schools stand higher in the public regard than modern schools; indeed many parents feel ashamed if their children attend a modern school. (On this sense of shame, which in middle-class and suburban areas — the Isle of Wight, the Hants and Sussex coasts, the dormitories of outer London, turns into snobbery, private secondary schools being hatted). And once again it is a fact that considerations other than educational affect a reluctance of admission to a school regarded as being in the top caste, i.e. a grammar school.

Hertfordshire

In other words, considerations of caste affect a child's progress up the educational ladder; the distribution of opportunity is not necessarily related to ability. In London in 1933-34, for example, less than a quarter of unskilled workers' children with an IQ of 130 or more, and only one third of skilled workers' children with similar IQs went to grammar schools; and "the likelihood that a working-class boy will reach a grammar school is not noticeably greater today despite all the changes, than it was before 1945."

Rather less than 10 per cent of working-class boys reaching the age of 11 in the years 1941-45 entered selective secondary schools. In 1953 in South-west Hertfordshire the proportion was 12 per cent and in Middles- brough, 12 per cent. The proportion of children in each occupational group selected for grammar schools is often called the "class chances" of a grammar school education.

After the investigation in SW Herts and Middlesbrough (re-

portal on it in length of their initial Special Class and Educational Opportunity, from which came all the direct quotations in this paragraph) Drs. Floud, Halsey and Martin say "there were in both areas considerable disparities in the chances of boys from different social classes... and general, the sons of manual workers had a chance below average, and the sons of non-manual workers a chance above average, of being selected for grammar schools", and they illustrate this by their findings of 1953 showing a 50 per cent chance for children from professional and intermediate groups of getting into the grammar schools.

 sociological review

Social Service

35b

Priory Terrace

London N.6
‘THE YOUNGER GENERATION’

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

IN THE SLY SILENCE at the beginning of the Election Campaign the 1955 survey was driven to re-hashing the statistics of the 1955 results to make news) the tabloids of Youth rather than the Misdeeds, suddenly became front-page stuff. This was a result of the presentation of the ‘Report’ of the Commission appointed by Gaitskell, on the problems of young people and how far they could be reached by public and voluntary bodies.

Wider Forum

The six men and four women of the Commission were probably considerably younger than the average NEC sub-committee although it was true that the report concerned itself with and none were members of Labour Youth Sections. In fact it was a commission of the administration and heroes of Youth rather than of the Youth themselves. Gaitskell himself was perhaps less surprised at some of the imaginative recommendations and the withdrawal without notice or apparent discussion, to pledge himself to no improvement in 1955. It was not possible to commit himself specifically on any of them.

The third, as he gave the report a guided welcome to Labour candidates — perhaps short of an issue — gave it considerable, although not much. As the campaign got under way, however, the attention swung back towards the old people who had voted and then to the immediate material comfort of the floating votes of all.

The report deserves better. In printing it the Party have brought into a wider forum many of the ideas which a Youth campaign taken for granted for years. The collection makes some bitter attack. The attitudes towards Youth, is well documented and throws up thirty-six recommendations which are probably like that with precision. In the flatness that the electoral defeat it should not be also called the forgotten Party but should be discussed by wards and branches and at conferences. Youth sections, in particular, should consider some of these more useful recommendations to be added to the Party Program by resolution of National Conference.

Builder

That said, it must be confessed that the Commission’s analysis is inadequate and its proposals often pinprick.

The language and the thinking of the Report is refreshing to the jaded reader of too much inner party blab. But the back cover is the same as that of Industry and Society and other products of the last official “re-thinking”.

The way the NEC pros write their recommendations is probably like a preface gives an excellent description of the surface of some present-day misfortunes: the symptoms are mistaken for the disease, and any analysis of its fundamental causes slips into the report by accident. The specialists on Youth and their pet solutions to certain of the problems. Those that remain are dealt with by one of the report’s two general answers which can be used time after time without offending any- more literate members then patch the two together with their supply of clichés guaranteed to stir liberal consciences or to convince themselves that we are just, reasonable men.

Their role is that of the builder who tries to stop a house falling down by replacing a tile or cleaning a window.

The Youth Crisis according to the Commission is produced by three factors.

1. Because of the post-war bulge in the birth rate, 200,000 more jobs will be required for school leavers in each of the five years (on top of the annual half million required now). The holding of government encouragement and money from the Youth Employment Service, centres of youth education and the Youth Service was causing these services to break down even before the bulge began to hit them this summer.

2. The gap between the ideas and attitudes of youth and adult community is widening.

Permanent

In the analysis of this last page of the report comes nearer to the causes of the putrefaction of society, of the apathy of Youth towards parties, trade unions, churches and youth clubs. But not enough it is said that the Report does, that older people dislike the clothes, music and sexual attitudes of the younger than they usually have. The Report hits the nail on the head with:

“Particularly true of working class youth — is the failing that society itself and most of its institutions are still run by people of different outlook and class background. This feeling extends to many of those who have direct contact with youth, particularly teachers and youth organizations, and, where it exists, is bound to vitiate the work they do... many teachers, certainly are themselves products of working-class homes. But the social outlook of the teaching profession is essentially middle-class. How much so was recently illustrated by the Examinations. Exhibitions at the Olympia, organised by the National Union of Teachers: the selection of the Exhibitions was a series of connection ladders, rising from floor to ceiling with cardboard ellipses swelling up the sides of the cabinets. In this context the NUT itself is only reflecting the new post-war stress on getting on now one of the most dominant values of our society.

