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TODAY

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3d.

Help the Fight  
**AGAINST  
TORYISM  
and WAR!**

## WHAT THE RENT BILL WILL MEAN IN SALFORD

**T**HE Tories are claiming that landlords are not able to carry out repairs to houses on the present rents. That is the argument they are using to push through Parliament a Bill which will enable the landlords to increase the rents of nearly eight million tenants throughout the country.

What the Tories do not say, is that in 1920 the landlords were given an increase of 40 per cent. (25 per cent of which was to meet the increased cost of repairs). Two years after this increase the cost of repairs fell from 20s. 2½d., per square foot to 9/4d. and stayed at 9/6d. until the 1939 war. So the

Reported by Harry Ratner  
(Municipal Labour Candidate for Kersal).

landlords had a double benefit during those years.

In spite of this, the fact remains that many landlords have completely neglected their houses and pocketed the whole of the increase. As a result, houses are now in such a state of disrepair, that to keep them in a fit condition now, would involve quite a cost, but that is the result of the landlord's neglect between the wars.

Striking examples of this were to be seen in the Salford 8 area of the Kersal Ward. A team of "Socialist Outlook" supporters, who carried out a survey of the area and interviewed tenants, proved this to the hilt. Here are some typical cases.

### SOME EXAMPLES

**Mrs. Hooley**, who has lived at 16 Scholes Street, for 15 years, showed us her kitchen. The whole of one corner is absolutely damp, the kitchen window will not close and has to be stuffed with rags to keep the weather out. The brick-work on top of the back bedroom window is nearly falling off and is a danger to the children. Other bedrooms were damp and as Mrs. Hooley has a daughter who suffers with rheumatism, these conditions do not improve her health.

Mrs. Hooley told us that she had called in a Sanitary Inspector on two occasions, but had heard nothing more and there was no sign of the repairs being done.

**Mrs. Egan**, who has lived next door at 18 Scholes Street for 10 years, states that no repairs have been carried out for the past 3 years. Her kitchen fireplace has been broken for the last couple of months and despite repeated applications to the landlord, nothing has been done.

**Mr. Graham**, of 3 Halstead

Street, told us that the window frames in his house were breaking away. There was also no inside toilet, but there are 3 toilets in the back yard for his and two other houses. His wife and small children cannot use this at night as they are too frightened to go out. On inspecting these toilets, we found them to be in bad condition, with doors falling off.

### COMPLAINTS IGNORED

**Mr. Shaw**, of 32 Coke Street, told us that he had complained repeatedly about the terrible conditions of his house, of plaster rotting, etc., and the landlord was eventually taken to Court by the Sanitary Inspector, for elementary repairs to be done. Even now the gable end was breaking away and it looked as if the matter would have to be taken to Court again over that.

"I am absolutely disgusted," says **Mr. Shaw** "at the constant attempts of the owner to evade responsibilities."

These are facts that speak for themselves, and yet all these tenants and thousands more will no doubt be called upon to pay rent increases with little likelihood

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### The Song of a European Conscript

I am not patriotic worth a Damn,  
Most governments I think a bloody mess,  
My country I detest, yet here I am,  
Entrapped and togged up in her warrior dress,  
Supposed to be a killer, more or less.

Hell, I believe my life is mine alone,  
My property to do with as I will,  
No power shall seize it and no state shall own  
Me mind and soul, and send me forth to kill.  
No so-called enemy my blood shall spill.

I do not love my native land of fog  
And cold and damp and wind and ruthless rain,  
Where I have played the part of underdog,  
Trying three times to emigrate—in vain,  
To break away from poverty and pain.

My life's my own I say; none have the right  
To rive it from me, barter it to death.  
I know I'm trapped, but if in foreign fight  
I fall in 'glory'—canting shibboleth—  
I'll curse my country with my dying breath.

R. SERVICE

# Hell Bomb Threat To All Mankind

## The Modern Challenge To Socialism

By Harold Davies M.P.

**J**UST as George Wigg and Emrys Hughes were wanting an all party committee to enquire into recruiting and manpower, and to ask what the Army can do for us these days; just then the world discovered that the scientists playing with their death-toy, the H. Bomb, had miscalculated. Japanese fishermen 70 or 80 miles away from the H. explosion were showered with death dust in the form of radio-active ash. The Pacific Ocean was dangerous for fishermen and fish.

All through the week we heard of more and more ships battering their way home to Japan with casualties. Some of those ships and crews were said to be hundreds of miles away from the centre of the explosion. Exposure to the fish that were caught, if for more than eight hours, would mean death.

It is better to understand a little than to misunderstand a lot. It looks as though the scientists mixed in their unholy crucible the elements of DEATH AND ERROR. The result: mankind is on the run!

### DEFENCE AND OCEAN CURRENTS

This news should bring home to our power-blinded defence experts Britain's deadly vulnerability in the 'New Look' warfare.

Look at the map of the Atlantic Ocean with its drifts and currents. The Gulf Stream breaks on the wild west shores of Ireland into St. George's Channel. This cur-

rent then drifts around the North of Scotland, washes into the North Sea and meets the other arm of the drift coming up through the English Channel. The prevailing winds, too, are South West.

### THE STARK FACT!

What then is the unadorned truth? One such bomb as that exploded in the Pacific Ocean last week, if dropped off the West Coast of Britain, would, taking into account the ocean currents and the prevailing winds, make the entire West of the British Isles a danger spot. The winds would bring the dust of death.

The Japanese are testing all fish caught in the Pacific with geiger counters to see if it is radio-active. Fish caught hundreds of miles away is said to be inedible. What then would such a bomb do to Britain's sea food?

In our tiny seas the Gulf Drift would carry the radio active water all around our shores. All fish caught off Britain would be inedible!

As for the use of the navy? Well you see what they had to do with the Japanese fishing boat that

was eighty miles away from the blast—destroy it because it was a death-trap for humans.

### ON A FLOOD TIDE

On a flood tide the danger would be multiplied. The depth of the sea between Dover and France is from 0 to 20 fathoms. Such a bomb dropped in these narrows

When you read this week's "Week at Westminster" you will understand why Harold Davies' column has been placed on page one! It is nothing more nor less than a solemn warning to the Labour Movement of the possible—total destruction of civilization!

would destroy the continental shelf and flood from Holland to the North seaboard of France with radio-active water. River fish would be inedible. Even chunks of Britain may be destroyed as the island in the Pacific was.

For defence experts to talk of storing equipment at ports and keeping the navy in safe harbours until needed is sheer military illiteracy.

All these facts can be deduced from the evidence now available to the world as a result of the miscalculations last week.

### AMERICA AND RUSSIA HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY

Neither Russia nor America can go exploding these weapons any longer without weighing care-

fully their responsibility to mankind.

Our Oceans can be made deadly and the sea food in them. Our land masses can be upset.

Have the scientists worked out the possible effect of their activities on the world run of salmon or eels? These questions must be faced. We can no longer hide our heads in the sand.

The world has a Frankenstein that threatens to destroy the civilisation painfully built up through the ages. Let us refuse to live with blinkers in a world ruled by power-hungry old men in antiquated uniforms!

