

Socialist Outlook

WEEKLY

No. 148

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1954

3d.

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper)

Join the
LABOUR PARTY
TODAY

AND STILL READ
SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

WITCH-HUNTING

THE CASE OF
CLLR. LAKE

(Editorial page 3)

LONDON SHIP-REPAIR STRIKE

EIGHT thousand workers are now on strike at the Port of London. The dispute began on Friday, September 10 when thirty electricians stopped work, as a result of the dismissal of five workers.

The strikers state that since 1942 there has been established in the port the practice that in all cases of redundancy "last in first out" applied. They declare there was a verbal agreement to this effect.

Feeling runs high among ship repair workers in London. Platers, boiler-makers, fitters, welders and shipwrights have stopped work in sympathy with the electricians. Members of the General and Municipal, and Transport and General Workers Unions have agreed to support them and are 95 per cent. out.

The workers feel that the employers are attempting to break down established practices in the port which protect trade union militants and older members. Since 1942, employers who required electricians engaged them from an employment register at the union district office.

The employers are claiming the right to "hire and fire" as they please. Prior to the union register being established the men seeking employment had to tout the

One of the strikers told **SOCIALIST OUTLOOK** "The Confederated Trades Joint Port Shop Stewards Council have given us their full support by blacking all electricity in Ship repair depots in the port.

"The employers", he declared, "endeavoured to smash this ban by sackings, lock-outs and so on. This has provoked more strikes as these brothers have to protect themselves."

The strikers have expressed their determination to remain on strike until the employers give a written agreement that the established principle of "last in first out" shall be applied. "It is evident that gentlemen's agreements don't work", said a striker, "the employers appear to be no gentlemen."

Left Must Press the Offensive Lesson of Scarborough'

S CARBOROUGH is confirming one point up to the hilt. If the Right Wing retained control of the Labour Party, it is by virtue of the machine and the machine alone. At Morecambe in 1952, this machine was badly shaken by the devastating onrush of Left Wing opinion which practically wiped out the Morrison group representing the C.L.P.s. Two things have happened since then. Both are part of the same process.

Whereas in 1952 the political discussion, whilst instinctively sound, was vague and general, this showed a distinct improve-

By
G. Healy

ment last year at Margate, and an even greater improvement this year at Scarborough.

On the other, hand the Right Wing combination of top trade



"Is this not supporting?" asked an **OUTLOOK** salesman of Herbert Morrison as he purchased a copy. "No, No," he said, "it's not written in the Act."

union and Party apparatus men which was shaken in 1952, has, undoubtedly consolidated and strengthened itself since then. The first-aid specialist responsible for this artificial respiration is Herbert Morrison. He has now thoroughly organised his faction to stamp out the growing political strength of the Left.

HEAD-ON COLLISION

That is what makes this year's conference so significant. We have a party hierarchy cemented together by the block vote of a few big trade unions trying to hold down a movement which represents all that is best in British Labour.

Scarborough is the venue of a head-on collision and it is essential that we are prepared for the developments that must inevitably

To fight the Morrison set-up two things are required. The first is a Socialist policy and the second is the will to fight for such a policy. Here; a word of advice to some well-meaning, but misguided, people who believe it is possible to pacify the Right Wing and at the same time slip in a few progressive ideas behind their backs.

Such an attitude is suicidal in the present situation. The Right Wing mean business — nobody should have illusions on that score. That is the significance of the ban on **SOCIALIST OUTLOOK**.

The Left in the trade unions and the Labour Party must unite to defend their rights and continue the political offensive.



"I suppose I shall be banned for doing this," said Nye Bevan, as he bought a copy of **SOCIALIST OUTLOOK**.

FIFTEEN out of twenty-five members of the A.E.U. delegation at Scarborough issued the following statement:

"We, the undersigned A.E.U. delegates to the annual Labour Party Conference at Scarborough desire to make it known to the members we represent in our various divisions, that the Executive Council have not permitted us to vote on behalf of our members, for the trade union representatives, women members of the National Executive Committee, the Conference Arrangements Committee nor the Treasurership of the Party."

The Fight on Foreign Policy

Scarborough—Monday
HAROLD DAVIES set the keynote for the Foreign Affairs debate today when he called on Conference to fight for a Foreign Policy for the forthcoming elections which would be different to the Foreign policy of the Tories. He was moving the following composite resolution:

"This Conference records its opposition to any security pact in South-East Asia that excludes any nation which is prepared to join and in particular is opposed to any military commitment in Asia and the Pacific that has as its purpose the encirclement of China and therefore, opposes the present S.E.A.T.O. organisation."

Out of the 1,200 million people in South-East Asia, he said, only the comparative few in the Philippines, Siam and Pakistan were represented at the Manila Conference.

