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TODAY

# Socialist Outlook

WEEKLY

No. 126

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

FRIDAY, APRIL 23, 1954

3d.

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

## WELL DONE NYE BEVAN!

### Co-op Leads the way

BY a two to one majority the Co-operative Conference turned down its own Executive's proposal for the re-arming of Western Germany. This vote undoubtedly represents the real feeling of the Labour Movement as a whole on this much discussed problem. So much so that several of the national dailies have had to make a sudden and undignified about face on the whole business of the Bevan resignation.

Prior to this conference, the Press had begun a sneer campaign aimed at discrediting Mr. Bevan's political good sense. His resignation was attacked as "inopportune," "stupid," etc. He had allowed personal prestige to becloud political clarity. "Pique" had caused him to resign in such a way as to lay himself open to "discipline" which, we are assured, was being contemplated by several of the leaders of the larger Unions. Out of touch with the real feeling of the Labour Movement on this issue, Mr. Bevan had committed political suicide!!

The day after the Co-operative decision on Germany, we see the hasty re-writing of juicy leading articles. Mr. Bevan after all, and despite Parliamentary influences which were supposed to be swaying his judgements, had been the only one on the Front Bench with even a remote feeling for the mood of the people supposedly represented there.

It is now openly admitted that there is no question of "disciplining" the 'Bevanites.' How could they, when it is now clear that it is the other Party leaders who are out of step with the entire membership of the Labour Party—not merely the individual membership?

This is the important aspect of this Co-operative vote. An Emergency Conference of the Party is now obviously required. The leadership as typified by the Parliamentary Front Bench has been softened up by the Parliamentary environment in which they have been working for so long. Righteously believing that they and not Bevan had the ear of the mass movement, they have been pursuing a policy of shadow-boxing with the Tories on these major issues of domestic and foreign policy. Now, having overturned the past resolution on the important question of Germany, they are faced with the unwelcome (for them) fact that the rank and file nationally are very strongly opposed. Bevan has dramatically stepped in to head this opposition, brushing aside the Press campaign to discredit him and accuse him of "splitting the ranks."

This vote, therefore, must not be regarded as just another expression of opinion. It should be taken for what it actually implies: a vote of no-confidence in the

### More Time For Colonies

Westbury C.L.P. is urging all Labour Parties to demand more time for the discussion of colonial affairs at the next Annual Conference. It is a suggestion which deserves the widest possible support.

### Left Unity Is Next Step

NYE BEVAN'S stand against the re-arming of Western Germany and his opposition to the infamous Dulles Plan to wage war on the colonial peoples of Asia deserves the unqualified support of every member of the Labour Party.

For the same reason, complete approval should be given to his resignation from the Parliamentary Front Bench where he was, as Tom Driberg remarked in last week's "Reynolds's", "tied and gagged by policy decisions to which he

their unity with the Tories on foreign policy which has been placed in jeopardy by Bevan's resignation.

Resigning from the 'Shadow Cabinet' Bevan has focussed the Party's attention on the political bankruptcy of Labour's Parliamentary leadership who, ignoring the obvious signs of revolt in the ranks, have committed the Party to support of a policy of arming West German capitalists and Nazis and have offered no resistance to the Dulles-Eden plan for war in the Far East.

Bevan is absolutely right to resign and place himself at the head of the rank and file revolt against these thinly-veiled coalition policies.

#### NEW STAGE

If we understand the situation correctly, the fight for socialist policies within the Party has now entered a new stage. Bevan's resignation means that there is no longer any possibility of a modus vivendi between Left and Right. The attempt to operate a sort of inner-party coalition has come to an end. Not only must the Party now adopt firm decisions on foreign policy—but, on the basis of those decisions, it must elect a new party leadership.

Nye Bevan must certainly be in the leadership of the Party.

All his actions and his recent declaration of hostility to the counter-revolutionary war of American Imperialism show that he is the right person to assume the role of leadership. But—and this is the point of resignation—we cannot in future have Bevan in the leadership of the Party unless we remove the Right Wing

from their present exalted offices. That is the new stage in the fight.

#### UNITE THE LEFT

In our opinion, all the activities of the Constituency Parties must now be directed to securing a firm majority for Aneurin Bevan. Let us briefly outline the main points of his policy as recently presented in "Tribune":—

(1) Opposition to the revival of West German Nazism. Opposition to E.D.C. and West German Re-arming which makes the peaceful unification of Germany impossible.

(2) Opposition to the Eden-Dulles plan for Asia. Independence for Indo-China. Opposition

to all colonial exploitation and a collectively ensured peace which will provide for "social progress and for the attainment of self-government by subject peoples."

(3) Against the witch-hunt—and for the right of all peoples to decide for communism if they so desire. Non-intervention in the internal affairs of other nations.

(4) Recognition of America's military preparations as a "cover for counter-revolutionary measures"—not an alliance for peace, but "a bulwark against political and social progress."

(5) A break with American Imperialism.

Here is a programme which can unite the overwhelming majority of the Party and turn it into a pugnacious opposition to Toryism and an inspiring Labour Government at the next Election.

Support for Aneurin Bevan and the programme he has presented is the great need of the moment. That will not be difficult to achieve in the Constituency Parties—but there will have to be a hard fight in the Unions if we are to get their support. The first essential is unity of the Left in the Party and the Unions.

The Morecambe Conference in 1952 started the struggle for socialism within the Party; Margate in 1953 continued the battle. Let Scarborough this year finish the job.

#### INSIDE

THE GOLD COAST  
REVOLUTION  
by  
George Padmore



NYE BEVAN

### Editorial

was strongly and conscientiously opposed."

The suggestion that Bevan's resignation will disrupt the unity of the Labour Party and "give comfort to a tottering Tory administration" ("Daily Herald") is sheer nonsense. Bevan's action—accompanied as it was by a clear statement of political motives—will rally millions of Party members around a programme of vigorous opposition to what he has himself correctly called the counter-revolutionary activities of Churchill and his American friends.

#### RIGHT WING FEAR

Naturally, the Right Wing will scream about "unity"—for it is

## Sixth Biggest Trade Union Rejects German Rearmament

THE Eighth Annual Delegate Meeting of the Amalgamated Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers opened on a militant note. Not only on wages and conditions, but on a series of national and international questions.

A resolution opposing the re-arming of West Germany was carried with only two dissentients among the one thousand delegates present at the Conference.

The resolution—which was supported by Alf Robens, ex-Minister of Labour—called for renewed attempts to reach a solution to the German question "along the lines of the declaration of the 1953 Margate Conference of the Labour Party."

present Parliamentary leadership, a vote supporting a special conference of the Party to discuss and lay down the policy on Germany. That is the issue which will decide who is for Party Unity. Let there be some unity on policy questions and the unity of personnel—in the form of the Parliamentary and other leaderships—will rapidly be restored and assured.

