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**LABOUR PARTY**  
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AND SSH! STILL READ  
**SOCIALIST OUTLOOK**

# Socialist Outlook

No. 141

[Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper]

WEEKLY

FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 1954

3d.

Concerning  
Factions

(page 2)

# LIFT THE BAN!

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(Statement by G. Healy and Jack Stanley)

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To implement the decision will require a substantial army of spies to investigate and report upon who is buying, reading or working for the paper. In turn they will be expected to denounce the culprits to the N.E.C. who can then decide in McCarthy fashion to expel them from the Labour Party.

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strangle the democratic life and right to independent thought which forms the backbone of our great movement.

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Chairman: JACK STANLEY (General Secretary, C.E.U.)

### 4,000,000 German Workers Threaten Action

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Every militant British worker, every left winger will watch very closely and with sympathy the development of this tremendous industrial movement. The German working class created the first Labour Party in the world; it fought great battles in the period before fascism crushed its organisations. It suffered the persecution of fascism but emerged from the fascist terror to recreate its organisations. This German working class has been vilified and slandered as supporting fascism by so-called socialists. Themselves possessing democratic rights, they allow the depredations of British imperialism to go by without any great protest.

The German working class resumes its place in the vanguard of militant working class forces of Europe.

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Behind this wave of struggle are deeper reasons than economic demands. "Beneath the demand for higher wages there beats a deep note of warning," declares a DAILY HERALD correspondent on August 10. "It is now common knowledge that Hitler's de-

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The National Executive Committee felt that its duty was to protect the Party from the disruptive influence of "Socialist Fellowship," since the fractional activities it organised had a disturbing effect on many parties and led to a diversion of effort and attention from the task of building up an efficient electoral machine in the constituencies.

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While prominent members of the Labour Party have contributed to this journal, a number of its regular contributors are known for their previous association with the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist Party. The Revolutionary Communist Party dissolved in 1949, and advised its members to join the Labour Party and to fight for their policy within its ranks.

From many complaints received, it is plain that there is an organised faction at work within a number of Constituency Labour Parties in support of policies advocated in "Socialist Outlook."

While parties locally have the right to expel any member who is considered to have acted in a manner contrary to the policy and constitution of the Party, the National Executive Committee felt it necessary, in the interests of the Party, to take this decision, and to inform all affiliated organisations immediately.

Yours sincerely,  
MORGAN PHILLIPS,  
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The most important thing, however, about the constitution of 1948 is that it expressly excludes the right of secession from the British Commonwealth. By implication, it also illegalises any movement for Enosis, or union with Greece—the mother country of the great majority of Cypriots.

The Tories have now taken the process a stage further. Not only meetings for, but the mere mention of Enosis is now forbidden. Even the speeches of British M.P.'s who comment unfavourably on the Government's policy in Cyprus may not be reported in the Cypriot press.

This is the real face of the Government which pretends to liberalism on the question of Egypt.

We stand by the demands of our Cypriot brothers for freedom of press and assembly, and the right to determine their own destiny. The more so in that freedom of the Press is now under fire from the N.E.C. of the British Labour Party!

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We will do the rest. Take a collection from your friends and workmates. Send what you can to SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, 177 Bermondsey St., London, S.E.1.



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# CONCERNING FACTIONS

## The 'Gag' Circular

PLANS for suppressing SOCIALIST OUTLOOK have been under discussion in right-wing circles for several years now. Early in 1952 we learned that some paid officials from Transport House were encouraging the idea that our paper was proscribed. On March 10 of that year we addressed a letter to the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party asking for their comments on a public statement made by Mr. Cavanaugh of the National Agent's Department to the effect that our paper was about to be proscribed.

Mr. A. L. Williams the National Agent replied on the 27th of the same month to the effect that our letter had been considered by the N.E.C. who had decided to take no further action in this matter of proscription.

We also received a written apology from Mr. Cavanaugh for his statement made to the Atherton College of the N.C.L.C.

As the old saying goes "there is no smoke without fire" and in spite of these assurances, it was pretty clear that some action was being contemplated.

### Herbert Tries Again

Mr. Morrison was removed from the N.E.C. at Morecambe and nothing more happened until recently, when the rumours began once again. It was said that Herbert was "out to get us" and that he was piloting a resolution through the organisational sub-committee that would do the trick. Our "readers" at

By  
**G. HEALY**

Scotland Yard who charge the cost of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK to "expenses" will be reminded of how dearly Herbert loves coppers.

We also heard that he faced important opposition on the grounds that SOCIALIST OUTLOOK was a newspaper and you could not proscribe a newspaper. However, he has now got his way, but not by a large majority, and our paper is banned.

### Hostile Propaganda?

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is falsely accused of spreading propaganda hostile to the declared policy of the Party. This allegation falls to the ground after the briefest examination.

Last year's Margate Conference decided on opposition to German rearmament. Some weeks ago the N.E.C. issued a pamphlet which is not only hostile to this policy, but hostile to the overwhelming opinion of the rank and file as well. Witness the results of conference after conference all over the country.

This pamphlet, the views of a right-wing group, was issued as "Labour's case". What better example of a "factional activity" hostile to the party by a select group of right-wingers could be found?

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK certainly published propaganda emanating from "Socialist Fellowship". This is stale news. Since then we have supported many other causes, amongst them the struggle of Mr. Bevan against the right-wing.