He made a heated attack on Mr. Attlee's flirtation with S.E.A.T.O. It would be a betrayal of our friends in India, Burma, and Indonesia which Mr. Attlee was so lavish in praising.

The battle going on in this conference was a battle for the destiny of the world. To reject this resolution would be the height of "unrealism" in foreign policy. This pact, concluded without

GERMAN REARMAMENT: Mass of Party Opposed N.E.C. Formula for Aiding Eden

Scarborough—Tuesday
IN the German rearmament debate, Attlee, moving the emergency resolution on behalf of the N.E.C., repeated all the well-worn arguments which the Right Wing have been trotting out for the past twelve months.

He did not forget to castigate the German people as a special sort of people, infected with the virus of nationalism to a greater degree than any other people. We cannot give complete freedom to Germany because of the danger of aggressive nationalism: we must be careful not to play into the hands of the reactionaries, he said, and concluded this could only be done by restrictions on Germany.

Alan Birch of U.S.D.A.W. said there could be no possibility of peace or stabilisation while Germany was artificially divided. The German Social Democrats were absolutely right in insisting on the priority of unification.

George Brown, for the Right Wing, spoke about the necessity of negotiating from strength. Our best bet was to organise the forces of western defence to fill the vacuum caused by an unarmed Germany.

Desmond Donnelly, M.P. for Pembroke, tried to explain a change of front from opposing German rearmament, but his remarks were drowned in jeers and catcalls especially when he appeared to be attacking Bevan on the platform.

Campbell — National Union of Railwaymen—said the real issue was not whether Germany should

be rearmed, it was a question of war or peace. The greatest danger in the world today on sides of the Iron Curtain was emotion of fear.

As a consequence of this millions of people were unemployed today. People who want to live their lives in peace. This great socialist movement help them abate this fear, not agreeing to the emergency resolution, but by saying to our comrades all over the world we prepared to march in the opposite direction.

Delegate Lewis — Sutton Cheam C.L.P. — replying to sneers of Ernest Jones of National Union of Mineworkers said he had the right to organise arms for Germany without calling a communist or foreign traveller. He quoted the words of John Maclean: "I am a

The voting on German rearmament was as follows:

3,270,000
Against: 3,022,000
For the composite motion moved by the Foundry Workers: 2,910,000.
Against: 3,281,000.

ber of the Socialist Army. damn every other Army."

Herbert Morrison, replying to the N.E.C. covered up the issues involved by posing the whole issue as a struggle between democracy and totalitarianism. He made not a single reference to the fact that rearming Western Germany today was arming a capitalist Germany of the Ruhr industrialists, and the financial magnates. Not a word that E.D.C., N.A.T.O. were part and parcel of the American imperialist bloc, an integral part of Wall Street drive to war and world domination.

Ronald Casasola who moved the composite motion on behalf of the Foundry Workers' Union said that his union was against rearmament whether in East or West Germany, because he believed that it would lead to

His strongest point was that German Social Democratic was opposed to German rearmament. The election results showed the German people were against Adenauer. Casasola's speech was greeted with loudest applause of this conference, led by Nye Bevan from the platform.

HE STARTED IT!
It's not the **SOCIALIST OUTLOOK** the Executive Committee after, a delegate remarked it's Caxton, the man who invented the Printing Press

★
P.C. ALICE
"Are you a member of the Party," demanded Alice from a **SOCIALIST OUTLOOK** seller. "How do you think this compatible with membership?" — our readers can imagine the reply—

★
OVERHEARD AT THE AGENTS BALL
"East Salford is for chopper after the Conference must clear out the **SOCIALIST OUTLOOK** people there costs."

Threat to Livelihood of Birkenhead Dockers

MR. P. J. O'HARE, the Merseyside District Secretary of the T. & G.W.U. has threatened to "lock out" the dockers in Birkenhead who have signed forms to join the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers' Union.

"The agreement on which the port labour scheme is worked out is one made with the T. & G.W.U.," he said last week-end. The Birkenhead branch of his union have posted notices inviting 1,000 men to register at once for their waiting list and thus replace dockers who want to join the N.A.S.D.U.

DEEP-SEATED GRIEVANCES

From the seriousness of the step which these dockers took, it can only be concluded that they had deep-seated grievances against the Transport and General Workers' Union. What an attitude this union displays when it tries to bludgeon them into line by attempting to deprive them of their livelihood!

And what about that "constitutionalism" which officials of the Transport and General so often ask their members to follow?

of the T. & G.W.U. rejected the principle of a closed shop. Now surely O'Hare is operating it in the worst possible manner.

