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SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

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3d.

**LABOUR AND
GERMAN
RE-ARMAMENT**
by G. HEALY
(page 3)

Output UP : Prices UP : Profits UP

HULL DOCKERS CONFIDENT AFTER VICTORY

By Socialist Outlook Reporter

Hull, Sunday, September 5
At a meeting of 400 to 500 dockers today, Mr. Albert Hart announced that the Dockers and Stevedores Union now had a majority over the Transport and General Workers in Hull docks. In addition, Birkenhead were awaiting a lead from Hull to go over to the Blue Union in force. Dockers from other ports—e.g. Cardiff and Bristol, were also watching with interest.

The men must not think there was nothing happening, said Mr. Hart.

FORMS TO BE SENT

Forms were being sent off to London as soon as they came in but the process might take a few days. One thing was certain—Barrett and the Blue Union were not afraid of Mr. Deakin. The Dockers and Stevedores was a fighting union—and put the men first every time.

The men were not taken in by the concessions gained in the last week. They knew that the T. & G.W.U. had only been stirred into action by the fear of losing its members. An example of the concessions gained was the use of two extra men for sorting bags in the holds of ships. Another was the award of an extra 1/- for long lengths of timber.

Such things had never been known before, though asked for many times. Mr. Hart said, "T. and G.W.U. were offering everything but the moon." But the men knew these gains were not

due to the T. & G.W.U. but to their own militancy.

There had appeared to be some doubt as to whether lightermen could join the Blue Union. It was stressed at the meeting that lightermen could and should join the Blue Union.

After their strike victory and the concessions gained since, the men were full of confidence and determination. Docker Bill Durance expressed the general feeling: "We want one union for dockers!"

These London Busmen are in Fighting Mood

TROUBLE in Arthur Deakin's union is multiplying fast. After his spot of bother with the Hull dockers, the busmen are moving into action for better conditions of work and a living wage.

Taking a lead in the campaign are the busmen of Twickenham, Hounslow, Turnham Green, Mortlake, Kingston, Norbiton and Fulwell Depots. The drivers and conductors from all these garages got together in Twickenham on August 19 and passed a resolution demanding:

1. A £10 10s. 0d. flat wage for all busmen, without distinction between driver and conductor or between sections.

2. A five-day forty-hour week and the regular rotation of rest days.

3. A Sick pay and Pension scheme.

The meeting also passed a resolution calling for a ban on the working of rest days and split duties.

This meeting was an unofficial one but resolutions on similar lines have since been passed by a number of T. & G.W.U. branches.

"Make no mistake about it," said a leading busman from Twickenham Garage to a SOCIALIST OUTLOOK reporter, "we are in earnest. The shortage of crews can be overcome only by offering decent working conditions and wages."

"Today, with the approval of our Union officials, we work rest days. Sometimes I finish at midnight and am at the wheel again at 5 o'clock the next morning.

Brighton, Wednesday morning

THE significant thing about the address given by Jack Tanner in opening the 86th annual Trades Union Congress was that only in one sentence did he make anything in the least approaching a reference to the steadily rising cost of living. Delegates who met in the Dome, Brighton, representing Britain's eight million trade unionists must certainly have been aware that this was one of the major problems agitating their members.

They could expect the Presidential address to set the keynote of the conference, highlight the urgent problems of the organised workers and point a way to defend living standards and advance the cause of Labour.

Jack Tanner's discourse, how-

ever, followed the well-worn lines of the presidential address at the T.U.C. during the past few years. It was the speech of a trade union leader who believes the trade union movement came of age when its leaders began to speak for the "nation" and not just for

the class which built it as their instrument.

He marked the "end of a phase of our movement" culminating in the General Strike of 1926. That strike "showed among other things that industrial action had its limitations despite the loyalty and sacrifice of millions of trade unionists."

It marked the end of what he called "syndicalist ideas" and he complacently declared that now "our place in the democratic system is recognised not only by the eight million members in our unions, but also by industry, the Government of the day whatever it may be, and the whole community."

Just how the Government of the day is recognising the place of the unions is a question that must have sprung to the mind of many delegates when he made his only and guarded reference to the insidious attack on living standards.

"It is not the way to gain the confidence of organised workers" he complained, "if policies are pursued which aim at shifting on the shoulders of the workers an in-

Continued on page 2

Funds Needed

Once again we must repeat that the campaign against the ban cannot be carried forward without finance.

We need money to ensure that the fight for party democracy is carried to every corner of the Labour Movement.

If you are with us in that fight and want to help win it, then make a donation NOW.

Send it to SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, 177 Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1.

APPEAL TO CONGRESS DELEGATES

The following letter was distributed to delegates at the Trade Union Congress.

Dear Comrade,

We are writing to you in connection with the statement issued to all trade unions, constituency and local parties, women's sections and Leagues of Youth by the National Executive of the Labour Party on the subject of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK.

The statement declares that 'persons associated with or supporting SOCIALIST OUTLOOK are declared to be ineligible for membership of the Labour Party.'

This is the first occasion in the history of the Labour movement when the National Executive has taken action to interfere with the production and circulation of a newspaper. Although the signatories of this letter, apart from the Editor of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, do not of course support the paper's editorial policy, we regard the National Executive's action as an attack on the freedom of the press.

We are writing to ask for the support of your organisation in an attempt to get this decree rescinded at the Scarborough Conference of the Labour Party. We believe that in doing so you will be helping to uphold the democratic traditions of our movement. Signed:

Michael Foot, M.P. (TRIBUNE)
F. Meade, (Editor-in-Chief, Labour's Voice Newspapers)
Kingsley Martin (NEW STATESMAN AND NATION)
G. Thomson, M.P., John Harris (FORWARD)
G. Healy, Jack Stanley (SOCIALIST OUTLOOK)

RAILMEN CALL FOR NATIONAL STRIKE

MEETING last Sunday, the representatives of 24,000 railwaymen in the Manchester District called on the National Executive Council of the N.U.R. "to organise a national strike forthwith, unless the British Transport Commission offered a substantial increase."

