SOzialist Party of Great Britain
52, Clapham High Street, London, B.M.

Report of the Proceedings of the 59th Annual Conference held at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London W.C.1 on Friday, Saturday and Sunday 20th, 21st & 22nd April 1962

Delegates

Attendance

Day: Present Represented
First Day: 30 18
Second Day: 28 17
Third Day: 30 16

Branches not in attendance on Friday: Bradford & Eccles
Saturday: Bradford, Eccles, Wd.Gro. & Hornsey

Conference Sessions

First Day: 11.30 a.m. to 6.30 p.m.
Second Day: 2.40 p.m. to 6.00 p.m.
Third Day: 12 noon to 6.00 p.m.

Conference Chairman: A. George (Bloomsbury)
Vice Chairman: R. Ambridge (Islington)

It was agreed that the Standing Orders Committee act as Tellers during the course of the Conference Proceedings.

Collections

Friday: 27 0 0
Saturday: 38 8 0
Sunday: (Collection taken at Evening Rally)

FRIDAY
No.1 on the Agenda was an Instructed Resolution, under Section: Branches, Membership and Organisation. Delegates agreed to take this in conjunction with Item 3 of Discussion "E".

1. Wood Green & Hornsey - "That the words '(British Section of the World Socialist Organisation)' be added to our name, and used whenever suitable."

Amendment - Paddington - "Delete 'British Section of the World Socialist Organisation and insert 'Companion Party for World Socialism'."

Amendment Lost 2-37

Resolution Lost 3-43

Summary of Discussion:
The Chairman explained to the Delegates that the E.C. had taken the usual step of placing an Item for Discussion on the Agenda, a move which had traditionally been the prerogative of Branches. But this matter had come up time and time again at the E.C., often prompted by letters from the Companion Parties. There had also been a Resolution on the E.C. table to sound the Companion Parties on their views regarding the establishment of a Socialist International. The E.C. felt that this was a matter of Policy and as such it should be referred to Conference.
The Companion Parties Secretary stated that the U.S.A. and Canadian Companion Parties had in the past suggested that we should change our name to the "World Socialist Party of Great Britain" but, after prolonged discussions, they had accepted our view that such a change would be detrimental to the Party.

The addition to our name "The British Section of the World Socialist Movement", not "Companion Party" in parenthesis would satisfy them. There was a general desire to give greater expression to the existing bonds between us and Socialists everywhere. The World Socialist Movement was, in effect, in existence, and we were asked to declare ourselves publicly and explicitly as part of it.

A number of Delegates felt that any addition to the Party's name would not help to clarify our position, but rather tend to confuse it. They were inclined to regard this move as another attempt at a short cut in our propaganda. But the general opinion was that, whilst the establishment of an International was possibly premature and the organisational difficulties too great at the present time, some step should be taken to link us more closely with our Companion Parties and Socialists wherever they might be. Other Delegates called for Conference not to be put off by apparent difficulties and technical points. Our appeal was to the members of the working class all over the world, and we should make this implicit in our title. It would give heart to workers all over the world, and it had great propaganda value. Was this not enough in itself? Some people were masquerading as representatives of the international working class, and it was time that they and their right to speak for the international
working class were challenged.

Floor Resolutions
a) Hay (Faddington) and Cottis (S.E.Essex) "That this Conference recommends the words 'Companion Party for World Socialism' to be used whenever possible, with the Party's title." LOST 10 - 14

b) Cottis & Wheeler (S.E.Essex) "That this Conference recommends that the Party's name be changed to 'The World Socialist Party'"

c) Devereux & Kersey (Bloomsbury) "That whenever suitable the words 'British Section of the World Socialist Movement' be added to the Party's official title." Both b) and c) lost by an overwhelming majority.

d) D'Arcy & Corry (Islington) "That this Conference recommend the E.C. to consider the possibility of issuing an International Socialist Manifesto in the name of all the Companion Parties and with the co-operation of all the Parties concerned." CARRIED 19-3

e) Devereux (Bloomsbury) and Cottis (S.E.Essex) "That this Conference approves the appointment of an International Secretary." CARRIED 15-5

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

Amendments to Rules

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<td>Rule 4</td>
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<td>Wood Green &amp; Hornsey</td>
<td>&quot;That after the words 'account' and before the words 'arranging' on line 2, insert 'or deposit account'&quot; CARRIED 22-13</td>
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Resolutions

No. 3 - Mumbles Branch - "That the Internal Party Journal Committee be wound up." CARRIED 22-13

The Resolution was put to the vote after a very brief discussion.

The Chairman then welcomed Comrade Frank from Vienna, three members of the W.S.P. of Ireland, and Comrade Alec Hart from South Africa, and invited Comrade Murray, fraternal delegate from the WSP of Ireland, and Comrade Frank to address the Conference.

Comrade Murray: conveyed fraternal greetings from all the Comrades in Ireland. He outlined the propaganda efforts in Belfast, Armagh and other centres. Their election drive brought them considerable publicity and they have now established themselves as a serious political party. The fact that they had been able to retain the election deposit had further fired their enthusiasm and while they did not believe that all 430 people who had voted for them could be regarded as socialists, many must be very close to us, for it needed extra courage to resist the pressure of the Unionists. The Chief Government Whip had made a public forecast on the probable political set-up during the next parliamentary election in Northern Ireland. The World Socialist Party of Ireland had been specifically mentioned as a likely contestant and the Irish Comrades felt that this was an opportunity they would not dare to miss if they could but raise sufficient funds. Their success in mailing the 'Socialist' had amazed them, and they intended to publish at least 1,500 copies in the near future. They also had plans to resurrect the Dublin Branch.