According to the **DAILY EXPRESS** Mr. O'Hare declared: "The men who sign up will become members of my union when they start work. We were not bluffing last week."

Thus non-unionists will be employed. These men will join the T. & G.W.U. only to take jobs away from others. Or is the Transport Union attempting to "poach" members from other unions by offering them a job on the docks?

In reply to these moves, Mr. Bill Johnson, a Birkenhead dockers' leader said: "I would like to see Mr. O'Hare trying to lead the thousand men to work at the Birkenhead docks. A job on the docks may not be a very good one, but we are going to hang on to it and try to make it a better one without the aid of Mr. O'Hare."

"Birkenhead dockers would like to know by whose authority the notices were posted, and also what the employers will have to say about the safe and satisfactory turn round of ships."

We asked Dick Barrett, general

secretary of the N.A.S.D.U. for his opinion. He declared there was nothing in the Dock Labour Scheme which specifies that workers must be members of the T. & G.W.U.

He informed us that when the Ministry of Labour first proposed the scheme a public inquiry under the chairmanship of Mr. John Cameron, K.C., met to hear objections. The N.A.S.D.U. then strove to have inserted in the scheme a condition that each man employed should be a member of the appropriate trade union. This was not agreed to.

NON-UNIONISTS IN HULL

"What is the T. & G.W.U. going to do about the non-unionists who work on Hull docks?" he asked.

"The men should keep in accordance with the scheme," he said, "they should not allow themselves to be provoked. Utterances of this kind indicate the trend of thought of paid officials toward them."

"If this is what officials you pay think of you, what can you expect from the employers who are your traditional enemy?"

Socialist Outlook

EVERY FRIDAY

77 Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1

HOP 3227

Fight On Foreign Policy

Continued from page 1

coincides — the Tories. But if Scarborough rejected this Tory foreign policy and voted for a Socialist foreign policy it could electrify the electorate.

Speaking on the resolution calling for the banning of the atomic and hydrogen bombs, **Stringer** of Coventry said it was not enough to press resolutions.

Coventry took the initiative in taking action to focus attention of the world on the menace which faces us. Coventry has had to fight, not only their political opponents but also one of the most respected leaders of our movement (Herbert Morrison).

Tauney (South - East Derbyshire) said his constituency Labour Party had no desire to be dragged into war in defence of American imperialism. He was not convinced the American Government understood the point of view of the rest of the Western World.

Roberts (A.E.U.) supporting the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons, said members of his union were not happy that their skills should be used to make weapons of mass destruction.

Noel Baker speaking in favour of S.E.A.T.O., claimed that the "wicked imperialists of the West had given freedom to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia".

Harry Finch of Birmingham Small Heath said that Indo-China was only prevented from flaring up into a world war by the enormous pressure of world opinion which swept over America, India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia, they will have no truck with S.E.A.T.O. He quoted from the NEW YORK HERALD - TRIBUNE, an American capitalist paper, that S.E.A.T.O. was the first international pact which gave the signatories the right to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries.

Mr. Attlee in the "Labour Party in Perspective" had written that Labour Party foreign policy could never be the same as that of the Tories because it was based on fundamental differences. Was "Labour Party in Perspective" now out of date?

Tom Braddock moved the Wimbledon resolution calling on the next Labour Government to organise the evacuation of American forces and bases from this country.

He said that if we tell America to take their bomber planes and atomic weapons away, a wave of relief would sweep the United States because the American people are fearful of their own generals and admirals and look to other people to give them a lead.

Roberts (central Ayrshire) said the evacuation of the American bases would remove a deadly menace hanging over the people of this country. It would make possible a genuine approach for friendship with Russia.

The discussion from the floor and the general atmosphere prevailing made it clear that the majority of the delegates were in favour of the resolution moved by Harold Davies, opposing S.E.A.T.O.

Sam Watson's pedantic reply on behalf of the N.E.C. did not deflect them from this attitude. Fearing the result of a show of hands, the Conference Chairman, **Will Burke**, immediately called for a card vote. The result was 2,570,000 for the resolution and 3,369,000 against.

This was the first big test of Conference opinion. The real vote on the leadership's foreign policy will come on the vote on German rearmament. Statements from the platform indicated that a great deal of pressure had been brought to bear on those trade unions who opposed German rearmament at the Brighton T.U.C. to change their minds and cast their votes for the N.E.C. resolution.

As there has been no opportunity to consult their unions in the interval, it is obvious that such a change of view will not reflect the considered viewpoint of the membership. There was much indignation at the tone of Jack Tanner's speech as fraternal delegate from the T.U.C. Instead of confining himself to conveying the greetings from the industrial to the political wing of the movement, he constituted himself spokesman for the N.E.C. and called on conference to support German rearmament.