Who doubts that the ranks of the Trade Unions today would not also vote as did the Co-operative Movement? Not even the Tory Press, trying by all means to hold back the inevitable—can any longer continue the pretence. The feeling of the Movement is now clear. Let the present Parliamentary leadership prove its devotion to the movement—by letting it express itself through national conference!

R. Hood

### ★ Full Report of Shopworkers Conference ★

Walter Padley, M.P., in his presidential address said: "The developing industrial situation is one in which powerful trade union organisation will be required to maintain and expand the living standards of workers in the distributive and allied trades. ... Pressure for wage increases has been—and will be—provoked by the persistence of the Government in ignoring the advice of the trade union movement and reversing the trend towards a more equal and just society.

"... Reductions in consumer subsidies combined with cuts in profits tax and in direct taxation of the wealthy; increases in dividends paid to shareholders accompanied by dearer food for the wage earners; higher interest rates combined with sniping attacks on the social services; the threat—shortly to become a reality—of steeply rising rents for millions of workers, leading to higher incomes for landlords—all this is not a recipe for wage restraint or industrial peace.

#### GERMANY

"I am an unrepentant member of the large minority of the Parliamentary Labour Party which opposed present plans for arming Western Germany. German socialists and trade unionists oppose Dr. Adenauer's policy because they know that to rearm a divided Germany will make almost impossible the peaceful re-unification of

#### OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

their country. They say that in these circumstances re-arming in Western Germany will strengthen the influence of extreme nationalist and militarist elements who are the enemies of both socialism and Peace... I fear that present policies may easily lead to an arms race in Germany—with Russia arming East Germany and the Western Powers arming Western Germany."

"... A vicious spiral of competitive re-arming in a divided Germany leading to 100 or more German divisions—facing one another across a hated artificial frontier—is a real possibility. It is a prospect so fraught with danger that Britain and the West should pause—and pause again—before embarking on a road which, in the era of the hydrogen bomb, may plunge humanity headlong to a common doom..."

#### WAGES DEBATE

The following resolution on wages was carried against the opposition of the Executive by a substantial majority:

"The A.D.M. draws attention to the scandalously low basic rates of wages received by Union members and views with alarm the continued rise in the cost of living. It reiterates its demand for a £7 10s. 0d. minimum basic wage and instructs the Executive Coun-

cil to make an immediate application for a 15 per cent. increase in wages for all trades, believing that such an increase is necessary for all distributive workers in view of the constantly decreasing purchasing power of wages."

The resolution was moved by Alec Cohen of Ilford who proved on the basis of facts and figures published in the "New Dawn" the ability of the employers to pay and the scandalously low basic rates of many Union members—£6 or less.

He called upon the E.C. to lead a campaign which would mobilise all distributive workers behind the Union's demands.

Albert Tudball of Bristol Retail Co-op Branch in seconding called for the use of the industrial strength of the Union in the Co-operative movement to be used to the full in securing decent wage scales.

John Goffe (Bermondsey No. 1) declared that the position of the distributive workers was like that of the Red Queen in Alice Through the Looking Glass who had to run faster and faster in order to keep in the same place! Wages had not caught up with the increases in prices but productivity had considerably increased since the end of the war. Wage restraint had been urged on the grounds that in the economic position of the country increases could only be justified by increases in produc-

### Youth For Bevan

DEPRIVED of the right to move a resolution supporting Aneurin Bevan's political stand against the Eden-Dulles Plan for South East Asia, delegates to the recent Conference of the Labour Party League of Youth organised their own declaration of support. It was passed round for signature among the delegates. Ninety out of 122 signed. The declaration is given in full in the report of the conference on page 3.

### Salford gives a lead

Typical of the reactions among Labour Party members is the following resolution carried at the April 15th meeting of East Salford's Management Committee:

"This East Salford C.L.P. feels the resignation of A. Bevan from the Parliamentary Committee of the Labour Party, arising from his dissatisfaction with the official leadership's handling of policy in relation to German re-arming and South East Asia—a dissatisfaction shared by large numbers of party members—makes all the more necessary the convening of a special conference of the Labour Party at Whitsun so that the rank and file may decide on the issues involved."

However, it was not the country in general that benefitted but the employers. Full use should be made of our industrial strength to obtain the full 15 per cent. demanded in the resolution and then with these achievements the Executive would have specially to print membership forms for the unorganised workers who would rush to share in the results of this leadership.

The General Secretary, Alan Birch, in the course of this debate specifically repudiated the idea recently canvassed in T.U. circles of a form of compulsory arbitration. However, he opposed the resolution on the grounds that it tied the hands of the Executive to make a uniform demand that would not be appropriate in the case of some of the hundreds of agreements that the Union had in the various trades covered by the union membership.

#### COLONIES

One of the fraternal delegates at the Conference was comrade Nkoloma of the Northern Rhodesia C.L.P.

Continued on page 3

### Get the Tories Out

U.S.D.A.W.'s Annual Conference ended on an appropriately anti-Tory note by calling on the Labour and Trade Union Movement to organise a Mass Campaign to remove the Tories from office. To be included in the campaign, said the delegates, was the use of a Monster Petition to Get The Tories Out.

# Gold Coast Revolution Nears Its Climax

## Preparing the Last Stage to Full Independence

★ By George Padmore ★



George Padmore

### THE NKRUMAH CONSTITUTION

In accordance with the decision of the Assembly that all members of the new Parliament must be directly elected by secret ballot, Chiefs and representatives of foreign commercial and mining interests, as well as British official nominees of the Governor will be excluded.

The incoming Assembly will therefore consist of 104 popularly elected members, in keeping with British parliamentary practice, the leader of the party which wins the majority of seats will be called upon by the Governor to form the Government.

Furthermore, as the official representative of the Crown, the Governor will no longer preside over Cabinet meetings, and will act only on the advice of his Ministers, who will be collectively responsible to the Assembly. The Governor, however, will continue to exercise control over defence and external affairs until such time as the United Kingdom Parliament passes an Act of Independence conferring full sovereignty upon the Gold Coast. On the other hand, the portfolios of Justice and Finance now held by British officials will be transferred to African Ministers.

Apart from selecting his own Cabinet colleagues, the Prime Minister will also have the right to nominate Under-Secretaries who will be attached to each Ministry. They, unlike the Permanent Secretaries, who will continue to be civil servants, will be drawn from the Legislative Assembly.

This briefly, is the structure of the Nkrumah Constitution under which the first general election will be held on June 15. The outcome of this event will decide not only the future status of the Gold Coast, but the possibility of peaceful transformation of other African territories from dependencies to self-governing member States within the Commonwealth.

The Gold Coast represents a hope and inspiration to Africans everywhere, but has aroused alarm and despondency in certain imperialist circles in Britain and South Africa.