Fraternal messages were read from Comrade Friend of Winnipeg, on behalf of the S.P. of Canada; Comrade Luff on behalf of the Victoria B.C. Local; Comrade O'Brien on behalf of the Auckland Branch of the S.P. of Australia, and Comrade Sanders on behalf of the Melbourne Branch of the S.P. of Australia. The Delegates agreed to acknowledge with appreciation all messages received. The Chairman then introduced Comrade Frank, who is well known to all but new members, having joined the Party in 1910. He stressed his single-minded devotion to the Socialist cause under the most trying of circumstances, and expressed the satisfaction of all at having this Comrade in our midst on this occasion.

Comrade Frank: began by rejoicing in the fact that he had survived the vicissitudes of Social Democracy, Hitlerism, Russian Occupation etc., and was now attending the Conference of a genuinely revolutionary Socialist Party. The political climate in Austria had, up to now, been completely negative with regard to all his attempts to sow the seeds of a socialist movement there. Political indifference and a conspiracy of silence by the press had frustrated all his past efforts. He outlined the policies of the S.P.A. (equivalent to the Labour Party) and
showed how these had only helped to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Strikes are the order of the day in Austria as in Britain, crime is on the increase, and alcoholism is becoming more and more of a problem. But seeing the efforts of the Comrades over here, he felt renewed hope, and he would return to Austria firm in his resolve to redouble his efforts and not to let up until he would be able to gather around him people who would subscribe to the Ideas of Socialism.

Comrade Frank then read a message from Dr Johannes Kleinhaeppel of Vienna, who has helped him in his work for Socialism for a number of years.

Dr Kleinhaeppel, an Austrian sympathiser of long standing, wished the Conference success in its labours. He contrasted the truly Socialist character of the SGB with that of the pseudo-socialist organisations in Austria, and he expressed his conviction that we will continue the tenacious fight against capitalism until Socialism has been established.

The Conference then returned to the Agenda.

**LITERATURE**

It was agreed to take Resolutions 4 and 5 in conjunction with Item for Discussion under "I".

**Resolution No. 4** - Paddington Branch "That this Conference instructs the E.C. that as an interim measure, so that a new pamphlet on Russia can be published immediately, a series of selected articles previously published in the 'S.S.' (especially since 1948) be chosen, with a suitable preface, and this be printed in limited quantities to cover Party requirements for, say, the next eighteen months, until a newly printed pamphlet can be published."

Amendment - Camborne - "Delete all after 'E.C.' and insert 'That a new pamphlet on Russia be published. That meanwhile every effort be made to secure current events regarding Russia in the Socialist Standard.'" Cd. 32-9 As Sub. 31-10

**Resolution No. 5** - Paddington Branch "That this Conference recommends that our standard Pamphlet on Russia should deal briefly with the historical background of the Revolution and the early theories of the Communist Party, but that the bulk of the Pamphlet should deal with the development of Russia since 1945. This Conference recommends the E.C. to take all possible steps to have the Pamphlet prepared within the next 13 months."

Amendment - Lewisham "Delete all after 'E.C.' in the last sentence, and insert 'to set up a Study Group to prepare the material.'" LOST 9-31 RES. CARRIED 21v15

**Summary of Discussion**

Delegates supporting the publication of an interim pamphlet expressed the view that this stop would, with a minimum of delay, provide a stop-gap while the new pamphlet was in preparation. It would probably take up to 13 months to bring out a replacement for the old one now out of stock, and in the meantime this interim pamphlet could be sold. The material for this pamphlet was readily available, and the interim pamphlet could be in circulation within two or three months.

A member of the Pamphlets Committee informed Conference that the new Pamphlet on Russia was already half-written and should be out within six months at the latest. The E.C. had decided that the new pamphlet should cover all the ground since 1917, right up to the present, and the Delegate Meeting last October had not opposed this. Under the circumstances, and taking into account that the interim pamphlet could not be produced at less than 2/- per copy if the edition was to be no more than 2 - 3,000 copies as suggested, it would be better to await the new pamphlet.

In a more general discussion on Literature, one Delegate asked when the pamphlet "Socialism" was going to be re-issued. A member of the "S.S." Production Committee answered that, in accordance with previous Conference instructions, they had written a new Pamphlet to replace the old No. 9. It had been before the E.C. and would be ready for the printer in the immediate future (the title of the pamphlet was to be 'The Case for Socialism.')

There was a short discussion on the possible inclusion of poems in the "S.S.", and Conference was told that there was no reason why poems of suitable character and quality should not be published, but that in fact very few pieces of poetry of suitable character and quality were sent to the Editorial Committee.

One Delegate criticised the Party's decision to publish Morris' "Art, Labour & Socialism! We should state our own independent views on the subject and not slavishly imitate. A member of the Pamphlets Committee stated that there could be no question of slavish imitation. The pamphlet would consist of 36 pages of which only 15 would be taken up by Morris' ideas, the rest representing the Party's appraisal of Morris' work and extending in the light of technical developments. When the E.C. decided to implement a 1961 Conference Resolution to re-publish Morris' work, they...
considered that it contained certain valuable things.

Delegates then discussed ways and means of increasing sales of the Socialist Standard. Most speakers thought that canvassing was still the best method of selling the "S.S." and that all other methods should be additional to this. There was one suggestion of linking public meetings to specified articles in the "S.S." and a plea for more concentrated efforts at selected outdoor stations.