How They Voted

Resolution calling for reduction and control of Armaments and banning of all atomic and hydrogen weapons was defeated.

FOR: 2,707,000
AGAINST: 3,486,000

Wimbledon resolution calling for the evacuation of American forces.

FOR: 1,822,000
AGAINST: 4,358,000

FOR THE N.E.C.

Wilson 1,043,000
Mikardo 815,000
Griffiths 953,000
Greenwood 962,000
Driberg 869,000
Crossman 900,000
Barbara Castle 1,024,000

BORN IN SCARBORO' SIX YEARS AGO

Socialist Outlook Still Going Strong

Scarborough—Sunday
TWO issues dominate this East Coast resort today —German rearmament and the N.E.C. ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. In the pubs and boarding houses, in the hotel lounges and cafes, wherever delegates get together these are the two main topics of debate.

Despite the attraction of two other meetings and the sunlit beaches outside, nearly 50 delegates attended a meeting organised by SOCIALIST OUTLOOK in the Hotel Esplanade not far from the Spa where the great policy issues will be fought out and debated in the coming week.

Jack Stanley was in the chair. Welcoming the delegates, he stressed the importance of the meeting. "SOCIALIST OUTLOOK," he said, "was born in Scarborough six years ago, as an expression of Left Wing Labour Party opinion, which could not be linked with the Communist Party, but which could, to some extent, be critical of official Party policy."

IT CARRIED ON

When the monthly was started in 1948, many believed that it would soon founder, in the face of all the competition, but it carried on, became a fortnightly and then a weekly. "The OUTLOOK," he said, "is addressed, in the first place to the man on the bench and down the pit and it has succeeded in doing its job."

The N.E.C. first tried to ban SOCIALIST OUTLOOK when the Socialist Fellowship was proscribed. They tried to link the OUTLOOK with the Fellowship, which was quite mistaken. The OUTLOOK gave facilities to the Fellowship as it gave facilities to other sections of the Labour movement.

"When the N.E.C. introduced this ban," said Jack Stanley, "they did not appreciate the full implications. His union's executive, for example, had unanimously condemned it. Other unions felt the same."

Gerry Healy stated that he

wanted the Right Wing to know that no matter what they fixed by the use of the bloc vote, they would not prevent the OUTLOOK from appearing or becoming a bigger paper. Their action had already raised the circulation.

The speaker declared that he had information that Transport House was planning to disband certain Labour Parties in the London area. They did it before the war and could do it again. It did not matter to them if the result meant a lost election.

The success of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, said Healy, corresponded with the success of the Left Wing. Perhaps, he said, we have been a bit blunt on some issues—but how can we be anything but blunt on the question of war.

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK opposed German rearmament, not because German workers were worse than British—we were against German capitalism. We believe that the best way of fighting German rearmament is to fight Toryism here in Britain.

He appealed to all delegates present to rally the utmost interest and support on the floor of the conference against the ban.

He warned the Left Wing that this was not just an attack on the OUTLOOK. By implication it included anyone who put forward a policy similar to that of the OUTLOOK, for example, on the question of German rearmament. Morrison wanted to reduce the Party to an electoral machine with paid officials. He wanted to introduce thought control into the Party.

WIDE SUPPORT

The bright side of the picture was that every independent Labour paper has come out in support of the OUTLOOK—not because they always agree with it but because a vital principle was involved.

He cited the confidential circular from **Morgan Phillips** to N.E.C. members, listing 150 protests against the ban with only North-East Leeds congratulating the N.E.C.

"No issue," said Gerry Healy, "has roused such wide opposition to an action of the N.E.C. often from people who had hitherto not even heard of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK."

The N.E.C. circular was no accident or mistake but deliberately prepared over a long period. It was the beginnings of Morrison's efforts to reduce the Party by eliminating the Left. He thought SOCIALIST OUTLOOK would be an easy target to start with—perhaps he has second thoughts about that now. His aim is to make the Labour Party safe for war preparations, safe for the American alliance.

Fight in A.E.U. Delegation

Scarborough — Sunday
A first-class row broke out in the A.E.U. delegation on the decision of the Executive Council to nominate **Gaitskell** for the post of Treasurer against **Aneurin Bevan**.

Leading the fight, **Cllr. Ernie Roberts** for Coventry, expressed the opinion of the vast majority of A.E.U. members when he strongly opposed this decision of the E.C.

Mr. Openshaw for the Executive told the delegation that it could do nothing about the E.C. decision and it had to support it under Rule 15. He did not explain why it was that the E.C. did not recall the National Committee after this was requested by resolution after resolution from important bodies in the union.