Again the truth is, and many young people are quick to see it that for nearly half of all young people repetitive, often boring work with no chance of improvement is their future lot.”

The feeling is perhaps more keenly felt among the young, affects most of the working class youth and is not something these present age social sciences will be able to tackle at a stroke. They don’t expect to have any say in running the government or in factory management, or in getting themselves with getting as comfortably asversible in their present situation, believe that what they know a big win on the Pools or Premium Bonds can radically alter it.

The proposals of the Commission for enhancing the education of Youth are unbelievably inadequate. They are, more sympathy and “adult participation,” “second chance” training schemes for young people who feel they made the wrong choice of a job, outlets for young people’s need for adventure and selfless service when Consciention ends and social service at college. The really relevant argument for votes at eighteen is the first one the Commission mentions — to give Youth “a sense of greater responsibility and participation in society.”

In fact bringing a few teenagers into the electorate might extend the little more money from Government for Youth clubs and youth clubs; but many young electors now suffer from the same dissatisfaction, wear the same clothes and share the same apathy as those under 21. And if adult suffrage has not given the workers the feeling that Britain belongs to them, they should be run by them how will a couple of million teenage voters alter the situation?

The failure to carry their argument from the ballot box to the workplace is the greatest gap. The powers of the young — their lack of political education — is as usual. And if adult suffrage has not given the workers the feeling that Britain belongs to them, they should be run by them how will a couple of million teenage voters alter the situation?

The Report’s Edwardian pro- poses are notable for their too much talk of “a wider range of courses for the older pupil” and “a division of the school between the school and the mature pupil” and not enough about what courses and what relationship. There is a proposal to abolish the “full-time education for 16 to 18 and a comprehensive Youth Service.

Because of the teacher shortage the Commission felt that the most it could ask for on the first two points was target dates for their fulfilment some years ahead. It suggests the extension of day release to non-technical subjects, that the bonus would help the late-starters to get back into full-time training professional courses if he wanted to and would perhaps make unskilled young men jobs less disastrous.

The Section in the Youth Service — one of those expert ones — during the witness from the Ministry of Education (on the service) is quoted as admitting, “it has been definite policy for some time now to advance the Youth Service.”

The Report is far from adequate, but it is out and we should make the most of it.
WE DID OUR BEST. Party activists rolled up in thousands for canvassing, addressing and all the other necessary jobs. The weather, however, was unkind - more than in 1945 the weather was good. The organizationnever got away from the old ideas, all other considerations and accepted the most right-wing, unpalatable candidates. It has emasculated from Transport House; they closed the ranks without reservation to put Gaitskell into power and postpone the reckoning with him and his wing until then.

It didn't work, and the fact that it didn't work has set off a chain-reaction of soul searching that promises to last well beyond the forthcoming conference. What happened? Was it that the Party leadership have not put up a consistent fight for the old aged pensioners all along, but remembered only during the campaign? Was it that they have made a mistake in too clear a decision against workers that industrial disputes were none of their business and should not be supported? Was it that they were on the defensive on nationalization, paring it away here and there? But isn't the need acute? Was it their colonial record that made their fight for African free-dom and self-determination an illusion in the renaissance to the City that the Pound would be put before employment? Was it their Tory position on the H-bomb?

Change or reform

It was all this. Labour, the party of reformpar excellence, had been defeated at the polls. Nothing it has said or done in opposition, nothing it has promised on the hustings could amount to much after the election. One is looking for more appreciable easement within capitalism than has been promised by the Labour government. The idea of anyone wanting an end to the system. To have an image projected at one during the election campaign is one thing To be sure that it is the true image is altogether another. What, for example, has happened to the municipalization of housing and all the other bright products of the three-year re-think? Electors were not sure. They were not sure that the Labour Party was the party to change the climate of norms or of large historical steps.

But is that all? Can we honestly say with many of the political opponents that had the party shown more fight for reforms, more principled concern for pensioners, a livelier defence of the old age pension, the right-wing direction that can explain the political irrelevance of the Party?

I believe there is if the lack of fight was the only reason for our defaulting support, there would have been no swing to Labour in the areas of above-average unemployment (Scotland, the cotton belt and Northern Ireland) where a struggle for an alternative, a struggle more pressing than elsewhere; there would have been a greater turn towards the Liberals in those areas than in the country as a whole instead of which they lost votes in four out of the five constituencies in which comparison with 1955 is possible. If this were the sole or even major reason, at least Labour's Left would have escaped the rout. As it is, Mkadro lost Reading and over 4,000 votes, Orbach of Victory for Socialism dropped 3,000 votes and lost East Willesden, Michael Foot suffered one of the greatest swings towards the Tories (6 per cent). Penner Brockway just managed to hold on to Eton and Slough with the lowest of the Tory vote. With two areas all the majorities, the Tories lost almost two-and-a-half thousand votes on the way, and so on. Similar returns from the Labour Party would have turned towards the Left: but the Communist Party lost 17 deposits out of 18 with its vote slipping heavily—14 per cent, of its supporters disappearing since the last election. The Fifteen constituencies that have been fought both times (the drop from 2,990 in 1955 to 2,574 this year.