### What is a faction?

Speaking of factions, it was simply astonishing the speed with which some right-wing leaders got busy with Mr. Gaitskell's nomination for Treasurer. Talk about slickness of action! Here was an experience which suggests at least that some people regularly "get together."

Again. We might well ask "what is a faction?" Take M.R.A. for instance. If it is a case of speed and organised action they can show a clean pair of heels to anyone. Recently they came up for some criticism in TRIBUNE, and in a matter of hours a letter appeared in the correspondence column signed by members of the Labour Party and trade unions from all over the country.

Here we believe is an example of factionalism, par excellence. But, Morrison and his friends are strangely silent on this matter, even though there is little doubt about the purpose of M.R.A. in the Labour Movement.

### The Trotskyists

On the other hand Morrison seems to think he is on a winner with the Trotskyists. In 1949, Morgan Phillips tells us, they dissolved and entered the Labour Party to fight for their ideas. They haven't been alone in that. Perhaps we may remind Herbert Morrison of the day long ago, when he proposed to the Social Democratic Party that it enter the Labour Party in order to permeate it with Marxist ideas.

We seem to recall that the last time the Communist Party applied for affiliation they were told to dissolve and apply as individual members. Now it is clear that this is not enough. Not only must organisations desiring to affiliate to the Labour Party dissolve, but their members must obviously have a "brainwash" as well.

This "Trotsky talk" is not news any more. Morgan

# VOTES FOR BEVAN

**N**ORTHEAST Leeds Divisional Labour Party decided at its meeting last Sunday to nominate A. Bevan for the Treasurership of the Labour Party.

Protests continue at the decision of the A.E.U. executive to support the nomination of Mr. Gaitskell.

Among the latest are five branches in the Ashton-under-Lyne district. The district committee have already sent the following resolution to their E.C.

"That if press reports are true, the Ashton-under-Lyne District Committee wishes to protest to support being given to a man who has many times spoken against the declared policy of our union."

The Editorial Board have received the following statement signed by a branch president, a secretary and a member of the district committee in this area:

"The news of the Executive Council's decision that the A.E.U. should support Gaitskell (and not Bevan) for Treasurer at the Labour Party Conference this year comes at first, to say the least, as an almost unbelievable shock to the members. For years, in the various working class organisations, A.E.U. brothers have almost 'shown off' about the greater measure of democracy attributed to our Union.

"A few weeks ago many members would have scorned the possibilities of an Executive Council policy decision so blatantly in contradiction to our Union's own policies.

"The Executive Council's decision is, in fact, one to support the nominee of the right wing Labour leaders and the trade union bureaucrats who have consistently opposed all the main items of A.E.U. policy: that is, the programme for the extension of nationalisation; the 'Plan for Engineering'; workers' control in industry; and opposition to German rearmament.

"At the Labour Party Conference Mr. Gaitskell will be in the front line of the opposition to our National Committee's decision to oppose German rearmament. The E.C.'s decision to back Gaitskell brings disgrace to the finest traditions of the A.E.U.

"We feel that A.E.U. support at the Labour Party Conference should go to the person whose views correspond most closely to the A.E.U.'s policies and decisions of the National Committee. So come on now! there is still time. We hope that every branch and district committee will demand the recall of National Committee to reverse this shameful decision."

and Herbert were beaten to it by the Communist Party last March, when their WORLD NEWS gave "the dope". It is interesting indeed how all these people gang up together when it comes to fighting Labour's left-wing. Read the paragraph on the Revolutionary Communists and it is taken almost word for word from the C.P.G.B.

When you consider the facts, one is more and more led to believe that a Trotskyist to Morgan Phillips and Harry Pollitt simply means an independent socialist-minded left-winger who will not jump to the crack of the Party whip.

True enough, there are some former members of the R.C.P. who write for the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK as well as a large number of others who have never heard of the R.C.P. Come to think of it, there is a very "high-up" man in Transport House who considered himself a "hot Trotskyist" years ago. This gentleman will now have a lot to do implementing "operation outlaw." Maybe, God forbid, someone will remind him of his past and tip off Herbert. Who knows then what will happen?

### Real Reason For Ban

All this label sticking is meaningless unless related to policy. The policy of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK menaces the right-wing and that is the reason for the ban. The Party faces a severe struggle against German rearmament as part of a wider struggle against all war preparations. SOCIALIST OUTLOOK makes a regular contribution to this fight. It is banned because the left are winning the fight, not because of Trotskyists, the Socialist Fellowship, or members of the Latter Day Saints, but because the policy of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is helping to clarify the situation.

We are confident—because we firmly believe that before long the left-wing will take over the Party—that this ban will be lifted.

# Tory Rebels and Labour Rebels

By  
**K. G. Brown**

**T**HE national press, which usually spreads itself about the slightest fissure in the Labour Party, has recently had to pay reluctant attention to the existence of a rebel element in the Conservative Party.

This is a very significant development, not because of the importance of the personalities involved—for the most part the Tory rebels are political nonentities—but because of the forces they represent.

Since their return to power, the Conservative Government have trodden very warily. They have only tinkered with the structure of the "Welfare State" for they were fearful of the wrath of the people if they moved too fast. Similarly, in the colonies they were able to attack the national movements only in the smaller countries, such as British Guiana and Kenya. Where there exists a powerful, well-organised national movement, as in the Gold Coast, they have been unable to reverse the process set in motion by the Labour Government.