At this stage the work of the "S.S." increased Circulation Committee came up for discussion. A number of speakers expressed their disappointment that the adverts placed by the Committee at a cost of about £20 had not yielded better results (66 subscribers). One speaker wondered whether we should not try to interest people in some aspect of Socialism (possibly by a short pamphlet) and having interested them, try to sell them the "S.S." For the Committee, it was stated that they had not reported to Conference since their work did not start until after the period under review by Conference. They had submitted monthly reports to the E.C., and each report had been endorsed. But whatever the number of subscribers obtained by press advertising, members would have to support the Committee by their own efforts.

Then followed a discussion of the contents and appearance of the Socialist Standard. Some delegates expressed the view that the number of words in the present Standard was less than in the past, due to the illustrated front page. A member of the "S.S." Production Committee stated that the wordage had increased rather than decreased, owing to the smaller margin.

Floor Resolution - D'Arcy & Corrie (Islington) "That this Conference request the E.C. to go into the question of increasing the size of the 'S.S.' by 4 pages, the price to remain at 6d a copy."

ADJOURNMENT 6.25 p.m.

Saturday Session It was agreed to defer the above Resolution until later in the afternoon.

ITEMS FOR DISCUSSION

A. Bloomsbury Branch - "Are Quarterly Branch Reports really necessary?"

Arguments in favour of abolishing such reports were concerned with the saving of work; arguments against were the relatively small amount of work involved and the advantage of having progress reports at shorter intervals. It was also pointed out that an amendment of Rule 8 would be needed to give effect to the suggestion.

Floor Resolution - Donnelly (Glasgow) & Corrie (Islington) "That quarterly reports are necessary." C'd. nom. con.

C. Wembley Branch - "The desirability of discouraging members from joining Central Branch." Discussion was brief. No delegate could disagree with Wembley Branch, but it was pointed out that a member of Central Branch was better informed concerning Party activities than a member not attending his branch for prolonged periods, due to the Central Branch Secretary's weekly despatch of E.C. Reports and other information. We would have to trust members' judgement and good sense.

D. Islington Branch - "The advisability of inserting the word 'only' between the words 'The' and 'Socialist' in the sub-heading of the Socialist Standard title, to make this read - 'Official Journal of the only Socialist Party of Great Britain,'"

Summary of Delegates' Views Islington, in opening up, regarded this insertion as a challenge to all those organisations who falsely call themselves "socialist." Most of the other Delegates felt that there was no short cut to understanding our case. Whatever we would call ourselves ('the only real?...'), some people would always mistake our identity until they understood our Principles and Policy. Any addition to our title would clutter up the "S.S."

At this juncture, it was agreed to proceed with the Islington Floor Resolution moved the previous day, i.e. "That this Conference requests the E.C. to go into the question of increasing the size of the 'S.S.' by four pages, the price to remain at 6d a copy." This was LOST 10-18.

Most Delegates sympathised with Islington's wish to see a larger "S.S." but the addition of pages would have to depend on the availability of suitable articles. The extra expense would also have to be considered. Once or twice a year, it might be possible and desirable to have more pages. The extra cost, probably about £25 per issue, could then be met by appeals in the "S.S." A small number of delegates were opposed to any increase in the number of pages, on financial grounds. One of the Trustees pointed out that we were already spending much more than was coming in,
RESOLUTION accepted by the Standing Orders Committee after completion of the Final Agenda, in view of its special nature - H. Young (Wembley) and Brain (Swansea) -

"This 1962 Conference of the Socialist Party, having regard to the great concentration of Capital recently, and the Government declaration - 'that there is no scope for more than strictly limited increases in wages,' - anticipates an even greater extension of strikes in Industry. The political results of this situation, with the failure of Nationalisation, will further discredit all political parties involved in the administration of Capitalism. In 1961/2 the contradictions of Capitalism have increased, the triple problems of Society become more acute (vast sums on armaments, milk poured down pit shafts, housing problems, crime wave etc.) So-called Liberals (Tonics in disguise) will do no better than Tory or Labour in running Capitalism. This Conference, therefore, recommends the Executive Committee to seize every opportunity to publish the Party's standpoint on current social problems, especially in reply to lying capitalist Government propaganda." LOST 9 - 21

Summary of Discussion: The mover opened up by criticising the purely administrative character of the Agenda. These items did not necessitate, in his opinion, bringing Delegates from all Branches to Conference, they could be decided by post. The Party should use this occasion to examine the world outside and arrive at some kind of view on the current situation. The expression of such a view would help members everywhere, when dealing with opponents. He supplied statistical material to emphasise the growing acuteness of the contradictions of Capitalism. The Party which had been right all along in its forecast, and we should say so. We should make ourselves heard on the Government's wage policy, the strike wave, B.S.C. propaganda, etc.

Most Delegates speaking on the Resolution felt that the points put forward were well worth discussion, but that Conference could not issue a Statement as proposed in the Resolution. All our written and spoken propaganda tried to deal with all current issues in the best of our ability. The Party had in the past issued manifestoes and special documents dealing with specific problems, such as the one issued in August 1914, dealing with War, and another one on the General Strike. But a document of this nature would require most careful consideration and prior discussion by the E.C. and the membership as a whole. Conference could only initiate such a move, but could not carry it out. A number of speakers took the opportunity to express regret at the fact that the Party was holding its Annual Conference, and only a handful of people outside the Party were aware of this. We should be able to interest the Press and point out to the world at large that this important event was taking place.