Harry Roberts, who moved the resolution referred to the stigma which certain people would attach to the threat of strike action. But he reminded his audience of the endless patience shown by the Railway workers throughout thirteen months of protracted discussion.

J. Oldbury, who seconded the resolution, reminded us that "better living standards for the British working class have only been obtained by the threat, or use, of strike action."

F. McGrath, a member of the N.U.R. National Executive Council, suggested that the N.E.C. should have called the men out

last December and thus given them the lead they were waiting for.

The last speaker—A. Ridyard—also a member of the N.E.C., tore to shreds the arguments put forward by the British Transport Commission. Leaning toward the press table he told reporters: "Whatever division of opinion there may be among members of the N.E.C., there was solid unity on the question of strike action."

The new wage structure offered by the British Transport Commission in April, he declared, clearly revealed their efforts to weaken the bargaining power of workers by creating a split between the different sections of the industry.

He continued by attacking the payment of £36 million compensation to ex-railway shareholders. In conclusion, he maintained the issue was political. The Government, he said, must intervene.

These people were victims of the Hiroshima bomb. (2,000 times LESS powerful than the latest H-bomb). Many of them had burns spreading over more than 30 per cent. of their skin. They died one after the other. Now, a Japanese fisherman, victim of a hydrogen bomb explosion is near death in a Tokyo hospital.

(see page two)



Socialist Outlook

EVERY FRIDAY

177 Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1

HOP 3227

Democratic Rights and the Fight on Policy

DESPITE holiday interruptions, the campaign to lift the ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK has got off to a good start. The list of organisations opposing the N.E.C. is rapidly increasing.

What is encouraging about these developments is that they are tending more and more to pose the ban in political perspective. It is not simply and only an attack on the democratic rights of Party members. It is a political action of the utmost importance.

The fight for democratic rights inside the party today is inseparable from the controversy on policy—for how can that discussion continue unless people have the right to express opinions. And what is the use of people expressing opinions unless they have the right to win a majority for these inside the party.

The Morrison ban is the outcome of a political process. Since Morecambe, the bankruptcy of right wing policies have become more and more apparent. Time and events are working against them—that is why they have taken the gloves off. Make no mistake about it. Morrison

Editorial

and his backers are deliberately preparing to bureaucratically bludgeon all criticisms of their policies out of the Party.

Only a bunch of Trotskyists

There are people who consider themselves "left" in a fashionable sort of way going around mumbling within earshot of "the local agent" that it is only a "bunch of Trotskyists" who are for the axe, and other more "respectable" left wingers are quite safe. Such clever fellows seek by this sleight of hand to do two things:

They hope that the word will be passed through the pipeline to Transport House that *so-and-so* who occasionally reads TRIBUNE and THE NEW STATESMAN is "safe." If, on the other hand, the left should one day take control of the party they hope to keep a toe-hold on the band-waggon. Such elements will be treated with contempt by all serious contestants.

Neither can anyone afford the luxury of sitting on the fence in the present fight. All things are down to earth—either the Morrisonites are called to order or they will stamp out all opposition.

A Fundamental Political Crisis

This brings us concretely to the political reasons for the ban. SOCIALIST OUTLOOK believes that the organisational deadlock reflects a fundamental political crisis in the party. If we must now prepare to do battle to defend democratic rights we are called upon to do likewise on matters of policy. The OUTLOOK has been singled out because its purpose is to do precisely this.

We believe that the party desperately needs a consistent socialist policy. All basic industries must be nationalised or no foundation can be laid for an effective Socialist answer to Toryism.

It is of little use to the colonial people to deplore violence in the colonies in a condescending manner. We must demand the withdrawal of British troops and the granting of freedom to the colonies.

Policy Must be Consistent

It is not consistent to oppose German rearmament and at the same time to vote for increases in the Tory military estimates so that British troops can remain in Germany to ensure that Adenauer and Hitler's backers get the green light to rearm. Real opposition to German rearmament begins with the demand for the withdrawal of all British forces from Germany.

A fight against the war-plans of U.S. imperialism must be essentially linked with a struggle to defeat the Tory war plans on the Home Front.

While Toryism every day unloads fresh burdens on the working people in the interests of the class it represents, the movement will not long tolerate leaders who are more concerned with fighting the suppression of socialist ideas than fighting Labour's traditional enemy.

Between the policies of left and right in the party there is an unbridgeable gulf which cannot be solved by compromise. Once this is realised the road to the victory of the left is assured.

H. BOMB CLAIMS A VICTIM

IN a Tokyo hospital, Aikichi Kuboyama lies in a coma. According to the few press reports that have filtered through to this country, twelve of Japan's foremost doctors are fighting desperately to save his life. There is not much of the life of Aikichi Kuboyama to save. The choice is grim. *Either this Japanese worker will pass over from a merciful coma into death or be maintained in a painful lingering existence, his body polluted by radio-activity.*

For Aikichi Kuboyama is a victim of a hydrogen experiment. He was one of the Japanese fishermen almost one hundred miles from the explosion at Bikini on March 1. The world was informed then by American spokesmen that these men would suffer no serious after-effects from the radio-active dust which drifted on them.

Now the truth comes out. Japan is likely to provide the first known fatal casualty from the

hydrogen bomb, just as she provided the first victims of the atom bomb in 1946.

THE JAPAN HE DIES IN

The contaminated body of Aikichi Kuboyama is lying in a Japan where there is a deep-seated anti-war sentiment. It found expression recently in the applause which punctuated every sentence of a speech by **Anuerin Bevan** in Tokyo. He attacked the proposed South-East Asian Treaty

A Warning From Japan

of State has expressed his hope of a Japanese Army of 350,000 men.

