

Join the  
**LABOUR  
PARTY**  
**TODAY**

# Socialist Outlook

WEEKLY

No. 136

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

FRIDAY, JULY 2nd, 1954

3d.

**Churchill  
and  
Eden**

(page 2)

## DR. CORT:

SIR DAVID MAXWELL-FYFE has rejected the appeal of Dr. Cort for a permit to stay in Britain. The decision has aroused widespread disapproval in the Labour Movement.

Everywhere it is recognised as a shameful capitulation to the McCarthy witch-hunt. Once again the Tories have revealed themselves as the concealed friends of fascism and reaction.

It would be a grave mistake to consider the case of Dr. Cort as closed. This blatant miscarriage of justice calls into question the whole right of political asylum. What is to be the fate of political refugees fleeing from reactionary governments and régimes? Are they to be handed back to their persecutors if their citizenship has been removed or there is a threat to remove it in their absence? If they are, then the right of political asylum no longer exists in Britain. That is the real significance of the case of Dr. Cort.

## Editorial

British Labour must act at once. A determined campaign both in Parliament and the country could move public opinion to rectify this grave injustice.

As yet, nothing has been heard from the T.U.C. or the N.E.C. Why? Are there people on these bodies who do not wish to attack the Tories?

Labour's honour is at stake. Its representative committees must speak up immediately.

## Bevan and Gaitskell

IT is reported that Mr. Aneurin Bevan has decided to accept nomination as Party Treasurer. Already the National Union of Railwaymen and the Vehicle Builders have given him their backing.

In standing for Treasurer, Bevan acts in sharp contrast to the Right Wing. Having been rejected by the rank and file, a special seat was created for Herbert Morrison on the N.E.C. Gaitskell, also rejected by the rank and file, now stands for a position where the block vote can be utilised for him. Bevan, however, gives up certain election to the N.E.C. for a battle where victory is by no means certain.

The contest between Bevan—who recently resigned from the Shadow Cabinet because of opposition to Right Wing policies—and Gaitskell, the darling of the Right Wing, will be one of the most important at Scarborough. If the opinion of the rank and file finds a reflection in the block vote then Bevan will win.

The C.L.P.s will be solidly behind Bevan. Left Wingers must ensure the backing of the unions. A victory for Bevan could strike a blow at the Right Wing equal to that of the elections at Morecambe.

## Lyons Strike

MEMBERS of the E.T.U. employed by the catering establishment of J. Lyons and Co., Ltd., at Cadby Hall have been on strike for ten weeks.

The union has now appealed to all its members to boycott the shops owned by this company. We are sure this appeal will find a response among trade unionists everywhere. The old trade union slogan "an injury to one is an injury to all" has real significance in this fight.

All success to the E.T.U.

## LET LABOUR ACT ON THIS NOW!

AT the 33rd Annual Conference of the Labour Party at Hastings in 1933, the following resolution was carried unanimously:

"This conference views with the most grave disquiet the steady drift of the international situation towards war; the continued failure of governments assembled at Geneva to check developments in this direction; and the manifest determination of governments individually to retain and to strengthen their armaments: a policy which, if not checked, by itself makes war a certainty; places on record its conviction that the working class of any country has no quarrel with the working class of another country and extends to our fellow workers abroad the ex-

pression of our good will and fraternity, and believing that as the British Labour Party is now by far the largest and most powerful working-class party, both nationally and internationally, it should take the lead in formulating proposals for securing the fullest possible co-operation between all sections of the Labour Movement, instructs the National Executive Committee, in conjunction with the Trades Union Congress and the Co-operative Movement:

(a) To launch vigorous propaganda to counter in advance those tendencies in the present social system which predispose large sections of the population to respond readily to a war appeal and stressing:

- (i) The growing acuteness of the war danger;
  - (ii) The appalling nature of the modern methods of warfare and their results;
  - (iii) The economic crisis and the deepening of imperialist and capitalist rivalries as a direct cause of war;
  - (iv) The growth of fascism and its relation to war;
- (b) To work within the Labour and Socialist International for an uncompromising attack against war preparations;
- (c) To pledge itself to take no part in war and to resist it with the whole force of the Labour Movement and to

seek consultation forthwith with the Trade union and co-operative movements with a view to deciding and announcing to the country what steps, including a general strike, are to be taken to organise the opposition of the organised working-class movements in the event of war or threat of war, and urges the national joint bodies to make immediate approaches and endeavour to secure international action by the workers on the same lines."

Dalton accepted the resolution on behalf of the N.E.C. His only criticism was: "The resolution does not carry us perhaps quite far enough" (1)

## ASIA OR WASHINGTON?

### Labour Must Decide

DELHI and Washington pinpoint the world's major problems. These two conferences reflected irreconcilable forces: the colonial people of Asia, struggling for emancipation, and the Wall Street imperialists who wish to keep them enslaved.

"If I had been given support in 1919 I would have smashed the Bolshevik revolution" declared Churchill at a Washington press conference. This still remains the main war aim of the imperialists.

#### CHINA ENTERS WORLD DIPLOMACY

Chou en Lai the representative of New China emerged at Geneva as a most publicised diplomat—and this was no accident. For the first time in history, the great revolution sweeping Asia had its representative present at a meeting of the Great Powers.

It is this mighty force of social revolution which has upset for all time the stranglehold of imperialism in the colonial world. During the conference sessions the cor-

rupt Laniel government tottered and fell while the role of Eden was that of a messenger boy scurrying from one delegation to another collecting a few diplomatic crumbs for the sagging pouch of British imperialism.

The conference at Delhi revealed in its own way the power of revolution on the diplomatic field. India has been for a long time a key diplomatic objective in the cold war. Nehru met Chou-en Lai not because he loves communism (indeed many communists and

militant workers languish in his jails) but because he feels the pressure of the movement for colonial freedom. The conference represented a major diplomatic triumph for the Chinese government.

#### WHITHER BRITISH LABOUR?

Labour M.P.s who congratulated Eden in the House last week wrote one of the blackest chapters in our party's history in the field of foreign policy. For in essence such action means support for imperialism and its war preparations. The differences between Eden and Dulles are tactical, not fundamental. They boil down to a question of how best to do the job of holding down the colonial peoples and carrying on war preparations. In this criminal objective Wall Street holds the whip hand, politically and economically. Any independence displayed by the Tory government flows from the desire

to get a better deal here and there for the City of London, but it cannot be decisive in the long run.

It is a betrayal of socialist principles to shower congratulations on people who will not hesitate when the time is opportune to emerge as the most blood-thirsty warmongers.

The sympathies of British Labour must be entirely with the colonial people. This does not mean supporting in advance decisions reached behind closed doors by Nehru and Chou en Lai. We reserve our right to criticise or oppose them if necessary. But it does mean taking sides in the struggle of the colonial people against imperialism. There can be no neutrals on this question.

## Pay Revolt

**PAY REVOLT IN THE COMMONS: LABOUR WILL WAGE TOTAL WAR ON THE GOVERNMENT.** So ran the headlines last week.

An emergency meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party had decided to take action following the refusal of the Tory Government to increase M.P.s salaries.

Undoubtedly the attitude of the Tories is born out of a desire to make cheap electoral publicity. Tory M.P.s with private incomes of course do not face the same financial problems as Labour representatives who are not so wealthy. But in face of the sudden upsurge of militancy over this question among Labour M.P.s the rank and file of the movement are entitled to ask some questions.