Fraternal Greetings were then read from Comrade Everson on behalf of the S.P. of New Zealand, and Comrade Milne on behalf of the Winnipeg Local of the S.P. of Canada.

It was agreed to return all Fraternal Greetings received.

SUNDAY SESSION

Parliamentary Activity: Conference endorsed the Parliamentary Committee's plan to have a Broadsheet ready at the earliest possible date, for distribution everywhere. There was some discussion as to the advisability of eliminating the Candidate's Address as a separate document. The Committee suggested in their report that this Address be included in the Broadsheet in constituencies we would be contesting. Some speakers thought that Branches should inform the E.C. as soon as possible, if they intend to contest, irrespective of the number of members living in the area to be contested. This would be an incentive to the Branch in question to step up its propaganda and make all possible efforts to obtain new members to make up the required number. Comrade Murray, the Fraternal Delegate from the WSP of Ireland, mentioned that there was an Election coming up in Northern Ireland. His Party was more or less expected to contest the election, and he felt that it was a unique opportunity to consolidate its position as a serious political party.

Floor Resolution - Silkens & Mitchell (Cambridge) - "That this Conference recommends the E.C. that an Election Broadsheet suitable for all constituencies, be prepared as soon as possible." CARRIED nem.con.

Floor Resolution - Brain (Swansea) and Jacobs (S.E. Essex) "That this Conference recommends the E.C. to prepare an official Party Statement, to be submitted to the local newspapers, pointing out the reasons why the S.P. of S. are not putting up candidates in the particular constituency." CARRIED 13-2
Floor Resolution - Rose & Coffey (Lewisham) "That this Conference recommends the E.C. to explore the possibility of assisting the Belfast Comrades in the Northern Ireland Elections."

Amendment - Mitchell & Simkins (Camberwell) "That this Conference recommends the E.C. to grant the £150 to the Irish Comrades, to be spent on contesting the next election." (This was the sum mentioned by Comrade Murray as being required for the nomination deposit.) LOST overwhelmingly. Resolution - CARRIED nem.con.

Floor Resolution - Donnelly & Thomson (Glasgow) "That this Conference recommends the E.C. to consider the possibility of assisting Glasgow Branch to contest a possible bye-election in Glasgow." CARRIED nem.con.

At this juncture, delegates moved a unanimous vote of thanks to the comrades who had attended to the catering.

PROPAGANDA The Item for Discussion "F" was taken in conjunction with the Propaganda Committee's Report. There was a lengthy discussion on ways and means of improving our Propaganda. Most delegates expressed the view that, whilst speakers must have sound knowledge of economics and other aspects of Socialism, they must be able to relate it to everyday life. They must approach their audience sympathetically and try to persuade rather than to gain points. We must at all events avoid creating a barrier and, without simplifying our case, use simple language, which can be easily assimilated. Some speakers thought that it was a mistake to assume that the days of outdoor propaganda were on the decline. With carefully selected stations, all that was required was knowledge and enthusiasm. There was a danger of our becoming too pedantic. Some of the experiences of the last 12 months showed that whenever a group of Comrades had made enthusiastic efforts to carry out Socialist propaganda in one form or another, the response had been gratifying. Coventry, Belfast and other places demonstrated this.

Resolution 2 on the Agenda (Wembley) "That the New Premises Committee be wound up." LOST 8-20

Adoption of the Executive Committee's Report to Conference Resolution - Cottis (S.E. Essex) and Mitchell (Camberwell) "That the Report be adopted." AGREED

Tape-Recorded Greetings were heard, with appreciation, from two Boston Comrades, on behalf of the WSP of USA

Statement to the Press Two drafts were read to Conference as possible statements from Conference to the Press, but both were considered unsuitable.

Resolution - Rose & Coffey (Lewisham) That a statement be drawn up, passed to the Editorial Committee, and issued to the Press." LOST 10-13

The majority of Delegates thought that there had not been enough time to consider the advisability of such a move.

Item for Discussion "G" dealing with the purchase of film projection equipment, raised no discussion, and it was agreed to pass on to

Item for Discussion "H". "The Importance of Economics." The need for better knowledge of economics was again stressed. Classes which had been arranged to help speakers and others, had to be discontinued for lack of support. There were tape recordings available to help Branches and members to fill in gaps in their knowledge, but whereas requests for these tapes had been received from abroad, none had come from Branches. One speaker mentioned the need for more frequent theoretical articles in the "B.S.", and a member of the "B.S." Production Committee said that they would bear this request in mind.

In view of the time, it was agreed to defer the remaining Items for Discussion (B., K., and L.) to the Autumn Delegate Meeting.
REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 57TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE held at CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1, on FRIDAY, SATURDAY AND SUNDAY, 30th March, 1st & 2nd APRIL, 1961

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ATTENDANCE DURING CONFERENCE

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<td>Third day:</td>
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Branches not in Attendance on Friday:
Birmingham, Eccles, Glasgow City, Kelvingrove, Nottingham and Swansea.

Branches not in Attendance on Saturday:
Birmingham, Eccles, Glasgow City and Swansea.

Branches not in Attendance on Sunday:
Birmingham, Eccles, Glasgow City, Nottingham & Swansea.

CONFERENCE SESSIONS

First Day..................11.20 a.m. to 6 p.m.
Second Day..................2.45 p.m. to 6 p.m.
Third Day..................11.45 a.m. to 6 p.m.