In a recent interview with the influential American journal, "U.S. News and World Report", Dr. Malan, that high-priest of racialism, voiced the fears haunting the South African herrenvolk.

"Democracy is a good thing, but a nation has to be educated up to it", he pontificated. "In the Gold Coast (where Britain has granted self-government) over 90 per cent of the voters are illiterate they can't read or write. If you give democracy to such people, the result must ultimately be a reversion to barbarism and chaos."

While Dr. Malan preaches hatred and contempt for coloured peoples and seeks to extend his domination over Africans by demanding the annexation of the Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, his contemporary, Dr. Nkrumah, proclaims his faith in the Brotherhood of Man. On his release from prison in 1951, the Gold Coast leader let it be known that he will not tolerate racialism in his country.

"I came out of gaol into the Assembly without the slightest feeling of bitterness to Britain. I stand for no racialism, no discrimination against any race or any individual, but I am unalterably opposed to Imperialism in any form."

### PLOT MISCARRIED

Despite the fact that within the short period of three years the Gold Coast people have travelled fast and far along the road to complete self-government, the struggle is not yet over. Final victory has yet to be won.

Already attempts are being made by the forces of conservatism and reaction operating inside and outside the Gold Coast to discredit the Prime Minister and his Government.

Recently, a leading Chief by the name of Braimah, who, although not a member of the C.P.P. was included in the Cabinet by Dr. Nkrumah as a gesture of friendship and solidarity with the Chiefs of the Northern Territories who selected Braimah to the Assembly, resigned after having confessed to the Governor of accepting bribes. He then proceeded to accuse the Prime Minister of having received the gift of a Cadillac motor car and £40,000 from a Syrian contractor for a road contract for which the man was only to be paid £10,000 for his services by the Government.

This fantastic allegation was not only repudiated by Dr. Nkrumah, but the British Solicitor-General who conducted the proceeding before the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Governor, declared that there was no evidence to support Chief Braimah's allegations.

However, even before the findings of the Commission had been made public, the Chief having failed to discredit the Prime Minister, joined forces with other opponents of the C.P.P. to organise a separatist, tribalist organisation called the Northern People's Party to break up the unity of the Gold Coast.

The Chief is said to have been encouraged in this "Pakistan" manoeuvre by certain British officials serving in the Northern Territories, where the majority of the natives are Muslims.

### THE PARTY SYSTEM

Commenting upon the exploitation of the religious sentiments of the people for political ends, the Prime Minister has stated that: "The Party system has come to stay. It is only through the Party System that Parliamentary Democracy can be maintained. But the C.P.P. in accordance with progress-

Continued on page 3

ing members of the party were arrested on various trumped-up charges and imprisoned.

But while they were still in jail, the Governor in agreement with the moderate political leaders and the Chiefs, decided to hold the first general election. Although Dr. Nkrumah had described the Constitution as "bogus and fraudulent," he advised his supporters to contest the election so as to capture as many seats as possible. In doing so, they were motivated by the ideal of preventing the leaders of the reactionary and conservative parties who had helped to frame the Constitution from getting hold of the Government and working the Constitution in the way the British Government intended.

The C.P.P.'s overwhelming victory in February, 1951, spoilt all the plans and calculation of the Colonial Office and forced a retreat. So much so, that the present Governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, was compelled to immediately free Dr. Nkrumah and his colleagues and call upon the C.P.P. leader to form the Executive Council, the main instrument of Government.

### MIXED-BAG ASSEMBLY

The Coussey Constitution was so framed as to establish a mixed-bag Legislative Assembly. It consisted of 84 members of which 75 were elected, 3 ex-officio, and 6 members representing foreign interests (commerce and mining).

The ex-officio members—the Chief Government Secretary, the Financial Secretary and the Attorney General, as well as the foreign capitalist representatives—were all appointed by the Governor. The others were selected in the following manner:—Five municipal members were elected in a single-stage election by universal adult suffrage; 33 rural members were elected in a two-stage election by adult suffrage exercised through Electoral Colleges; 19 members from the Northern Territories were elected by a special Electoral College composed of chieftain nominees; 18 members were elected by the Territorial Councils of chiefs representing the Colony area, Ashanti and Southern Togoland under United Nations Trusteeship exercised by the United Kingdom Government.

The Speaker was elected by all members of the Assembly from among themselves or from outside the Assembly. The present Speaker was not a member of the Assembly at the time of his election, but was the President of the former Legislative Council. He was elected by unanimous vote.

The Executive Council, now called the Cabinet, consisted of 11 members. Eight of them are Africans, holding portfolios of Commerce and Industry; Labour, Mines and Co-operatives; Agriculture and Natural Resources; Education and Social Welfare; Local Government and Housing; Communications and Works; Health; and Economic Development. The three British Ministers hold the key portfolios of Defence and External Affairs; Finance and Justice.

The Constitution as originally framed made no provisions for the premiership. The Colonial Office experts never anticipated that any one party would emerge as the dominant party in the Assembly. The plan was to play one group

of leaders off against the others and for the Governor with his officials and Chiefs to hand-pick the Cabinet and set the pace. Having selected one African to lead the pack, he was to be officially described as "Leader of Government Business."

But Dr. Nkrumah refused to play the game, so Mr. James Griffiths, the Labour Colonial Secretary had to get the Constitution amended to recognise Dr. Nkrumah, Prime Minister *de jure*, in order to get his co-operation in working the Constitution smoothly. This change was instituted early in 1952.

### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS

With the initiative firmly in Dr. Nkrumah's hands, backed by an overwhelming majority in both the Assembly and Cabinet, the Prime Minister immediately set out to introduce long over-due economic and social reforms outlined in the Government's Development Plan. And within the short space of three years, the C.P.P. has been able to bring about the remarkable changes referred to by the Speaker at the closing session of the Assembly. The Gold Coast financial position has never been sounder and the country is now ready to embark on the final stage to independence.

How has this come about? At every stage of the struggle, Dr. Nkrumah, who never loses personal contact with the masses, has relied upon the support of the common people. He never makes a move before consulting public opinion which the C.P.P. is constantly educating in the spirit of democratic socialism.

Having demonstrated beyond any doubt that the African given the opportunity is capable of governing himself, the Prime Minister announced in the Legislative Assembly in October, 1953, that as a result of an exchange of views with Colonial Secretary, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, who visited the Gold Coast in the summer of that year, he proposed to present to the British Government a demand for complete self-government.

But before doing so, he invited

## OPERATION 104!



THE coming General Election in the Gold Coast will be an event of tremendous importance. Should the party of Kwame Nkrumah (whose photo appears here)—the Convention Peoples' Party—win it will be an inspiration to colonial peoples everywhere to intensify their own struggles for self-government.

It is necessary, however, in view of the Tory intervention in British Guiana, for the British Labour Movement to be on guard against Tory tricks.