Americanized

The turn was definitely to the right and Labour's right-wing platform was simply right enough to stop the tide. Not that the movement of support away from Labour should be exaggerated: we still have nearly 12 million votes, 43 per cent of the electorate still support Labour. It seems to program Labour forward. The swing in Parliamentary terms is violent compared with the movement in party support, rising to 17 per cent though the化妆 (less than 3 per cent.) It was significant in that it was concentrated in the younger age group: the new arrivals to the voting register, and the under-thirties.

How many old Party stalwarts learned poignantly that their sons appeared as 'doubtful' or 'against' on the canvass cards? How many learned that the loyalty to Labour, the blind unreasoning loyalty scarred into them by the struggles and sufferings of the twenties and thirties has not passed by hereafter to the younger generation? That the environment of past-war prosperity has produced a new crop of working-class agnostics? to whom, in the words of the Party's Youth Commission 'trade unions, political parties...have considerably less interest than the immediate struggle against poverty'.

Peril the great deal of indifference, even hostility... to the trade unions. Is their move to new towns and boom power has weakened the solidarity of the working class that might have kept them 'loyal'?

"This section of the population", to quote Bevan who is once again busily turning his coat, "has become thoroughly Americanized". "Their psychology... is composed of two things: a strong distrust of government and apathy. Contentment because their material horizon is being raised and apprehension because they know their new-found improvement is precarious and fragile." (News of the World, October 11, True enough. The new voting generation have never had it so good. No matter that their prosperity is composed of overtime working, of wives earning, of hire-purchase and other debts; this compound is itself a product of the boom and is ministered successfully, so it seems to them, by the Tories.

Caught

To sum up so far, prosperity has weakened the post-war generation of working-class voters perceptibly from their PARTY to Labour by offering them tangible benefits in the Tory here-and-now; it has taken a number of years for the nation's reforming zeal with the result that the Labour Party can offer the long-term hope, the ability to suffocate in a tasteless porridge of Butskellie policy all the ideals and the power to change inherent in youth's frustrated condition, that might yet have appealed against the material gains and the given Labour electoral victory.

The Labour leadership was caught suspended between the generations. The underlying tradi-tions of the older generation, its class loyalties proved an embarrassment to the opportunism at the top bent on office at any price and at any program. The new voters found the faddish-dummy philanthropy of the leadership unsuited to the brash materialism of the young and they knew it. The promise of return was not bold enough. Even the traditional socialist electorate as surely as it has separated the generations; where it hadn't seeped through, in Scotland, the cotton belt, and Northern Ireland, young and old put their cross against the same candidate.

Prices down

The coincidence of prosperity and Tory rule hurt Labour. It is a coincidence based partly in a steady rise in export prices and fall in import prices that have improved Britain's overall terms of trade by more than 11 per cent. In 1954 it was already helping to steady prices. It is based partly on the enormous increase in money wages and in which important rises in the Sterling Area since 1958, which have offset the loss of some of the foreign earnings and income and have prevented a run on the slender reserves in gold and foreign currency held in London. An- other element was the rise in unemployment, short-term though it was in most cases but sufficient to reduce the pressure for wage increases which helped keep prices down.

The speculators, operated, but they were not the only ones. Our young workers received their improve- ments before the Tory world of 1958-59, but from the entire post-war decade in which changes in terms of trade were in the balance. The price in- crease was a factor of negligible importance and in which the stream of capital outflow was not associated with the building of foreign reserves. There is something more lasting in the post-war prosperity than the coincidental luck of the Tories, something that confounds the determinable predictions of 'this and that rate at which the Tories and rights Capitalism's bias to overproduction, at least for the pre-cipitation of the permanent arms economy which has sustained the long-term boom and which has haunts the despondent borrowing and inevitable prosperity in the minds of our young working class.

Reaction

This impression might not be misplaced for a number of years. There is the almost immortality of all time—prosperity poised on a nose-cone... looks to carry on. Not so, however, the exceptionally favourable circumstances that have blessed the Tories over the past couple of years of disappearance that will make the party political running over the period of the coming Parliament.

First, the facts. The terms of trade are turning against Britain as the world industrial boom boils over, it is the staple producing countries and raises prices. The September Board of Trade figures (neatly held over after the elections) showed a trade gap of £72 million, the highest since December of last year, which is this rise in the cost of the imports (Scotland, Northern Ireland) spe-cializing in the production of capital goods. Already, some six million workers are covered by wage claims pending and many more will probably be joining the queue this year. And this and more to the imminent loss of the exceptionally favourable economic conditions under which the Tories have enjoyed these last couple of years.