It is a Japan where a co-operative organisation reports sea areas are poisoned by radio-activity. **In the fish markets so many fish have been found with radio-activity that Japanese consumers are in danger of losing the main sources of proteins for their daily food.** (REYNOLDS NEWS, 5/9/54).

The Japanese statement declares: "Recently it has become apparent that vegetables and even milk have been poisoned by radio-activity in the rain which has also brought the fear of atomic disease directly to the human body."

Let Aikichi Kuboyama and events in Japan be a warning and a lesson to every member of the Labour Movement.

he said, "that repeated atomic explosions would lead to a degree of general radio-activity which no-one could tolerate or escape."

"Powerful nations who think they can win quickly might accept the risk... a long war between Powers well-armed with bombs would certainly involve an area of radio-active contamination which would involve us all, victors as well as vanquished."

Dr. Adrian warned that although a war which would end in total destruction could appeal only to people who were desperate—"they can be made desperate and that is the end we have to guard against." "... the human race could not stand more than a few thousand large atomic explosions whether they hit their target or missed it."

The fate of the Japanese fisherman, tortured by radio-active dust can be the fate of the whole of humanity. That is stark reality. The destructive power which science has unleashed is precisely in the hands of desperate men.

It would be foolish to rely on the hope that the very horror of the H-bomb will prevent its use. Having found their lead in hydrogen and atomic weapons is being narrowed, America's rulers are now feverishly seeking to develop what they term the "ultimate weapon"—the "intercontinental ballistic missile with a hydrogen war-head" as they poetically call it. This will soar over continents to tear up great portions of the world's surface at the push of a button.

ONLY ONE POWER

The only power on earth which can stop the complete devastation of the globe and the annihilation of humanity, is world Labour. That is the only force that can paralyse the war drive and end the spectre of hydrogen warfare by ending capitalism.

The sufferings of Aikichi Kuboyama must spur on the socialist fight against war, the fight to strengthen the bonds of British Labour with Labour in Japan and the rest of the world in a struggle against the war alliances and against imperialism.

Profound Disgust

OPPPOSITION to the ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK continue to come in from all parts of the country and every section of the Labour Movement.

Birmingham Trades Council passed a resolution expressing "its profound disgust at the recent circular issued by Morgan Phillips." It called on the T.U.C. "to use its authority with the Labour Party, in compelling the National Executive to withdraw this dangerous circular unconditionally. Only two votes were cast against."

Wallasey Trades Council and Labour Party has also passed a resolution demanding the lifting of the ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK.

In a resolution opposing the ban, **Aston Divisional Executive Committee** declares that "the contents of the 'infamous circular' are contrary to the right of minorities to express their point of view."

Leatherhead and South-West Islington Constituency Labour Parties have passed resolutions of protest against the ban.

In the Birmingham area, **Northfields, Erdington and Small Heath Constituency Labour Parties** have swelled the volume of protests which are reaching Transport House daily.

Morgan Phillips will have quite a bit of correspondence to deal with when he gets back from his China trip—if he can spare the time from acting as Special Correspondent (at £300 per article) for the DAILY TELEGRAPH.

America's Desperate Men

"**W**E deeply regret that the policy of massive retaliation announced by our government last spring... seems to have been abandoned. We hope that it is not being replaced by a policy of massive appeasement similar to the Munich tragedy."

With these words, the powerful American Legion, at its Annual Conference in Washington, announced its impatience to get World War III going. Anything designed to hold up the outbreak of hostilities, was "appeasement."

The Legion further demanded that "if the Communists commit further aggression, anti-Communist forces should retaliate with weapons of our choice... aimed at the heart of the enemy." It further urged that the United States should warn the Soviet Union and Communist China that further aggression on their part would be considered an "act of war, and would bring forth immediate retaliation with or without the co-operation of the other free nations of the world."

"Communist Aggression"

By "massive retaliation" and "weapons of our choice", the American Legionnaires, of course, mean nothing else than the use of the Hydrogen bomb and the Cobalt bomb. They are not deterred by the fact that the release of untold quantities of radio-activity into the atmosphere may result in the death of the greater part of humanity and the destruction of the whole of civilisation.

If American capitalism cannot dominate the world then it is far better that the world be destroyed.

America is fast losing her lead in the production and stockpiling of horror weapons. Her "allies" are letting her down by refusing to fall in with her war plans. Meanwhile, all over the world the Labour Movement grows stronger and the colonial revolution threatens the last outposts of imperialism. Truly a desperate situation for America's rulers and the voice which came out of the American Legion Convention was the voice of desperate men.

Massive Retaliation

By "Communist aggression", the Legion does not necessarily mean an armed attack by Soviet or Chinese troops on other countries. The revolt of any colonial people against imperialist rule; the advent to power of even a moderately reformist party as in Guatemala; or the legitimate attempt of People's China to extend her rule to Formosa—all this, in the eyes of trigger-nervous American imperialism are grounds for armed intervention.

Anything which interferes with the "American way of life" with its "free enterprise" and vast profits for Wall Street corporations, must be annihilated and if, in the process, the entire world is destroyed—that's just too bad.

By
K. Edwards

and the imperialist past of Britain and Japan.

Aikichi lies in a Japan which, according to **Stephen Barber** of the NEWS CHRONICLE "apart from a handful of aged diehards wants no such incubus" as is being proposed by Mr. John Foster Dulles. The American Secretary

TUC Report

Continued from page 1

creasing share of the burden." He went on to deplore "industry's unseemly eagerness to divert an increasing proportion of the product to the payment of unreasonably high dividends."

But the answer came as before—"living standards can be achieved only through greater individual output." A statement that is hardly original on the lips of a certain section of the trade union leadership; and a statement that will certainly ring no bells for the worker who knows that individual output has increased but his standard of living has fallen.

In the main, delegates listened in silence to the President's address. Applause came at only two points—ironical cheers greeted his reference to unreasonable dividends, he was again applauded when he condemned the call to war by Syngman Rhee and criticised those U.S. senators and congressmen who have called for the total cessation of East-West trade and the immediate development of a "preventative war" against the Soviet Union.