There is tremendous enthusiasm in the Gold Coast and confidence that the C.P.P.'s election slogan "104—Freedom" will be realised, that is, Nkrumah's supporters will win all the seats!

## Wholesale Arrests in B. Guiana

Georgetown, B.G., April 11, 1954

SINCE the arrest of Dr. Cheddi Jagan on April 3rd, there have been over seventy arrests on various charges including disorderly behaviour, illegal procession and unlawful assembly.

Crowds outside the Magistrate's Court on the first day of the trials were dispersed and twenty persons arrested. Police broke up a women's protest march before Government House and several persons who participated in this protest march were arrested. On April 7th, the Police used tear gas in and about the Party's Headquarters. The office which was raided twice daily up to this time, and had everything carried away was closed down by the orders of

Reported by Janet Jagan

the Commissioner of Police. Armed Police still guard the office 24 hours daily.

Police closed down the Arcade Printery which does work for the Party and also prints the "Thunder" for twenty-four hours keeping it under armed guard. Later the printery was re-opened but police still guard it, and the printer has been warned not to do any printing for the Party. The authorities have not given any definite orders concerning the Party's paper "Thunder". Printing has been held up. "Thunder" was to come out for the first time on April 10th. The printer, however was warned not to continue with the printing.

A shop owned by former Assembly woman Jessie Burnham was closed down on April 7th with armed police guarding. It was re-opened again on the 9th.

On April 9th, the Party opened another headquarters in the A'bovoustown district of the city. This is still open, but was raided on the 10th and posters removed.

Police have raided the New Amsterdam and Rose Hall Branch offices of the P.P.P., the home of former Assembly woman, Jane Gay, and the offices of the Guiana Industrial Workers' Union.

Bail was refused for Dr. Jagan and five others when they appeared before the Magistrate on April

6th, charged with holding an illegal procession. Dr. Jagan and others were arrested twenty minutes after they were released on bail on the 5th as thousands of cheering people followed them from the court. Dr. Jagan representing himself protested against the filthy conditions of the cell in which he and fifteen others were placed. The cell measured 10 ft. by 12 ft. The Magistrate remanded them to Georgetown Prison where they are now held.

L. F. S. Burnham who received Restriction Orders on the 6th from the Governor has refused to obey the section requiring him to report to the Police station twice weekly.

On Friday night (April 9th) the Governor proclaimed Georgetown and its environs.

### BUFFALOES MAY NOT LOOK AT A QUEEN

A petition signed by over forty peasants in the Dambulla area of Ceylon, has been sent to the Lanka Samasamaja Party—the Ceylon Socialist Party.

The petition states that cattle belonging to the peasants were driven into the forest or impounded by the Village Headmen in preparation for the Queen's visit. Buffaloes that wallowed in the mud in the drains alongside the Matale-Dambulla road are to be denied the privilege of sleeping there until the Queen leaves the island. There was no request for co-operation from the owners of the cattle.

A cat can look at a king but a buffalo cannot look at a queen.

Socialist Outlook

59 FLEET STREET, E.C.4.

Editor: John Lawrence

## Shopworkers' Conference

(from p. 1)

desia African Mineworkers' Union and T.U.C. He was given a tremendous ovation for a speech in which he traced the development of African Trade Unionism in his country and the help it received from a delegation sent out by the Labour Movement in 1946 and Mr. Williams, a Labour M.P., before the Arbitration Tribunal where it gained a substantial increase despite the opposition of Sir Hartley Shawcross who appeared for the millionaire employers.

A debate on the Colonial Question resulted in the passage of a resolution which called for:—

"an end to the colour bar and racial discrimination, in accordance with the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights, and for the promotion of health, education and welfare services which, together with schemes of economic development, can prepare the way for full self-government. In order to re-establish confidence between the Colonial peoples and Britain, it urges that the next Labour Government should convene round-table conferences in the various parts of the Colonial Empire in order to prepare concrete plans to realise these objectives and to set target dates for the achievement of full self-government."

The Conference went solidly on record against German re-armament, the continued development of the Hydrogen Bomb, the Housing Rents and Repairs Bill, and for a campaign to get the Tory Government out.

### SOCIETY NOTE

THE Duchess smashed a bottle of champagne on the bows and while the crowd cheered, she slid majestically down the greasy slipway to the sea.

## Gold Coast Revolution

(from p. 2)

sive forms of government everywhere, is opposed to the formation of political parties on a basis of racialism, tribalism and religion, and will make use of every legitimate means to combat it. In our country, with its tradition of religious tolerance and respect for all faiths, it is highly undesirable that religious association or denomination should take on itself the character of a political party. If it does so, the public are liable to associate its religious tenets, be they Christian or Muslim, with its political aims, and to withhold from such a religious movement the tolerance which is given to purely religious sects."

The election will be hard fought. For in addition to the newly formed Northern People's Party with its Islamic appeal, there is the fanatical Muslim Party led by the best known Gold Coast Communist, Mr. Bankole Renner; the United Gold Coast Convention led by Dr. J. B. Danquah, the doyen of African politicians; the Ghana Congress Party led by Dr. A. K. Busia, lecturer in Sociology at the University College; the National Democratic Party led by Barrister Ollennu; the Ghana Nationalist Party, led by Barrister, Obetsebi Lamptey; the Ghana Action Party, led by Dr. Ansah Koi, a medical practitioner.

All the parties are mobilising their resources to win as many seats as possible. The opposition parties are even planning to form a "united front" against the C.P.P. But there is no doubt that Dr. Nkrumah will again be returned to office. His party has already won the majority of seats in the three recent municipal elections for the Accra, Kumasi and Takoradi-Sekondi Town Councils.

June 15, will be an historic day in the Gold Coast bloodless revolution.

### READ

Britain's only T.U. Weekly Newspaper

## The Railway Review

FEARLESS, FACTUAL, STIMULATING and packed with information.

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## Engineers' Wages

### Some Comments on the 'All Fools Day' Agreement

I WOULD like to correct an error which is being deliberately created—and with the connivance of our own leaders—being foisted on the rank and file, and deluding the public. We engineers are not receiving an increase of 6 per cent.

The agreement, which is full of humiliating anomalies, states that an increase of 8/6d. per week of 44 hours for a craftsman shall be granted, but not more. The same provision applies to the 7/6d. and 6/6d. grades.

The Engineering Unions were mandated by their members to approach the Employers Federation for a 15 per cent. increase. And let us be quite clear about

By D. Burgess

this, it was 15 per cent. on our total earnings we wanted. The accepted offer only applies to the bare rate, and excludes merit rates, incentive bonuses and piece work earnings.

The particular insertion in this—and other—agreements that no-one shall benefit by more than the amount stated, is a calculated and deliberate interference with the right of Shop Committees and Managements to negotiate at Works level improvements in incentive schemes which have been drawn up locally.