We can doubt how they will react. Their majority of 100 in the Commons, the feeling that they can rely on a substantial number of Liberal party and Liberal Unionist Sup-port, will give them the confidence to resist any encroachment on

"In the first eight months of 1957 £1,436,000 wage increases amounting to £4,526,000 peak. In the first eight months of 1958 £6,028,000 wage increases amounting to £17,754,000 peak. In the first eight months of this year £3,600,000 wage increases amounting to £4,667,000 peak."

The Party of reform.
SOCIALIST REVIEW

their good fortune. They will resist, but there is no occasion for a panic. It would be an attempt to crush the working-class movement. Any cry of "quarantine" now is as it is irresponsible since so long as the no-war arms economy is a movement, the employers need not fear serious damage to the basic structure of their world however much they might be cramped for space every now and then.

Real danger

What can we expect, then? Legislation against strikes? Against the stewards' activities and unofficial action and the need to 'contract-out', of the political ley? Possibly. But no show-down against the bosses is also possibly not. And for this reason.

The bosses' defence of their especially favoured position gained in the last couple of years will turn the focus of class activity towards their worksites. As Beavan writes with heavy heart, the workers "will look upon the city as a meaningless charade, and they will seek their solution by mean means to their hands" (ibid). The American example will go on as workers become industrially more demanding, more in the style of the bosses and more reserved. Under such conditions, the bosses have the choice of either attacking as attempted by the engineering employers twice in recent years or of discontinuing the works more by driving a wedge between the union leadership and its membership or of discrediting bureaucratic, semi-socialist ideology inherited from a pre-arms-economy period. That the Left is prepared to ultimate starchy seems almost sure.

New chance

But socialists don't always deal in ultimata. The very next period offers an opportunity for socialist propagation and conversion as we've had not for many years. At least over the next few months the Right, for the reason that they made all the running in the most recent elections, will be on the defensive. For the first time since the immediate postwar period, they will have to fight on ideological ground, on policy. The bosses will have to justify their programmatic stand. This is our chance. Now is the time to re-energize the fundamentals of socialism, to hammer them out in the eyes of a rank-and-file still smarting at the unexplained defeat. Now is the time to bring in the youth and a natural socialist battalion. No matter that we remain the minor-ity. We can do what we can. There is no doubt that the trade union, especially the strikes of recent years, or, who saw the delayed, lethargic response to labour's election campaign cannot fail to do damage. For the bosses and their pay-masters will find the second, less dramatic approach more fruitful in the long run. The real danger at this moment appears to be an attempt to buy the political neutrality of labour leaders, trade union machineries, and their enthusiastic condemnation of anything 'unofficial' or 'unauthorised'.

Ideological lines

What of the Labour Party? We must remember that it still contains, in the portfolios of its leaders, not by any means received a death blow. But the circumstances outlined will place a heavy pressure on it to swing more and more rightward as the class struggle on the shops becomes an attempt to change the system by and assumes a more and more 'industrial' coloration. Militants will find it less, even less attractive to respond to their needs; youth will tend to escape it intellectuals ignore it.

The ideological lines in the Parti socialiste in France and the Right has marked a course towards a self-confessed, alternative communist party on the lines of Western Germany's SPD (the "Parti of Free Enterprise"), to-wards a final rejection of whatever traces of class identification remains, and the Left has moved around the defence of this class heritage and the class political platform of class reification, nationalization, defense of national planning and so on. The Left is still divided, but it has been well organized; its program is manifestly impossible to write; its perspectives completely unwright-out. For the moment, however, liberals, as a class, have a common tendency within the Party, more conscious than it has been for a number of years.

That the Right will ultimately be in the ascendant seems almost inevitable. Right-thinking the last few years was made on these assumptions; the election fought on its policy. The Left offered no opposition, no platform. The Right is based on a profound trend in contemporary capitalism; the stability of a permanent arms economy. The Left on nothing more than a defence of traditions and a half-formalized, semi-socialist ideology inherited from a pre-arms-economy period. That the Left is prepared to ultimate starchy seems almost sure.

Compensation in building

"Omar" is to be congratulated on his comprehensive review of the relationship between the working class to the building industry (R. October).

The question of compensation for building nationally, taken over by the working class raises, I feel, a good many more issues that "Omar" deals with. Some of the things have been taken over by the nationwide strike. In that the nominal owners, the shareholders, have lost all functions of management, on take-over they can be dealt with on the basis of our program of "com-

pensation payments based on a means test. There will probably have to be various complicated provisions to ensure that small indirect shareholders— in insurance companies, unit trusts and so on—are not deprived of their savings. Something like a mass transfer of assets from those of the Office Savings Banks might well be the best way.

Industries like building and retail shops are not nearly so straightforward. By sheer numeri-

city the cost of the proprietors of this sort of business constitute a social problem, the first problem of the first magnitude. Furthermore, an anti-socialist at-

titude on the part of so many people, with numerous relatives and friends amongst the industrial working class who have direct daily contact with it, cannot fail to powerfully inhibit the growth of socialist ideology amongst industrial workers. Nor is this problem a theoretical one, a bridge which has to be crossed in the future. After the Labour government, needing to re-

organize the country after the war, the call to modernize business efficient and in a limited way to make social progress, had to com-

paratively easily acquire land, buildings, etc. The sorry record of this business has probably created more resentment against the Lab-

our Party than anything else. Even more, I regret to say, than the decisions to manufacture atomic weapons and to use troops for strike breaking.