### A SECTION RESTIVE

All the time, there were Tories who chafed at the bit; who were impatient to turn the clock back to the halcyon days before the war. At first this was confined to the "lunatic element" like Sir Waldron Smithers, but as the powers behind the Tory Party—the financial and industrial capitalists—saw the ease with which the Conservative Government could make minor inroads into the Welfare State and when they saw that the Labour Movement was not going to organise resistance even to the major moves of denationalising steel and road transport—their appetites were whetted. They began to prepare for a full-scale attack on all the achievements of the Labour Government.

The strings were being pulled by the Lords of the City but the puppets who danced on the parliamentary stage were the powerful 1922 Committee. This is the organisation of Tory back-benchers who meet in private and who do not allow Cabinet Ministers to attend their meetings except by invitation.

### THE HARD FACED MEN

At every decisive turn in Tory history, the 1922 Committee have shown their hands. They were the "hard-faced men" who brought down the Lloyd George Coalition; they were the inspirers of the "Zinoviev Letter." It was the 1922 Committee which pushed

Neville Chamberlain into the Premiership in succession to Baldwin and who were the main backers of Munich.

They are the direct representatives of Finance Capital within the Conservative Party and, in the final analysis, it is they who determine Tory policy.

### READY FOR SHOW-DOWN

Now the 1922 Committee men are flexing their muscles for a show-down, not only with socialism but with any element in the Conservative Party who want to compromise with the Welfare State. Their greatest triumph was the resignation of Sir Thomas Dugdale over Crichel Down.

They succeeded in turning what was a criticism of high-handed action on the part of some civil servants into an attack on the very principle of State planning.

There is no question of expelling these "rebels" from the Conservative Party or even of disciplining them. For they represent the true voice of Toryism and the real interests of the forces behind Toryism—the capitalist class.

How different from the Labour Party. Here the right wing leadership are trying to gloss over the clash of class interests. The net result is that the Labour Party's policy must look as much like Conservative policy as possible. They want the Party to cease to be a Labour Party and to represent that nebulous force "all men of good will."

### THE LABOUR "REBELS"

But within the Labour Party, as in the Conservative Party, there are men and women who recognise the realities of capitalist society and who know that there can be no real identity of interests between the workers and capitalists. This may sound "old-

fashioned" to people like Arthur Deakin and Gaitskell, but it remains, none-the-less, true. Just as the Tory "rebels" represent the fundamental interests of the capitalists, so the Labour "rebels" represent the fundamental interests of the workers.

The Conservative leaders recognise this fact and give in to the "rebels". Our Labour leaders, act like the man who saw a giraffe for the first time and exclaimed: "There ain't no such animal!" They think they can cheat history by disciplining the rebels and threatening expulsion.

Ramsay MacDonald and Jimmy Thomas also thought they could fly in the face of history but in the end history had its nemesis. Who remembers them today except with contempt? Even the Tories do not spare them a kind thought.

If Labour is to survive as a political force it must make a clean break with neo-Toryism, both in home and foreign policy.

That it will make such a break is certain. Expulsions and proscriptions will not prevent British Labour finding the road to Socialism.

### Fighting Fund

We are nearly half way through August, comrades, yet our total stands at only just over £11. There must be no let up in this holiday month, please. Before you set off on that promised holiday, spare a thought for your paper—yes, BEFORE, not after, while you still have the cash.

Our thanks to: West London readers, £3 3s.; Platts workers, £2 10s. 3d.; East Salford readers, £1 10s. 9d.; Islington readers, £1 7s. 9d.; Ashton-under-Lyne readers, 18s. 6d.; West Salford readers, 18s. 6d.; Edinburgh readers, 12s. 6d.; Norwood readers, 7s. 6d.; J.L., 5s.

Total to date, £11 13s. 9d.

### Industrial Front

## GUARDS' DISPUTE SETTLED

**T**HE recent dispute over a new lodging turn was temporarily settled at the Nottingham L.M.R. depot, when the management made an offer of alternative accommodation for the guards at a private address in Bristol. The Guards who had objected to the sleeping conditions at the G.W.R. hostel decided to accept the offer for a period of 3 months whilst refusing to accept the "private lodge" indefinitely. Meanwhile the Management have been called on to make adequate provision for the trainmen's accommodation and the N.U.R. leaders have been urged to see that this is done.

In spite of attempts by the management at intimidation a collection was taken on Pay Day to meet the loss of 2 days pay suffered by the Guards who returned as passenger. Over £6 was collected, many drivers and firemen contributing as a gesture of solidarity with the Guards' action in refusing to accept the bad hostel accommodation.

The general verdict was that a victory had been won by the refusal of the Guards to work under onerous conditions. Comment was also made that the dispute could have been avoided if the N.U.R. leadership had made sure that the lodging hostel facilities were good when the lodging turn was accepted; apparently the Management's assurances were accepted without further enquiry.

The leadership now have a chance to put things right at the Bristol "lodge" and their further efforts will be followed with interest by the Nottingham Guards. Meanwhile conditions at lodging hostels at other centres to which Nottingham men travel are being investigated by the Guards' representatives.

## BIRMINGHAM ENGINEERS VICTORY

**R**EPORTED in a previous issue of the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK was the dispute at R.T. Shelley Ltd.—manufacturers of the Norton Motor Cycles. Readers will recall that the workers had opposed various aspects of a New Production Control System and were informed that the system would commence on August 10 regardless of opposition.