### NO CONSULTATION

When this application was first put before the National E.C. of the Confederation, most of the non-craft unions opposed a percentage increase, but they accepted the position once a majority vote made it inevitable that the application to the employers would be for 15 per cent. of the present rates. This action was endorsed by the rank and file at Branch meetings and District committees.

In view of this and the militant support of the engineers empha-

sised on December 2nd, I would like to know why the Group E.C. changed their ground to haggle for an increase on 7/4d.

It was reported in the press that Jack Tanner informed Sir Percy Mills the Confederation would accept 10/-. But whatever the truth of this report the fact remains that the rank and file, who are mainly concerned, were not consulted as to its "acceptance".

District after District went on record against anything other than a substantial percentage increase. Demands for imposing the ban on piece-work and overtime to be followed by strike action were sent from joint shop stewards' committees to the Group E.C. to strengthen them in facing the employers. But to no avail. The 7/4d. mentality won with a "face saver" of 1/2d.

The need for a new application for an increase has been mentioned. Who is going to place this application for us? The same people who suffered mutely the humiliating experience of a ten weeks' wait for a negative answer to our application and then went back to reason with people who, from the start, had ignored every reasonable request, and who followed it by an outrageous demand that the industry should continue to work longer hours in order to get a living wage?

### OUR FIRST TASK

No. Our first task is to get a leadership that will lead the rank and file to battle with employers and have the guts to help us win our wage claims in full, not be on the retreat from the first shot being fired.

One thing not generally known about the "agreement" on All Fools Day is that most Federated firms will not be paying it until three weeks after the operative date. This is due to the fact that the agreement is riddled with clauses dividing the men into the three classes 6/6d., 7/6d., 8/6d., and dividing and breaking up that solidarity which was a feature of December 2nd. In this alone the employers have won a big victory.

# The Dulles-Eden Plot Exposed

BLAME for the present crisis in the Labour Party rests at the door, not of Bevan, but of those who support Tory foreign policies with no mandate from the party.

Serious Labour Party socialists will not be shaken by attempts to gain acceptance of the Attlee line by talk of a spurious unity. As James Maxton once remarked: one of the greatest examples of unity was shown by the Gadarene swine who, with one solid purpose, rushed hell for leather over a cliff and to disaster. A unity with Attlee which means a unity with Eden and Dulles would be as completely fatal to the Labour Party.

John Foster Dulles and Anthony Eden have agreed to prepare for large scale intervention in the Indo-Chinese war. "What we have in mind" said Eden in the House of Commons "is that there should be brought into being in this part of the world (South East Asia) something comparable to the N.A.T.O. organisation that exists in Europe."

### REAL PURPOSE

The purpose of such an organisation was made clear in the communique issued by himself and Dulles after their meeting. "... Communist forces in Indo-China are increasingly developing their activities into a large scale war against the forces of the French Union" it declared, speaking of a war where American "technicians" are aiding French colonialism and where America supplies two-thirds of the money and arms for the French and their puppets.

The communique continued: "They (the communist forces) seek to overthrow the lawful and friendly Government of Vietnam which we recognise; and they have invaded Laos and Cambodia." History records that it was the Vietnam Government which was recognised by treaty in 1946. The French tore up that treaty and treacherously attacked Vietnam. Now, Dulles and Eden discuss how they can aid the French under cover of declarations that they

seek to defend the lawful government and the peace(!), security(!), and freedom(!) of South East Asia and the Western Pacific.

In an attack on Bevan's resignation, Mr. Percy Cudlipp—former editor of the "Daily Herald" who now writes a column for the "News Chronicle"—declared "the American and British governments were only examining the possibilities of a South East Asia Treaty Organisation. Hence Mr. Bevan, according to him, denounced "a plan which has not yet been drawn up." Did Dulles then, accomplish nothing by his visit to Europe? Mr. Dulles himself, evidently thought not. "I have had the best series of talks in 48 hours I have ever had," he announced as he was leaving Britain.

### ULTIMATUM

The "Manchester Guardian" of April 14th also thought not. It drew the conclusion that the joint communique issued by Dulles and Eden "does seem to contain a clear implied warning amounting almost to an ultimatum." And so

By Bill Hunter

it does. At this stage the British and American Governments declare only that they are entering into discussions on the setting up of the South East Asia Treaty Organisation because they are preparing for the Geneva Conference. They are saying in effect to the Russian and Chinese leaders: "If you do not withdraw support from Ho Chi Minh and exert pressure on Vietnam to accept French terms we will proceed to encircle China and prepare full scale intervention in Indo-China."

According to Mr. Percy Cudlipp, Mr. Attlee "insisted that any such system must not be used to defend obsolete colonialism." But that is the whole purpose of the threatened pact. Mr. Attlee did not oppose it but stated that "in building up the strength of the free nations of Asia against aggression" it was vital that there should be a union of Asiatic countries as well as those of

European descent. He thus accepted the pact as did the Parliamentary Committee the following day, but suggested only ways to improve it. "The essential thing is that this should be the freeing of the peoples of Asia and should not in any way be represented, as it might be misrepresented (my emphasis) as a defence of obsolete colonialism," he said.

Eden was quick to agree with him: "...no organisation of that kind could be effective unless those taking part in it have freedom and independence to express their will within it."

It is precisely in the name of "freedom" and the defence of "lawful" governments that this war pact and pact for the defence of imperialism in the Far East is being prepared. Not to oppose it root and branch is to destroy all Labour's principles.

It is clear that the rank and file of the Labour Party will in its vast majority resist all attempts to tie the party up in a policy of intervention in Indo-China. They will not want unity around such a purpose. They do not wish to be dragged into another Korea with the almost certain rapid developments to World War III.

### APPEAL TO AMERICAN WORKERS

The Constituency Parties and the rank and file of the trade union movement will rally to support Bevan. And if Mr. Bevan now campaigns against intervention in Indo-China, he will mobilise a new spirit in the Labour Party. Also, what is very important, such a movement would find loud echoes among the American working-class. The Korean war was described as the "most unpopular war in America's history." There is now already—as Ludwell Denny, foreign editor of the Scripps-Howard chain of American newspapers, commented on April 5th—a "lack of enthusiasm" for the administrations' "get tough in Asia policy."

"Hands off Indo-China, not a gun, not a man, not a penny to help French colonialism." That is a real positive socialist purpose around which to have unity of the movement.