In refusing to allow the delegation to take a vote, Mr. Openshaw must have been fully aware that had such a vote been taken the Executive Council recommendation of **Gaitskell** would have been defeated. We are reliably informed that a majority of at least four votes would have been cast against it.

WITCH HUNTING

COUNCILLOR LANCE LAKE is chairman of Leeds City Labour Party. He was elected to that position by a substantial majority. Some months ago he was elected as Labour Party Conference delegate—again by a similar majority. Clearly, he is a representative Party official, and could hardly be otherwise since he has spent 22 years of his political life in the Local Labour Party.

On two or three occasions this year, Councillor Lake wrote articles for SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. As a shareholder in the Labour Publishing Society Ltd., he took the chair at the Leeds shareholders' meetings. There was absolutely no secret about these facts when he was elected as chairman and later as conference delegate.

"Loyalty Form"

Following the receipt of the N.E.C. circular on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, the local full-time officials drew up a "loyalty form" to be signed by OUTLOOK supporters. This was sent out by the secretary. Councillor Lake refused to sign the form because he objected to its contents.

He declared himself prepared to disassociate from SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, provided it was understood he had the right to propagate his views inside the Party. This was refused by the officials. They were thus not prepared to allow him the democratic right to put his views before the Party.

At the September delegate meeting of the Leeds City Labour Party, the Secretary's action on the "loyalty form" was introduced as a motion of confidence in the secretary. It was not discussed on its merits in relation to internal Party democracy. Thus the issue was not clear to delegates, who a small majority voted confidence in the secretary.

Mark well these facts as a background to the extraordinary situation which then developed. Following this the officials withdrew Councillor Lake's credentials to attend the Labour Party Conference.

Arbitrary Action

They claimed they had a right to do this on the basis of the vote of confidence carried in the secretary. In fact they did nothing of the sort. The delegates at the City Party did vote for Lake's credentials to be withdrawn and the full-time officials did not introduce a motion to this effect. They knew full well it would be viewed in an entirely different way to the vote of confidence in the secretary.

In other words, by this arbitrary and high-handed action behind the backs of the official delegate body, the full-time officials step up the witch-hunt. This is an unmistakable warning signal for the whole Party—either these full-time officials are called to order or they will destroy all democracy.

It is, of course, the logical outcome of the ban imposed on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. It confirms the point we made the other time and again—that the ban is a move in the direction of thought control in the Party.

Behave Sensibly!

MORE than 2,000 people converged on Scarborough's Futurist Cinema for the Rally which precedes the Conference.

The object of the rally was to give the spirit of the delegates conference an inspired atmosphere. As far as this objective was concerned, Sunday night's meeting was a failure.

Summerskill, who was in the chair, started off in the expected spirit. She said that the rally was an occasion to sink our differences and talk instead of the great socialist principles which unite us.

Cooper of the N.U.G.M.W. was an occasion to examine the way we have trodden and the progress we have achieved so far. It was an occasion for the reaffirmation of our ideals. "Let us put our points of view in perspective," he said, "and not let our differences divide our essential unity."

It will be interesting to see how he recalls these words at the Conference debates German rearmament and the ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK later this year.

As long as we behave sensibly," he concluded, "Labour will be the next government of the country. If not, we shall have ourselves to blame."

Attlee concentrated on denouncing his Russia-China trip. He gave a warm tribute to the great advance which he witnessed in China.

AMERICAN NEWS LETTER

U.S. Labour Meets a Challenge

New York, September 24
THE Square D strike in Detroit (see last week's American News Letter), which began as an employer attempt to force a small, isolated union on strike and then smash it with scabs and police violence, has developed into a direct challenge against the entire Detroit labour movement.

The original strategy of the employers was based on the assumption that the C.I.O. would stand aside while cops and strike-breakers were hurled against a local of the United Electrical Workers which was bureaucratically expelled from the C.I.O. five years ago as "Communist-dominated."

Assumption Exploded

This assumption was exploded when nine of the most powerful Detroit C.I.O. United Auto Workers' locals sparked a movement that has brought virtually the entire labour movement of that area in support of the strike. Thousands of C.I.O. and A.F.L. members are on the picket-line daily.

In what amounts to a declaration of war against the C.I.O. and A.F.L., the same judge who issued an injunction barring the U.E. from mass picketing at the plant, this week threw a similar injunction against the U.A.W. and all other organisations and individuals supporting the strike.

At the same time the judge invoked the state riot act, thus giving legal sanction to possible use of police violence against pickets. Such violence was a daily occurrence on the picket-line until the U.A.W. flying squadrons appeared on the scene.