However, on July 19 a Works Conference took place at the factory and the decision was to offer the workers a three months trial at the end of which, if the workers still objected to parts of the scheme those parts would be withdrawn. This was to have been put to the workers for acceptance or otherwise on July 22.

But on July 21, the shop stewards were called in by the Managing Director who offered to bring the scheme in on August 10 without the parts the workers object to.

The parts in dispute could then go through the normal procedure and could be discussed with union officials all the way to Central Conference at York. This offer was naturally accepted by the workers because it kept things as they were and did not involve them having to try out the unpleasant parts of the scheme and then at the end of three months having to demand their withdrawal.

Without a doubt this is a great gain because in engineering the employers (provided they have given 10 day's notice) can insist on forcing a scheme such as this and the workers are supposed to work it and then argue about it through procedure.

Obviously militant resistance and steadfast trade unionism pays its dividends!



# WALL STREET BACKS A NEW

# PLUNDER IN PERSIA

**M**ORE than half the people in the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant... The old imperialism—exploitation for foreign profit—has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a programme of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing...

the Persian people with the present corrupt government in power is another matter). But as the profits are to be on a 50:50 basis, the oil companies will also get £150 million, and is this not extracted from poverty-stricken Persia, for the benefit of foreign share-

By  
**T. Wright**

These sentences are taken from the 4th point of Truman's inaugural address made on January 20, 1949, which has been quoted time without number to show capitalism's "new look".

### WORDS AND DEEDS

Fine phrases, but action speaks louder than words. The old imperialism has gone? Democratic fair dealing? Then what of Persia? Don't her people live in misery? Are they not the underprivileged, the miserable, the illiterate and the starved? To assist Persia—what a wonderful opportunity for implementing Truman's 4th Point. But how different is the reality.

The Persian government and eight foreign oil companies have reached agreement on the production and marketing of oil. According to the press, in the first three full years it is anticipated that the Persian government will get £150 million. (How much will go to

holders? Is this not a classical example of imperialist exploitation?

The press has been somewhat reticent about this side of the agreement. This not inconsiderable sum, considered together with the fact that Anglo-Iranian which has 40 per cent. of the holdings, expect to get £200 million from the other seven companies "no doubt accounts for the fact that the £1 shares of the company have been maintained at near £13 for the past three days." (MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, August 6).

Needless to say the eight oil companies and not the Persians, will decide how much oil will be produced. They will continue to take oil "which would reasonably reflect the supply and demand trend for Middle East crude oil, assuming favourable operating and economic conditions for Iran." Would the foreign oil

companies—which disapproved of the not even pink, Mussaddig government—continue operation if the present reactionary government fell? There is no prize to any reader who submits the correct answer.

Persia was driven by superior economic force to toe the line. Discussing how the dispute proceeded when Mussaddig was in power the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN admits that "Oil nationalisation was also a threat to America's own interests in the Middle East. In the last stages of the conflict the American government co-operated closely with this country, and Dr. Mussaddig's fate was sealed. He could obtain no economic aid from abroad... Persia had no tankers or marketing organisation..." Compare this, with America's attitude to Persia's present government which the same paper says can only carry on because of American financial aid.

### AMERICA'S RULERS PLEASED

America's rulers are very well pleased at the settlement which they have brought about. On August 7th, President Eisenhower sent a letter to Herbert Hoover, Jr., consultant to the Secretary of State, on Iranian Oil. The letter expressed his deep appreciation for Mr. Hoover's "outstanding contribution" to the settlement of the dispute, which has "for so long been a threat to the stability of the Middle East."

The settlement, said Eisenhower, "will not only further our objectives in the Middle East, but also contribute to our good relations with our European Allies and our friends in other parts of the world as well."

Secretary of State Dulles also joined in the congratulations, not only to Mr. Hoover, but also to the American Ambassador in Persia—Mr. Henderson. He ex-

pressed admiration for Mr. Henderson's work since becoming ambassador to Iran and his "major role in bringing about this settlement."

The American President himself received congratulations from the Shah of Persia and Persia's foreign minister. The letter praised the valuable contribution of the American government and its "distinguished ambassador."

### MANY LESSONS

There are many valuable lessons that can be drawn from the experience of Persia. The writer only wishes to cite three.

**Firstly:** No party can lead workers to freedom in colonial or semi-colonial countries if they teach those that follow them to rely on native capitalist representatives. The Tudeh party did just this. It preached reliance on Mussaddig who would not mobilise the workers and peasants against the Shah—on the contrary by suppressing the workers' parties and trade unions he gave the green light to reaction.

**Secondly:** The Labour leaders who opposed Persian oil nationalisation assisted the forces of reaction in Iran and the exploitation of her people. It should not be forgotten that Labour was in power when the problem was first posed.

**Finally:** To declare that imperialism no longer exists and that exploitation has ended is to falsify facts. Those who argue that America or the United Nations will develop backward areas are deluding themselves.

The proper, all sided development of these areas will only occur when they are free of imperialism and native capitalism. The task of the Labour Movement is to assist the colonial people in both tasks.

## American Newsletter

# McCarthyites Paralyse U.S. Senate

New York, August 6

**T**HE members of the U.S. Senate, in their overwhelming majority, gave a fresh demonstration last week of their mortal fear of fascist Senator Joseph McCarthy, when they refused to vote on a motion to "censure" him and with a sigh of relief voted to establish a new committee to "investigate" him.