Proposals

In the worst instances, people left with mortgages pay on mortgages than they received as compensation! Guess who they have to appeal to? The decisions to manufacture atomic weapons and to use troops for strike breaking.

Indeed, if such a person is operating with little capital and hard plant he is really only a sort of wage-earner. But not so long since metal workers on piece rates paid their own assistants. (Why, then, have metal workers undermined in the factories, and builders remain indepen-

dent? Because the metal workers had only one competitor, the man who often the material merchant as well. Builders have many custo-

mers.

To make some proposals. The most important is that no person displaced shall be worse off than he would be if he were shipped over to displaced skilled worker, irrespective of his past National Insurance, etc. position. It is clear as clear can be the same re-training rights. All outstanding debts on the business's books and firm shall be either paid or abolished, depending on circumstances.

A proprietor shall have the right to only give up a part of their income, retaining a nucleus smaller than the minimum take-

over size.

If any private dwelling is ac-

quired by the builder, whether ten-

ant, leaseholder or owner, the owner shall have (whether or not he is entitled to it) a public notice for 6 months after the existing but mori-

tary Town Planning Acts) either a council house and mortgage cancellation or the transfer of his mortgage to a comparable house, without loss. And in any case, a "disturbance allowance".

A useful rule would be that no individual builder or architect could be a member of a local authority. Even now, publics cannot be put together, and an ex-
tension of this rule, on the raw construction without the abuses of public contracts that now goes on.

I am not suggesting that pri-

vate business men should have a hard time for all time. The working class could have the indus-
trial flexibility for itself. What it will never do is to treat individu-

al contractors as if they were pow-

eries instead of as people with their own lives to lead.

Michael Millett.

London.

THE BRITISH ECONOMY AND THE WORKING-CLASS

I have read in your issue of October 1968 a review by J. Crutchley of my book The British Economy and the Working Class.

There are one or two points which I would like to discuss. The reviewer points out that the fall in the relative compensation is due to the vast expenditure in arms—and he may be right. I have given this comment in the pamphlet for the reason that I did not want to dis-
cuss any matter which does not follow the official figures which I used. I refrained from doing so in order to make it impossible for the bunch of bourgeois economists to attack me on the grounds of sheer sur-

prise. I believe it is impossible to hit the other side with exactly the same weapons they use against those who look at society from a Marxist point of view.

However,—and this is my sec-

ond point—the reviewer did not mention that I have asked the inclusion which I draw from the official statistics. I have shown that official statistics in the working class are falling, that the workers are in the grave danger of losing the achievements of 1945. And I believe we can fight back only when their industrial struggle is closely linked with the political struggle. The time has come, in my view, it is the building of a new workers' party.

I would be grateful if you could enable your readers to follow those arguments which I have given you above.

Kurt Map.

London.
Socialist Review and Workers' Control from R. Simon

Of all the groupings to be found on the British Left today, Socialist Review is, I believe, the only one which places high on its program the demand for workers' control. When I first saw your paper a year or so ago, this fact encouraged me greatly to take an interest in it.

Approach

But since then I have gradually come to the conclusion that Socialist Review in reality no more concerns itself with workers' control than all the other Socialist groups which mention the subject either not at all or only casually, if at all. Your paper, as regards the kind of material you publish, the within the framework of the British Labour movement, a movement for Socialism, has to begin with the real facts of the day. Their propaganda should not be plucked out of thin air or borrowed from some old, outdated program. It has to be based on a sound analysis of the present situation, and this means especially that it has to be in accord with the material experiences of the working class.

Appeals

An appeal based on the cry "depression is around the corner" or "the workers are starving under capitalism" is bound to fail in today's conditions. So is the in such a way as to be a source of great disillusionment. The worker in the railways, the post office, the buses is little better off than if these were run by private enterprise. And really, who can get enthusiastic about the nationalization of steel (or anything else) when it is well known that it will only mean one board replacing another and no more say for the steel worker than before?

Thus it can be seen that workers' control is relevant to the conditions of today and derives from them. It is not an artificial notion nor just a dream of the Socialist future.

If the conscious struggle for Socialism were to put workers' control at its focus, it would gain a new and concrete meaning. The Labour movement badly needs a 'dose' of workers' control. At the same time workers' control needs to be made the slogan of a movement.

These are the jobs, I maintain, which Socialist Review should be doing. Instead of being just another faction of militants, you should become the leading and unceasing protagonist of workers' control. Each issue of your paper should devote much of its space to this subject, in one aspect or another. Every member of your group should become a propagandist for workers' control, raising and spreading the question everywhere.

In making these suggestions, I do not imply for a moment that here lies some short cut to Socialism. But I do say that around this central question you could begin to build that conscious movement of Socialists which is absolutely necessary if a change in the system is to be achieved.