Intimidation and frame-ups of the workers has been stepped up to include U.A.W. members and officials. Two days ago five pickets were arrested for allegedly trailing would-be scabs. They have been charged with attempted armed robbery and carrying concealed weapons. They are being held without bail and the local press is giving the case lurid scare headlines.

Yesterday the president of one U.A.W. local and an executive board member of another were arrested. It is alleged that the one auto union official had a rock in his hand and made a menacing move towards a strike-breaker. The second official was charged with blocking the plant parking-lot entrance with his car.

Pickets Tripled

So far the workers have not budged under this pressure. Loud speaker announcements by the police of the new court injunction against mass picketing, appears to have had little visible effect. The number of pickets is now reported to have doubled and even tripled.

Company efforts to employ race prejudice as a strike-breaking weapon have also failed. Notoriously anti-Negro previous to the strike, the company has been trying to recruit Negro strike-breakers with glowing promises of discrimination-free jobs. By this means they hoped to set off "race riots" at the plant gate, with Negro workers pitted against white workers.

Negro Workers Solid

This week the influential Detroit National Association for Advancement of Coloured people called on Negro workers "not to permit themselves to be used as strike-breakers." On the picket-line itself, solidarity reigns. Not a single Negro striker has broken ranks and, in fact, the Negro workers are reported to be among the most militant fighters on the picket-line. Among the white workers, including many from the South, there is a deepened understanding that race prejudice is a weapon of the bosses.

The U.A.W. locals which refuse to be blinded by the red herring and took up the cause of the Square D workers, are reported to have indicated their intention to stick it out despite the powerful employer-government offensive. That means a showdown fight is in the offing and a good chance for a labour victory of national significance.

An attempt to break a Det-

roit strike by violence has not been seen since the U.A.W. established itself as a power there. That is why the present attempt to do so is being followed so intently by employers throughout the country. They banked on the "anti-Communist" formula keeping the U.A.W. out of the fight. But they failed to reckon with the militant tradition of the auto workers who built their union in fierce struggle against the same kind of strike-breaking measures of the auto barons.

Lost Optimism

The Wall Street magazine, BUSINESS WEEK, which had been braying of certain victory for the bosses at Square D, now sadly and accurately observes, "Square D reckoned without the long memory of Detroit Auto Unionists." The original employer strategy failed, the magazine explains, because "as much as the auto unionists dislike Communists in labour, they dislike strike-breakers more."

While the issue is not yet settled, we are glad to forward BUSINESS WEEK'S glum report that "with anti-Communist unions backing the strikers, the company has lost much of its earlier optimism." If Detroit labour stands by its guns the last trace of boss optimism about breaking any strike will be fully erased.

Remember Aikichi Kuboyama!

LAST week Aikichi Kuboyama slipped from a coma into death—six months after he had been contaminated by Bikini dust. Terrible implications surround that event but the British press gave it only brief mention. News from Japan on the general effect of radio-active dust from American experiments in the Pacific and on the fate of the other sailors on the "Lucky Dragon" is being largely suppressed.

For they reveal a fact that has been repeated often in SOCIALIST OUTLOOK—the atomic, and particularly the hydrogen explosions unleash a fearsome danger to humanity in the form of radio-active dust whose effects are far beyond that foreseen.

When the "Lucky Dragon" first came back into port, American spokesmen created the im-

ON March 1, 1954, Aikichi Kuboyama, a thirty-nine-year-old radio operator was on a fishing vessel almost one hundred miles from Bikini. Suddenly there was a flash in the distance. A few hours afterwards a greyish white powder fell around the crew. A hydrogen bomb had been exploded on Bikini atoll.

radio-active dust or ingestion of radio-active substances is even more serious. The white corpuscles of the blood and the marrow cells are affected with the result that the blood does not clot normally. Hence, these 23 fishermen are now kept alive only by constant blood transfusions.

About the middle of March there fell all over Japan a great amount of radio-active rain. How many people suffered from drinking rain water is not yet known. It was found that cattle which ate contaminated vegetables or drank this water were producing greatly radio-active milk.

No wonder that a Reuter cable reports that United States officials fear the death of Aikichi Kuboyama will lead to a crisis in Japanese-American relations. The demand for an end to hydrogen bomb experiments, and opposition to the preparations for war are widespread among the working people. Their daily life has been mercilessly exposed to the ravages of the most fearful weapon developed by science.

THREAT TO JAPAN

The plans of American imperialism threaten them with further torture. When American senators call for war with China and the shattering of her cities by nuclear weapons they are blithely condemning the whole of Japan to the fate of the "Lucky Dragon." Speaking to the Convention of the Japanese trade unions last July, Professor Mitsuo Takeya of Rikky University declared:

"Some people appear to consider that Bikini tests are nothing but a threat. If so, two or three blasts would have been sufficient for that purpose. The Japanese Government, however, is encouraging America's action, as the statements of Mr. Yoshida and

Okazaki on this subject show. If America should make a raid on Peking with a hydrogen bomb, Japan would suffer the same fate as the fishing boat No. 5 'Lucky Dragon' did."