The new "investigating" committee is supposed to hold hearings on the charges levelled against him of conduct unbecoming a member of the Senate and to bring back a report to the entire Senate before it recesses during the middle of this month. After the way McCarthy so easily dragged out the recent Army hearings, there is little hope in any quarter that the committee will actually do so. Even if they should, there is still less hope that anywhere near a majority of the Senators would summon the courage to vote against McCarthy.

### REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS CAN'T FIGHT

Republicans and Democrats think they would like to buck America's would-be Hitler but are so deeply enmeshed in "anti-communism" that they are utterly incapable of doing so. The debate on the "censure" resolution, showed the McCarthyites know how to handle them.

Senator Dirksen, an aggressive McCarthyite, launched a slashing

attack on the supporters of the "censure" move as being in "the same bed" with the Communist party. This refrain was echoed throughout the debate. So fearful are McCarthy's Senatorial opponents of any "pro-communist" charge that such an attack is sufficient to paralyse them. During the entire three day debate not a single effective voice was raised in answer to this vicious smear attack.

Gloomily surveying the virtual collapse of the latest "anti-McCarthy" venture of the capitalist politicians, the August 4 NEW YORK TIMES offered as consolation the thought that "If the majority of his fellow Senators hesitate to condemn him, they hesitate likewise to give him a clean bill of health."

### MCCARTHYITES NOT CONCERNED

In New York, on July 28, McCarthy and his supporters demonstrated their utter lack of concern about "obtaining a clean bill of health" from the major parties. Some 2,000 hysterical fascists jammed a \$7-a plate testimonial dinner at the swank Hotel Astor to honour the first "victim" of their movement—McCarthy's stooge, Roy Cohn—who had been forced to resign his Senate committee position. The arrangements committee claimed another 6,000 were turned away owing to lack of space.

The list of twenty one organisations sponsoring this mobilisation of New York's leading McCarthyites included some of the most powerful reactionary organisations in the country. Among them were the American Legion, the Catholic War Veterans, the Jewish War Veterans, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Daughters of the American Revolution.

### NOTORIOUS FASCISTS ON PLATFORM

Some of the most notorious reactionaries and avowed fascists in the country spoke or sat on the platform. Among the most odious were the F.B.I.'s prize stool-pigeon, the ex-Communist Louis Budenz, and Westbrook Pegler. Pegler is the anti-labour columnist who recently openly advocated in his nationally syndicated column the smashing of the unions and the establishment of fascism.

One of the peaks of this frenzied rally was a speech by a college student representing the fascist youth organisation, Students For America. He roused the audience to frantic cheers when he told them Roy Cohn would be "redeemed" when "the American people have taken back their government from the criminal alliance of Communists, Socialists and New Dealers and the Eisenhower-Dewey Republicans that is ruining America."

Such people are hardly likely to be perturbed by the pitiful parliamentary manoeuvres of petrified capitalist politicians. Events are driving home the urgent lesson that only the labour movement can wipe out this ugly fascist menace and cannot afford to relegate that task to any one else.

# Crude Attack on Kenya People

**T**HE latest attempt to justify the colonial war in Kenya is the publication by Messrs. Hutchinson at 2s. of "The Mau Mau in Kenya," an anonymous, but obviously Government-inspired pamphlet which has a foreword by Granville Roberts, public relations officer for Kenya.

The pamphlet is a crude "atrocity job," complete with gory pictures of mangled bodies, gutted huts and severed limbs, but it carries no photograph of Captain Gerald Selby Lewis Griffiths, nor of the atrocities committed by the forces now suppressing the Kenya people.

This publication presents certain information about the workings of Mau Mau which, however, for those who have eyes to see, by no means gives an unfavourable picture.

Some of Mau Mau's measures for enforcing discipline on its members might well be copied in organisations nearer home. For example, members who fail to attend meetings without leave of absence are fined 2s.; for "attending a meeting under the influence of liquor," the fine is 5s.—which gives the lie, in passing, to another statement in the pamphlet, which says that at "oath" meetings "sometimes liquor has been distributed."

It is true that, to us, a fine of 15s. for walking with a non-mem-

ber of the organisation must seem somewhat severe, but it may readily be appreciated that in emergency conditions, with the need for vigilance against informers and saboteurs, such a condition might be absolutely necessary even here.

The plain truth, as even the author is obviously forced to concede, (page 15) when he admits the proscription by the Government of the lawful open organisation of the Kikuyu people in 1940, is that Mau Mau is the natural and logical expression of the repressed Kikuyu's demands for self-government and ownership of the land.

Their methods in the struggle may not always be those appropriate at a vicar's tea party in a garden suburb—but let nobody at all familiar with the story of Britain's trade union movement, to say nothing of the almost unbelievably bloodthirsty history of British imperialism, begrudge them that.

### THE REAL BACKGROUND

One point in the pamphlet remains to be answered. Mr. Roberts, in his foreword, makes the bland assertion that "on the social side swift progress has been made in medical services and education... These notable achievements... are the background against which the shocking and savage outburst of Mau Mau must be seen."

Yet Lord Halifax, writing in the OBSERVER, a few weeks ago revealed that in Kenya, after 60 years of "civilising" British rule, "70 per cent. of the Wakamba tribesmen, 80 per cent. of the Kikuyu and nearly 100 per cent. of the Suk tribesmen suffer in some measure from trachoma."