CLASH IN FIRST SESSION

As I write, some of the major debates at this year's Congress have yet to take place. The very first session began with a clash between the platform and the floor.

The General Council was challenged on a procedural point, but there loomed behind it one of the biggest questions facing delegates—that of German rearmament.

John Horner, General Secretary of the Fire Brigades Union, rose to challenge the right of the General Council to put an emergency resolution on E.D.C. and the rearming of Germany.

He declared that the General Council was trying to by-pass the democratic procedure by introducing a motion, on the grounds of "emergency," on lines which had not till then found favour in any affiliated organisation sufficient to persuade them to place it on the agenda.

Sir Vincent Tewson, T.U.C. General Secretary, denounced Horner's intervention as one calculated "to disrupt the unity of Congress at its very first session." The move of the Fire Brigades Union was lost by 1,600,000 votes as against 5,584,000.

SOCIAL INSURANCE DEBATE

Congress on Tuesday took a retrograde step when it passed by a considerable, though apathetic majority, a resolution, moved by the National Union of Hosiery Workers, which while calling for an increase in Social Insurance Benefits accepted the principle of a rise in contribution rates to meet it.

OPPOSITION TO GENERAL COUNCIL

Opposing the motion, **Mr. H. Cantor** of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, made it clear that his delegation,

whilst supporting a call for the improved insurance benefits, could not accept the General Council's conclusion, embodied in the Hosiery Workers' motion, that the cost of such benefits should fall on the shoulders of the workers.

Mr. A. Jordan (National Union of Agricultural Workers), in a powerful speech against the resolution, developed Mr. Cantor's argument by reference to the relevant statistics.

Whereas, he pointed out, the Government's share in the maintenance of the scheme—financed jointly by Government, employers and workers—was 26 per cent., it had fallen today to 12 per cent.

There had, moreover, been for the past few years a surplus of income over expenditure in the National Insurance Fund.

The Fund had, as might be imagined, accumulated huge reserves, though benefits had not been increased. These reserves amounted at the end of 1952 to £1,357,500,000. He argued that, on the basis of these figures, an increase in the workers' contributions under the scheme was quite unnecessary and could not be justified.

DEEPLY DIVIDED

As in previous years, Congress is deeply divided between those reflecting the desire of the rank and file that the trade unions' function as workers' organisations and the leadership on the General Council who, as last week's business man's journal—the ECONOMIST put it, want to "save Labour from itself."

The ECONOMIST could have more correctly said to "save" Labour from Socialism, but in outlining the role of the right wing trade union leaders it could not have spoken more truthfully.

It was "reasonably" optimistic that these leaders would help prevent Labour's policies from "swinging irresponsibly neutralist and left," would operate a moderating influence on Labour's foreign policy and would resist "with tact" resolutions "calling for more Socialism in the Labour Party's domestic programme."

At this stage, it appears that the General Council will succeed in all these things so far as the voting in Brighton's Dome is concerned. However, an explosive force is building up beneath it, as was shown by the narrow majority which the miners' delegation decided to cast its vote in Congress for German rearmament.

It is clear that, in whatever manner the block vote may be cast in favour of right wing sponsored policies, those policies are more and more out of line with the experiences of rank and file trade unionists.

The General Council narrowly carried its emergency resolution on German rearmament by 4,077,000 votes to 3,622,000

This means a real possibility for the left to defeat the right wing at Scarborough.

LABOUR CAN HELP ROUT GERMAN REACTION

A fundamental Socialist answer to the issue of German rearmament and the problem of peace in Europe.

THE issue of German rearmament—in the form of the question: for or against the "European Defence Community" or E.D.C.—is being debated now within the Labour Party. Sentiment on the question is strong in the country as a whole. The Scarborough Conference will be called upon to give a definite answer. In preparation for Scarborough numerous pamphlets, articles and speeches are trying to influence opinion.

The position on German rearmament, outlined in the pamphlet "In Defence of Europe," is nothing more than an attempt to sugar-coat the prospect of a

tive aspect—the fact that it is against E.D.C.

The lack of a straightforward socialist counter-proposition to E.D.C. and German rearmament is, however, a very grave and dangerous fault, and is the result of the patchwork quilt of premises upon which E.D.C. is being opposed in the Left Wing of the Party.

A FALSE CONCEPTION

Let us first of all deal with a false idea that is common both to supporters of German rearmament and to some of its opponents. That is the conception that there can be some such thing as a British policy, regardless of class bias and vested interest.

Now there can be no doubt that this is the premise of the Right Wing in the leadership of the Party. They make no bones about their conception of a "bi-partisan" foreign policy, the cornerstone of which is reliance on American world leadership—that is, alliance with a capitalist America out to dominate the world. They may object to the pace, to this or that aspect of this policy from time to time. But they firmly believe in "bi-partisanship" in foreign policy.

On E.D.C. they reaffirm it in the pamphlet "In Defence of Europe": "Is this a Socialist policy? How

can it be if the Tory Government supports it? If Labour's foreign policy had at all costs to be different from the Tories', there would be some very strange results... To say that it is an Eden-Dulles-Eisenhower policy is to degrade the argument..." etc.

They claim the Tory policy as their own and simply see no reason to distinguish between Labour and capitalism on it: that is "degrading!"

THE LEFT

How do matters stand with the Left Wing in the leadership and in the parliamentary party? Is E.D.C. rejected as a capitalist, strictly Tory, policy? Do they demand in its place a Labour, a working-class policy? Unfortunately they do not. They reject E.D.C. as contrary to the "national" interest and call for a "British" policy as an alternative.

In other words, they largely proceed from the same premise as the Right Wing—the possibility and desirability of a "bi-partisan" policy.

They call upon Churchill to carry out a British policy in the Washington talks.

They cheer Eden as speaking for Britain in Geneva.