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CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN........A. George (Bloomsbury)
VICE CHAIRMAN...............R. Ambridge (Islington)

It was agreed that the STANDING ORIERS COMMITTEE act as TELLERS during the course of the Conference proceedings.
FRIDAY It was agreed to deal first with the E.C.'s Report to Conference. The first item to come up for discussion was the Book Department. It was reported that three members had volunteered to look after this department, and to sell literature outside H.O. There was a display of pamphlets etc. on Saturday afternoon.

H.O. LIBRARY There was discussion about ways and means to make the Library more easily accessible to members.

Floor Resolution - Evereaux (Bloomsbury) & Kersley (Bloomsbury) "That the E.C; be asked to look into the possibility of providing an annotated list of books in the Library, to be sent to Branches." Agd.

I.P.J. (FORUM) COMMITTEE In reply to a question, Delegates were informed that Comrades J. Keys and I. Jones are now the I.P.J. Committee, and are working on a publication in the near future.

PROPAGANDA The Committee's Report was read.

Summary of Delegates' Views The desirability of a more detailed report was raised (size of audience, Literature sold, contacts made etc.) It was also suggested that London Branches should visit Provincial Branches, for the mutual benefit of both sides.

ORGANISATIONS & INDIVIDUALS ABROAD The Companion Parties Secretary reported that the position of the Parties abroad is generally good. The W.S.P. of U.S.A. has had about the best year ever. They have orders for the "S.S." and "W.S." from about a dozen Universities. They are debating with a professor at a University in April, and have given talks at others.

The Melbourne Branch of the S.P. of Australia say the position since the War has not been so good. Members live long distances from the centre. We have not heard from Sydney Branch.

Auckland Branch of the S.P.N.Z. is getting on well, running classes etc.

The S.P. of Canada have had a considerable lift up since the two Branches in British Columbia have been formed, particularly in Victoria, where they are running a candidate in one of the elections, and in Vancouver, where a member has gone on a nation-wide broadcast. Winnipeg is no longer the centre of activity, and they are not doing so well, being nearly all old members. Two members of Ealing Branch, who went to Toronto, have got about 9 members in a discussion Group.

The W.S.P. of Ireland is vastly improved, and they are well on their feet. They hope to bring out a journal regularly, now that they have a duplicator. They have difficulties arising from partition and the religious question. They are contesting an election in May, and thousands of leaflets are being distributed. They are also printing other leaflets for general use.

Conference was informed that some tape recordings from Sydney had come to a member of the Party privately, and had been taken to a couple of Branches, where members had made reply tapes.

It was also mentioned that Comrade Callomon is now Overseas Contacts Secretary, and that if members have overseas contacts of any kind, she could make good use of them.

EDUCATION Further information regarding a Summer School in 1961 was asked for.

The Central Organiser said that Comrade D'Arcy is now Classes Organiser, and that they would meet to discuss this matter. Conference discussion last year was not so much about a summer school, as a week-end school at some time in the year, not necessarily in summer. We always have to come back to the Party for people to attend. I would ask Delegates to urge their Branches to discuss this, and find out if it is worthwhile working on this problem.

The question of new speakers and their subsequent activities was raised. Two speakers passed the test during the period under review. One is now an active speaker; the other is improving his English, and should be taking the platform in due course.

ELECTORAL ACTIVITY The Chairman said he was on the Committee which looked into the rules on Electoral activity, and their report was presented to the last Delegate Meeting. They intended to report to the E.C. for Conference, but were unable to do so. There is nothing laid down as to what political parties may or may not do in the matter of instructing a Parliamentary candidate how to act.
The low return of ballot papers was discussed. Some members put this down to the fact that nominees may not be widely known, especially in the Provinces, others to the failure of Branch Secretaries to send out ballot papers to members not attending the branches. Others expressed the opinion that ballot papers should go out earlier, by post, with prepaid and addressed envelopes enclosed. Others disagreed with the latter idea.

Floor Resolution - Dale & E. Critchfield (both Wembley) "That this Conference recommends the E.C. to consider a direct postal ballot, with pre-paid envelopes from H.O., for the election of E.C. members and other Party Officials." Cd.13-6

LITERATURE. The question of the pamphlet "Socialism" came up. Conference was told by the "S.S." Production Committee that the pamphlet was progressing slowly but surely. The members engaged in this work can only do it in their spare time from other Party work. Some discussion followed on the April issue of the "SS" and the placing in that issue of the advertisement of our "Demonstration for Socialism" at the St Pancras Town Hall.

AMENDMENTS TO RULES

ELECTORAL ACTIVITY - Summary of Delegates' Views -

There was a lengthy discussion in connection with suggested alterations to Rules 28 and 29. All Resolutions and Amendments to those Rules were discussed together.

Members approached the problem of the required number of signatories to a nomination paper, in a suitable contesting area, from different angles. Members in favour of alteration of the existing rules pointed out that the required number (10) of signatories, is a purely arbitrary one, fixed by the Government, which figure might be changed at any time. They questioned whether we should be bound in our electoral activities by Government rulings, that is, insist on the full number of 10 being members of the Party. They also pointed out that there are not many branches who have 10 members living in any particular constituency or ward. Very often a constituency which would fulfill these requirements is not suitable for our purposes. They pointed to Bethnal Green, where the sitting member had such a strong position that he held only one or two meetings; Tories and Liberals were also in the field. In spite of extensive canvassing, literature selling etc., we gained practically no publicity from our efforts. They believe that there are other areas we could contest to great advantage, for example Nottingham, if we were prepared to allow people who, though not members, understand and accept our case, to sign nomination papers. They should naturally be known to Branch or E.C. members. This would allow us greater freedom in our electoral activities, give better results, and probably save money.