R. Simon
London, September 29.

Editor's Reply

By arguing too hard at the essence Comrade Simon is in danger of losing the sense of wholeness and dynamism in the Labour Movement. Of course the core of Socialism lies in workers' control; of course everyone socialist must propagate the necessity for it and insist confidently in it at every opportunity.

Elementary

This is elementary to anyone active in the movement. But activists will also know that the defence of socialist positions requires more than a restatement of fundamentals. At the present time of political retreat within the Labour Movement and rightward turn on the part of the Party leadership, it requires an

Tight Belt

Since 1950 productivity has increased by nearly 60 per cent and on an average every car worker is producing £9 per week profit or the shareholder. After wages have been paid, every Ford worker produces £12 profit per week. BMC workers £8, Rover £9, Standards £9 and Roostes £10.

IT'S RICH

"The duty of all who wish to serve the nation is to find out where they consider its true interests lie, then to advance their views no matter what the immediate political consequences may be."—Aeneid Bovin. News of the World, October 11.

"A Labour opposition has to run very fast in order to stay where it is."—RHS Crossman, New Statesman, October 17.

"Back to the 'thirties', Newsletter, October 10.

"Our proletariat is in Africa", New Statesman, October 17.

"Mr. Foulkes ruled that politics must not be interpolated into the business of the (Confed.) meetings". Times, October 16.

"This confirms a theory I have long held, that the Russians are a profoundly revolutionary people, and indeed that the Russian Revolution never occurred". Sir William Hayer, Observer, September 27.

"Contributions to 'It's Rich' are gladly, nay, eagerly welcomed", SEIR Editor, January to December.

kind of approach you have, is no different from the Newsletter or Socialist or Tribune or the Daily Worker. Each of these puts forward its views on current matters, often against 'foreign', colonial policy, on economic questions, strikes, etc. Each calls upon the workers to follow his line and advises them what to do. And Socialist Review does the very same things.

Frequently your paper points out that ultimate solutions can only be found in a Socialist society—but then so do all the other papers. To distinguish yourself you sometimes, though less frequently, add "with workers' control".

To build Socialist Review is, in my opinion, on the wrong track. To copy the "vanguard" approach of the other groups and newspapers will get you nowhere. If you stand for workers' control, you have both the opportunity and the duty to take on a different role altogether. With a change in the character of your work, you could play a far more influential and important part in the Labour movement than you at present do.

Anyone who wants to build, slogan "socialism will raise your moral values" or "comrades you are alienated under capitalism".

A concept

None of the existing Socialist groups have anything to offer which fits the changing circumstances and yet is realistically based. Either they are tied to conceptions now out of date or else they dream up new ones with no material basis. None of them is able to give the propaganda of Socialism its very essential new content.

But there is a concept which can form the nucleus of Socialist advance in this country; and that is the concept of a workers' control. In present day conditions it is, I am convinced, the one idea which can help to integrate the long and large sections of the British working class.

Relevant

Clearly it is relevant to the situation in the Welfare State which offers a certain security, but no voice in the running of affairs. Moreover, the nationalized industries, instead of being a source of irritation to the workers both inside and outside them, function all-out defence of nationalization and planning (pace, workers' control); it requires a defence of the class nature of the Labour Party (pace, workers' control); it requires a constant demonstration and agitation for the idea of unity of industrial and political action (pace, workers' control); it requires a constant attack on the dogma of British Imperialism (under colonial workers' control). It requires all this and more over and above a crusade to instil workers' control as the overwhelming majority plank in a socialist program.

In Detail

Defeatism takes many forms. One of its most dangerous is the rigid adherence to one idea, one slogan, however central it might be to socialist thought, as THE idea. THE slogan to be cherished at all times and under all circumstances. This might be called sectarian defeatism.

Finally, Comrade Simon could have put the space he has taken to much better use by showing in greater detail, if we might quote, "that workers' control is relevant to the conditions of today and derives from them". We gladly welcome such contributions—Editor.

BUILD THE SOCIALIST REVIEW!

Please send a free trial copy of SOCIALIST REVIEW to the following:

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Send to SOCIALIST REVIEW, M Maddison, 21 Aubert Park, NS
The prophet Unarmed: Trotsky 1921-1929, by Isaac Deutscher. OUP £8.50—Trotsky's Diary in Exile 1935: Faber and Faber £2.75.

The Second Volume of Deutscher's epic life of Trotsky will not disappoint those who have been awaiting this masterpiece since whenever it was that they put down the first. What Deutscher has done is little short of miraculous: for he has stripped from the giant figure of his subject the prodigious slime in which it had been smothered by the detractors of the Stalin epoch, while at the same time managing to divest it of the unpleasing scent of carbonic sanctity which has been wafted around it by some of the more zealous and puritanical of the 'followers'. The man who emerges from these pages is a personage so powerful, so coherent, so powerful, as the title (from Machiavelli) implies, as much in adversity as in all the small-minded call triumph.

New prospects

One chapter of this book alone will give cause for the gratifying thought of a whole generation: the section entitled 'Not By Politics Alone'. This opens up exciting new prospects in every intellectual field. A big claim? Yes: but a mighty achievement, for Deutscher has summarized in 34 pages the enormous contribution which Trotsky made to the Marxist understanding of and approach to the arts and sciences—and this legacy of Trotsky's will have a profound effect on world literature when it is finally claimed by the young people whose intellectual growth is still stultified by the cruel hobbies of Zhданovism.