Besides, none of this orgy of destruction would be the answer to communism. It would create a barbarism worse than anything we have seen hitherto.

It was left to Canada through Mr. Pearson, the Canadian Foreign Secretary, to protest about Mr. John Foster Dulles who claimed to use the bomb without consultation. Lord Hore-Belisha protested in the Lords too.

If N.A.T.O. is to be N.A.T.O. and not just an American instrument, then there must be consultation. America must remember that "instant and massive retaliation" now works both ways!

### THE REVOLT OF THE ANGELS

Do you remember Anatole France's book with the above title? When Satan with his hosts was discussing an attack on Heaven Prince Istar hoisted himself to the rostrum and said: "Comrades, you wish for victory, and it is a very natural desire, but you must be mouldy with literature

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### Change of Address

The new address of the Socialist Outlook to which all correspondence should be addressed is  
**59 Fleet St., E.C.4**

# Ourselves & the Communist Party

**F**OR some five-and-a-half years the Socialist Outlook has been doing its best to assist the democratic struggle within the Labour Party for the adoption of socialist policies both at home and abroad. While allowing full freedom of discussion and criticism in our columns, the paper itself has stood firmly with the Left Wing of the Party on all the most important questions.

We opposed the Korean War from the very outset (and lost a lot of "respectable" support for so doing), we have fought consistently for freedom for all colonial peoples and have consequently opposed bitterly the brutal wars in Kenya and Malaya and Tory intervention against the democratically elected government of British Guiana.

At home, we have done our best to influence Party policy so that the next Labour Government should be committed to a programme which would give to the workers the "full fruits of their labour" by means of the extension of nationalisation of the banks, the land and all the important industries with drastically reduced compensation payments.

On the basis of this kind of policy, presented without fear or favour, we have developed considerable support inside the Party so that our paper has now become a weekly. At the same time we have, of course, got ourselves in bad with certain Right Wing leaders of the

Labour Movement who have even made considerable efforts to ban and suppress the Socialist Outlook. They failed in this, but did succeed in banning the Editor from standing as the Parliamentary Candidate for Woodford (where the local party selected him) and in banning two other members of the Editorial Board—Tom Braddock and G. Healy—from being nominated as candidates.

Now along comes the British Communist Party and announces to the readers of its paper, "World News" (March 20th 1954), that all this activity of the Socialist Outlook is nothing but aid for the "counter-revolution" and that those workers who support our general policy are, "in the last analysis," supporting a "Trotskyist\* line—a line of diversion, of leftist adventurism, which can only help the Tories"!

So when we oppose German

\* According to the McCarthyite investigators of "World News" the Socialist Outlook is "Trotskyist" because the editor and other contributors to its columns were once members of a now defunct Trotskyist organisation, the R.C.P. This shattering "revelation" will frighten no one in the Labour Party where it is not yet a crime to read the works of one of the leaders of the Russian Revolution. Moreover, the comrades concerned have never denied their past membership of the R.C.P. nor are they ashamed of it.

Re-armament, oppose the war in Kenya, open our columns to Dr. Jagan to state his case on British Guiana, support the wage demands of the engineers and railwaymen, support Aneurin Bevan in his struggle against Morrison and Attlee for more nationalisation, or when we call for a fight to get the Tories out of office—when we do all these things we are, according to the wise men of "World News", "helping the Tories"!

It is apparently alright for the Communist Party to oppose the war in Kenya, for example—but when the Socialist Outlook does exactly the same thing it is... "a line of diversion, leftist adventurism." Why? The answer is very simple really. Because Socialist Outlook is an independent socialist paper.

We do not consult the Communist Party about what, and what not to write in our paper, and we do not clutter our columns with extravagant eulogies of the present Soviet leaders or with equally extravagant denunciations of those whom the Soviet leaders depose and execute.

This paper stands four square with the workers of Russia, Eastern Europe and China against the dastardly war which American and British imperialism is preparing against them. We consider Churchill's activity is really counter-revolutionary—because it is directed against the

revolution, against countries which have cast off the capitalist system. For this reason—and this reason alone—because the economies of Russia and China are progressive and a huge conquest from decaying capitalism, we call upon the British workers to resist the horrible plans of the imperialists.

You'd think that would be enough to earn a little gratitude from the Communist Party, wouldn't you. But no, they demand absolute prostration before their leaders. They demand complete subservience to every latest line from Moscow and complete support for every action of the Soviet leaders. Well, they won't get it from the Socialist Outlook. We shall continue to criticise the Soviet leaders (and the editors of "World News") when they merit such criticism. This no more makes us anti-Soviet than our persistent criticism of Right Wing leaders of the Labour Party makes us anti-Labour.

We shall not be deflected from our socialist course by witch-hunts—whether they are inspired by Transport House or by King Street. We think our readers will understand this and endorse the line we have taken.

Tom Braddock

G. Healy

John Lawrence

Jack Stanley

[Editorial Board]

## Labour Parties Demand Emergency Conference

**EAST SALFORD** Constituency Labour Party passed the following resolution at its last General Meeting.

"We protest against the action of the National Executive of the Labour Party, in supporting German Re-armament, because we believe that the vast majority of workers stand opposed to this policy.

"We demand that the N.E.C. immediately organise an Emergency Conference in order to decide, after democratic discussion, Labour Party policy on this issue.

"We stress that this is not an anti-German resolution. On the contrary, we salute the opposition

shown by the German working-class to their re-militarisation.

"The best way the British Labour movement can aid the German working-class in their opposition to re-armament and for a Unified Socialist Germany is to demand the withdrawal of all troops of occupation."

**SOUTH WEST WOLVERHAMPTON** Constituency Labour Party called a special Conference on March 18th and, by an overwhelming majority, carried a resolution opposing the Parliamentary Labour Party's support for German re-armament and calling on the N.E.C. to recall the National Conference to decide policy on this question.

## Some Thoughts on the Test

# No! It Isn't Cricket!

Says  
C. G. Siddle

THE 'Daily Mail' for Tuesday, March 2nd carried an article entitled 'IS THIS CRICKET?', which recounted at length, and with a wealth of pained bewilderment, the trials and tribulations of Len Hutton and the English team in the West Indies, with particular reference to the third test match.

The pain was occasioned by the fact that the writer had discovered, with remarkable acumen that the motive behind the disturbances was political. Now anybody who will introduce politics into cricket is a cad, sir! Such people deserve anything that a right-minded and civilised country can do to them, and that's plenty. Such behaviour justifies for in stance, the retention of troops in the country. That instance was specifically mentioned. Towards the end of the article the writer posed this would-be artless question—"Can it be that all this happened at the instigation of the People's Progressive Party?"

Well, now! That's very comforting, isn't it? The "Daily Mail", true to tradition, has found a scapegoat. And that is all you need. Put a name to it, and by Tory standards your responsibility ends. I mean to say, you don't have to DO anything about it, you know. It lets Britain, and the British, right out. Nothing to do with us. The P.P.P. got around and whipped up all this unpleasantness, so they, and they only, are to blame. The coloured people of the West Indies don't bear us any malice. No, they are just the blind tools of Communism.