Of course, in each case, the assumption is that the more rabid war-mongering Dulles policy of the American capitalists is being opposed by these Tory statesmen.

By these cheers and exhortations, in which the Left Wingers join, Labour's representatives certainly give the impression that a bi-partisan anti-E.D.C. policy, independent of Washington, is realisable. No good can come from that. Only the most dangerous illusions—lulling the ranks of Labour into passivity—can be the result of such a bi-partisan premise and sentiment.

THE ROOTS OF E.D.C.

Examine the essence of the matter: the Right Wing—Morrison and Co.—claim that E.D.C., as applied by Churchill today, is merely a continuation of the broad line in foreign affairs pursued by the Labour Government from 1945 on. It is merely the logical outcome of taking sides with the U.S.A. in the post-war situation which developed into the cold war against the Soviet bloc. They cite the milestones: the Marshall Plan, the N.A.T.O., the U.N. "police action" in Korea, etc.

It is impossible to dispute this. You can challenge the Right Wing's contention that the U.S.S.R. was the culprit in provoking the cold war. You can challenge their view that, given a lack of goodwill on the part of the Kremlin towards the Labour government, there was no other policy that Attlee and Bevin could pursue aside from the American alliance. But you cannot fly in the face of the fact that E.D.C. is indeed merely a logical extension of the American alliance and its politics from 1945 onward.

LOGIC OF ALLIANCE

How did the logic of the alliance work out in the case of Germany?

In return for Marshall aid, Labour agreed to forego the nationalisation of the Ruhr industries and thus to undermine the position of the socialist movement, Labour's natural ally in Germany. The return to Krupp and the power of the old industrial combines thus became inevitable and in its wake—the rise of the conservative capitalist Adenauer government.

With a sure Big Business ally in the saddle at Bonn, what was more natural than for Washington to press for the integration of a "German contingent" in its European "front"—first, to "contain" what they called Soviet "imperialism" and then, under Eisenhower, to "roll back" communism?

E.D.C. followed almost like A.B.C. in this line of thought.

The only trouble here is its

strong capitalist, Big Business bias—with which genuine Labour, working-class politics, can have nothing in common. To really reject E.D.C. and all it implies—the revival of German capitalism in its militaristic form which conjures up all the Nazi horror of the past and makes the Wall Street-led coalition loom as an enlarged edition of that nightmare—therefore means to reject the whole past official Labour policy on Germany which the Tories accepted as their own.

A forthright review and criticism of the foreign policy of the Labour Government along these lines is a prerequisite to an understanding of the present dispute. That would require rejecting the whole bi-partisan premise of that policy. It would thus pave the way for a positive Labour policy with regard to Germany as part of a clearly thought-out Socialist foreign policy.

The premise for such a policy would be the irreconcilability of the interests of Labour and Capital, not only on a national, but on an international scale. A distinctly socialist foreign policy would base itself on opposition to international Big Business (and its cold war, N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O., etc., politics).

A WORLD LABOUR FRONT

It would, in contrast to the "bi-partisanship" with the Tories, put the emphasis on building an international world labour front for peace in close collaboration with the European working class—including the German workers. It would seek to arouse America's organised labour to the common interest. Labour would then be able to appeal to the masses and the governments of the "East", of the Soviet bloc, in a far different way than is now the case. Only thus could Labour be sure of a genuine sympathetic response, not only from the masses under Soviet rule, but throughout the world.

Rejection of the past policy and development of a socialist policy would thus mean, in the case of Germany, not only rejection of E.D.C. but development in its place of another alternative: immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all occupation forces, East and West. By espousing this cause, Labour can do most to aid the German workers in routing the new reaction and in establishing a trusty ally in the form of a free, unified socialist Germany.

But before we go into this alternative, it is best to grapple with another false premise prevalent in the broad left wing, which serves as a stumbling block to socialist policy. That is the theory of German "war guilt," of the German "psychology of militarism."

(to be continued)

American Newsletter

UNION LEADERS REAP REWARD

New York, September 2

IT is just five years since the top leaders of the C.I.O. decided to give the witch-hunters a solid demonstration of their purity. They did so by expelling a number of international unions on the grounds that they were "Communist-dominated."

They are now receiving their reward from the witch-hunters for that reactionary move. When Congress took the unprecedented action of outlawing the Communist Party it incorporated into that law a bill which had been pending throughout the entire Congressional session and which had been bitterly opposed by the entire labour movement.

Originally introduced by Senator Butler, who is beholden to Joseph McCarthy for his very seat in Congress, this section of the new law gives the Attorney General the power to legally proscribe any union which his "Subversive Activities Control Board" deems to be "Communist-infiltrated."

While most C.I.O. leaders at least recognise the danger of that particular section of the law, they can say nothing more about their

friends, the liberal Democrats who voted for it, than "We are at a loss to understand..." But apparently the A.F.L. leaders propose to keep their heads buried deep in the sand until they receive a vigorous boot in the exposed section of their anatomy.

WISHFUL THINKING

The A.F.L. News-Reporter of August 27 carries the headline, "A.F.L. Units Not Affected by New Law." This wishful thinking is based upon an amendment incorporated into the law which had been put forward by Senator Ives, a Republican from New York. The amendment states that any union affiliated with a "national federation... whose policies and activities have been directed to opposing Communist organisations" shall be "presumed prima facie not to be a 'Communist-infiltrated organisation.'"

If the A.F.L. leaders took the trouble to open their eyes just long enough to read a brief excerpt from the Congressional Record they would be hard pressed to justify their assertion about not being "affected" by the new law.

Discussing the Ives amendment and how it would apply to the A.F.L. and C.I.O., Senator Cooper declared, "But there would be nothing in the amendment which would prevent an inquiry by the Attorney General or a determination by the (Subversive Activities Control) board either against the federation (A.F.L.) or against an affiliate of the federation, if the facts were thoroughly sufficient to require such an inquiry."