If pairing was cancelled, and "total war" threatened over M.P.'s salaries, why not over that pernicious piece of class legislation—the Rents and Repairs Bill? Why not stump the country in a campaign for Old Age Pensioners? Why not an M.P.'s revolt over the Tory government's colonial activities or over the many other ways it carries on its policies in the interests of the class it represents?

Perhaps our Parliamentary Labour Party will show the same militancy in relation to the wage claims of the workers. As they took action immediately a refusal was given, can we now have a greater sympathy with workers who also take action without waiting to go through long-winded "procedure."

## Xmas Bazaar

A committee has now been set up to organise the Xmas Bazaar for "Socialist Outlook". All shareholders and readers who can help should get in touch at once with George Ellis, 177 Bermondsey Street, S.E.1. Telephone HOP 3227.

#### Socialist Outlook Editorial Board

M. BANDA, G. HEALY, W. HUNTER, T. MERCER, JACK STANLEY

All correspondence must be addressed to the Editorial Board  
177 Bermondsey Street,  
London, S.E.1  
Phone: HOP 3227

## The Colonels Take Over

THE blatant act of imperialist intervention in Guatemala has aroused the whole of Latin America. The government of Honduras, whose President—Dr. Juan Manuel Galvez—for many years was the legal representative of the American United Fruit Company, is now so busy putting down popular manifestations in support of Guatemala, that it has been unable to give effective aid to the rebels. There have been demonstrations of students and workers in most Latin American countries, denouncing the invasion.

#### U.N. EXPOSED

The whole fraud of the United Nations and the Security Council has been exposed for all to see. When the Korean war broke out it was a matter of days for the United States to get the Security Council to agree on intervention to "halt aggression". Now the United States effectively blocks a quick decision.

The U.S. representative on the Security Council greeted the Russian delegate's speech with a snarl: "stay out of the American hemisphere." What nerve for the representative of an imperialist power which almost arrived at the very frontiers of the Soviet Union in the Korean war.

The Guatemalan crisis has not only exposed the United Nations Organisation. It has once again shown the hollowness of America's claim to be the champion of the "free world". Alone of all the Central American republics

(Mexico excepted) Guatemala is ruled by a constitutional government elected by popular vote. Colonel Jacobo Arbenz received 65 per cent. of the votes in the Presidential election of 1950. The coalition parties which support him won 40 of the 56 seats in the Congressional elections which followed.

Reports from Washington state that Sir Winston Churchill is considering ways of reconciling the British and American points of view on Guatemala. What happened in Spain during the Civil War is being repeated. The constitutionally elected, leftist government is denied arms while the reactionary rebels will be well supplied with modern weapons by foreign imperialist masters.

As in Spain, the reactionary

A 'rootin', tootin' McCarthyite went down to Guatemala to fight in the United Fruit rebellion against the government. He is Joseph Rendon, who last month was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress from New Mexico. During World War II, Rendon was an agent for the O.S.S. in Guatemala. The O.S.S. was the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency. Rendon wrote to a pal that he had found "Communist infiltration" in Guatemala in 1944 but that his request for action had been "sabotaged by Democratic pinks and Reds in Washington."

forces, backed by foreign capital, bomb open and defenceless cities.

The Wall Street intervention appears at this stage to have had some success against its opponents—deprived as they are of arms by the "democratic" world. Under the pressure of American imperialism and its puppet governments in Central America, the Guatemalan army leaders are capitulating to the rebels under Colonel Armas. The "Times" reported on June 29: "What was evidently disturbing Guatemalan military leaders was not so much the ground strength of their opponents, but the support by modern aircraft, which has done considerable damage and has been undermining morale."

#### COMMUNIST PARTY OUTLAWED

President Arbenz fled into exile last Sunday. The first military junta under Colonel Diaz then took over. It outlawed the Communist Party and carried through others of Armas' own demands. The military caste was obviously attempting to end the support of Wall Street for Armas by indicating that they too were prepared to become its servants. However, this junta was shortlived. Armas served an ultimatum that unless it began treating with him to end the fighting by a certain time, his forces would bomb Guatemala City. When the terms were refused, the capital was bombed and strafed during the night and the junta collapsed.

Another military officer, Manzana, has now taken over. Right Wing politicians arrested under Arbenz have been released. "Reds" are being herded into prison. Manzana has expressed his willingness to treat with the invaders. Unless the workers and peasants of Guatemala can find the means to carry on the struggle it seems that Wall Street will have its way.

It will be a temporary victory. The puppet government of American Big Business will be able to rule only by ruthless dictatorship. The Guatemalan people will rise again. They will have the sympathy and support of other workers and peasants of Latin America who have been incensed by this latest act of imperialist rape. They must have the sympathy and fighting support of British Labour.

# THESE ARE YOUR TORY LEADERS

## The Other Eden | This is Churchill

**F**EW of our contemporary figures have received the myth treatment to a greater extent than Anthony Eden, leader-designate of the Tory Party and Churchill's probable successor as Prime Minister (this side of a general election, of course).

Eden, the Tory Crown Prince for so long, has been handled by the press and radio in much the same way as the Duke of Windsor was when he was heir apparent to the British throne.

The picture built up in the public eye is of an Eden always striving for peace; Eden, the great democrat. Indeed, the implication often is that he is only in the Conservative Party by accident, and that his real place is with the Labour Party. Alas! even some of our Labour leaders have helped to build the Eden legend (just as they have helped build the Churchill myth). And right now they're doing it again by hailing "Eden the Peacemaker."

Eden "has always been a vigilant fighter in the interests of British imperialism and as devoted to the profit motive as any Tory. And what else have we to expect from one who, as a director of the Westminster Bank, Rio Tinto, Ltd., and Phoenix Assurance was directly associated with Finance Capital?"

But, it will be asked, is there not some basis to the myth? Did Eden not resign from the pre-war Chamberlain government over the Hoare-Laval agreement to double-cross Abyssinia? Or was it Munich?

It is indeed strange how many people are confused about the real reason why Eden resigned. It is high time to take a closer look at this Prince Charming and see how he emerges from such a scrutiny.

### THE HOARE-LAVAL PLAN

In 1935, Fascist Italy launched a brutal attack on the last remaining independent African territory—Abyssinia. The Emperor of Abyssinia appealed to the League of Nations to impose sanctions against the aggressor. To forestall this, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare (now Lord Templewood) and Laval of France proposed to end the war by ceding to Italy more Abyssinian territory than, at that time, she had taken by force of arms.

There can be no doubt that Sir Samuel would not have appended his signature to that agreement without the full approval of the Baldwin government. And Anthony Eden was a member of that government as Minister without Portfolio in special charge of League of Nations affairs.

Unfortunately for the government, public opinion was so outraged by the Hoare-Laval proposals that it threatened to bring the government down. Sir Samuel Hoare was offered up as a sacrificial scapegoat. The Baldwin government was saved, and An-

thony Eden became Foreign Secretary.

### THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

In the first phase of the civil war in Spain, Anthony Eden did little to conceal the fact that his sympathies lay with the fascist insurgents.