# Labour's Youth Tries Hard To Speak

★ A Delegate Reports on L.L.O.Y. Conference ★

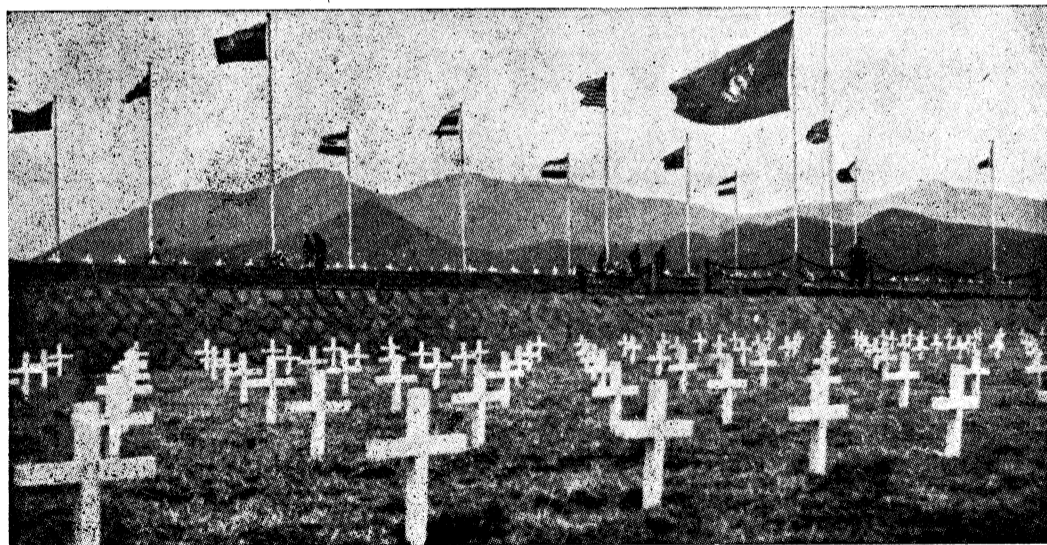
"POLITICAL motives are behind the refusal of the N.E.C. to implement previous Conference decisions," declared Ron Keating, 1954 Chairman of the League, at its Easter Conference at the Beaver Hall, London. That the League wishes to discuss politics was shown by three emergency resolutions and by the whole tenor of the many interesting speeches made.

Once again, a resolution was moved by the delegate from South Hammersmith calling for discussion of Party policy affecting youth. The platform took this opportunity of announcing that next year's Conference may submit resolutions on two specified subjects other than organisation.

Phil Sheridan, Clapton, moved a resolution calling for the implementation of all Conference decisions by the N.E.C., and he pointed out that "we are still trying to get implemented resolutions passed in 1951." The N.C.C. attempted to use the N.E.C.'s concession on resolutions as an excuse for opposing this resolution, but Conference felt that it was still necessary to press the demand and carried it by an overwhelming majority.

Percy Knight, of the National Union of Seamen, was the fraternal delegate from the N.E.C. for the second year running. In his fraternal greetings, he referred to the Conference as a "safety valve of expression of opinion."

The three emergency resolutions which were put forward showed that the Conference itself did not share Mr. Knight's slighting evaluation of its importance. One resolution called for an immediate Conference of the International



Youth wants a Better Future than this Mass Graveyard in Korea!

Union of Socialist Youth and International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to decide a Socialist policy with regard to the H-Bomb; another welcomed the anti-war lead given by Mr. Bevan and said it would lead to increased recruitment for the League of Youth; the third was in opposition to German re-armament.

Twice these resolutions were put forward, and twice rejected by the Standing Orders Committee. When it became clear that Conference was enthusiastic about these resolutions, the Standing Orders Committee offered its resignation!

However, after an adjournment, there was a secret session—as a result of which the resolutions were withdrawn under protest.

Ninety of the 122 delegates signed a declaration to Aneurin Bevan which read as follows:

"We the undersigned delegates of the League of Youth Conference, being banned by our constitution from discussion of items of national policy, wish to offer you, in lieu of a congratulatory resolution, our heartfelt congratulations and pledge our full support to you in your valiant opposition to the proposals to form a Pacific Alliance on the lines of N.A.T.O."

Unanimous approval was given to a resolution moved by John Head, Richmond and Barnes, asking that the subjects for next year's Study Group Reports should

be Conscription and Colonial Policy. This resolution gave Conference a welcomed opportunity for some political discussion. The mover, who himself was recently demobbed, spoke with first-hand knowledge on the problems of army life. He said that the League has the responsibility of getting young people interested in politics and supporting the Labour Party. This could not be done if it ignored such vital problems as the lack of democracy and Trade Union rights in the services.

Many resolutions had to be re-mitted to the N.C.C. owing to lack of time. These included one from St. Pancras North, asking that the Annual Party Conference be given a full report of the League Conference. The only method of

bringing League matters to the notice of the Party is through Constituency Party resolutions. With so many national and international problems, Constituency Parties are understandably reluctant to devote their one resolution to the League of Youth, though they are frequently in sympathy with it. The N.C.C. should certainly support this resolution and press it.

The N.C.C. was asked if resolutions could be moved on Study Group Reports. This was refused so that although every speaker on the document on European Unity had strong criticisms of its non-Socialist approach, Conference had no choice but to spend the afternoon moving non-acceptance of paragraph after paragraph. The main reason for the complete rejection of the document was that it considered only Western Europe could be united and that in a way which suggested a pro-capitalist alliance on the lines of E.D.C.

The report did not seem to be representative of many League reports which had stated emphatically that unity was impossible without a Socialist Europe.

The report on Local Government met with more approval from Conference. Two sections were not accepted. Conference felt that Aldermanic seats should be abolished and it was agreed that the present rating system should be altered by the next Labour Government.

The mood of this year's Conference was expressed from the first in the Chairman's opening remarks. Although the fight which is going on between the League of Youth and the N.E.C. appears in an organisational form it is nevertheless a direct reflection of the political struggle within the whole Labour movement. All Labour Party members who support a socialist policy for the Party should actively support the organisational struggle of the League of Youth.

**Resist U.S. Pressure**

Whilst the Tory Government has conceded many increases of pay to forcemajeure—and even made retrospective payments to influential applicants (Medicos for example)—Britain's old-age pensioners are increasingly collapsing in the streets (many fatally) of our cities and towns, for lack of proper and sufficient nourishment.

They have just been pushed aside by our Prime Minister as of no account! Mr. Butler imagines he can delude the old people by future promises—or mentioning a money-wasting TORY COMMISSION that has already been sitting for 6 months—or by stressing the priority of allowances for plant replacement in industry—whilst old-age pensioners note the record dividends less tax, plus bonus shares, being distributed—sufficient to effect modernization without allowances and still leave fair dividends!

Britain's electors must demand an urgent General Election, and then firmly reject the reactionary policies of this Tory Big Business Government. Both the Tories and their allies in the U.S.A. have shown clearly by their actions and propaganda, that to them Socialism and Christian action are anathema, both at home and abroad! Self-interest for the few is their only world objective!

Britain's electors must refuse to remain U.S.A.'s front line BOMBING BASE for such a cause! Nor accept their THIRD DEGREE PRESSURE under threats of monetary action.