Ives replied: "That is correct. That is definitely the intent of the amendment. Nothing stands in the way of such action by the Attorney General or the Board."

A FACT TO PONDER

Perhaps the A.F.L. bureaucrats consider themselves so eminently "respectable" that no one would dare to brand their unions "Communist-infiltrated." Let them ponder the fact that the even more respectable Eisenhower administration, and the State Department have already been so branded by the rising American fascist, McCarthy.

The mentality of the labour leaders brings to mind an incident in a maiden strike of New York office workers several years ago that was subjected simultaneously to a red-baiting attack and an assault on its picket-line by the police.

An outraged white collar worker protested to a club-swinging cop, "But I'm an anti-Communist!" Bringing his club down on the striker's head, the cop roared, "I don't care what kind of a Communist you are."

under emergency regulations, had no machinery for looking after their wives and children.

IN SAO PAULO, BRAZIL, widespread strikes began last week. Railway workers, calling for higher wages, refused to move trains. They were quickly joined by streetcar and bus workers. There was a clash between police and strikers at a textile factory. Press reports attack Communists and the Party of the late President Vargas as "instigating" the strikes.

THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT has declared that any person found guilty of Communism will now be outlawed.

THE BAVARIAN METAL WORKERS' STRIKE ended last week after 23 days. A day after it ended, 5,000 workers at a heavy machinery plant in Augsburg, struck work again when a number of their fellow-workers were discharged for being "trouble makers". Strikes were reported at other Bavarian factories after some workers were sacked but ended when they were reinstated.

Truth About Commissions

WHENEVER there is a spot of bother in one of the colonies, the Colonial Office generally tries to counteract it by sending out a Royal Commission or a Commission of Enquiry.

Commission after commission, Royal and otherwise, have been going to the West Indies, starting long before the famous Morant Bay rebellion in Jamaica in 1865, when George William Gordon and several of his colleagues were legally hanged on the order of the then Governor.

What are the results of these Commissions? What benefit do we, the common people, derive from these Imperialist Commissions and Parliamentary delegations? Nothing! They only drain the pockets of the British taxpayer and give the delegates a chance to go abroad and escape the cold winter.

They get their information most of the time from the Governor and other officials, the large landowners, agents of the sugar barons, oil barons and other slave-drivers, and the local reactionary leaders.

THE MILLS COMMISSION

The latest of these commissions, asked for by our Parliament, was a one-man commission—a Mr. Eric Mills. We paid him £24 per day. He held no public or private sessions but only consulted the heads of departments, their deputies and those who do not represent the real interests of those involved.

After visiting a few of the plutocratic clubs and such bodies as the Jamaican Imperial Association, this gentleman discovered that he must investigate the workings of all government bodies and agencies, in order to get clear picture and clean up the mess. The result was a long report with a series of statements.

His wage recommendations were something like Mr. Butler's 1952 Budget. A Grade A elementary schoolteacher got an increase of 10d. a week. A Grade B teacher 5d or 7d., according to seniority. A First Class and Second Class Corporal and Sergeant got enough to help them out with their bus fares. The Inspectors and Superintendents—mostly white—got the lion's share.

Mr. Mills' recommendations for

the Civil Service were totally rejected by the Civil Service Association. The House of Representatives reluctantly accepted portions of the Mills Report under pressure from above. In the autumn of 1951, the Civil Service threatened to strike. One of the essentials of the service is the need of a Civil Service Commission, an impartial body in order that these men and women will not be tossed about by the heads of departments and their political friends.

The most vicious part of the

by Negro Worker

Mills Report is the part dealing with our economy. He recommends the scrapping of the Jamaican Agricultural Society, the traditional mouthpiece of the small farmers. This is just what the land barons, the pen-keepers and the agents of the absentee landlords desire. This roused the anger of the whole country.

The public works department in Jamaica have in their possession hundreds of animal-drawn vehicles which are far more economical and useful in the hilly districts and on the parochial roads of the interior than motor vehicles. The Mills Report recommended, under the cloak of economy, the scrapping of 175 of them and the use of lorries in their place. These lorries, of course, had to be imported.

In the implementation of this policy, many of the cart drivers were transferred, many were sacked and put on part-time. This happened despite widespread opposition from the Opposition party in the House of Representatives, the Trade Union Congress and the workers' organisations concerned.

These Commissions do nothing to change the conditions under which we live and which compel so many of us to come 4,500 miles to Britain in search of work. It is the misery and poverty at home which make West Indians come to Britain in such large numbers. They do not come because they want to loll and sit on the backs of the British taxpayers or cash in on National Assistance, as suggested by certain scribes of the capitalist press.



IN JAPAN, the National Railway Workers' Union, is threatening strike action in support of its demand for an all-round increase in wages. The Japanese railway authorities have sent out instructions to all local offices ordering that all persons "disturbing workshop order" are to be punished with dismissal, suspension from duty, reduction in pay, etc.

IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, U.S.A., about ten or 15 Negro children tried to register at a new all-white elementary school. They were not accepted, despite the American Supreme Court decision of last May against segregation of races in schools. Under Alabama's constitution, mixing of the races in schools is prohibited.

INDONESIA lost more than it gained from United States "aid" according to calculations made by the Secretary General of the All

Indonesian Central Organisation of Trade Unions. He declared that Indonesia's economy was still of a colonial character and that part of the economy was controlled by Dutch or other foreign capital.

THE "REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL" which rules Egypt declared on September 2 that "Egypt today stands in every respect with the West" but that a defence pact with the Western Powers now could only provide "Communist propaganda fuel" to stir up "the still suspicious minds of the Arabs."