W. S. Haynes, M.A., M.D., in his report on "Tuberculosis in Kenya," in 1951; estimated that there are 11.1 per 1,000 cases of "proved" and "suspected" cases of tuberculosis.

"In Kenya," Derek Kartun tells us in his "Africa, Africa!", "education is available for one quarter of African children." The Kenya Government, in its report for 1948, admitted that 90,000 Africans in Kiambu—an African reserve near Nairobi—"might be without means of support in a short time."

That is the real picture: disease, squalor, suffering and imperialist oppression. It is against these things that the people of Kenya are fighting.

# T.U.C. MUST AID THESE COLOURED WORKERS

**T**HERE is one resolution on the agenda for the Brighton conference of the T.U.C., which the delegates must reject out of hand. This is the resolution which stands in the name of the Ministry of Labour Staff Association, which reads as follows:

"This Congress considers that the influx of coloured workers to this country is becoming an increasingly acute problem.

"It agrees that an investigation should be made into such aspects of the problem as affect industry and Trade Union members, e.g. unrestricted immigration, employment and training for employment, with a view to the co-ordination by Government departments and other bodies."

Far, far better would it be for the T.U.C. to set up an investigation into the conditions which compel these people to leave their homelands to seek a livelihood in this country. This would reveal the abject conditions of poverty under which the workers live in the British colonies in the West Indies.

These conditions are the result of deliberate British policy which so regulated the colonies' economies that they were completely dependent on Britain. In the main, these countries are dependent on single crops, of which British industries are the main buyers. By keeping the standard of living of the colonial people at a minimum, labour is kept cheap and super-profits flow into the coffers of British capitalism.

It is these super-profits from the colonies, sucked out of the lifeblood of the colonial workers, which is partly responsible for the relatively high living standards of the British workers.

In their schools and churches, the colonial people are taught to look upon Britain as their "Mother Country." What more natural than that, in their dire need, they should turn to this "Mother Country" for succour,

especially as, by their past labours they have contributed so much to the prosperity of Britain.

It is a mistake, carefully fostered by capitalist economists to believe that unemployment is caused by too many workers seeking jobs. A healthy economy would make use of all available labour, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

British labour need not fear the competition of coloured workers. What they must do is to ensure

By  
**Kies Viljoen**

that these immigrants are not exploited as cheap labour by the employers in order to reduce our standards of living. This must be done by welcoming them as brothers and enrolling them in the ranks of the Trade Unions.

The British Labour Movement must also give all the help it can to the Labour Movement in the colonial countries. By building up the Trade Unions in the colonies, assisting them in their fight for better conditions, we will be depriving British capitalism of a possible source of cheap labour and at the same time, we will be

removing the motive which forces so many colonial workers to leave their homelands to seek jobs over here.

Under no circumstances should the T.U.C. support any move to restrict immigration on the grounds of race and colour. That would be transplanting Malanism to these islands.

The colour bar must be fought, not only in the colonies, as called for by the Fire Brigades Union resolution, but also in the United Kingdom.

The free inter-change of workers from all countries has always proved beneficial. There are tens of thousands of British workers who have made their homes overseas and many of them have been pioneers of socialism in their new homelands. Similarly, workers from foreign countries who have settled here have not only contributed to Britain's industrial greatness but have played a valiant part in our Labour Movement. The internationalism of Labour is a reality, not the figment of a romantic imagination.

By bearing these facts in mind, the T.U.C. at Brighton will decisively reject the reactionary resolution of the Ministry of Labour Staff Association.



**IN SAIGON**, Southern Indo-China, on Sunday, August 1, a demonstration of 2,000 people waving Viet-minh flags demanded the withdrawal of French forces. Police fired shots and arrested 130 of the demonstrators.

**THE WILL** of Mr. Wilfred Dewhurst Wills, published last week, brings the recorded total of the tobacco family fortune to £54,000,000, all of which has accrued within the space of 45 years.

Thirteen of the family were

millionaires at their death. "Wilfred," comments the DAILY EXPRESS obituary writer, "never worked in the business."

**THE U.S. ARMY** has ordered a check on the record, character and "loyalty" of every candidate for commissioned or non-commissioned rank. Particular attention is being paid to dentists and doctors drafted into the services.

**BRITISH UNITED PRESS** reported from Athens on August 3

that an offer had been made by the Rumanian Government to return 1,200 Greek refugees from fascist terror who had crossed the border during the civil war of 1944-49.

**LORD VANSITTART**, notorious "Hun"-hater and Russia-baiter, has been given a grant—amount unnamed—by the government to maintain his sumptuous 17th-century dwelling, Denham Place, in Buckinghamshire.

"The cornices are crumbling," lamented his lordship to an EVENING STANDARD reporter. "But I don't know whether I'm looking for dry rot or wet rot."

Wet or dry, there's obviously something rotten in a state of affairs which permits the nests of professional hatemongers like Robert Vansittart to be feathered from public funds.

# This Miner Wants to Know

## Readers Forum

Correspondence should be as brief as possible and addressed to The Editorial Board, 177, Bermondsey St., London, S.E.1

provided they are accompanied each time by a formal apology.

What a folly to suggest that this could be an accident—rather like a murderer pleading to a jury that he was not aware that his gun was loaded!

N. London reader

**We too are not in favour of unarmed passenger planes being fired on without provocation. But in the situation existing in South-East Asia, with an American fleet protecting the pirate regime of Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, the whole atmosphere is provocative and incidents like these are inevitable—E.B.**

★

### Is this a Lesser Evil?

The wrangle over German rearmament continues which, from a democratic point of view is good. But, it is noticeable, that the opponents are negative and not constructive.