Beginning

At the moment Trotsky's contribution to the cultural future of the Soviet Union is locked in the sealed rooms of the great libraries, waiting for the day when it will be disinterred. Deutscher has begun the exhumation: and all the rebellious poets of the secret literary circles of Moscow and Leningrad can be relied upon to comment on whether they are informed of its existence. The mimeographed sheets of poems and stories which pass from hand to hand throughout Russia and Eastern Europe already contain corrosive possibilities for the thought controllers. But when Deutscher's 34 pages are mimeographed the dissolution will have begun.

TROTSKY'S DIARY

IN EXILE: 1935

The 'DIARY' which Faber's have published would really be more properly called a scrap-book. It includes newspaper cuttings, pastings from books, and personal comments. It is a bit scruffily edited, but worth looking at for a number of reasons: one being that in it Trotsky discusses his relations with Lenin, and their part in the revolution, in a more reflective mood than is common in his political writings. The heroine of this book is Natalia, his wife. Through it both he and she were aware that Stalin's axe was poised over them: they are fluffed from place to place on the remoter fringes of a collapsing civilization, by cowardly politicians who themselves were to perish within four years. When the war submerges the old Europe, Trotsky's murder was virtually unnoticed. In such circum-

SHOP STEWARD

Who is the worst paid man today? With haggard look and hair torn by worry, John, a shop steward, answers: Who's blamed when things do not go right? Who exists by day or night? Though never having been to college, he must possess the widest knowledge. On rates of pay and hours of labour every man is to keep peace with one's neighbour. Of income tax and how to pay it. Who's best to say, and when to say it. And how and which and why and unhappily of all the problems known to men. If with the foreman he is agreed, He's made the men or been weak-kneed. When for the men he tries to cater, He's called a blinking agitator. Who is this chap? What? Do you know him? Or how much you really owe him? This chap, whose torment is a mystery, Is no one else than your SHOP STEWARD. AEU Journal, 1943

CLASS

IN EDUCATION

Professional workers, business owners, managers 59 38
Clerical workers.................. 44 37
Foremen, small shopkeepers............... 30 24
Skilled manual workers............... 18 14
Unskilled manual workers............... 9 9

For all children the percentage class-chance was 22 in SW Herts and 17 in Middlesbrough.

Another piece of evidence that non-educational criteria affect the chance of a grammar school entry comes from Birmingham school entry comes from Birmingham where it has been disclosed by the Education Committee that children from the working-class estates and suburbs have a five times better chance of a grammar school place than the children from the congested central areas of the city.

This is the third of a series of extracts from 'Class in English Education' by Peter Ibbetson, which first appeared in the October 1938 issue of Labour Teacher, quarterly journal of the National Association of Labour Teachers.

Readers are invited to send their queries on educational matters (enclosing a stamped addressed envelope) to us. Those of general interest will be answered by Peter Ibbetson in our columns: those of interest to the sender alone will be answered by post. Whatever the question, we shall be glad to help.—Editor.

ART & SOCIETY?

The many new office blocks in the centre of British cities, particularly London, are good business, if often bad architecture.—The Economist, May 16.

I enclose 75p subscription for 3 months issue of SOCIALIST REVIEW.

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from page two

CLASS IN EDUCATION

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Notting Hill Notebook

NOTTING HILL, like Little Rock, has become identified throughout the world with racial conflict, and this Notebook brings home to time and time, leave Notting Hill to report on the racial issues that occur outside this area, so as to give readers a broader picture of the "migrant problem", the things that are being done by those who are people who do it. Before we do that however, we must say something about the general election results.

Like most people, we were stunned by the Conservatives' huge majority of 309. What interested us most was the fact that Mosley got 2,621 votes.

When one takes into account the fact that most of these voters must have known they were wasting their votes, it says a lot for the strength of their convictions that they were willing to do so. We, in the CPPA, will be watching for signs of Mosley's future intentions, now that he knows the full strength of his support.

The situation of the sitting MP came as no surprise to us in the CPPA; in canvassing the coloured voters during the election, many of them said they couldn't see any difference between the Labour, the then sitting MP, and the white tenants of slum houses in the constituency were referring to this Labour MP as the "invisible man".

Political careerists make poor advocates for Socialism. We do not say that Socialists should not win elections, but we can hardly have half the peoples of the world having nothing to eat. We do not say that Socialists shouldn't accept peers, but not when the bestowees of peers are guilty of condoning the murder and imprisonment of blameless human beings.

**Election Results**

As a part of the 12,000,000 "barney" people who voted Labour, we regret the opportunity lost by the Labour Party to win the support of hundreds of natural socialists within the Coloured community.