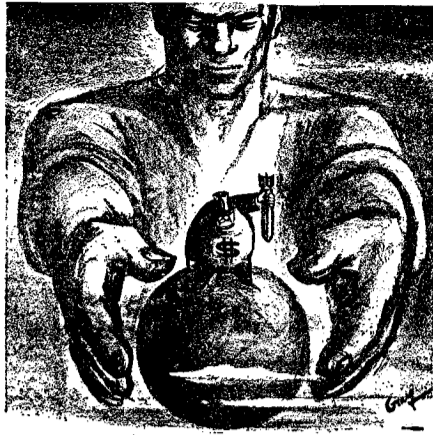
The picture is still not complete. The article on this page makes it clear that radio-activity from A-bomb and H-bomb tests threatens not only the Japanese people. As the author says, the atmosphere of the whole earth is being filled with dangerous amounts of radio-activity.

In their preparations for war America's rulers and their allies are toying with the fate of humanity itself. That dark shadow hangs over the Labour Party Conference at Scarborough.

ONLY WAY OUT

There is only one answer. The only way to defend the working class of Britain, the working people of Japan or of the world from the hydrogen bomb; the only way to prevent the whole earth from being turned into a "Lucky Dragon" is by an anti-war and anti-capitalist struggle.

As the first steps along that road it is necessary for British Labour to denounce the war alliances—S.E.A.T.O., N.A.T.O., and the rest.



No Warning Possible

Speaking at Vancouver on September 23, Dr. Gordon M. Shrum, a Canadian rocket expert, said there would be no escaping from the inter-continental guided missile bombs of the future—and this future was only five years away. A guided missile could be developed that would cover 3,000 to 4,000 miles in an hour and drop a hydrogen bomb within 100 yards of its target.

Yet the Tory Government continues to lull the population that it can provide some defence against the H-bomb. In an attempt to answer the Coventry City Council, Sir David Maxwell Fyfe declared in Birmingham recently: "Imagine what our plight would be if the outbreak of war found us with...no system of warning."

What warning can we expect before these inter-continental missiles tear up our cities and spew forth their radio-active dust?

N.A.T.O.: Centre-Piece of War Plans

AT the Margate Conference of the Labour Party last year the National Executive Committee presented to the delegates, in a most undemocratic fashion, a statement on foreign policy. One clause in this statement dealt with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and said: "Conference maintains its full support for N.A.T.O. as a limited system of collective security...also because it provides a framework for close co-operation with the U.S.A. which is essential to Britain and the Commonwealth."

The questions therefore arise; what is N.A.T.O., what has it done, what does it seek to do? Is it true, as recently alleged by one of the leading Right Wing members of the N.E.C., that N.A.T.O. has a Socialist character?

SPIDER'S WEB

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation was formed in April, 1949, when the Foreign Ministers of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States signed the Atlantic Treaty—three years later Greece and Turkey acceded to the Treaty. It must be noted that, in spite of the title, a number of the participants are not geographically located in that which is normally considered the "Atlantic area." It must also be noted that many of the countries concerned are close to the borders of the Soviet Union—the two "latecomers", Greece and Turkey, being typical examples.

A further important feature in relation to N.A.T.O. is the way in which countries outside of the actual Treaty are in military alignment with it. In this fashion Spain is joined in a military pact with America, a N.A.T.O. member. Yugoslavia is linked with Greece and Turkey, both N.A.T.O.

members, in the recently signed Balkan Alliance. This interlocking system of military pacts extends throughout the world by means of such alliances as A.N.Z.U.S., S.E.A.T.O., the U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty and the British treaties with Egypt, Libya, Jordan and Iraq. The whole of this vast

By **J. Harney**

spider's web of military might is built on and around the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

AIR BASES

The fourteen countries within N.A.T.O. itself cover an area of 7,844,000 square miles and house a total population of more than 384 million people. These countries have between them a standing army of nearly 7 million men, the United States Armed Forces comprising almost half of this total. The combined air forces, included in the previous figure, amounts to 1,388,400 men and, according to latest available figures, some 5,800 N.A.T.O. aircraft based in Europe, Scandinavia, Greece and Turkey. 2,400 of these are front-line jet fighters and fighter bombers and there are a further 1,000 military jet aircraft based in Britain.