Ah! Communism! Now we know where we stand.

### WAKE UP!

Isn't it about time the "Daily Mail" and its entranced readers woke up to the fact that no body of people, anywhere in the world is prepared to make serious trouble at the mere word of command? No craftsman, be he never so skilled, can work without tools and materials, and no Party, be it never so Communist, can create civil disturbance without followers with a grievance, and a generally insecure state of affairs. Unfair treatment is a

genuine reason for grievance, even to our Tory sportsmen (they had enough to say about some of the Umpires' decisions).

### DO YOU BELIEVE IT?

Not so very long ago we were being told what a sportsman the West Indian is. How he has a genuine love for cricket. Remember the Calypos they made such a fuss about? Now, how many cricket-lovers in this country could be dragged into any political party into ruining a test match? If you believe that because a cricket-lover is black he is radically different from us in that respect, you will believe anything. If you believe that the British are the only truly sporting people in the world, you are fundamentally a Tory. If you believe that anybody will demonstrate as the West Indians have demonstrated, without some good grounds for doing so, you are a fool.

### WHY THEY DISLIKE US

The writer of the "Daily Mail" article has, typically, put the cart before the horse. He implies that the British Guianans only dislike us (it offends Tory susceptibilities to use the word 'hate') because the P.P.P. have ordained that it shall be so. As I said earlier, cry 'Communist' and all is explained. Granted that the P.P.P. is Communist—a fact which has not yet been fully substantiated—it still does not follow that that is the reason for the British Guianans' dislike of us. On the contrary—the British Guianans' dislike of us is the raison d'être of the P.P.P.

Pathetically, habitual readers of the 'Mail' cannot understand why anyone should dislike us. They will not believe that anyone DOES dislike us. Tell them that Marseilles is plastered with anti-British posters, and they smile with disbelief. So far as foreign affairs, amongst other things, are concerned, they live in a fools' paradise. A paradise unfortunately marred by the presence of such outsiders as black men, Chinese, Malays, Socialists, Communists and—Aneurin Bevan.

State the simple fact that most

of the coloured people of the world dislike us because they have good reason to do so, and they talk of Socialist cant. They admit that some of the cheeky blighters (such as the Egyptians) don't like us, but such dislike is confined to a few agitators, Socialist types. It is not, it cannot be, even on a nation-wide basis. The colour bar is, of course, no reason for such dislike. We see nothing ludicrous, much less dangerous, in rigorously denying black men access to anything decent and worth having.

We deny Africans, in their own country, the right of entry to any hotel, except as employees. We confine the coloured folk to a ghetto, we make them give way to white men on all occasions; we degrade and insult them in every waking moment, and deprive them of self-respect and the ordinary amenities of life, and then—invite them to play cricket! Play cricket with us, but don't take advantage of the honour we grant you!

### SPORTSMEN ALL!

Let us have a nice game of cricket, all sportsmen together, then let us go our several ways—you to your hovel, your degradation, your near-starvation, and we to our luxury hotel (barred to you), and our comfortable jobs and good living. That is very fitting, don't you agree? You don't? Well, you cheeky, ungrateful blighter! You know, we're talking about refusing to play any more test matches over here.

Let me say here that I have every sympathy with Len Hutton and Co. They are bearing a heavy burden, the burden created by the stupidity of other people, who ought to have foreseen just what has happened. Well, if it takes a cricket tour to drive home to people what recent events have failed to make clear, the tour may even yet prove to have been worth while.

# The Fight Against War

By G. Healy

THE struggle against war, more than any other, demands the utmost clarity. So much confusion has been fostered by the Tories and right wing Labour leaders that the Labour Movement as a whole is still, unfortunately, groping for a policy.

Much of the responsibility for this rests on the shoulders of the N.E.C. who rushed through their inadequate statement on foreign policy at Margate, before the ranks could properly discuss it.

The Tories organise for war to protect the interests of the ruling class. They collaborate diplomatically with Wall Street, embark on an arms programme, and support German re-armament, all towards this end. It follows, therefore, that the struggle of the British Labour Movement against war begins at home—against Toryism and its war policies.

Churchill declares that these questions stand above party. Right wing Labour follows him in this lie. It is this secret coalition which is the greatest obstacle to the fight against war.

### CONFUSION

In the ranks of Labour's left, particularly in the Parliamentary Labour Party, however, there is also some very serious confusion. The roots of this lie in the failure of the movement to break completely from imperialist concep-

tions and their pernicious influence on our reasoning. There is too much talk about "our" Commonwealth, "our" overseas dependencies, etc. There we have the imperialist conception that we have some right of control over other territories. Failure to understand the progressive struggles of the colonial people and their right to freedom and self-determination was responsible for the almost complete line-up of the Parliamentary Labour Party with Wall Street at the outbreak of the Korean war. The same thinking is shown in the Labour Party with regard to the wars in Malaya, Indo-China and Kenya. To break from imperialism means to support all struggles of the colonial people against imperialist masters.

### WAR MOVES

The re-armament of capitalist Western Germany is designed as part of the U.S. war preparations against the Soviet Union. The main brunt of the practical struggle against this re-armament must be borne by the German workers on the spot. It is to their eternal credit that they have accepted their responsibilities to the full. The opposition by the German working people to re-armament is one of the brightest spots of working class struggle on the European continent.

The task before the Labour movement of this country is to decide what practical assistance we can give to the German workers. Declarations that we are against German re-armament are not enough. They can, in fact, serve to obscure the serious confusion which exists in the Parliamentary Labour Party. There are M.P.s who oppose German re-armament on the grounds that the Germans are not fit to have arms, others oppose re-armament of Germany but at the same time vote for re-armament here. A leadership

based on such confusion, if it fails to clarify itself, can only sow more confusion around it.

Basically, as in the case of the colonial problem, the confusion rests on reactionary nationalist conceptions. In regard to the colonial question, support for imperialism is hidden by blaming the "reds". Blaming the German people for German re-armament also serves to lift the blame from the main enemy—at home here in Britain.

On the other hand, the widespread opposition to German re-armament contains within it the overwhelming instinctive hostility of the Labour Movement towards the war. It would be a serious mistake, however, to lump this genuine opposition with some of the confused trends in the Parliamentary Labour Party. No doubt some of the Bevanite M.P.s are doing their best to struggle against war and deserve all the help they can get.

### AID NEEDED

However it must be frankly stated that good intentions are no substitute for a socialist policy directed against the war preparations of the Tories. A mass movement developing against war is a fine start but without socialist leadership it will not be able to achieve victory. The task of Labour Left is not to contemplate the movement against German re-armament as one which has good and bad sides, but to aid it with such a leadership.

This can be provided by an emergency conference of the Labour Party if its attitude towards German re-armament is concretised into a real anti-war fight. The demand for the withdrawal of troops from Germany must form the central plank in this fight. Link this to demands for the nationalisation of the arms industry without compensation, freedom for the colonies, withdrawal of troops from these countries, and this conference would be a real step forward for the Labour Movement.

## Leeds Wants Emergency Conference

The Leeds City Labour Party at its last monthly meeting on March 17th passed a resolution "protesting at German Re-armament and calling for an Emergency Conference of the National Labour Party."