Comrades opposing any alteration of the rules in question objected to them as a measure of expediency. They held that the proposed alterations would put us in an illogical position. Since we always try to ensure that only Socialists vote for us, we surely cannot accept people to sign our nomination papers, unless they subscribe to our Declaration of Principles. This is only signify by signing Form "A". Whenever expediency was in conflict with principle, we should always come down on the side of principle. Besides, a Branch of less than 10 active members in a constituency would be unable to carry the burden of running an election.

VOTING ON AMENDMENTS TO RULES (Parliamentary Activity)

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<td>Paddington Resolution</td>
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LITERATURE. There was some discussion as to the exact meaning of the Islington Resolution. Some Delegates had been instructed to oppose it, because their Branches felt that the word 're-issue' did not make it sufficiently clear whether a revised edition of the old pamphlet was intended or not.

Resolution 2 (Islington Branch) "That this Conference regrets the delay in the re-issue of the pamphlet 'Socialism' and instructs the E.C. to give priority to this pamphlet." Cd. 20-11.

Floor Resolution - Devereaux (Bradford) & Calicomin (Paddington) "That Resolution
2 under Heading "2" on the Final Agenda is intended by Conference to imply the issue of a re-written pamphlet." Cd. 28-2

There was a short discussion on the desirability of changing 'Journal of the Party' to 'Official Organ of the Party.' Some delegates felt that the latter term more adequately expressed the fact that the 'S.S.' was the 'official mouthpiece' of the Party. Others felt that the present term was more modern in general use, and that there was no call for a change.

Resolution 3 (Islington) - "That this Conference instructs the E.C. to publish the 'Socialist Standard' as the 'Organ of the Party' and not the 'Journal of the Party.'" Lost 20-12

Discussion took place on the necessity of increasing sales of the 'S.S.' by greater activity of members, and the fallacy of relying upon the improved lay-out of the new 'S.S.' Greater effort in bringing the 'S.S.' to the attention of the public was called for.

Resolution 4 (Islington) - "That this Conference asserts that any increase in the sales of the 'Socialist Standard' will be due to the activity of members selling the 'S.S.' and the ideas contained therein. We consider that improved lay-outs, photographs etc., whatever their merit, cannot, in the long run, compensate for lack of activity among members."

Amendment (S.E. Essex) "Delete all after 'and ideas contained therein' and add 'and that the present policy of an improved Socialist Standard be continued and expanded.'" Cd. 27-6. As sub.res. Cd. 33-3

PAMPHLETS There was general agreement about the need for more pamphlets. Some delegates thought that, since there had been difficulties in getting these pamphlets written by voluntary effort, it might be a solution to appoint a capable member for this task, on the basis of part-time employment. Other delegates expressed the view that any such member who felt that he would like to write a pamphlet or pamphlets, knew that he could rely upon the backing of the E.C. if he cared to approach them. But the more fact that we had a few pounds in the 'kitty' could not be regarded as the solution to all our problems.

Resolution (Paddington) In view of the recommendations of the 1960 Conference that monies donated for the purposes of its work are best devoted to printing propaganda publications, this Conference instructs the E.C. to go ahead with all speed with the publication of pamphlets. As no new pamphlets have appeared for more than two years, this Conference further instructs the E.C. to create a new paid part-time position for a member to engage in the writing of Party pamphlets and leaflets, other suitable material for the 'S.S.,' and to assist the Socialist Standard Production Committee in every possible way.

Amendment (Camberwell, Islington & Wembley Branches) "Delete all after 'pamphlets' in line six." Cd. 24-9 Sub.Res. Cd. 23-8

ADJOURNMENT 6 p.m.

SATURDAY

Item for Discussion 18 - Re-Publishing "Art, Labour & Socialism."

Arguments against publication of "Art, Labour & Socialism" by the Party were: that Conference had, on the previous day, given priority to "Socialism" and that, in view of the shortage of writers and comrades willing to go out and sell our propaganda material, it seemed inadvisable to pass such a Resolution. Delegates in favour pointed out that it was unlikely that members who would write a pamphlet like 'Socialism' had the desire, personal qualities or information to engage in writing a preface and commentary to William Morris' work.

Floor Resolution (Hampson & Warnecke - Ealing) "That the E.C. be recommended to consider the publication of a limited edition of 'Art, Labour & Socialism' as a Party pamphlet, combining the original with a modern assessment in the light of the Socialist position." Cd. 23-7

"Socialist Standard"

Floor Resolution - Camberwell Delegates "That this Conference recommends the E.C. to publish the 'S.S.' as the 'Official Organ of the Party.'"

There was a brief discussion. Some delegates felt that the word 'official' was of great importance, others pointed out that the matter had been dealt with during yesterday's session. "Next Business" was Cd. 13-6
AMENDMENTS TO RULES

Rule 12 (Wembley) - Size of E.C.
A number of delegates expressed the view that the size of the organisation did not call for so large an E.C. Seven members could quite easily deal with the administrative work of the Party. This might free the other seven members for other Party work. A large E.C. did not, in their opinion, necessarily produce an efficient E.C. Delegates against a change in Rule 12 said that the number of E.C. members provided for under the existing Rule, gave a larger number of Branches the possibility of being represented at the E.C. than would be the case if the proposed alteration was carried out. Fourteen members were not an excessive number, particularly in view of the fact that often only 7 or eight members were round the table during the course of the E.C. meeting, the others being occupied with committee work of one kind or other. Holiday times also presented a problem.