On November 19, 1936, when the question of German and Italian aid to Franco was raised in the House of Commons, the Foreign Secretary whitewashed the foreign interventionists and stated that "there are other governments more to blame than either Germany or Italy."

While the fascist planes were pouring arms and troops into Spain to help Franco, Britain clung to the "non-intervention" formula and refused arms to the legitimate Spanish government.

As the civil war proceeded, however, differences began to develop within the British ruling class. There were some who hailed the fascist victories with unconcealed joy. Others, however, began to fear that the outcome might threaten Britain's hegemony in the Mediterranean, which Mussolini was now openly calling "Mare Nostrum" ("Our Sea").

### THAT RESIGNATION

Eden and Churchill shifted their position from support of Franco and expressed growing apprehensions at the threat to British imperialist interests if Italy should become the dominant Mediterranean power.

Neville Chamberlain, on the other hand, was seeking an accommodation with the fascist powers. This was the phase of "appeasement" in British foreign policy.

When Chamberlain eventually began to treat with Mussolini over the head of Eden, it was more than he could stomach and this was the issue over which he resigned.

He remained, however, a loyal

*We present here short background studies of the two foremost representatives of British Toryism. Churchill is the leader of the Tory Party; Eden is everywhere being designated as his successor.*

*These two spoke for the British capitalist class this week in Washington.*

*What type of politician are they, and what anti-Labour forces do they represent? The answer is in the two articles on this page.*

### By C. Van Gelderen

member of the Tory Party and continued to vote with the government in the House. There is no record of any notable opposition on his part to Munich.

So much for history. It shows that Eden has always been a vigilant fighter in the interests of British imperialism and as devoted to the profit motive as any other Tory. And what else have we the right to expect from one who, as a director of the Westminster Bank, Rio Tinto, Ltd., and Phoenix Assurance, was directly associated with Finance Capital?

If today he is less anxious than his American opposite numbers to plunge into a new world war, it is not because he is a man of peace, but because he does not believe that, at this juncture, British imperialism can survive such a war.

Man of peace? Good heavens! He is second in command of a government which at this very moment is waging active war against the people of Kenya, Malaya, Uganda and British Guiana. At the appropriate moment, he will not hesitate to give the order to extend operations.

Let us, once and for all, write finis to the Eden myth; and recognise him for the dangerous Tory politician that he is!

It is almost incredible, the alacrity with which some of our Labour leaders fall under the spell of Winston Spencer-Churchill. He has only to utter a few honeyed phrases about peace and democracy and they rush to join his fawning sycophants. Forgotten is his past—his not-so-distant past, when he was first among the war-mongers. Forgotten is his long record of anti-labour, anti-socialist activities. Churchill says "peace" and they all fall down and salaam before him.

The motto of the ducal house of Marlborough, from which



## War Plans at Washington

**W**HEN the visit of Churchill and Eden to Washington was discussed in the House of Commons last week, Labour speakers were carefully "non-controversial." Their speeches were larded with congratulations to Eden. One Labour M.P.—Woodrow Wyatt—went so far as to declare that Anthony Eden, Conservative leader and Foreign Minister was carrying out a *Socialist foreign policy*.

Now the Washington talks are over. The "men of peace" have issued their communique. And the criminal folly of creating illusions in the foreign policies of Toryism is clearer than ever.

### EDEN DOES NOT SPEAK FOR US

Eden never has, does not, and never will represent the interests of the British working people. The diplomacy of this shrewd politician has only one aim: to protect British capitalism and its empire in a period when it is rocking in its foundations. In pursuit of that aim he flew to Washington with that old guardian of British imperialism—Sir Winston Churchill.

The results are clear. What came out of Washington were not preparations for peace but preparations for war.

The Eden-Churchill visit has resulted in a speeding up of the moves toward a South-East Asia Alliance. British and American rulers are going ahead to create this alliance despite the deep-seated opposition of the peoples of Asia, which has prevented the line-up of the Indian government with the war plans.

The statement issued after the Washington meetings declared South-East Asia had been discussed. It announced the government would "press forward with plans for collective defence" there, whatever the outcome of

Geneva. Sir Winston Churchill said later, preparations of plans would begin immediately.

These Washington meetings discussed not only the strengthening of the imperialist front in the Far East, but also in Europe. The problem of German rearmament featured on their agenda. They ended with a warning directed at France and Italy. "Further delay" they declared "of the entry into force of the E.D.C. and Bonn

By  
Bill Hunter

treaties would damage the solidarity of the Atlantic nations."

### UNITED IN WAR STRATEGY

The British and American governments remain united on broad war strategy. Undoubtedly there have been and are differences on immediate military intervention in Asia. Eden revealed in the House of Commons debate that there had been criticism of the British government for refusing to send military aid to French colonialism at the time of Dien Bien Phu. The Tories feel the breath of opposition to imperialist adventures and counter-revolutionary war much hotter than the rulers of the U.S. They want to proceed more cautiously.

However, there is an essential and fundamental unity. Both want to maintain their hold over their possessions, both want to undermine and defeat the colonial revolution, both want to build a firm front of capitalist nations and military bases in Europe, South America, the Middle East and Asia. The Tory government is thus committed absolutely to the Anglo-American Alliance.

The Washington communique expresses that essential unity. The Labour Movement must mark it well.

In the House of Commons debate Eden was overjoyed at what

he called "an expression of national feeling in a situation which commands national unity". The folly of those among the Left who help to foster illusions that Eden can be a "man of peace" rests in this: they help to promote an atmosphere of national unity. The "national feeling" in the House of Commons has resulted in Eden and Churchill being so much more sure of themselves that they can cease foxing around the question of the South-East Asia Alliance. They now openly declare that its immediate preparation is under way, whereas previously they have attempted to cover up with talk of "examination."

### THE TRAP OF "NATIONAL UNITY"

Illusions in Tory politicians are absolutely fatal for the working class and its organisations. In the fight against war Labour cannot base itself on dangerous, nay, criminal hopes in statesmen such as Eden and Churchill. Its base must be in the anti-war sentiments of the working people. To sharpen and expose the differences between it and Tory politicians—that is the task of the Labour Movement.

The fight against war is the most important aspect of foreign policy. Those who believe that Tory, anti-labour, capitalist politicians can bring peace or act in the interests of the Labour Movement in international talks delude themselves. To delude themselves is one thing. To delude others is more serious. For then the vitality of the movement in the struggle against war is undermined. Our main enemy in that struggle is at home. The biggest need for the Labour Movement is to assert its independence against that enemy and to obstruct and expose its plans in every way. To create illusions in its representatives, to give working people the impression they ever can or ever may stand for peace is to undermine the fight against them and help to create that national unity which is capitalism's greatest aid in any war.

Churchill springs, is "Faithful but unfortunate." A study of the lives of the Churchills, right down to the present generation, would suggest that the old Army saying "To hell with Jack, I'm alright" would be a good deal more appropriate.

The very first of the Dukes of Marlborough, the victor of Blenheim, was taken to task by the House of Commons for his "greediness and dishonesty." There were allegations that in ten years he had received £63,000 from head contractors to the Army and that he received 2½ per cent. on the pay of the foreign troops subsidised by England.

His successors added to the family fortunes by similar dubious means. In his book "Our Old Nobility," written in 1905, Howard Evans tells of shady transactions in the acquiring and misuse of Crown Lands, of a Duke who made a small fortune by cutting down and selling timber to which he had no legal right.