Southport H. Feilden



**The 'Iron Chancellor'**

In an effort to get back into power irrespective of the consequences to the working-class, Winston Churchill described the Labour Budget of 1950 as "the most amazing dissipation of national resources on record in any civilized community of our size."

Now the "strong man of the Tory Party," Butler, has just beat "the Socialist capacity for bringing the country to a state of bankruptcy" by introducing a Budget running to a thousand million pounds more than the Labour Budget of 1950. Thus Butler himself has exposed Churchill's party political babblings as the tame violence of the greatest social enemy this country has had in my lifetime.

And incidentally, I hope that Butler's despicable insult to more worthy servants of the state who happen to be helpless against an "Iron Chancellor" will silence the

rubbish that is spoken in some quarters about "Butler's halfway to Socialism."

I think that this latest piece of Tory legislation stamps Butler as an "Iron Chancellor" indeed. Iron that is towards helpless ex-soldiers and tottering old-age pensioners.

The man who stood up in the House of Commons and piously cried "I cannot bring my own conscience to sanction further advances in social reform" could in fact bring his elastic conscience to sanction "nearly £340 millions in Excess Profits Levy Reliefs and other tax concessions to companies and the well-to-do."

The elderly man or woman, or any other class of pensioner dependents, have again been stuck up against the economic wall and shot at by this wealthy Tory Chancellor. Let's save all the tears for Churchill to shed on the quayside in May. As for us, why we'll use every means in our power to rouse the country against Butler and Co., and help to rid the political scene of the stench of these anti-working-class political hucksters.

Leicester Paton Dene



**W. German Rearmament**

In view of the unfortunate disagreements within the Editorial Board of the "Socialist Outlook" and the resignation of that splendid comrade Tom Braddock, I should like to express my deep regret at the ill-natured attack upon you by G. Healy. Healy's attack was both unjustified and hysterical in its tone.

I am convinced that your policy on German Re-armament is the correct one and that we must join with Communists, Pacifists and even non-Socialists in exposing and opposing Wall Street's war plans against Soviet Russia and China.

We must oppose with the utmost vigour:

- (a) German re-armament.
(b) American bases in Britain.
(c) Dulles' plans for a reactionary Far Eastern Military Alliance intended to encircle People's China.
(d) The H.-bomb.

Dulles and Eisenhower are planning atomic war on Russia and China and are organising the world-wide forces of Reaction—

**Our Readers Write . . .**

Adenauer, Franco, Syngman Rhee, Chiang-Kai-Shek, Bao Dai, the feudal monarchists of Greece and the religious bigots of Pakistan—to destroy Socialism throughout Europe and Asia. Even G. Healy must realise that the immediate object is to oppose these appalling plans of Dulles and in order to do this we must concentrate our efforts on preventing the re-armament of Western Germany, removing U.S. bases from Britain and fighting against both N.A.T.O. and its sinister counterpart now being planned for South East Asia.

The courageous resignation of Nye Bevan from Labour's "Shadow Cabinet" and the great vote against German Re-armament at the Co-operative Party Conference are events of great encouragement to Socialists. I sincerely hope that the "Outlook" will continue to fight against this terrible menace of German Re-armament and Dulles' plans for a counter-revolutionary war against Russia and China.

F. Turner (Member, Wallasey Labour Party) Wallasey



**... And Again**

My own position on German re-armament which, according to Lawrence I "evaded" giving, is contained in Socialist Outlook, March 26th, 1954. It is quite unambiguous as any reader who takes the trouble will see.

In my criticism of his article on the Paris conference against E.D.C., I did not deal with Jennie Lee's attitude at all. I only mentioned that she spoke at a Socialist gathering, not at that conference, in Paris, which is a fact as far as I know.

My criticisms were made on these points:

1. He said this anti-E.D.C. conference was "dominated by Communists and Socialists." It was in fact, dominated by capitalist politicians, including neo-Fascist de Gaullists. Lawrence does not and cannot refute my exposure of this misstatement.

2. He wrote that E.D.C. had become a class issue in Europe—the capitalists were all (the French reluctantly) for it, I showed that a large section of the French, including their only Marshal Juin, were opposed. My point was that it was dangerous to thus confuse the issue. Lawrence continues to confuse it, as I shall show.

3. Why did he distort the

character of the conference and confuse the issue of opposition to E.D.C.? I explained that it was in order to present class collaboration as action for a Socialist Europe. How does Lawrence "refute" me?

He now writes that "not to take advantage of these splits in the enemy camp is simply to reveal oneself as a political abstentionist—afraid to take action in case it should conflict with some idiotic code of socialist principles."

What "split" is he referring to? The split in the French capitalist class, whose representatives like Daladier, Soustelle, etc., attended the anti-E.D.C. conference—a fact which he previously tried to cover up.

How does he propose to "take advantage" of it? He doesn't yet say so explicitly, but it is obvious: By joining hands with de Gaullists etc.

Why am I opposed to this kind of "united front"? Because in every case in history—the "popular front" is only one example, "Lib-Lab" politics is another—it does not aid progress to socialism nor benefit the cause of Labour.

Nor, since Lawrence mentions "Popular Frontism"—have previous such class collaborations aided Soviet Russia or prevented victories of anti-communism. Is it really necessary to recall Spain and France in 1936—1939? I can on another occasion.

If to reject that kind of a disastrous, proven mugs game is to be a "political abstentionist", so be it.

It is clear now why Lawrence regards such a position of principle as "idiotic". He is apparently prepared to toss a few socialist principles overboard. What isn't yet clear is why he still doesn't state so openly.

As for us, we will, as before oppose Wall Street's E.D.C., support Soviet Russia and China in the only effective way—by working for a Labour government, for international labour solidarity, for a socialist policy, for a socialist Europe and World. And we will not be distracted by Mr. Lawrence's epithets and his new formed wisdom.

Streatham G. Healy



**No Change, Please**

During a particularly difficult time the Socialist Outlook has presented a truly socialist policy

awaiting for a chance to seize power, and Conservatives now control Western Germany. There is close resemblance between Adenauer and Hitler's fore-runner Von Papen. If re-armament was allowed and free elections held it is most unlikely that Social Democrats would be returned, yet G. Healy's arguments are all based on the absurd assumption that they will gain control.

It is essential that Socialist Outlook should follow a sound and realistic policy, and I hope we will see no change of direction.

To my mind John Lawrence is an excellent editor and must be encouraged in his manner of running the paper.

Mitcham Cllr. F. E. Baker

Is the "SOCIALIST OUTLOOK" in your Local Library? If not—ASK FOR IT!

with the utmost vigour. Its lead has inspired people like myself to carry on when we might otherwise have given up the struggle as hopeless.