# Class Struggle in Egypt

## ★ Neguib and the People ★

IN the early hours of July 23, 1952, the Army seized key points in Cairo and other centres in Egypt. That Coup d'Etat was led by Lt. General Mohamed Neguib who declared:

"Egypt has undergone a critical time in its recent history. It has been a period of gross corruption and government instability, and these factors had a great influence on the Army. People who received bribes contributed towards our defeat during the Palestine war..."

There is no doubt that deteriorating political, economic and social conditions prevailed. The political set-up was based on the autocracy of one individual, the King. He decided on the future of Cabinets and designed their policies. Corruption spread throughout the administration, and cleavages between social classes were evident. The coup was therefore received with popular rejoicing and mass support, especially when King Farouk was forced to abdicate on the 26th.

### AN IMPORTANT QUESTION

What is the origin of the Army movement? It has been alleged that a group of officers emerged during the Egyptian Campaign in Palestine in 1948, to oppose the domination of the Palace. Their activities were evident during 1950-51 when an investigation was carried out to determine responsibility for the provision of fraud arms and ammunition to the Army. Another version about the origin of the movement is that dissatisfied nationalist officers showed their feelings against Britain after the 4th of February, 1942 incident. However it seems more conceivable that the movement originates in the Palestinian campaign.

In its very first stage the Coup d'Etat showed itself to be a military demonstration.

It was reported that the chief demands of the officers who carried out the coup were: (a) Changes in the Egyptian High Commands; (b) A total change in the composition of the Army Purchasing Commission; and (c) No

cuts in military budgets. Moreover, as declared by the army, it had no designs of its own and it intended to retire to its barracks leaving the political problems to be solved by the politicians.

### POPULAR PRESSURE

Actually, the situation did not stand still but it developed. At first, the Army claimed that it aimed at purging the country within the limits of the Constitution. That was welcomed by the people. In consequence a demand for the dismissal of some officials of the Royal Palace was accepted and later the bold action of forcing Farouk to abdicate was achieved.

Therefore, one could say that the coup was intended to serve the

ments of the civil service were filled with officers.

With their ascent to power, the officers claimed that the army had a reformative policy. The application of that policy started, and it is worth noticing that it did not exceed, the promulgation of legislation determining landownships. On the other hand, the new government welcomed any industrial investment and amended the Company law to attract foreign capital. Moreover, trade unions were suspended, and on their restoration, certain elements were infiltrated.

Therefore, one could say that the new regime of government in Egypt is the outcome of the cleavages and struggles between different social classes.

Under the old system, land and landlords had the upper position in the State. With the appearance of the new regime, the landed aristocracy was crushed. The competing social class, the rising new bourgeoisie (capitalist) replaced it.

### CAPITALIST BACKING

It might look strange that, although the officers are from amongst the middle classes, they have tied themselves and their destiny with that of the bourgeoisie (capitalist). In fact, this phenomena is quite conceivable, since the establishment of a dictatorship should be backed by such a class like the capitalist. Moreover, to ensure their status, the help of capitalists, not only local, but also foreign—and mainly the American, was required.

It looked as though Egypt's dictatorship had grasped all means to secure its position. However, the incidents of the last week in February 1954, shows that there is still a long way before such a dictatorship could safely maintain a position in Egypt.

The forced resignation of General Neguib indicated a split amongst the Revolution Command Council. This was proved when one officer from amongst the members of that Council led the semi-coup which resulted in the re-institution of Neguib.

The quick events in Egypt during that week-end proved nothing but humiliation for both sides of the competition.

Humiliation for Neguib who had been forced to resign, put under arrest and described by his colleagues as "heavy drinker, immoral, and vain"; humiliation also for Lt. Col. Nasser who could endure to continue his game and insist on his situation. However, although the humiliation of the dictators is evident, the voice of the people was heard.

It was under the people's pressure that the Revolution Council agreed to the re-institution of Neguib.

### DISSENSION AT TOP

The uncertainty about Neguib's Powers after his re-institution adds to the evidence that popular pressure had much to do with that decision. Moreover, it looked ridiculous that Col. Nasser imposed himself as Military Governor-General of the country and assumed all power leaving the President of the Republic, General Neguib, nothing but titular authority. On one day, Major Salem declared the deprivation of General Neguib from all his powers, and the following day he proclaimed the decision of the Revolution Council Command to restore to Neguib all the powers he had before his forced resignation. From this one cannot only feel the pressure of the people but also a dissension within the Council itself.

The news about the proposed Constituent Assembly should be received with much reserve, since many intentions of the military junta have been changing. There are no definite explanations, so far, about the method of elections to that Assembly, the qualifications of its members or its functions and powers.

### NEXT WEEK

George Padmore writes on the SUDAN CRISIS

## MORE READERS WRITE . . .

### MOLOTOV PLAN

I must point out an inaccuracy in the Editor's front page article of March 12th. His statement reads: "Mr. Molotov has suggested that all the occupation forces should be withdrawn from Germany..." In fact Mr. Molotov suggested nothing of the sort—as a more careful reading of his speech at the Berlin Conference will show.

Mr. Molotov's proposal was that the four Foreign Ministers should withdraw all armed forces except small contingents of troops in their respective zones for administrative purposes. In other words, Molotov is in favour of the permanent division of Germany and his proposals are a mere cover for this. To him, the question is only on the size of the occupying forces in Germany.

Surely, as genuine socialists, we should demand the withdrawal of ALL foreign troops from Germany as a first essential step to the unity of that country.

I hope that this inaccuracy will be corrected in an otherwise commendable article.

Birmingham Joe Davis

### Editor's Note:

In point of fact, there was an inaccuracy of my condensation of the Molotov proposals. He did, as Joe Davis correctly points out, suggest the withdrawal of all

occupation troops with the exception—to quote his own words—"of limited contingents left to perform protective functions arising from the control tasks of the four powers..."

However, in correcting one inaccuracy, our reader has himself fallen into another, for these proposals of Molotov were put forward as immediate measures to be carried out—to quote the official Soviet proposal—"Pending the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the reunification of Germany along democratic and peaceful lines..."

### EUROPEAN CONFERENCE

If it is necessary now to call a Conference for the British Labour Movement to discuss the German question, it is even more necessary for the Movement to demand a meeting on the European level of all working-class parties to decide on the most effective way of combating the plans for World War III of which the revival of German militarism is an essential part.

The German Labour Movement made a great stand for revolution in 1919, and had it succeeded the history of Europe would have been totally different. Germany would have replaced Russia as the leader of World Communism and consequently Communism would not to-day be its Russian brand.

United action by all European workers on the German Question provides not only a movement to defeat plans for World War III, but an historic opportunity to lead Europe to Socialism as there are so many potential forces awaiting a lead in Germany above all.

Germany has led Europe in militarism and war. Let the scales be reversed and Germany then would lead Europe towards a socialist goal.