Such is the family background of Sir Winston Churchill. No wonder that all his active life has been devoted to the interests of the propertied classes.

### POLITICAL WEATHERCOCK

His political career has been a model of inconsistency. He entered Parliament as a Tory, having been elected in the Khaki Election at the end of the Boer War in 1900. But in the very next election, he stood as a Liberal. The tide was turning against the Tories and a sinking ship was no place for Churchill.

Besides, what did it matter? The Liberals used a few more radical phrases than the Tories—and none was more vehemently radical than the new convert—but he was no less a defender of property and privilege. Churchill could still serve his class in his new allegiance.

But if Churchill's political career has been marked by inconsistency, there have been two consistent factors throughout his public life—his love of war and his hatred of socialism.

Not very bright at school, his father, Lord Randolph Churchill, had wondered what to do with him. Then, observing his fondness for playing with toy soldiers, he decided to send Winston into the Army. He was happiest when in battle. Did he not write about the "intoxicating smell of gunpowder on a battlefield"?

### WORLD WAR I

Churchill, as a member of the Liberal Ministry, helped actively in the preparations for World War I. There are still thousands of maimed men and women in Britain and in Australia and New Zealand who remember the Dardanelles.

To Churchill the outbreak of the European War was not a grim tragedy but the supreme moment of his life. In his book, "Concerning Winston Spencer-Churchill," Sir George Arthur writes:

"His years of preparation were over, the day of action for the Navy had dawned. It has been well said that in every individual life there is one supreme hour towards which all later happenings may be reckoned. It is possible to think that when Big Ben boomed out his eleven fatal strokes Winston Spencer-Churchill felt that he would dwell on every moment of it."

Churchill was anxious to give up his post of First Lord of the Admiralty and take up an active command. Asquith, the Prime Minister at the time, wrote of him: "Having, as he says, tasted blood these last few days he is beginning, like a tiger, to raven for more..."

One of his biographers quoted him as saying "War is a game to be played with a smiling face." The grim price of war, with its deaths and mutilations; its sorrowing widows and orphans; its bereaved parents—was this all part of the game to Churchill?

The Army, for Churchill, was a weapon to be used, not only against the King's enemies abroad, but against the working class at home.

He was Home Secretary in 1910, when the miners of the Rhondda Valley and Aberdare came out on strike. Many of the colliery owners were staunch Liberals

and subscribed to the funds of the Liberal Party. Churchill listened attentively to the appeals from the coalowners and the capitalist press.

### TONYPANDY

A mobile detachment of mounted metropolitan police was sent into South Wales. The miners were infuriated. Meetings of miners were broken up by baton charges. In retaliation, the Strike Committee decided to withdraw the safety men from the mines.

On November 8, 1910, a miners' demonstration was charged by police in Tonypandy Square. In the clash that followed a miner was killed. So intense was the feeling in the valleys, that the police could no longer handle the situation. Winston Churchill decided that soldiers should be sent to reinforce the police.

In the railway strike that followed in August, 1911, the same policy was adopted. Churchill's remedy for strikes was 'shoot them down.' His role in the 1926 General Strike is well-known. Right at the beginning Baldwin gave him command of the Government forces. Churchill said it must now be war. Editing the "British Gazette" he made vicious attacks upon the strikers.

### THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

All his hatred against the working class and socialism summed up in his famous phrase "Labour is not fit to govern," was unleashed when the Russian workers seized power in 1917. The sonorous adjectives rolled out of his mouth as he inveighed against the Bolshevik leaders. His hysterical attacks on Lenin and Trotsky have never been equalled, not even by the late Dr. Goebbels.

By contrast, he was full of enthusiasm for Mussolini and his Fascist bandits. "If I had been an Italian," he said in a carefully prepared statement to the Italian press in 1927, "I am sure that I should have been wholeheartedly with you from start to finish in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism..."

"Externally, your movement has rendered a service to the whole world... Italy has shown that there is a way of fighting the subversive forces which can rally the mass of the people... to defend the honour and stability of civilised society. She has provided the necessary antidote to the Russian poison..."

### PRAISE FOR HITLER

Of Hitler, he wrote, in 1935: "...If our country were defeated I hope we should find a champion as admirable to restore our courage and lead us back to our place among the nations."

This is the Churchill of history. Churchill the implacable enemy of socialism and the working class. A political weathercock whose roots, nevertheless, are deeply embedded in finance capital.

If he talks peace today, it is only the better to prepare for war tomorrow. If he chirrup in friendly tones to the Labour leaders, cock an ear for the angry mutterings under his breath.

"Beware of the Greeks when they bring gifts," said the Trojans. Let Labour beware of a Churchill who brings the promise of peace!

## Withdraw Troops

Streatham Constituency Labour Party has passed the following resolution:—

"That the Streatham Constituency Labour Party considers it essential in the interests of peace and freedom for the peoples of British Guiana, that a policy containing the following points be put into operation.

1. The immediate release of Dr. Jagan and all political prisoners in British Guiana.
2. The restoration of constitutional rule and the scrapping of all emergency regulations.
3. The recall of the Governor and his staff.
4. The unconditional withdrawal of all British Naval and Military forces from British Guiana."

## Socialist Outlook Fighting Fund

The Fighting Fund for last month was £10 2s. 2d. above that of May. Don't relax in July, comrades. Let us now go on to make this month's contributions total well over £52.

Edinburgh readers, 5/-; Nottingham readers, £1; R. Edwards, 11/-; West London readers, £13 12s. 6d.; Leeds readers, £5; S. W. London readers, £2 5s. 6d.; Yorkshire miners, £1; Islington readers, £2 18s. 0d.; Norwood readers, £2 4s. 6d.; M.S.A. Lock-out Committee, £3; R. J. Dutch 10/-; J. Morrison, 10/-; R. J. Johnston, 4/-; Tottenham readers, £2 10s 0d.; Mrs. Humphreys, Tottenham, 15/-; Platt's workers, £2 2s. 0d.; Salford readers, £1; Bacup readers, 4/-; Worcester Park 2/6d.; Well-Wisher, Norwood, 10/-; Miscellaneous, £11 17s. 6d.

Total £52 1s. 6d.



PREPARING FOR SCARBORO' I

Needed: A Policy for the Pits

BOTH the Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers and the Minister of Fuel and Power have stated recently that the position of Britain's coal supplies is precarious and there is the distinct possibility of a shortage during the coming winter.

The usual approach to the problem of raising the output of coal is to examine the situation with main emphasis on the shortage of miners. It is impossible to deny that there exists a serious shortage of manpower, but to confine the analysis of the problem to this one particular aspect is quite unrealistic and betrays lack of understanding of the problems involved.

The miners, as an occupational group, have probably suffered more at the hands of capitalism than any other section of the community and the miner today is acutely conscious of this historical

By Bernard Dix

background. He is aware that if today he is treated a little better than in the past, it is because the immediate situation makes such treatment necessary. He knows that, should the development of international capitalism so demand, the "privileges" which he enjoys at present could disappear almost overnight. It is because of the bitter memories of the past and uncertainty of the future that there has not been a rush of workers to the mining industry—in spite of all the "privileges" now offered as an inducement.