THE SECRETARY OF THE KENYA FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS stated to a news conference last week that orphans were wandering in Nairobi and African locations, sleeping in empty houses or old car bodies. He complained that the Government, which detained Africans

THIS MOVE IS A TRIAL RUN

IN a second letter to the NEW STATESMAN AND NATION (Sept. 4), Gerald Kaufman returns to the defence of the N.E.C.'s ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. He sets himself up as the arbiter of what constitutes a violation of the ban and what does not. Thus he claims that reading SOCIALIST OUTLOOK will not result in his expulsion from the Party. He adds:

"And if any C.L.P. jack-in-office uses the proscriptum as an excuse for a witch-hunt, he will have his knuckles rapped if the N.E.C. gets to hear of it."

This comes well from Mr. Kaufman, writing from Leeds, which has become the very centre of the witch-hunt of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK supporters. To date, there is no record of any of the Leeds "jacks-in-office" having their knuckles rapped by Transport House. Perhaps Mr. Kaufman will take this matter up with the N.E.C.!

Mr. Kaufman also complacently states that there is no danger of the Bevanites and others who oppose official policy being expelled from the Labour Party because "the N.E.C. knows how far it can go and how far it should go." What Mr. Kaufman does not appear to realise is that this move against the OUTLOOK is a trial run by the N.E.C. to see just how far they can go. If they get away with this then no minority group within the Party is safe!

Shepherds Bush reader

★ Behind Events In Goa

As an independent geographical and political entity, Goa does not exist. The territory is as much a part of the Indian sub-continent as Bengal, Tamilnad or Maharashtra—and can no more, or less, rightfully pretend to separate rights and privileges.

Yet this is just what the Portuguese rulers of Goa demand of the Indian government. Prosperous Goa—manganese and iron ore exports last year topped a total of 11 million dollars—is extremely important to the pauperised, battered and still semi-feudal economy of Portugal. More than this—its retention in Portuguese hands is important as providing a link in the chain of potential American bases in Asia, linking Pakistan in the north with Trincomalee (Ceylon) in the south.

That is why the imperialist camp is raising such a fuss over Goa when its leaders were prepared—in order to mollify Nehru—to "sacrifice" the French territories in Eastern and Southern India.

One other influence is at work in the Goanese affair. Goa is the one really solid Catholic outpost remaining in Asia—indeed, the remains of the Jesuit saint,

Readers Forum

Correspondence should be as brief as possible and addressed to The Editorial Board, 177, Bermondsey St., London, SE1

Francis Xavier, are interred in the cathedral of Bom Jesus. The Vatican knows that, if the Portuguese grip on this colony were to be removed, it would be only a question of time before the Indian people put paid forever to clerical-fascist ambitions on the Asian continent.

Watford reader

★ Class Distinction

I would suggest there is something wrong with the way of thinking of the Bennets End Branch of the A.E.U. as expressed by E. H. Morrin, in his letter published on August 20. They state that the choice of a "man from the University" as against one from the shop floor is wrong fundamentally.

Surely the most important consideration to be taken into account when choosing between Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Bevan for treasurer-ship of the Labour Party, is which man has proved by word and deed to be the stronger Socialist. Undoubtedly, then, Mr. Bevan must be the choice.

If we are going to judge the issue on the type of education each man has had or on the walk of life from which he has sprung; then

we are reviving the old bogey of class distinction. That is a way of thinking that should be alien to all Socialists.

Mitcham

P. Milton.

★ Two Germanies

"Croydon Reader" in your issue of September 3 repeats all the chauvinistic mistakes which are, alas, so common in the Labour movement on the "German question". It is a tribute to the efficacy of the race-hatred propaganda which press, radio and pulpit so lavishly laded out during the course of the two world-wars.

The "permanent division of Germany" far from being an alternative to a Third World War, as "Croydon Reader" suggests, makes its advent inevitable. German economy is a unity which will overcome the artificial separation now enforced. If this can't be done by peaceful means, violence will be the only way out.

In any discussion on Germany, Socialists must always bear in mind that there are two Germanies—not East and West—but the Germany of the Krupps and Thyssens and the Germany of the workers, of whose fighting spirit we've just had a splendid example in the magnificent Bavarian strikes. From this Germany—the working class Germany—British wage-earners have nothing to fear.

As Socialists we oppose the re-arming of a capitalist Germany, but not more so than we oppose the arming of a capitalist Britain or America. We must not allow ourselves to fall into line with the propaganda aimed at putting the Germans (all the Germans) into a special category.

Never forget that the first victims of Nazism were the German working class, and that thousands of Germans died in Hitler's concentration camps alongside the Jews and others.

Richmond reader

★ Vargas' Suicide

Latin America has long been the happy hunting ground of rival imperialisms. In the "good old days," when Great Britain was still the supreme imperialist power, she wrestled with the younger and vigorous American imperialism for the rich markets and bountiful raw material of South and Central America. One group of unscrupulous and ambitious local politicians would be pitted against another—each group, in reality,

Youth on Night Work

YOUNG workers received a slap in the face when the Trade Union Congress on Tuesday afternoon rejected a resolution tabled by the National Society of Metal Mechanics requesting the General Council "to investigate the possibility of securing an amendment to the Factory Acts in order that workers under the age of 21 years shall not be permitted to work on night shift except in times of national emergency."

Mr. A. Roberts, for the General Council, said that in his view the young workers themselves would resent any attempted interference in or regulation of their hours of work.

"We have full employment, haven't we?" he asked. "Where young workers work at night, they do so of their own choice."

To the derisive shouts of delegates, Mr. Roberts denied that night work injured the health and opportunities of young workers.

"The logic of this resolution would lead to the abolition of all night work."

"And why not?" called delegates.

There was no reply.

presented one or other of the contesting imperialist powers.

Today, Britain is eliminated as a serious contender for the exploitation of the people of South America. Wall Street enjoys almost a complete monopoly and most of the governments of the smaller countries are in her pocket.

Dictators like Vargas and Peron are able to maintain themselves in power only by playing up to this anti-American sentiment and taking limited action against the foreign investors. But sooner or later, they get caught between the two contending forces—the rising anger of the people on one side and the demands of American imperialism for a bigger share of the booty on the other.