Keighley

M. Evans

Socialist Outlook

59 FLEET STREET, E.C.4.

Editor: John Lawrence

# DIEN BIEN PHU

By JOHN LAWRENCE

It is reported that transport aircraft manned by American civilian crews have gone to the aid of the French defenders of the beleaguered fortress of Dien Bien Phu.

The crews are from General Claire Chennault's private airline company operating from the 'neutral' Formosa. They are carrying munitions.

When asked for an explanation the General said that they had not carried troops. Merely munitions.

It is understood that all this is done with the knowledge and acceptance of the U.S. Government.

This is no question of flying in medical supplies or aid. French paratroopers are being flown in at the same time. It is, in fact, U.S. participation in the French 'dirty war'

against the nationalist movement.

The Chinese are depicted in America and this country as being the "aggressors" who are intervening in this war. What about this blatant piece of 'United Nations' police work? Does all this come under the so-called 'Four Freedoms'?

The battle of Dien Bien Phu is one of the greatest events in the long and bloody struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom. Whatever is the outcome it is clear that French Imperialism is in no condition to impose terms on the Viet Minh.

If Bidault and his friends at the French Foreign Office spoke the truth they would admit that the only terms they are really in a position to ask for are—a cease-fire to enable them to evacuate all French troops from Indo-China.

# Briggs Send Rents Petition To Westminster

★ By John Parker M.P. ★

[A Petition was organised in the Briggs factory at Dagenham and presented to Parliament by John Parker, the local Labour M.P. who has given permission for this article to be reprinted from "The Voice of Briggs Workers".]

PETITIONS are a very old part of our Parliamentary system. Right back in the distant past our fathers from time to time felt strongly about some matters. Sometimes this was the result of the action or negligence of the King or his officers, sometimes it was the outcome of a big wealthy man interfering with the lives, liberties or livelihoods of the ordinary man.

The custom grew up of arousing public opinion where the grievance

was most seriously felt and of trying to persuade the government either itself to put the matter right or to intervene between the powerful and those they bullied and to give some protection to those who needed it.

A petition was drawn up by those interested, signatures were collected (those who could not write made their "mark") and the local Member of Parliament was asked to present it in the House of Commons. In this way public opinion was stirred up and an effort made to influence the Government's actions.

Nowadays the petition has less importance than in the past because political parties have grown up which try to put right grievances by passing new laws on the subjects on which there is strong feeling.

There is still a valuable field however for the petition when a government with a majority in the House of Commons decides to go ahead with some action which arouses strong disapproval among a large section of the people such as the present Increased Rents Bill. A wise government, which wants to be elected again, will take serious notice of such petitions.

The present Tory Government however is not wise, finding that the Labour criticism of their Increased Rents Bill was giving them a very difficult time in committee, they came down to the House of Commons on February 22nd to ask for powers to "guillotine" the Bill. This means that discussion on this most important Bill, which will closely effect the lives of millions of our people, will be

quite inadequate. In fact the committee is to be "gagged" and the Bill rushed through before the summer.

The Briggs Petition against the Increased Rents Bill, which was signed by over 4,500 members, was received in time for me to be able to present it in the House of Commons on the very day the Tories brought forward their guillotine proposals. It was first business of the day and the workers thus got home the first blow that day against this landlords' Bill. Encouragement was given to Labour M.P.'s in their fight against the Bill on the floor of the House and in committee and also a lead given to workers throughout the country.

When an election comes, the Briggs' petition will have played its part in building up opinion to throw out the Tories, the landlords' friends.

Labour believes in wiping out the private landlords of rent restricted houses by making the repairs and maintenance of such houses a public service. See that Labour has its chance to do this in the near future.

# French Forgery On Indo-China

From Paul Daulnay (Paris)

M. BANDA'S article, "Sell-out in Indo-China," is based on a report published in the French press of a speech by a Chinese government spokesman, Chen Yun, on the anniversary of Stalin's death.

When this report was published, it looked queer to people who follow closely Chinese policy. A few days later the matter was cleared when the full speech was published in the bulletin of the New China News Agency (March 6th, 1954). The report given by

the Agence France-Presse was, shall we say, "cooked". Many French papers have already denounced it.

For example, there is no mention that the Soviet Union in the very interest of the world revolution had turned back on itself. No mention also that "for this aim the maintenance of peace is indispensable." Sentences have been taken out of context, brought near other sentences so as to change the meaning of the speech. It was undoubtedly an apology for Stalin, but with no special importance for the present situation, and especially there was nothing in it that could be conceived as the opening for horse-deal upon Indo-China, although it contains the usual Stalinist slogans about peaceful co-existence of two systems, and so on...

If, as M. Banda writes, Indo-China would provide a splendid spring-board for a future war on China, one cannot understand why

China, after having helped the Koreans, should abandon the Vietnamese. The present relationship of forces is such in the Far East that it is not up to the Chinese or the Vietnamese to make major concessions. Whatever can be said of the Chinese policy, nothing allows us to say in advance that they will, as writes M. Banda, cynically betray the Vietnamese. It is not a matter of principle. The relationship of forces and their own interests, are pushing them in the other direction, as has been the case in Korea.

The report, as published in the French press, was a forgery (it is the only word which can be used) and it had a purpose.

The report appeared a couple of days before the National Assembly had to vote on government policy in Indo-China. Bidault and others who want to continue the Indo-China war as an element of American strategy, dare not say so openly.

They must tell the French people that they are for peace, but on conditions. And they try to make believe that there is some chance that these conditions (of a victor!) may be accepted in Geneva. When this fails, as it will inevitably fail, they will say: we have nothing else to do than to carry on the war...

The Agence France-Presse in this case, as in previous ones before important votes in the National Assembly, has acted on instructions of the Quay d'Orsay (the French Foreign Office). French ruling circles have never been too scrupulous in their methods. Today, on the verge of catastrophe in Indo-China, they can be expected to do anything. One should not forget that.

# A Shocking Report

By Fred Emmett

THE T.U.C. in its "Industrial News" calls attention to a report published by the United Nations. It is a special study of social conditions in the colonies—what the report calls the "non-self-governing territories."

The report shows that the average income in the U.S.A. during recent years has been 22 times that of the average in Asia. The comparative figures, on the basis of continents are as follows: Asia, £18; Africa, £27; South America, £60; Europe (not including the U.S.S.R.) £133; North America, £393.

But even within these continents, the actual picture emerges as much worse for the great mass of the population. Take Kenya as an example.

The average yearly income in Africa is £27. Yet a European in Kenya averages £660, and an Asian £280. The Africans in Kenya form 97 per cent. of the population yet draw less than one half of Kenya's total income. That makes the plight of all Africans pretty bad.

But now re-examine those figures in the light of another statement in the report—that the industrial worker in Kenya earns twice the amount of a landworker. Can you understand how a Kenya landworker manages to exist? A London factory cat must have almost as much spent on it during a year as the Kenya landworker's total income!

Under those circumstances, is it so difficult to understand Mau Mau?

# Salford (from page one)

of the repairs being done anyway. As the landlords have to state, in order to qualify for the increase, that they have carried out a certain amount of repairs over the past 3 years, they may suddenly discover consciences, but once the increase has started being paid, there is nothing to make the landlord continue to carry out repairs.