Workers will only be attracted to the mines when two conditions are fulfilled. These are: that the memories of past experiences are overcome; and that no uncertainty exists concerning the future. To these there exists but a single answer—positive policies by the National Coal Board and the Government—Socialist policies. The formulation of such policies now, in preparation for the next Labour Government, is the urgent task of the Labour Movement.

The priority task is to ensure that every miner in the country is being assisted in the performance of his work by the very latest mechanical aids on a large scale. There are two reasons for this. The first is purely the question

of economic efficiency: using machines instead of human muscle. The second is more of a psychological question.

A miner spends a great part of his waking day actually at work, and if the conditions at the place of work are not acceptable then no amount of inducements outside will encourage him to stay in the industry.

PLAN NOT FULFILLED

In 1950 the National Coal Board launched a 15-year plan which envisaged capital investment in the industry of £635 million by 1965, which would raise output to 240 million tons. This plan has now been in operation for some time, but not in any one year has the investment actually reached that envisaged in the plan. By the end of 1952, allowing for price increases, some £138 million should have been invested—the actual investment was only £89 million; last year the investment totalled £48 million instead of the figure of £53 million envisaged. This is "planning" indeed? It is small wonder that at the present time nearly 20 per cent. of all deep-mined coal is still cut by hand, that more than 80 per cent. of it is still loaded by hand, and that over 10 per cent. is still handled to the surface by non-mechanical means.

The equipment necessary for the mechanisation of the industry is manufactured by privately-owned

firms. Is it possible, even given correct policies, for a nationalised industry to engage in any realistic form of planning when it is dependent on uncontrolled capitalism for its capital equipment?

Even "Challenge to Britain" sees the futility of such a situation and proposes to overcome it by the simple expedient of setting up research establishments and acquiring "controlling interest" in a few mining machinery firms. But this will not solve the problem! It will merely mean that public funds will provide for research and development while private capitalists reap the rewards.

There is only one way in which to solve the current problems facing the mining industry and at the same time ensure that the development of the industry—and its ancillary industries—is in a correct direction.

First, a plan for the re-capitalisation and mechanisation of the industry. If expense is the problem then the compensation to the ex-coal-owners must be cut—they have already received £250 million in government stock and are expected to receive a further £80 million or so. Let those who show any sort of sloppy sentiment about this be reminded that these same owners collected rich sums from the industry in profits before nationalisation. In the twenty years between 1893 and 1913 alone

some £332 million in profit was paid out of the industry. To continue paying out compensation while the industry is in need of money for capital re-equipment is criminal folly.

Secondly, the firms manufacturing mining machinery must be nationalised and placed under the control of the National Coal Board. Half measures, such as those envisaged in "Challenge to Britain," will not suffice. Only by complete nationalisation will it be possible to control all aspects of the industry.

Last, but by no means least, it must be fully recognised that nationalisation is but a stage in the development towards Socialism and not an end in itself. There must be a great deal of emphasis on providing the necessary means for a positive form of workers' control over the management of the industry. Only in this way will it be possible to defeat the machinations of the capitalists on one hand and prevent the growth of a bureaucracy on the other.

The problem of the coal mining industry is a direct challenge to the British Labour Movement—it cannot be overcome by temporary expedients of a capitalist character but needs the application of realistic Socialist policies. It is up to the rank and file of the Movement to demand that these policies are implemented.

PREPARING FOR SCARBORO' 2

This Is Not A Socialist Policy

THE pamphlet issued on June 21 by the National Executive Committee\* confirms two facts already long-established. The first is that the capitalist governments of Britain and America are bent on war, and see the rearmament of Adenauer's reactionary régime as an essential part in their war preparations. The second is that, in their ruthless war drive, the imperialists have no more shameless supporters than Labour's Right Wing.

\* In Defence of Europe, Labour Party, 4d.

It is necessary, indeed—before proceeding to an examination of the "argument" set out in the pamphlet—to stress the fact that what is presented here is the viewpoint of a section of the Labour leadership, and not at all of the Labour rank and file. The rank and file expressed themselves quite clearly on this question at Margate last October, when the Party conference went on record against the rearmament of Germany.

By John Fairhead

Yet Transport House dares to sub-title its statement "Labour's view on the question of a West German contribution to the European Defence Community." And it does so on the basis of a majority of only two votes at the meeting of the Parliamentary Party, when the question was decided in Attlee-Morrison's favour only by the importation of the usually sleeping partners from the House of Lords.

Running like an open sore through all the arguments in this pamphlet is the assumption of German war guilt; and with a sickening display of whining apology the N.E.C. asks us "whether the time has not come to fulfil the promise of the Potsdam declaration and allow democratic Germany—that is the Federal Republic—to take their place among the free and peaceful peoples of the world".

The Left in the Labour Movement must have nothing to do with this kind of muddle-headed, patriotic confusionism. It was not the "Germans" who started the last war; that war was the direct result of the world crisis of capitalism, which is also the cause of the present drive to World War III. Once clear on this, the Party ranks will be equipped to sort out the whole problem of German rearmament in a manner consistent with basic socialist principles.

For a note of warning is here in order. The pamphlet seeks to profit by the confused thinking and "patriotic" illusions of many opponents of German rearmament within the Party by making play with all kinds of bogus "internationalist" phrase-mongering. "Socialists," it boldly declares, "cannot accept the indefinite subjection of a people to alien domination." A remarkable discovery, this, on the part of the Right Wing who will, one hopes, extend the scope of this generalisation to include Malaya and Kenya, as well as Western Germany!

Nowhere does the pamphlet propose the obvious answer: withdrawal of troops. Faced with such a demand, the Right Wing resorts to the cry "You cannot solve the problem by leaving a vacuum" (Mr. Attlee on February 12, 1951, quoted in the pamphlet).

In politics, there is no such thing as a "vacuum": there is only the question of power. Who holds the power? That is the first question which socialists ask themselves in any situation: that is their yardstick by which to measure their attitude to any state or government. In Western Germany, power is clearly held, in the words of Morgan Phillips (Margate, 1953) by the "barons of the Ruhr, and the old reactionary military forces, backing the Adenauer government" (quoted in "Tribune," June 25, 1954). Yet the pamphlet exults in the fact that "the result of the elections (in Western Germany, September, 1953) was a clear majority for the Adenauer government which had made the E.D.C. one of the main planks of its programme."

If the armies of occupation were withdrawn, the main prop of the Adenauer régime would be knocked away from it. If they were withdrawn, the thunder would be stolen from the neo-Nazi extremists, who seek to rally nationalist opinion on a platform

American Newsletter

Support for Guatemala

New York, June 24, 1954

AS of this writing the U.S. government - inspired movement to overthrow the government of Guatemala appears to have bogged down in the absence of any popular support for the counter-revolutionary movement.

The one thing that the hirelings of the United Fruit Company have certainly accomplished is the sparking of a strong new wave of opposition to American imperialism throughout Central and South America. The report in today's press of the militant pro-Guatemala, anti-U.S. demonstration in Honduras is but one expression of that mood.

Here in the U.S. the capitalist press is unanimous, if in some cases a bit shamefaced, in its support of this nakedly imperialist-sponsored venture. The liberal daily, the "New York Post" declared editorially on June 21, "We have intervened to combat that thrust. ('Russian intervention') No austere disclaimers can hide our role.