Surely there is a greater danger from a German National Army (Adenauer 14/7/54) than 12 divisions incorporated under a Non-German general? Both, from a socialist viewpoint, are evil, but when faced with such a position surely one must choose the less evil of the two.

Instead of getting hot under the collar over our present proposals, would it not be better to organise, throughout the world, by means of World Socialist organisations, demonstrations and petitions to Governments, demanding that all rearmament shall stop and the process of world disarmament commence.

As a Socialist I hate every form of the means of war, whether H-bombs or bows and arrows, but as a realist I cannot see any immediate alternative to the present proposals.

Let the Labour Party come right out with a statement that whether the United States will or will not negotiate for lasting peace with Russia, we will "Go it alone" in our negotiations for such a pact. If the present government won't do it, let's get them out—"Poste Haste."

Exeter reader

★

### German Re-armament

The German workers themselves have answered David Painting, 14,000 Hamburg workers have struck. The dispute is not only a struggle for 2d. an hour but also a blow at the Adenauer government. The MANCHESTER GUARDIAN (August 5) interprets the strike as "an opening gambit in a prolonged tussle for a change of economic direction in Federal Germany." The Hamburg conflict is the prelude to struggles by engineers, dockers, timber and chemical workers and agricultural labourers.

Here then is the "conclusive evidence of a massive Socialist potential" which comrade Painting wants to see before he agrees to the demand that troops be withdrawn from West Germany. Last year the East German workers demonstrated a readiness to fight for socialism—this year the West German workers go into action. The German workers' record is as good as any.

In point of fact, the need for British Socialists to fight for the ending of occupation is not determined by "guarantees" of any sort. Occupation troops remain in Germany because of its military, strategic and economic importance in the "cold war" and also to ensure "stability" for Germany and Europe.

"Stability" equals "capitalism". That is why the Nazis are returning to leading positions—they are the best capitalist stabilisers. The occupation, not the

German workers, encouraged this revival. The withdrawal of troops from West Germany would weaken these capitalist and fascist forces and would, incidentally, strengthen the hand of the East German workers who also want freedom—freedom from bureaucracy, but not freedom from "socialism."

In addition, the withdrawal would weaken the war plans of capitalism—quite an important factor to be considered!

I am a little tired of the arguments about "German militarism" and German "neurosis" found in the TRIBUNE and DAILY WORKER, and implicit in Painting's letter. Over the last century Britain has been in more wars than any other nation. Does this prove the British people are "militaristic," "can't be trusted" or that they are "war lovers"? What nonsense. All it shows is that the ruling class of any capitalist nation will use military means when necessary to maintain or extend its possessions.

David Painting should think carefully over his argument about occupying Germany for twenty years. On April 16, Eisenhower guaranteed to "maintain in Europe, including Germany, such units of its armed forces as may be necessary and appropriate—while a threat to that area exists..." The press interpreted this with headlines which said: "Troops to remain in Germany indefinitely." To demand the continued occupation of Germany helps Eisenhower and his ilk—but has nothing in common with socialist internationalism.

South-East London reader

★

### Phoney Civil Defence

Twice in this century the world has been stricken in the conflict of nations battling for supremacy in the world markets. The outcome of which is the threat of a Third World War, with bigger and 'better' bombs.

The threat of total destruction of the population by Hydrogen and Atomic warfare has not been brought before the country as a major political issue. Instead the country is lulled into a false security by antique Civil Defence measures. The use of Hydrogen and Atomic weapons is expected by the government to the extent they have planned and prophesied the aftermath under the term "Broken Back Warfare."

They offer the population no effective measures against the threatened warfare because, as a capitalist government, they cannot. What is wanted is a Socialist government with a Socialist foreign policy. The freeing of the colonial peoples, the withdrawal of occupation forces and the end of the war alliances.

With the colonial peoples as our friends and trade with the East, Britain would be able to offer the peoples of the world an alternative to American capitalism and the Russian bureaucracy.

N. London reader

★

### Case of Dan Brandon

When Dan Brandon appealed against his dismissal by the Liverpool Dock Labour Board, Lord Goddard declared if a man became unpopular with his trade union then obviously that would have to be taken into account.

Another fine example of democracy in the trade union movement. So now it's recognised by the law that you eight million trade unionists must at all times toe the line. You must not oppose what is termed official policy, whether good, bad or indifferent, and you must not criticise the service given by your officials.

That is the pattern set out for any brother who dares to oppose an unholy alliance of employers

and trade union officials. It is sickening to read what happened to Dan Brandon. No wonder dockers felt when he was dismissed, if his name had been Dan White instead of Dan Brandon he would have been dealt with in the same way as his fellow workers.

One can look back at a number of sincere trade unionists who have found themselves in the same position when trade unions line up with the employers to get rid of so-called trouble makers. This piece meal removal of militant workers is a sad loss. It will be difficult to find men of this character to take the lead again when the time comes for a mass revolt against our traditional enemies slashing our working conditions.

We have to face facts and realise as workers we have hard times to face in front of us surrounded as we are with Sirs, Privy Councillors, Lords and their fellow travellers. The voice of the working class is not being heard but only a watered down version so meek in its approach that it gives our employers the green light and whip at every opportunity.