The only thing the tenant can then do, is to apply to the Sanitary Inspector for a certificate to the fact that the house is not being maintained in good repair. This certificate will enable the tenant to withhold the increase in the rent. But knowing the shortage of Sanitary Inspectors and the flood of demands which are likely to arise from the new Bill, we can well imagine that it might take months for tenants to obtain satisfaction.

Salford Labour Party is conducting a vigorous campaign and is setting up Tenants' Advice Committees in each Ward in the City. Although the Bill is now certain to become law, that is no reason why tenants should sit back and allow landlords to exploit them. If they get together in Tenants' associations and combine to fight the landlords, they can defeat this new racket.

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**PUBLIC MEETING**  
 "Oppose The Rent Increases"  
 8 p.m. Thursday, 1st April, 1954  
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 Harry Ratner (Labour Candidate)  
 Chairman:  
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# Labour and its Leadership

THE British Labour Movement needs a fighting leadership. That is clear from a survey of the present political and economic situation.

"Challenge to Britain" declared: "A slight slackening in American business sharply reduces American demand for imports, and especially for Sterling Area imports, and so reduces dollar earnings. At such moments a crisis can blow up at hurricane speed."

The "slight slackening" has already taken place. The decline in U.S. production and employment so far continues slowly but steadily, and the effects will sooner or later be felt in Britain. Mr. Deakin told us a few weeks ago that he thought the prospect of unemployment would face Britain this year. "I think—and I hope I'm wrong," he said, "that towards the end of this year we are going to run into a less prosperous period with the prospect of unemployment and under-employment."

## DEAKIN IS RIGHT

For this once, it must be said, Deakin is most likely to be right.

Already, in the fourth quarter of last year, British exports to the United States were 10 per cent. less than they were in the third, and there is a trade war intensifying between Britain, the United States, Germany and Japan.

It is the A.B.C. of Socialist that, under the threat of slump conditions, with developing unemployment, capitalism must attempt to cut labour costs. Directly in the factories, and indirectly by governmental action, it must attempt to lower the living standards of the workers. A leadership seriously concerned about the future of the working people should be preparing for this by building up the strength of the trade union movement in industry to prevent the

plans for an employers' offensive from maturing, and by mobilising the power of the movement for the removal of the Tory Government which will politically aid capitalism to unload the burden of its economic difficulties upon the working class.

## NOW IS THE TIME

The militancy shown in recent wage demonstrations offers a big capital for a leadership prepared really to lead, to strive for the unity of the industrial and political wings of the Labour Movement to aid the wages drive; to mobilise the unrest of today against the Tory Government; to hammer home the lesson that a serious socialist alternative exists to the struggle for markets.

But all this is certainly the last

By  
**Bill Hunter**

thing that Arthur Deakin and his right wing friends want to do. They are neither preparing the movement for the crisis which "may blow up at hurricane speed," nor are they seriously mobilising the movement to fight the employers and their Government here and now.

The T.U.C. appears to think that its function is to provide economic experts for the Tory Government or to discuss with its Ministers whether it can get out of its present crop of "Labour trouble" by setting up some super body with trade union officials, employers and government combining, in an attempt to frighten workers out of making wage demands.

There is a parallel attitude among the leaders of the political wing of the movement. It is clear that the Parliamentary struggle alone—such as it has been—is not going to remove the Tory Government. Their Rents Bill has come through it unscathed and now

millions of working class homes face the prospect of increased rents and increased rates.

Our leaders have failed to mobilise opposition to it in the country. They now stand afraid of utilising the power of the working people against attacks on their standards. The leadership confines itself to a plan for setting up committees which will advise tenants as to their rights, while the situation demands an all-out fight to prevent the Bill from being operated.

## CAUSE OF APATHY

When Parliamentary debates make no difference to Tory home or foreign policy; when Labour M.P.s grow more excited and attend in greater numbers in debates on the Belgian rifle when they can show their patriotism than they do about matters vitally and immediately affecting the lives of working people; can we wonder that workers grow apathetic electorally and bye-election results show a decline in the percentage of Labour votes?

What the Labour movement and the working class needs is a fight throughout the country. To get that, it first of all needs a clear line against Toryism and capitalism and against the evils that flow from it—slump and war. Those two fundamental problems of today the British working class cannot solve alone.

That is why there exists a crying need for an internationalist policy which will build allies among the colonial people and the working class movement of other lands.

There is an urgent need for a left wing fighting leadership. That leadership will be tested in its attitude on British capitalism. A firm movement demands firm principles, and a firm leadership, prepared to use the whole power of the British workers' movement in the fight against British capitalism and its Tory Government. Firm against war, against all colonial and foreign oppression and for the right of all peoples to decide their own destiny.

# Let's Have Some Humour, Please!

HAS the Labour Movement lost its sense of humour? I am beginning to think so. At Party meetings, Union meetings, Public meetings... it is always the same: everyone taking himself very seriously, delivering solemn, ponderous and prolix statements; often grimaced, and seldom a spark of wit to illuminate the proceedings.

You think this picture is exaggerated? If the foregoing has not been your experience, you are fortunate. Even the top labour speakers on radio and television programmes are similarly uninspiring—although admittedly there are exceptions.

Politics and economics are not exactly hilarious subjects even for the wittiest of men to deal with, and no one wants politicians to behave like music-hall comedians and crack "gags" every other line. But there is no need, either, to wear the mantle of gloom.

I am not asking for sarcasm. We get generous doses of this, but it is not humour. Frequently the general public interpret it as mere "bellyaching."

The sincerity of some of the movement's leading speakers is unquestionable. The honesty of their appeal is apparent. But there is nothing wrong with an occasional slice of humour to relieve the monotony of seriousness.

The comedic sense is not given to everyone. When it is there, it

amounts to genius; such people are all too few. Yet lesser mortals can try to avoid the dreary, unimaginative flatness that many Labour speakers have acquired. They have a message to sell, but they do not seem to have learned the rudiments of salesmanship.

Do not misunderstand me. I advocate neither the trivial nor the sensational. Nor do I subscribe to the propaganda "stunt." Tactics calculated to mislead the electorate are dishonest, however funny the speaker may be.

The movement has had some great propagandists in its history; men who have won not only the workers, but who have convinced many among all classes of society.

G.B.S. was one such. It is significant that Shaw always accom-

plished the operation with plenty of laughing gas.

It is not only our Big Guns who misfire. Ordinary public meetings often fall flat, too. The audience gets bored by a succession of oft-repeated platitudes. The converted do not require preaching to, and others refuse to listen unless there is an element of humour about the proceedings.

It is time we learned to say it with a smile in our voices, and a few ounces of wit in our powder magazine.

Now I've said it... I can visualise indignant readers reaching out for a pen to make a slashing reply. I don't mind that—so long as their retorts are just a little humorous!

David Dundonald

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# Our Readers Write . . . Dead—But Much Alive!

## The Prophet Armed

John Lawrence, in his review of I. Deutscher's "The Prophet Armed," presents Mao Tse-tung as the true disciple of Leon Trotsky, the unconscious disciple who brought about the realisation of the theory of the Permanent Revolution.