"...We have plainly encouraged the rebels... We may have compromised certain cherished moral positions in undertaking this counter-intervention. But the underlying sham is the Russian claim..." etc.

The most clear and unambiguous

declaration of support to the Guatemalan people from within the U.S. has come from the Socialist Workers Party. In a letter to Secretary of State Dulles, released to the press today, Farrell Dobbs, the Party's National Secretary, declared, "In the name of the S.W.P. I demand that you immediately halt your conspiracy to overthrow by force and violence the democratically-elected government of Guatemala... Call off your hired mercenaries! Let the people of Guatemala determine their own social, economic and political system!"

In a letter sent simultaneously to the president of Guatemala, the S.W.P. declared its support of "the right of Guatemala to settle its own affairs without armed interference from American Big Business."

McCarthy Still Strong

With the close of the McCarthy-Army hearings, it has become painfully clear to those who looked to the Eisenhower administration to curtail the fascist Senator from Wisconsin that their hopes were but wishful thinking.

Many liberal commentators are now expressing the view that at least as a result of the widely viewed televised sessions of the hearings McCarthy has lost a substantial degree of support.

The facts do not bear out this contention. Many people did become strongly anti-McCarthy as a result of the hearings. But at the same time serious political observers, the press and public opinion analysts are almost unanimous in agreeing that since the hearings those who support McCarthy are even more firm in their allegiance to America's would-be Hitler.

The "Christian Science Monitor", which has an excellent reputation for reliability in reporting the news, finds, on the basis of a national survey, that since the hearings began McCarthy "has been more than holding his own."

The survey also demonstrates that McCarthy's support is far greater than is generally realised. The Monitor concludes that there now exists "what may be a hard core of about one-third of American public opinion in his favour."

One of the main reasons why McCarthy has made such progress is that he has so far avoided a direct collision with the powerful American trade union movement. Up to now he has faced only miserably ineffectual opponents in the Eisenhower wing of his own party and in the Democratic party.

But when McCarthy does attempt to unleash his long-planned attack on Labour it will be a very different story. Seventeen million strong, the American trade union movement has never suffered a decisive defeat on the picketline. It is a ponderous giant that moves into action slowly. But once it does start moving no power can stop it.

H. Ring

to the Right even of Adenauer. There would remain, not a vacuum, but a way for the coming to power in Western Germany of a socialist government pledged to the re-unification of the country on a socialist basis.

One of the most disgusting allusions in the pamphlet is to the conference in February, 1954, of European socialists. Three delegations at this conference did not participate in the discussion on German rearmament—because their governments were neutral on the issue! Their masters' voices with a vengeance! "Of the remaining eleven parties," the pamphlet triumphantly declares, "ten supported E.D.C. Only the German Social Democratic Party opposed." "Only," indeed! Here the veil is torn back for a moment, and we are treated to a glimpse of the real "internationalism" of the Right Wing.

The document claims the West German socialists are not opposed to a "West German contribution," but only to E.D.C. They would accept, it alleges, "direct membership of N.A.T.O."

Whether or not that is true of some German socialist leaders, it is not—and can never be—the real viewpoint or the true interest of the German, any more than of the British working class.

Continued on page 4

Good-bye Vitamins

WHEN my son and I collected the orange juice (5d. a bottle) and free cod-liver oil from the Food Office the other day, we were handed a notice from the London County Council simply stating:

"As from June 28, 1954, national dried milk, orange juice, cod-liver oil and vitamin A and D tablets will cease to be issued from Ministry of Food premises and will instead be distributed by the London County Council at various welfare centres and other points."

Listed below were five centres for Battersea and 14 for the vast borough of Wandsworth, where these foods can be had between 10 and 12 a.m. or 2 and 4 p.m. This on one day a week, or more,

By Betty Russell

according to the functioning of the local welfare centre or W.V.S. centre. Up to now they have been supplied by the food offices in the normal office hours, as well as by the Welfare Centres. Ever since the war, babies' vitamins and milk have been high on the asset side in the working-class budget, and the daily dose is a "must" in all mothercraft instruction.

Now the dying Food Ministry has handed over the Baby Foods to the local councils, and sales from food offices are, it seems, to cease without any adequate replacement.

I don't know how it is supposed to work, but clearly the expectant mother who is working will not get her vitamins unless she attends the ante-natal clinic each month.

The case of the hard-pressed working mother whose baby is on dried milk is worse still; at present this can be a family job—big brother or sister or father pops into the food office on a Saturday morning or when shopping. All this will be ruled out. It certainly means a special trip, generally to a "centre" in an out-of-the-way church hall.

Why should the distribution be monopolised by the welfare centres and Women's Voluntary Service? Grandma hands in her cigarette vouchers at the tobacconist's, the milkman brings cheap, liquid milk to the under-fives with no trouble, schools lay on free milk everyday for school-children, and cheap cod-liver oil capsules are also at numerous schools. Could we not use the baby's coupons at the chemists or at the Co-op?

Obviously, once we let this scheme go through, the result is that we shall not collect our vitamins. The poorer babies who need them most will go without, and the others' mothers may buy fresh oranges at 5d. each, and widely-advertised liver-oil and dried milk at luxury prices. Can that be what the government really intends, and is the next step likely to be the cancellation of the whole scheme on the grounds of the flop? This, like the dearer school dinners, would be one more big gain for the Tories.

I do not think we can let this happen. Since the fathers are better organised than the mothers, the trade union movement should have a say here, as well as the Labour Party and co-op guilds. We should insist on a cancellation of the new scheme, and that the food offices keep open with a skeleton staff for "welfare foods" until an adequate method of distribution has been arranged.



THE U.S. GOVERNMENT held a civil defence test recently. In a one-day mock atomic bombing, the U.S. suffered—according to official estimates—a theoretical toll of 8,983,000 killed and 4,053,000 wounded. In more than five years of bombing during the last war Germany suffered a toll of 305,000 civilians dead and 780,000 wounded.

\* \* \*

IN CANADA, unemployment is steadily rising. The Canadian Trades and Labour Congress reports "over 550,000 workers have been on the unemployed rolls, which is more than 10 per cent. of the total labour force." The country now has the biggest wheat surplus in its history; by the end of the crop year it may total 550 million bushels. Last year farm income was 10 per cent. below the 1952 figure.

IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, white supremacists set fire to and burned down the partly-built home of a Negro dentist, Dr. John Nixon. It was being built in a so-called "white" neighbourhood.

\* \* \*

IN PAKISTAN, a nation-wide strike of 350,000 workers has been called for this month. The strike is due to take place unless the government impliments the six-and-a-half-year-old demand of unions in Pakistan for extensive labour legislation.

The 165 trade unions allied with the All-Pakistan Confederation of Labour have passed a resolution calling for a walk-out by workers in mills, plants and factories.

IN NEWARK, AMERICA on June 12 Irvine I. Turner, on his election from Central Ward, became the first Negro ever to be elected to the City Council.

\* \* \*

SIAM is preparing to close all her frontiers in order to carry through a Government purge against "Communists."

\* \* \*

THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT has announced that in 1953 Japan had its worst foreign trade year since 1945—a deficit of more than £350 million.