This is what happened to Vargas. S.W. London Reader

★ A Bankrupt Argument

An argument frequently put forward by supporters of German rearmament—both Tory and Labour—is that unless the Germans are allowed to manufacture arms and munitions their entire industry will be concentrated on the production of goods for consumption and capital equipment. This, so the argument runs, will mean unfair competition to Britain where so large a part of the national economy is diverted to the manufacture of the instruments of war.

What a condemnation of the capitalist system! There are tens of millions of people throughout the world inadequately clothed, housed and fed. Instead of demanding that more of the world's productive resources be used to make the things the people need, these people want to see more weapons of death produced.

This is, surely, the most bankrupt of all bankrupt arguments. St. Pancras "Socialist"

DECLINE OF THE LEAGUE Labour Must Attract Youth

THE N.E.C. is so busy looking for something to ban or someone to purge that it has little time to attend to the things that really matter—for example, the future of our Party.

One of the most startling—and certainly the most disturbing items in the N.E.C. Report, is the almost complete collapse of the Labour League of Youth. From 806 branches in 1951 the L.O.Y. has dropped to 366 branches. Truly something to worry about!

The fault for this shocking state of affairs must be placed squarely where it belongs—on the national leadership of the Party. They have done nothing at all to attract the young men and women to Labour's cause. On the contrary, they have done a good deal to frighten them off.

Under the uninspiring leadership of a Herbert Morrison who has forgotten his own turbulent youth, the Labour Leagues of Youth have been turned into lifeless organisations, denied the right of a full political life.

Youth are as ready today, as they ever were, to fight for a better sort of life than capitalism has to offer them, and they have their own distinctive contribution to make to Labour politics. But in the L.O.Y. they find only political frustration. The fossilised policies of the official Labour Party leadership do not appeal to them and they are denied the right to put forward any alternative policies. Even their National leadership is a consultative and not an administrative or executive body.

Within that straight-jacket no youth organisation can flourish. The adventurous spirit of youth

People, Places and Politics

By Cassia

R.I.P. FOR C.D.?

SIR DAVID MAXWELL-FYFE, the Home Secretary, is a man with troubles which are causing him much anxiety. In the foreword to a recent Civil Defence recruiting guide which has been issued to local authorities he complains that during recent months the recruiting of volunteers to Civil Defence has "faltered"—this in spite of the fact that recently "everyone has been brought face to face with the reality of the hydrogen bomb."

In an effort to overcome the resistance of the people to Civil Defence a new recruiting drive is planned which will begin when the Home Secretary broadcasts on September 27. The broadcast will be followed by all the paraphernalia of a high-pressured sales campaign; advertisements in the national press, poster displays, exhibitions and demonstrations, in order to convince the people of Britain that "Civil Defence is needed more than ever."

A few more Labour Councils following the lead given by Coventry and Tottenham should provide an effective antidote to the activities of Maxwell-Fyfe and his "Stirrup Pumpers."

A PERTINENT QUESTION

THE other evening my wife was reading TRIBUNE when she spotted an advertisement on the back page for SOCIALIST OUTLOOK which prompted her to ask me a question which I pass on to Transport House for an answer: If a newspaper or periodical publishes an advertisement for SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, does this come within the province of being "associated with, or supporting, SOCIALIST OUTLOOK" as forbidden by the N.E.C.'s circular?

This could lead to some very

complicated situations—might I suggest that an advertisement for the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK be placed in FACT and SOCIALIST COMMENTARY just to see what happens?

NO FEAR HERE

WITH the Trades Union Congress meeting at Brighton this past week the newspapers and magazines have been filled with comments and observations of its activities. The most enlightening feature which I have read is contained in the current issue of THE TIMES REVIEW OF INDUSTRY. One of those elusive persons called "a Special Correspondent" examines the annual report issued by the General Council of the T.U.C. After making a few very minor criticisms this "Special Correspondent" states:

"... the report is a creditable one in its fairness, breadth and conclusions, and industry will have little to fear if its precepts are taken to heart in the coming year by the constituent unions."

Fortunately for the working class, and unfortunately for "Industry", this is not likely to happen. There are still a large number of trade unionists who realise that there is more to trade unionism than panegyric paragraphs in the capitalist press.

TRAGIC FIGURES

OVER eight million people live in the county of London, 100,930 of them are old-age pensioners who are forced to apply to the National Assistance Board as they are unable to purchase the bare necessities of life.

QUOTE FOR THE WEEK

"One of the consequences of the two-party system is that there are more points of view in the country than there are parties to express them. This means that the electors must make a broad choice as to which of the two great parties more generally represents their point of view. Moreover, it inevitably means that the two great parties include people who, while accepting the fundamental principles of the party to which they belong, are of more than one temperament, and possess more than one point of view on certain issues. To some extent each of the great parties is a coalition of individuals, and it is therefore not surprising that sometimes there are differences of opinion, differences which are more likely to find public expression in a progressive party, which seeks to do things, than in the Conservative Party which is not very anxious to make positive changes."

The Right Hon. Herbert Morrison, C.H., M.P., "Our Parliament And How It Works," Labour Party Educational Pamphlet, 1953.

Fighting Fund

In the past week, comrades, you have raised £11-11-7. You will have to do better than this in each of the next three weeks if we are to raise our target of £200 in September. So far we are only a small step forward toward that figure. Make that extra effort now. Don't leave it until the end of the month.

Our thanks to: Birmingham readers, £2 9s. 9d.; Islington readers, £5 12s.; Nottingham readers, £1; Bebington readers, 4s.; R.D., 10s.; Leeds readers, £4 10s.; South-West London readers, 15s. 6d.; Tottenham readers, £1 10s.; S.K., 2s. 6d.; J.J., 3s.; L.O., £1 1s.; West London readers, £2 12s. 6d.; Holborn Hall meeting, £30 10s. 0d.

Total to date, £51-0-3.

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