But the **Selected Works**, Vol. I, of Mao Tse-tung, recently published by Lawrence and Wishart, London, shows exactly what this unconscious disciple thought of the conscious Trotskyists—"jackals of Japanese imperialism" etc. (p. 264). And the **Fourth International**, organ of the American Trotskyist organisation, showed how these thoughts were put into practice. Speaking of the Trotskyists in Mao's Eighth Route Army, it states (in a Report on China): "But as soon as they were discovered, they were shamefully shot, one after another." The Report continues by describing how Cheong Li Ming, Trotskyist commander of 2,000 guerrillas in Eastern Chekiang was caught by the Stalinists and beheaded, how his wife was shot together with other Trotskyist captives, and how his six-year-old son was drowned in the sea.

Of course, Mao may be the 'unconscious agent of history', but for a Marxist leadership to be 'unconscious' at the time of what John Lawrence calls a "socialist revolution" (emphasis in the original), when the masses themselves are conscious of their social and historic role, is to make a travesty of Marxism.

Michael Kidron Balliol College, Oxford

★

## And Again . . .

Your review of "The Prophet Armed" is, to say the least, surprisingly naive in stating that "by restoring to the world the true picture of Leon Trotsky, Isaac Deutscher has performed a service of inestimable value to the cause of truth and socialism."

The "picture" of Trotsky was not lost to the world before Deutscher wrote: both his political reputation and his political ideals have been consistently vindicated for a long time now, not by learned biographers, but in the activity of the Fourth International, which Trotsky founded.

As to "the cause of truth and socialism", Deutscher himself appears to differentiate them, in

claiming: "Free from loyalties to any cult, I have attempted to restore the historical balance." He chooses to be the exponent of the eternal verities of history rather than an advocate of any particular political tendency of today.

In fact, as those who have eyes to see, can see, Deutscher's recent writings belie this claim of political impartiality as between Stalinism and Trotskyism. Although the present book does not deal directly with the post-1924 period in which this conflict of political tendencies fully unfolded, there are sufficient indications of "the shape of things to come" in Deutscher's promised second volume, in such passages as the two following:— (i) (P. 476) "In 1945-46, and partly even in 1939-40 Stalin began where he (Trotsky) and in a sense he and Lenin, had left off in 1920-21. Trotsky did not live to witness the momentous chapter which Stalin's revolutionary conquest has written in modern history."

(ii) (p. 515) "A similar subtle thread connects Trotsky's domestic policy of these years (before 1921) with the later practices of his antagonist."

Deutscher today, as shown also in **Russia Since Stalin**, believes that, in essentials, Stalin and the Soviet Bureaucracy came to adopt the Trotskyist programme, both at home, in the Five Year Plans, and abroad, in the overturn of property relations in Eastern Europe. However much he qualifies this point of view by regretting and criticising Stalinist methods, Deutscher becomes, in expressing it, an apologist for Stalinism, attributing to it a progressive historical role. By the same token, despite his freedom from any "cult," he becomes an opponent of Trotskyism, or the living thought of Trotsky, which has always discerned and exposed the essentially counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism, despite the industrialisation of Russia and the social changes in Eastern Europe.

Indeed, even on the question of bureaucratic methods, Deutscher (p. 515-517) seeks to identify the policies of Trotsky and Stalin, and thereby to "explain" such things as the destruction of Soviet democracy and the forced collectivisations, the piece-work sweating system and the concentration camps, as due to forces beyond the control of any political leadership in Soviet Russia.

To defend Trotsky from Stalinist slander was relatively easy. We are now faced also with the task of defending him against the "friendly" sanctifica-

tion of biographers who aim at separating Leon Trotsky, the so-called "tragic" figure of history, from the living political movement that continues his work. Similar historians have already turned Marx, Lenin, and Engels not only into "harmless ikons", but even into the patron saints of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The "tragic" weakness of such writers is that, "realistically", they worship the **fait accompli**. Trotsky himself compared this tribe with Moses who, incapable of gazing on the blazing countenance of God, was permitted a glance from behind. Unable to face forwards towards the world revolution as it in fact unfolds today, Deutscher comforts himself by prostration, albeit critical and regretful prostration, before the bureaucratic backside of the October Revolution of 1917.

London

Doric de Souza

## The Old Peoples' Plight

Writes an old age pensioner in the current issue of the "Old Age Pensioner" (the official organ of the Federation of Old Age Pensions Associations): "We have been pressing for an increased pension, based on the increased cost of living, but let us remind ourselves and the public where we started from. We were on the poverty line to start with. Up to now we have been put off with promises—which you cannot live on . . . as the needs of the pensioner grow more, so then our claim is more justified."

This old comrade goes on: "We are told profits were higher in 1953 than ever before. Now let us see what happened. In January, 1954 these claims have been made on the grounds of increase in the cost of living." Here follows a list of wage claims, some already successful.

Does he chide us for asking for more pay to meet the higher cost of living while his pension remains at starvation level? **He does not!** This is what he says: "No, fellow—trade unionist I am not complaining. I congratulate you. **You were organised, You were recognised.**"

Isn't this a grand attitude? But, deep beneath isn't it a cry from the heart? "You were

**S**EVENTY-ONE years ago there ended the greatest partnership in history; a partnership which began in Paris in the autumn of 1844 when Frederick Engels, the radical son of a German cotton manufacturer, met Karl Marx, the editor of *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, in order to discuss the publication of certain economic articles.

From this meeting a life-long friendship founded upon common inspiration and determination was formed which only ended when Karl Marx died on the fourteenth of March, 1883.

It was fitting that when Marx was buried in Highgate cemetery three days later Frederick Engels should deliver a speech at the

organised, you were recognised."

And, our old friend goes on, "I am sure all fair-minded men and women, will agree our claim is justified. So we call on you to give ear to our claim for a pension of 50/-. This is only half what it costs in our homes and hostels. But, it does more—it gives the old folk independence." He concludes, "Are you with us?"

Of course we are, that goes without saying, but to lend our ears is not enough. We must play a more active part in our old comrades fight for justice. Membership of the Association is open to all, whether of pensionable age or not. All trade unionists should be inside and local trades councils should "adopt" local branches of the Federation, and work and fight alongside the old folk in this great fight for a fuller and happier life for them.

Let it not be forgotten, that the worker of today is the pensioner of tomorrow. Let us join with the pensioners of today, and we can say very soon, "They are Organised, They are Recognised", and eventually "We are Organised, We are Recognised."

Cleothorpes (Lincs.)  
S. R. Pearson

## ★ Karl Marx—An Appreciation ★

By Bernard Dix

grave; a speech which not only expressed the personal loss suffered by Engels but also expressed the loss of the whole working class for whom Marx had constantly fought.

### HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

In his speech Engels summarised the main achievements of Marx; a summary striking in its simplicity and revealing in its depth of understanding of Marx's ideas—as may be judged from the following passage:

"Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history; he discovered the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat and drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; and that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people during a given epoch, form the foundations upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, the art and even religious ideas of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which these things must be explained, instead of vice versa as had hitherto been the case."