Now that there is a definite revival of socialist opinion, as is shown in the opposition to German Re-armament, and the Hydrogen Bomb, it would be a tragedy indeed if the Outlook departed from its policy. Theoretical argument may be very interesting and intellectual, but to have any value must have some bearing on facts as they are.

Let us take the arguments on German Re-armament for an example. We have substantial evidence to show that ex-Nazis are

**CIVIL DEFENCE**

At a special meeting arranged by the Grimsby Labour Party, to "consider" the question of the Hydrogen Bomb, Mr. K. G. Younger, M.P., is reported to have said in regard to the action taken by the Coventry City Council: "The reaction of the Coventry City Council is a natural one which I can understand—but I would not support it. It is wrong to be

I suggest sufficient it is, that we do know it can devastate an area of about 500 miles and render a 1,000 miles of international sea area radio-active. Which is quite enough to conclude that there can be no adequate defence against it. And, we are also aware that such weapons are useless for military operations in the field and are being produced purely as mass terror weapons against civilian populations.

From other points in Mr. Younger's speech one gets the impression he wants the experiments to go on, on the grounds that "it has never been practical to stop scientific research." The truth is, that no one who supports the outlawing of these terror weapons has ever suggested that research should end. But, rather that research be switched from destruction to constructive purposes.

As the Coventry Council have said, their action is to strengthen the demands of these people by revealing the naked truth that there is no defence.

Mr. Younger tells us however, this is "defeatism," yet he also said in this same speech, "... he thought the Government, should ask (presumably cap in hand) America to allow Britain to collaborate in future tests." But, since he has declared opposition to "the spending of vast sums for destructional purposes" it is difficult to see how this would save such money.

He hopes "the world-wide concern over the menace of the H.-bomb would create a change of heart and attitude in high places and result in an early meeting of heads of States."

It seems time these Right-Wing M.P.s, got more acquainted with rank-and-file sentiments, and realised that what is needed is a meeting of the workers of the States. To hope for a change of heart on the part of the heads is the real essence of defeatism.

What is required is joint political and industrial action by those said workers. And, there is no reason why British workers should not take the lead towards this end.

By S. R. Pearson

100 per cent defeatist and there is still a good deal we do not know about the bomb."

He went on, "I am opposed to the spending of vast sums of money for destructional purposes, but I believe it a good thing to keep a nucleus of people trained in defence and rescue work."

Now as long ago as 1949, the Atomic Scientists' Association made it quite clear that to deal with the effects of one atomic bomb, effectively, 200,000 rescue workers would be required, some thousands of the population would need to have specialist training, and the remainder of the population elementary training.

It is therefore, obvious since the production of the H.-bomb that even that vast force, if it was really possible to build it up, would be totally inadequate today. And this is really 'some' nucleus."

What of medical attention for the injured? The bomb which fell on Hiroshima—to the shame of all decent people—killed or wounded 268 out of the city's 298 doctors! To say nothing about the destruction of hospitals and their staffs. The Red Cross is no longer respected in warfare.

Mr. Younger in accusing the Coventry City Council of being "100 per cent defeatist" used the argument "there is a good deal we do not know about the bomb."

**Profits versus Apartheid**

An article from its special correspondent in Cape Town, which appeared in the "New York Times" of April 4, draws attention to the consternation in Malanite circles because "Apartheid" is not working out exactly as they would have liked it to.

The white nationalists in South Africa conceived Apartheid as the complete separation of the population of the sub-continent into Black and White. There would be separate residential areas for blacks and whites in rural and urban areas; there would be rigid segregation in church and school. The more rabid racialists even talked of the development of parallel economic projects. This latter project won the enthusiastic support of the Dutch Reformed Church, of which Dr. Malan is an ordained minister.

PROFITS AND COLOUR In practice, of course, nothing like this has happened. Whichever political party is in power in South Africa, the real rulers remain the mineowners and industrialists who have grown wealthy on the backs of cheap African labour. South African capitalists, like capitalists everywhere, were not prepared to sacrifice their rich profits for the sake of an ideology. If the colour bar clashes with profits, then it is the colour bar which must retreat, and not the capitalists.

Since the first world war, and especially since the second world

**South African Capitalist Dilemma**

war, the industrialisation of South Africa has proceeded at breakneck speed. Thus, while before 1914, the country's economy was almost wholly dependent on the gold and diamond mines, today secondary industry plays an increasingly important part in the economic structure. South Africa is now competing on the world market. According to "The Industrial Commission Report" of 1951, mining contributed 24.7 per cent of the national income (of which

By C. Van Gelderen

gold contributed 10.8 per cent; trade and commerce comprised 13.9 per cent of the national income and manufacture 22.5 per cent.

**BLACK WORKERS**

The expansion of capitalist industry demands, of course the employment of ever larger numbers of workers. In South Africa that labour force could only be drawn from the dispossessed elements in the population—the Africans. In 1952, 22.4 per cent of those employed in manufacturing industry in the Western Cape were Africans; in the Transvaal it was 60.4 per cent; in Durban and Pietermaritzburg 50.4 per cent and in Port Elizabeth 32.4 per cent. Today there are about two million Afri-

cans employed in industry for various periods of the year. When it is realised that the total white population of South Africa is just over two-and-three-quarter millions, it will be realised what a significant sector of the industrial population these two million African workers represent.

Despite the repressive measures introduced by the Malan Government, this process of Africans entering industry has actually been speeded up during its six years in power. The needs of the capitalist economy take priority over the laws passed by the reactionary parliament.

The plain fact is that Malan and his doctrine of "Apartheid" came into the scene too late to halt this historic development. No matter how they would like to, they can do nothing to stop it continuing.

**THE DIE-HARDS**

Although they are powerless to stop it, a small group of extreme segregationists are alarmed at the prospects which this development unfolds. Mainly representing the farming interests, they see the cheap labour which they need on the farms being drawn into the factories. They are aware, too, of the dangers (for their way of life) in this growing urbanisation and industrialisation of the African.

According to the "New York Times" correspondent, they have

issued the following warning:

"The use of stable native labour in our industrial life must necessarily lead to the formation and official recognition of native labour unions... We cannot understand how those who stand for economic integration can believe that political equality can be prevented once they have the powerful weapon of labour union organisation.

"We do not deny that full use of millions of natives will result in large-scale development. South Africa will become a great and prosperous land, with a striking increase in the living standard of the whole population. However, economic advantage should not be the only or chief consideration in the choice of national policy.

"The white population, when the real implications become clear, will not accept a policy that threatens its existence and self determination."

Alas for these noble die-hards, who would rather starve as "pure whites" than mix economically and socially with people of a darker hue, neither the capitalists nor the workers (white as well as black) are prepared to pay with empty bellies for the policy of hundred per cent apartheid. South Africa's black workers are rapidly absorbing the lessons of their industrial environment. They are organising industrially and politically; they have entered the path which can only lead them to victorious socialism.