Amendment to Rule 12 (Wembley) - Lost 5-35
" " 13 " - Lost 5-35

PARTY ORGANISATION & MEMBERSHIP

Resolution 1 (Paddington)
Delegates in favour said that it was impossible to divide members of the working class into two sections. An increase of Socialist knowledge would equally affect those in the Forces and those in civilian life. Until last year, when a Conference Resolution was carried and subsequently endorsed by a Party Poll, the Party had always dealt with applications for membership from members of the Forces on their merits, and we should not automatically debar people from applying. Some delegates also felt that the Rule, as it stood, had drawn an arbitrary line. What was the position of members who were engaged in producing weapons to be used by the Armed Forces?

Delegates opposed to any change of the Rule pointed to the fact that members of the Forces were under the jurisdiction of the Military, they were not free agents, and the Party would not have any control over them. It was a matter of principle.

Resolution 1 (Paddington Branch) "This Conference re-affirms the decision (No.10) of the 1952 Conference, and the Party Poll of 1949 on the question of Membership of the Party and the Armed Forces, as follows -
'This Conference re-affirms the decision of the 1953 Conference which was as follows: 'This Conference endorses the Ruling given by the 29th E.C. on July 5th 1932 on this question viz: 'That, as many workers are forced by economic pressure to join the Armed Forces, this E.C. Rules that such employment shall not necessarily prevent workers from joining the Party. All Forms 'A' shall receive consideration and each application shall be decided on its merits, and any member who voluntarily (i.e. other than conscripted) joins the Armed Forces (Army, Navy and Air Force) shall be deemed to have acted in a manner detrimental to the interests of the Party.'"
Cd. 23-20

Floor Resolution E.Critchfield (Wembley) and E.Ouy (Lewisham) - "That the question be put to a Party Poll." Agd.

PROPAGANDA

Resolution 6 (Islington Branch)
Supporters of this Resolution said that it was desirable to hold a large meeting at least once a year. Other delegates pointed out that the number of 500 specified in the Resolution tied the E.C. to a very large hall, and that it might be better to have a smaller hall crowded with people, than a large partly-filled hall. It was also felt that the E.C. and the Propaganda Committee between them should have as much freedom of action as possible.

Resolution 6 - "That this Conference instructs the E.C. to hold at least one large indoor meeting a year in the Central London area, such a meeting to be organised on the basis of a minimum 500 audience." Lost 18-18

Resolution 7 - Camberwell "That this Conference favours the use of vehicles for display purposes (monthly) and instructs the E.C. to approach members who might help." Cd. 26-1

Phillings (Central Organiser) - We are going ahead with this method, if and when we can find sufficient members with vehicles, and, so long as we keep on the move on the highway, and don't cause obstruction, it is all right.

Hammond (Ealing) Arising from this Resolution, my Branch would like to put on record that this type of Resolution should not come on an instructed Conference
Agenda, and cause unnecessary waste of time.

Resolution 8 (Camberwell)

There was general agreement that our arrangements for Meetings in Hyde Park must be improved. It was, however, felt that the wording of the Resolution was unfortunate. It seemed to suggest low level quality as well as quantity, and since, as it appeared during the discussion, Camberwell Branch had not intended such an implication, the wording was to be regretted.

Resolution 8 - "That this Conference deprecates the low level of propaganda in 1960, indoor and outdoor, and instructs the E.C. to better organise the running of meetings. To this effect, a branch should run Hyde Park on Sundays, instead of 'hit and miss' individuals." Cd. 21-14

ADJOURNMENT 6 p.m.

SUNDAY

Appendix 'D' to E.C. Report to Conference - Report from New Zealand

There was some discussion of the difficulties encountered by our Comrades in New Zealand. There seems to be insufficient liaison between the various groups, and it was suggested that the Companion Parties Secretary might initiate a circular letter. Delegates wondered in what particular way we could best help them.

Floor Resolution (Jones - Paddington & Mitchell - Camberwell) "That the E.C. contact the N.Z. Party, and ask what assistance we can offer them."

Amendment Weaver (Ealing) & Cottis (S.E. Essex) "Add after the words 'New Zealand Party' - 'and other Companion Parties.'" Cd. 19-0 As sub.res. Agd.

The E.C.'s Report to Conference was adopted, on the motion of Mitchell (Camberwell) and Cottis (S.E. Essex.) Agd.

ITEMS FOR DISCUSSION

Item 2 - Islington - "Methods of Increasing Party Membership."

Various ways and means of increasing membership were discussed. It was pointed out that it might be a good idea, whenever leaflets were issued - a form, to ask for literature and further information - should be attached, to encourage readers to contact the Party. We could build up a register of contacts, who could be circularised at intervals. Other delegates stated that membership revolved round the Branches; the more active a Branch, the greater the likelihood of attracting new members. A register of 'Associate Members' would create a second-class membership, a thing which was undesirable, in their opinion. There was already a register in existence, namely of subscribers to the 'S.S.' An increase of membership could only be achieved by stepping up our propaganda. The difficulties encountered by Provincial Branches were also discussed. A member from Coventry Group suggested that Groups or Branches unable to organise meetings and lectures of their own, might be interested to hear that Coventry had done useful work by covering a large number of opponents' meetings, taking part in the discussion, and selling the 'S.S.' outside. They hoped to have reached sufficient numerical strength to form a Branch by Conference 1962. Activity did not necessarily mean speaking from the platform. Support in the form of a speaker from London was wasted, unless the local Branch or Group was strong enough to sustain the effort.