Here, in the proverbial nutshell, is the basis of what is known as the materialist conception of history. A conception which is established upon the principle that production and the exchange of products is the foundation of every form of social order; that the division of society into classes depends upon what is produced, how it is produced, and the manner in which the products are distributed.

From this it follows that changes in the political and social structure can only be brought about by changes in the productive relationships—that only by changing the manner in which articles are produced and distributed can the stratification of society be altered.

### MARX WOULD APPROVE

It can be safely said that, if he was alive today, Marx would approve and support those voices within the Labour Party which are demanding an extension of public ownership and the introduction of measures in the already existing publicly-owned sectors of industry to ensure a greater degree of workers participation in management.

For such changes will bring about a change in the method of production and will therefore be a step towards changing the whole structure of society. They will not, in themselves, cause a complete change, but they will be part of the innumerable small movements which will ultimately cause the complete and revolutionary transformation of the capitalist society into a Socialist one.

But Marx has been dead seventy-one years, during which

time his teachings and theories have been subjected to a constant deluge of criticisms, revisions and distortions. Not only have the philosophical "parlour-maids" of the capitalist class spent much time and energy attempting to discredit Marxism but also many alleged Socialists have created elaborate counter-theories which, they claim, prove that Marxism is either outdated or ill-founded.

### MARX DEVELOPED

Since the death of Marx there have been, however, many brilliant students of Marxism who have succeeded in applying the discoveries of Marx to particular developments of the capitalist society; by observing certain movements within the structure of capitalism and by using their knowledge of Marxism to analyse these movements they have made a valuable contribution to the understanding of society—thus making it easier for a change to be brought about.

This is the important thing to remember—that a knowledge of Marxism does not make one a Marxist—that to be a Marxist means to desire and to actively encourage the revolutionary transformation of society. As Engels said of Marx himself: "Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute in one way or another to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being . . ."

More and more workers are today discovering, reading, and understanding Marx, are realising that his words are as applicable today as they were in the middle of the last century. If the transformation into a socialist society is to speedily come about it is necessary that these workers apply to their everyday activity in the Movement their knowledge of Marxism. That they constantly remember the extremely pointed remark made by Marx in his **Theses On Feuerbach**: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world differently, the point is, to change it."

## Hell Bomb

● Continued from page 1

and poetry if you expect to obtain it from war. The idea of making war nowadays can only enter the brain of a sordid bourgeois or belated romantic. What is war? A burlesque masquerade in the midst of which fatuous patriots sing their stupid dithyrambs. Had Napoleon possessed a practical mind he would not have made war . . . When will you become thinkers? The thinkers do not believe in war which is phantasy; they believe in chemistry, which is a science. They know the way to put victory into an algebraic formula . . .

And drawing from his pocket a small bottle, which he held up to the meeting, Prince Istar exclaimed: "Victory—it is here!"  
**We now have the Power in a bottle! How will the world use it?**

# An American on McCarthy

By Joseph Keller

The American Labour Movement is becoming increasingly aware of the dangers of McCarthyism, as this article—reprinted from The American Socialist paper, "The Militant"—clearly shows.

**I**MPORTANT sectors of organised labour are beginning to see a deadly parallel between Senator McCarthy and the late Adolph Hitler. Awareness of the Wisconsin political gangster's ambition to become America's fascist dictator is expressed in several of the most influential labour papers in the country. Fear of McCarthyite fascism now extends even into traditionally conservative top union circles.

Thus, the March 6 Labour, national weekly newspaper of 15 leading railroad unions, editorially warns that "McCarthy's unscrupulous ambition stands out clear: Like Hitler, he is determined to rule or ruin. His alleged fight on 'Communism' is just a mask. He is following the old prescription of 'divide and conquer' . . . by stirring fear and hatred and hysteria among our people—as Hitler did in Germany—he hopes to undermine democracy and put himself on top."

### DEADLY PARALLEL

"Justice", official publication of the A.F.L. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in its

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March 1 issue also finds "a deadly parallel" between McCarthy's rise today and Hitler's rise twenty years ago. Hitler "bullied his way to power by destroying the democratic methods, by intimidating the nation's leaders, by purging the Army, by tearing up the Constitution of the German republic." **Justice further emphasises the "deadly parallel" by recalling how Germany's President, "General Von Hindenburg, World War I hero", helped Hitler to power.**

The loudest union alarm about the menace of McCarthyite fascism has been sounded by "Labour's Daily", America's only daily labour newspaper, published by the A.F.L. International Typographical Union.

In a March 5 editorial, its editors justifiably voice pride in the fact "that we early pointed out the parallel between the rise of McCarthyism in this country and the rise of right-wing dictatorships in Italy and Germany under Messrs. Mussolini and Hitler."

Labour's "Daily" stresses the need "to impress upon the American Labour Movement, which is an organised, key segment of our people and the most important bulwark of our democracy . . . the reality and comparative immediacy of a danger to labour and to all who love freedom.

That danger is Fascism."

This danger "Labour's Daily"

correctly relates to "one condition, coupled with others but above all others . . . THAT CONDITION IS A DEPRESSION, WITH ITS RESULTANT UNEMPLOYMENT AND MISERY! . . . Fascist-minded demagogues may exploit this situation in order to rise to power. It happened in Italy; it happened in Germany; it can happen here." (Emphasis is original).

### WHO CHASES US!

This fascist danger, "Labour's Daily" feels, "has not been sufficiently described to American workers, nor has the seriousness of the threat been adequately stressed." And it concludes with an especially acute observation: "We have been so busy chasing Reds that we have sometimes failed to look around to see who is chasing US."

Almost four years ago, on April 10, 1950, the "Militant" sounded the very first warning about McCarthyism as a potential fascist menace. We described the earliest stages of McCarthy's Senate hearings as "a super-witch hunt . . . made to order for the rise of a fascist movement . . . McCarthy's 'technique' . . . is patterned after that of all the social demagogues down to Hitler."

The growing recognition that McCarthyism is American fascism on the march, with the prime aim of smashing organised labour, is

encouraging. You can't fight a danger you don't know exists. But if you do know, then how to fight the danger becomes the decisive question. Here neither "Labour's Daily", nor "Justice", nor Labour appear to have learned the primary lesson of the German and Italian experiences—the most deadly parallel of all.

### A WARNING

Hitler and Mussolini secured power by "legal" means through official agents and agencies of government—those very agents and agencies that the German and Italian Labour leaders had counted on to save their movement from fascism. The ill-fated German and Italian unions were crushed because their leaders depended on the "democratic" capitalist politicians, rather than on the mass might in action of the organised working class to curb the fascists. These American labour papers we have cited are begging Eisenhower or the Senate or the Democrats to do the job of smashing McCarthyism.

Let them pray that the American workers don't take their advice on how to fight McCarthyism. It's a guaranteed eventual one-way trip to McCarthy's concentration camps. If these union spokesmen really believe that McCarthy is the American Hitler, then their one hope of effectively combatting McCarthyism is to mobilise the ranks of labour for a life-and-death battle. They should organise for independent mass action through demonstrations, strikes and every other means of labour struggle to smash this greatest of evils that is now on the march.

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