Not only must a Labour government be returned at the next election but a government with a policy that puts labour first and foremost plus a trade union movement with the same objects.

S. E. London

Hadsum

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### Some Partnership

Now that the air is thick with talk of "co-partnership in industry", the following case may be of interest.

Mr. E. Lewis (the name implies no family relationship) is a "partner" in the firm of John Lewis, Ltd. All Lewis's workers are "partners"—but some, to paraphrase Orwell, are more partners than others!

This particular partner objected to his photograph appearing in the firm's house magazine, "The Gazette." This brought forth the editorial comment that "a photograph of Mr. Lewis would have been included, but he expressed unwillingness to be so photographed and it was considered that the disadvantage... to the Partnership was not great enough to require that Mr. Lewis should be asked to choose between changing his mind and leaving the partnership."

What a pretty picture of "partnership" this incident provides! A good straight dose of workers' control is the answer to this kind of "left" covering for capitalist exploitation.

Wafford reader

## News From British Guiana

Georgetown, July 29, 1954

Under an Ordinance just passed by the Interim Legislative Council the collection of money from home to home or in any public place will be allowed only for charitable purposes. Charitable purpose means "any charitable, religious or philanthropic purpose". Excluded from the Bill are the trade unions and political bodies. This will go against the annual May Day Tag collection and the public collections held for striking workers. It will also prevent public collections by the P.P.P. This Bill came up two years ago, but was shelved following protests from the trade unions and the P.P.P.

Dr. Jagan, Ramkarran, and two other P.P.P. members were removed from the Georgetown jail and taken to the Mazarunit Penal Settlement on July 21. This was felt to be a further step in the isolation of Party prisoners from others. The Party's organ THUNDER reported that it was unusual for ordinary prisoners charged summarily to be sent to the Penal Settlement, which was reserved for convicts.

Ramkarran, P.P.P. Treasurer and former Assemblyman charged on three counts with violating his restriction orders, was found guilty and sentenced to four months imprisonment on each of two charges, the third being dis-

## People, Places and Politics

By Cassia

BUT IS IT?

CONSIDERABLE publicity has been given in the national press to a resolution which will come before the London Co-operative Party Conference in November. This resolution, which originates with the Rayleigh Branch of the Co-op Party, suggests that "The Red Flag" has now become outdated. Speaking for myself I would say that such a suggestion is ill-founded, particularly when one considers the verse which—quoting from memory—runs as follows:

**It suits today the weak and base,  
Whose minds are fixed on self  
and place,  
To cringe before the rich man's  
frown  
And haul the sacred emblem  
down.**

SAME OLD STORY

THE technique of imperialist aggression follows a well-defined pattern. This pattern has been followed with such slavish regularity that it is possible to anticipate, with uncanny accuracy, the future objectives of imperialist attention. Bearing this in mind I now draw attention to the recent utterances of Brigadier Hendrik Zin, a member of the South African General Staff.

Writing in KOMMANDO, the official organ of the South African Defence Department, Brigadier Zin alleged:

**"Communist agitation is increasing in Basutoland, and yet the Union has to sit by and watch this germinating danger without being able to lift a finger."**

He further stated that it was important that Basutoland, along with Bechuanaland and Swaziland, should be incorporated in the Union of South Africa in the interests of advance military planning.

This is the usual overture played by the imperialists prior to the curtain rising on the first act of yet another aggressive opera. There is, however, one interesting deviation from the usual score; Brigadier Zin complains that the territories concerned are managed by a "foreign power"—but in this case it is Britain!

THEY ALSO SERVE

ARTICLES concerning the Royal Family are what editors call "good copy"; this is particularly true if they have a new angle.

The "Court Correspondent" of

the PEOPLE certainly has a new angle on Princess Margaret, for I read in the latest issue of that paper that "...she happens to like the way of life of ordinary people. What's more, she happens to like ordinary people."

For one brief moment I thought that Princess Margaret was about to renounce her privileged position in order that she might share with us common types our way of life. But the next paragraph made me realise that this was not so, for I learned that "Princess Margaret loves watching ordinary people at work."

QUOTE FOR THE WEEK

**"Boldness in words should be matched by boldness in deeds... Audacity is the mood which should prevail among Socialists as they apply the full armament of democratic values to the problems of the time."**

Aneurin Bevan, "In Place Of Fear"

## German Workers

Continued from page 1

German Governments, which prepared the way for Hitler."

Mark that well and draw lessons that the DAILY HERALD will not draw. The years of Allied Government helped to strengthen the very monopolists who backed Hitler. The German working class are striking out at that. Once more those internationalists are justified who have declared that the force that would smash Hitler's backers, the German militarists, was the German working class.

How can we help German workers? By demanding withdrawal of occupation forces which have reimposed the power of the monopolies.

What occupation means was shown by another item of news recently from Germany. This concerned an action of workers on a smaller scale, but was as important as a wages action. It concerned the defence of German living rights against U.S. occupation.

Five thousand shipyard workers marched last week to protect German families in Bremerhaven, about to be moved from 25 homes to make way for a seven-million dollar U.S. army project.

They turned out the police occupying the area, left the householders in control and marched to the city hall.

This is what occupation means. These German working class families had been turned out of their homes to maintain an army based in Germany in preparation for the next war.

Salute the spirit of the German workers. But more is needed. Let us fulfill our responsibilities. Our ruling class, our occupation forces help to prop up their enemies. Let the Labour movement demand their withdrawal.

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