\* \* \*

HOLLAND has complained to the U.S. against the searching of the Dutch cargo vessel "Waefbrook" at San Juan, Puerto Rico, by U.S. officials.

\* \* \*

IN AMERICA, the Eisenhower administration has called for a drastic cut of 11 per cent. in wheat production.

## PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

## Give These Lads a Future

AS an active member of the Labour League of Youth and one who is anxious to see the League grow into a real mass socialist youth movement, I am very concerned not only by the decline in its membership, but by the very small proportion of young industrial workers among its members.

The great majority of young people in industry, like their elders, are either supporters or sympathisers of the Labour Party. Yet only a minority actually join the League of Youth today.

## LADS AREN'T SATISFIED

Being an apprentice joiner and having some experience of the conditions in my own trade, I know it is certainly not because the lads in industry are satisfied with their conditions and with what the future appears to hold for them.

Go on almost any building site in Britain and examine the conditions of building workers. Often they arrive in the morning wet through after being caught in a rainstorm. The hut in which they hang their coats is a very exceptional one if proper facilities exist for drying the garments.

In winter especially, after a hard morning's work, a hot meal would be very welcome. But unless there is a cafe close at hand, the hot meal is something to conjure in the imagination while gulping sandwiches. Even if there is a cafe, an apprentice's wages don't run to many lunches there.

Sanitary conditions are generally deplorable. The methods of getting a wash before dinner or after leaving work are, to put it quite kindly, crude and inadequate.

## TAUGHT VERY LITTLE

A great part of many apprentices' time is spent in running errands or making tea. Quite often they are kept on jobs which teach them very little, but are profitable to the boss. Both these points are particularly irksome.

*The author of this article is secretary of the North-East Leeds branch and the West Yorkshire Federation of the Labour League of Youth. He is an apprentice in the building trade and a member of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers.*

because so many employers offer as the excuse for the low wages of apprentices the fact that the lads aren't profitable to them, but are being given the opportunity to learn the trade.

Every year many lads break their apprenticeship and stay in the industry as labourers. A big reason for this is that labourers receive full rate at 18, which is 90 per cent. of the full rate for tradesmen. Also, of course, most labourers are on bonus schemes, for which apprentices do not qualify.

The training of apprentices to become efficient tradesmen entails giving them experience on various aspects of the work; not just keeping them on a certain job because it's most lucrative for the

By  
**Barry Feddy**

boss. Many building firms employ only a limited permanent staff and consequently are not always too concerned about what type of tradesmen they "train." If, however, the industry were completely nationalised, from its own point of view it would be anxious to ensure the apprentices were properly trained and given the opportunity of getting experience on various types of work.

## WE WANT DECENT CONDITIONS

Decent rates for apprentices are the only way to make sure lads stay at their trade. Experience has proved that private enterprise is not prepared to spend money for decent conditions and proper facilities.

Britain badly needs new homes, schools and hospitals; the way to get them is through an efficient building industry. That can only be created by nationalisation.

Finally, we have the point which is always the most detested: conscription. This interrupts apprenticeships at 18 in many cases. Even if a lad is lucky and gets deferred, just as he reaches 21 and starts drawing the full rate he is liable to be called up.

Conscription interrupts our training; it also cuts into the building programme. We want to build the things the nation wants, not go overseas and blow to pieces the homes and schools of the colonial peoples.

I have dealt with the building industry because it is, of course, the industry I know something about personally. There must be many Labour League of Youth comrades who work in other industries who know the conditions existing there and the issues about which their fellow-apprentices feel most keenly. By bringing these questions to the fore and working out a policy based on the needs of youth, we can, I am sure, build a vigorous and healthy youth movement.

## An Effort For Nothing

WHENEVER workers ask for a wage increase to meet the increased cost of living, a stock reply awaits them. Tories, "financial experts," the national press, and even many of our Labour leaders all inform them that before further wage increases can be granted, production must be increased.

Now this little refrain has been chorused at the working-class ever since 1945. It hasn't exactly gone unheeded either. Workers have responded to it, as an examination of the production figures will demonstrate.

Taking 1948 as 100, by 1953 production had risen to 111—an increase of 11 per cent. Your wages went up in the same period by 30 per cent. Ah! You see, say the Increase Production brigade, that proves how beneficial it has been to everyone. Yet there is a snag they "forget" about—the cost of living. In the same five years that went up 30 per cent. So actually real earnings haven't increased at all. The effort of the workers was for nothing.

However, you will be happy to know someone recorded a little progress. During 1948, the amount in dividends, interest and reserves set aside by companies—both private and nationalised—was £651 million. By 1953 it was £921 million, an increase of £270 million, or 41 per cent. Well, we don't want to be unfair to the employer, so we will accept he too has felt the rise in living costs of 30 per cent. But 30 per cent. from 41 per cent leaves 11 per cent. By a remarkable coincidence that is just the amount production has gone up.

Perhaps I am misjudging the poor misunderstood employer, but it seems the increased production is a better proposition for him than the ordinary wage earner.

B.P.

## GERMANY

Continued from page 3

"If Labour's foreign policy had at all costs to be different from the Tories', there would be some very strange results," say the authors of the document. Strange results there would certainly be!

On the day when the British Labour Movement realises—as rapidly it is coming to realise—that its class interests, in foreign as in home affairs, are diametrically opposed to those of capitalist imperialism: on that day will be seen what will be, for Attlee-Phillips-Morrison, the strangest result of all. Namely, the removal from leadership of the authors of the pamphlet, whose policies have misled the Movement for so many years.

## OUTLOOK MEETING

AGES and the Industrial Struggle" was the subject of a speech by Harry Ratner at the Leeds "Socialist Outlook" meeting on Sunday, June 20. Harry Ratner is a well-known Manchester shop steward and the chairman of the Labour Publishing Society.

He emphasised that workers were prepared to struggle; the one-day stoppage of engineers on December 2 proved that. But a strong and firm leadership was required.

It was important that unions should not be forced into fighting isolated battles. He felt that unions with wage claims should convene joint conferences and prepare to assist each other.

P. O'Grady made an important point on the basis of his experience at the recent conference of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers. He pointed out that political questions took more time on the conference agenda than ever before—a welcome sign. The A.S.W. decided to oppose German re-armament.

A very good discussion took place at this "Socialist Outlook" meeting. Contributors stressed the need for the paper to run campaigns on industrial issues and to lay emphasis on industrial news.



But, dad, if Mr. Deakin can manage on his wage, why can't we manage on ours?

## NO MORE FROZEN WAGES

ON June 17 the Manchester District Committee of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions went on record as being unanimously opposed to "wage restraint", now being suggested by certain trade union leaders.

While we are not a policy-making body and cannot forward this resolution to the Executive Committee, the fact that the Manchester District Committee has expressed its opposition to this policy of "wage restraint" will indicate the feeling of many thousands of engineers in the Manchester district.

For more than two years the wage freeze policy prevented legitimate wage claims and, despite guarantees, allowed the cost of

By  
**D. Burgess**

living to rise. It will come as a shock to many trade unionists to have to fight the policy of holding down wages when the bargaining power is in the hands of the workers.

The purveyors of "wage restraint" tell the same sad story so often that I marvel they haven't grown a parrot's beak. "We are competing," they tell us, "with foreign industrial output." "The Germans and Japs are undercutting us; you, the workers, must work harder in order to keep your jobs. We cannot purchase raw materials and food unless you put more into the industrial effort."