Floor Resolution - Cottis (S.E. Essex) & McGuinness (Islington) "That this Conference recommends that the E.C. consider the advisability of issuing a form inviting and enabling people to associate themselves with the Party."

Lost by a large majority.

GREETINGS were read from Vancouver, New York, Belfast, Comrade Barnett of Belfast, Comrade Friend of the S.P. of Canada, Comrade Luff of Victoria B.C., Comrade Montague of the W.S.P. of Ireland; Comrade Hart of Johannesburg, and the W.S.P. of U.S.A. were heard on tape recordings. It was agreed to send reciprocal greetings.

Items for Discussion - No.10 - Long Term Planning & Budgeting for Party Activities, and No.11 - A Plan of Budgeting for the Propaganda Activities of the Party.

These in favour of planning and budgeting held that this would give the working committee a clearer picture at the beginning of the year, of what demands they would have to meet, in London and the Provinces, during the next 12 months, and it would enable the E.C. to map out priorities, instead of deciding things in a spasmodic fashion. Past experiences could form the skeleton for a rough working plan, a plan which could be amended if special need should arise. Delegates opposed to such a plan put forward the arguments that, as a political party we have to be
adaptable; that we did not know what developments might take place, forcing us to take action of one kind or another, and since all activities depended on the support of members, no plan could achieve anything, unless such support was forthcoming.

Floor Resolution Weaver & Warnecke (Ealing) "That the E.C. be recommended to consider the question of budgeting Party expenditure and planning Party activities, along the lines of the circular from Ealing, dated 17th March 1961."

Cd. 12-10

Item 19. (Bloomsbury) - Trade Unions. A member of Bloomsbury Branch initiated the discussion by the following statement -

Under Capitalism the worker must organise into Unions to improve or defend his wages and conditions of labour. But that is something quite apart from the political struggle for Socialism.

The modern class struggle first showed itself as the action and reaction between capitalist and worker on the industrial field. But the worker does not see it as a class struggle. In many ways the worker believes that capitalist and worker have a common interest. The attitude of the worker when he votes, during war, and his support of capitalist governments on many questions makes this clear. Although the worker has shown a growing consciousness during recent years of his position as a wage worker, yet he has been drawn into national and international questions which do not concern him, and which we are bound to oppose.

When the worker becomes class conscious, he realises not only that it is a class conflict he is engaged in, but that it can only be fought out on the political field, because all class struggles are political struggles and must be so - struggles for control of the State.

Our sole job is to prosecute the class struggle on the political field, and not be led into false positions by supporting all trade union actions, just because workers take part in them.

The fact that workers in trade unions indiscriminately support Tory, Liberal and Labour Parties is irredeemable evidence that their membership of trade unions is something apart from their political affiliations. The mass of those who support the Labour Party do so because they think that the Labour Party will help them to get better wages and conditions of labour.

Workers join trade unions in the main for the sole purpose of getting better wages and conditions in their particular industry, often regardless of the interests of workers in other industries employed by other employers. Farther than that, they fight against each other on questions of status - and sometimes one union fights against another.

These are questions we should not be involved in, and questions upon which we cannot always get proper information.

Again, leaders of trade unions, for their own aggrandisement, sometimes project the weight of their unions into questions that are outside the trade union struggle, and contrary to the interests of the international working class. The further we should go is, whilst pointing out the limitations of trade union action, to give our approval to the actions only of workers who are engaged in a straight struggle with employers over wages and conditions of labour, providing the struggle has not been instituted by the employers for their own ends.

Unions make their own blacklegs by setting limits to the number that can be employed in an industry, and by barring certain categories of workers.

It should be borne in mind that we are not organised to improve the wages and conditions of workers under Capitalism, but to abolish the conditions that have given rise to capitalist and worker, and replace them by Socialism.

A large number of delegates agreed with these views, pointing out that a large number of workers were trade unionists, because they could not get jobs otherwise. We should only support Trade Union action if it was in line with the satisfactory and efficient prosecution of the class struggle. As an individual the Socialist would make it his business to attend his T.U. Branch, and use it as a political platform. Other delegates felt that the Party was too aloof and remote. A trade unionist was more likely than a non-unionist to give a Socialist a hearing. Whilst we should not get bogged down in union work, it was a necessary field of activity.

Item 12 - How to Further Socialist Propaganda, and Item 13 - Can the Party Propaganda Be remodelled etc...

A number of points were raised on the question of furthering Socialist propaganda. Some delegates thought that we should change our technique and be more explicit about the kind of society which is our aim. Our present attitude seemed
to them a purely negative one. Our approach would have to be geared to the type of audience we addressed. We must make certain that we did not appear as an anti-capitalist organisation, but rather as a socialist one. Other delegates said that present conditions did not favour outdoor meetings, and that we should concentrate on training writers rather than speakers. This they considered a probably passing phase, but there was a real need to improve the quality of our propaganda. The view was also expressed that we are and should be fundamentalists. We should refuse to water down our case. We must stand by our class approach and refuse to pander to false illusions. Conditions have changed, but the problems of capitalism are still with us, and we have to face them from the platform.

Items 15, 16 and 17 were not dealt with, owing to lack of time.

ADJOURNMENT 6 p.m.