The election results confirm the fact that the goal of Socialism is not merely the acquisition of more material comforts, it is also a fight for better human relations. And when all the political ideologies and economic theories are threshed-out, there is still the individual to contend with. Prosperity, it is often said, is the enemy of Socialism. We don't agree. It is individualism that is the real enemy of Socialism. Until the burning concern for one's fellow-men, that inspired the past, is rekindled, we will find it difficult to convince people of the rightness of the Socialist cause. To accept the argument that prosperity is the enemy of Socialism, is to agree to the charge that Socialism is a type of utopianism. To the extent that this acceptance can be detected in much of the writings of present-day socialist writers. Hola, Dr. Banda, and Suez, were used by the Labour Party chiefly with the Tories instead of presenting them for what they really were: despicable acts by despicable men.

Not Overwhelmed

These crimes, having been used in this way, the Tories were able to counter the attack quite easily by appealing to the nationalist element in the people's make-up. One cannot appeal to the "good sense" of the people, one must appeal to their hearts. If there is any one thing that helped the Tories win the general election, it was their appeal to the emotions of the voters. The Labour Party merely left the facts to speak for themselves; but facts should be sown in hearts already cultivated, to receive them, and not just scattered in the hope of finding the people responsive.

We in the CPPA are not overwhelmed by the disappointment caused by Labour's defeat; and when we hear "socialists" advocating the abandonment of Socialism, we echo the thoughts of a young West Indian girl who, on the eve of the general election, wrote to Mr. Gaitskell saying: "Long may you find your |and work, for |riest |candies stand aglow for the Socialist Party in England and the World".

Notting Hill Notebook is written and edited by members of the Progressive Association of Notting Hill to whom we 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.: BAYSwater 3736.)

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**FROM PAGE 1**

The image of its complete subservience to the American alliance. There is no tendency within the Labour Party (or there is in the Labour Party) which stands for any more decisive break with bourgeois associations. Its "progressiveness" is that of nationalized, streamlined, slightly civilized capitalism. The organs of Liberal opinion (The Times, Observer, Guardian) combine a middle-class conscience on foreign policy with a latent or overt Tory concern over such issues as the Rent Act and industrial disputes.

Even on the electoral calculations, Labour has little to gain from an "understanding" with the Liberals. The fluctuations in the Labour party poll since 1950 are far more a function of the number of Liberal candidates that happen to be standing than of any ideological currents at work in the electorate. Where a Liberal replaced a Labour man as the "second candidate" in the recent election, it was usually in a conservation or a safe seat. The most significant facts in post-war electoral history are not the ups and downs of Liberalism since the election of 1950, the Labour Party and the Liberal Party have each lost a million voters. (This is of course largely due to the smaller number of candidates since that date.) The Tories have gained over a million; partly from 1950 Liberals, since theirs was an old Labour seat, and there are about a million more abstainers than in 1950. The phenomenon of Labour abstention (which lost the 1955 election) is still with us, although in lesser degree. The "missing voters" are still to be won back.

But the question cannot be dealt with in terms of constituency arithmetic. Political alliances, as Trotsky remarked, have their dynamics as well as their mathematical; and any degree of alliance with Liberalism could not fail to influence the content of Labour's program, and the balance of forces within the Labour Party itself. The influence would inevitably be in a Right-wing and arbitrate undeclared direction.

It would be wrong, however, simply to shrug off the rise in the Liberal vote. Liberalism works by giving bourgeois answers to radical questions. The role of workers in the control of industry, democracy within the unions, national boundaries, the colonial and nuclear issues, all these problems are openly faced, in a distorted form, by Liberalism.

Liberalism is a half-way house to Trotskyism for the majority of its adherents. For certain bourgeois Radicals, however, as for ED Morel and the young Marx, the natural transition may be towards Socialism. How far this change is possible depends on the energy and principle of the REAL Left: the Marxists in the working-class movement.

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**WHAT WE STAND FOR**

The SOCIALIST REVIEW stands for an International Socialist democracy. We demand: the mass mobilization of the working class in the industrial and political life of the country, the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of Socialism. The SOCIALIST REVIEW believes in a Social Democratic Government and that the Labour Party must be brought to power on the basis of the following:

- The complete nationalisation of heavy industry, the banks, insurance and transport, with compensation payments based on a means test. Re-nationalisation of all demoralised industries without compensation—The nationalised industries to form an integral part of an overall economic plan and not to be used in the interests of private profit.
- Worker's control in all nationalised industries i.e., a majority of workers' representatives on the boards, subject to frequent election, immediate recall and the right to have a say in the setting of wage ruling in the industry.
- The establishment of workers' committees to control all the plans and decisions within the framework of a planned economy. In all industries workers' committees should be subject to frequent election, immediate recall, and the right to have a say in the setting of wage ruling in the industry.
- The establishment of the principle of work or full maintenance.
- The extension of the social services by the payment of adequate pensions, the abolition of all payments for the National Health Services, and the establishment of an industrial health service.
- The expansion of the housing programme by granting free loans to workers' houses, and the right to requisition privately held land for the re-building of towns and cities. The offer of technical and economic assistance by the Labour Party to under-developed countries.
- The abolition of conscription, the withdrawal of all British troops from overseas.
- The abolition of the House of Lords and its destruction. Britain to pave the way with unilateral renunciation of the H.M. Constitution.
- A Socialist foreign policy subservient to neither Washington nor Moscow.