Now this "you" happens to be all the men and women on the production lines. One would think that we were important enough to get a mention in the "Honours" List; but, lo and behold, it is the big boys of the conference rostrum—who shout the odds on production while we slog it out in grime and sweat—who get the P.C.s, the O.B.E.s and all the compliments of a system of costly follies which, time and again, the

## People, Places and Politics

By Cassia

## RIP VAN WINKLE

LAST week General Sir Richard Gale, the British Commander-in-Chief in Germany, spoke in Bonn concerning the army manoeuvres which are due to begin there in September. He said that one of the main objectives of the manoeuvres was to study the effects of atomic weapons on troops in the field. He expressed the opinion that the troops would be able to evolve methods of dealing with atomic weapons and that the keynote for the soldier on the ground remained—"dig, dig and dig again."

Sir Richard Gale did not explain exactly what this digging was intended to do—whether it was anticipated that the troops could dig themselves in as a defence against atomic attack or whether they should "dig, dig, and dig again" in order to provide the necessary means to dispose of the casualties suffered as a result of such an attack.

One possible explanation is that Sir Richard Gale still thinks in terms of warfare of the 1914-18 vintage—rather like Sir David Maxwell Fyfe when he thinks that a stirrup pump is a suitable means of defence against the hydrogen bomb.

## DEAR OLD PALS

THERE must be something in the atmosphere of the House of Commons which causes Labour M.P.s who inhabit it for any length of time to engage in extravaganzas of praise for the Tory Party and the ruling class. It is not uncommon to read of Labour M.P.s waxing eloquently over the virtues of—say—Sir Walter Monks or Anthony Eden, and proudly proclaiming that, had Labour been in office, exactly the same policy would have been pursued in relation to a certain industrial dispute or a particular aspect of foreign policy.

The latest Labour M.P. to engage in this political backslapping is Tom O'Brien, who took the opportunity, while speaking

at the annual conference of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, to remind the delegates that: "We must take off our hats to that grand old man who, at 80 years of age, is flying the Atlantic tonight." He was referring, of course, to Sir Winston Churchill who, according to Tom O'Brien, speaks for all peace-loving peoples everywhere.

This is not the first time that Tom O'Brien has taken upon himself the task of chief publicity agent for Winston Churchill—readers may remember that just before the Annual Party Conference last year he managed to say some very nice things about the leader of the Tory Party. What really puzzles me is why Tom O'Brien, in view of his outspoken admiration for Winston Churchill, remains in the Labour Party—or doesn't he realise that he is in it?

## ACTION AT LAST

At last the National Executive Committee of the Party has really woken up and begun to conduct a high pressure political campaign. A pamphlet which received nation-wide publicity in the columns of all the newspapers; a whole series of Regional Conferences addressed by leading members of the Party; and a 15-minute broadcast by the leader of the Parliamentary Party—this is indeed action.

It is unfortunate that this magnificent campaign is not directed against the Tories and their allies but against the Left-wing of the Labour Party who are opposed to the re-armament of Germany—which speaks volumes for the outlook of the Party leadership!

## QUOTES FOR THE WEEK

This week I offer three quotes from the same source but at different dates.

1954

"...the grim, ghastly beastliness of reality; the result of two atom bombs, one dropped on Hiroshima, the other on Nagasaki. Eight years later people are still dying from these two bombs, and people are still becoming ill from the deadly disease they contracted. It is difficult to say... whether the 100,000 who were killed outright were more or less fortunate than the 300,000 who lived but were afflicted and of whom over 100,000 died rapidly or lingered on for a while."

William Wainwright, "Daily Worker," June 22, 1954

1945

"The employment of the new weapon on a substantial scale should expedite the surrender of Japan. Valuable lives in the Allied nations will have been saved by the new discovery."

"Daily Worker" editorial the day after Hiroshima, August, 1945.

"The use of the atomic bomb has mercifully shortened the war, with a consequent saving of human life."

"Daily Worker" editorial the day after Nagasaki, August, 1945.

Leeds "Socialist Outlook" readers and shareholders meeting.  
Sunday, July 18, at 7.30 p.m.  
D. FINCH  
(Management Cttee. L.P.S.)  
S.E. Leeds Labour Party  
Rooms, 233 York Road, Leeds.

Is the "SOCIALIST OUTLOOK" in your Local Library?

If not—ASK FOR IT!

## READ

Britain's only T.U. Weekly Newspaper

## The Railway Review

FEARLESS. FACTUAL.  
STIMULATING  
and packed with information.

Price 3d.

Obtainable from any newsagent or bookstall.

## Readers Write...

## Arthur and Strikes

Arthur Deakin was asked by Kingsley Martin in Television's "Press Conference" on June 18 whether we had arrived at a stage of society where strikes and other militant forms of action were no longer required. He gave the forthright reply: he thought we had.

Arthur declared there had been a change of opinion on the part of employing interests which made militancy by employees in the way of strike action less necessary. What could not be got by negotiation and arbitration was unlikely to be got by strike action. The people he negotiated with were "reasonable" beings who had relegated the "wild" men into the backwoods.

It is a pity nobody asked Arthur to explain why we have trade unions at all. Are they simply to provide General Secretaries and other officials with good jobs? Or perhaps to explain to the membership how lucky they are to have such philanthropic employers? If the employers are such "reasonable" beings, they will, obviously, grant wage increases without ever hearing Arthur's eloquent arguments.

This is the conclusion to be reached once you contemptuously throw aside the lessons to be learned from history. Considering the very recent experiences of the engineering, electrical, and

other workers where very meagre wage increases were only offered after the beginning of militant action—and the threat from the rank and file of more to come—it is difficult to see where there has been a "change of opinion on the part of employing interests."

When the trade union movement is rid of the "Arthur Deakins" with their peculiar conceptions of "good" and "bad" employers, "reasonable" and "wild", and is led by people who realise that the employers as a whole will give away nothing; then real and lasting victories can be expected.

London, E.1 Norman Wintrop

## Guatemala

Because one quarter of its estates in Guatemala were nationalised the United Fruit Company plunged three nations into war. Dissatisfied with mere compensation, the U.F.C., in pursuit of its profits, decided that by the slaughtering and blinding of Guatemalan people and the levelling of poor homesteads, war would perhaps teach the "dagoes" that American interests were sacrosanct.

The U.F.C. owns vast lands in every Central American state and almost every South American one, yet the loss of a quarter of their land in little Guatemala caused this reaction in the board rooms of Washington.

The American Department for Inter-American Affairs (former Assistant-Secretary, Mr. Spruille Braden) impressed, no doubt, with the arguments of the United Fruit Company's Public Relations Officer, Mr. Spuille Braden, announced its notorious embargo on aid to Guatemala, whilst stepping up its deliveries of arms, including napalm bombs, to puppet Honduras.

The American delegates blocked every attempt to speed up the matter in the U.N., thus showing glaring inconsistency with their antics over Korea.

London, N.W.11 Antony Steel

## NEW READERS

## SPECIAL TRIAL OFFER

9 issues for 2/-

Fill in and return to:

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK,  
177 BERMONDSEY STREET,  
LONDON, S.E.1.

Name .....

Address .....