To provide airfields for these planes the N.A.T.O. infrastructure programme was devised; it has now built, or is in the process of building, 134 air bases in Europe. To these must be added a further 30 bases which have been built in Germany out of occupation funds; for although Western Germany is not at the moment a member of N.A.T.O. the air bases there are used by N.A.T.O. members.

DOLLARS FOR GUNS

Since the Atlantic Treaty was signed the expenditure on armaments by N.A.T.O. countries has increased tremendously. In 1949 the total expenditure of all N.A.T.O. countries on arms was 18,566 million dollars—by last

DAMAGING RESULTS ON GENERATIONS YET UNBORN

Hidden Danger of Bomb Tests

A-BOMB and H-bomb tests have already filled the earth's atmosphere with

dangerous amounts of radioactivity. The effects of gamma rays and other penetrating products of atomic fission and fusion may not appear in observable physical disease or injury like burns. But the level of accumulated radioactivity can have very damaging results on generations yet unborn and may reveal itself even sooner in an increase of such diseases as leukemia—cancer of the blood.

Dr. A. H. Sturtevant, world-famed authority on heredity and the Thomas Hunt Morgan professor of genetics at the California Institute of Technology, recently sounded the alarm about the possibility of hereditary changes caused by the action of A-bomb and H-bomb radiation on the germ cells of plants, animals and man. Dr. William C. Maloney and Dr. Robert D. Lange of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission have discovered a very high incidence of blood cancer in Japanese survivors of the first A-bomb dropped on human beings.

HEREDITARY EFFECTS

Dr. Sturtevant has raised the question of the long-term hereditary effects of the A-bomb and H-bomb tests. The geneticist points out that a single photon or energy ray can cause a change in key elements of the ova and germ cells. He further emphasises: "It is already true that all of us have been subjected to

irradiation from these sources (A-bombs and H-bombs) adds:

"There is no possible escape from the conclusion that bombs already exploded will ultimately result in future generations in the production of numerous defective individuals, the human species itself surviving for many generations. And even new bomb exploded, since radioactive products are widely dispersed over the earth, will result in an increase in this untimely harvest of defective individuals."

Dr. Maloney and Lange have discovered that the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945

by **Art Preis**

is claiming a new crop of victims in 1954. They report "convincing evidence of the high incidence of leukemia" among bomb survivors who had previously shown no effects of radiation poisoning. The doctor uncovered 10 cases of leukemia while giving "routine medical" to 3,480 people. This is a high incidence if you "consider the rarity of the disease," they state in the medical journal BLOOD.

This disease, they point out, began to appear in some A-bomb survivors two years after the explosion. Others may yet develop it in years to come. It appears that the phosphorus in the bomb absorbs some of the radioactive particles and rays. The radioactivated phosphorus settles in the bone marrow, which is involved in the manufacture of blood, and prepares the way for cancer.

SOCIALISM OR DEATH

In the light of these new discoveries about the hidden and prolonged effects of radioactivity we cannot dismiss lightly incidents like the fall-out of radioactive particles on Long Island, N.Y., after A-bomb tests in Las Vegas, Nevada. Revealing the event in the August 11 NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE, the Alsop brothers claimed that the fall-out was "no longer noxious and no one knew about it but the Atomic Energy Commission."

If even the explosion of a few atomic bombs can pollute the atmosphere and endanger future generations, we can readily understand why atomic scientists have repeatedly warned that the use of A-bombs and H-bombs in a war might result in the annihilation of the human species. Dr. Edgar Douglas Adrian, Nobel Prize winner and one of England's greatest scientists, recently said that "We must face the possibility that repeated atomic explosions will lead to a degree of general radioactivity which no one can tolerate or escape."

COULD BE BOON

These same atomic rays which capitalism uses very largely for mankind's destruction could be a great boon to humanity under socialism's non-profit, planned co-operative economy. An example of how atomic energy can be harnessed to benefit man is indicated in the September issue of Architectural Forum. An article on irradiated structural materials states: "Despite vigorous denial the news is beginning to leak through the screen of industrial atomic secrecy that massive doses of gamma radiation have been harnessed to make an ordinary soft sheet of plastic stronger than the same thickness of today's structural steel and so resistant to heat it could be used in the afterburners of jet-engines."

(Reprinted from the American socialist weekly — THE MILITANT).

+ WORLD NEWS + in Brief

THE IRAQ GOVERNMENT announced last week that two civilians had been killed and a policeman injured when demonstrators clashed with police in Sulaimaniyah in north-eastern Iraq.

A right wing newspaper, organ of the Istiqlal party, alleged the incidents resulted from dissatisfaction with the recent elections. Denying this, the Government stated that a group of CHILDREN had been instigated to stage an illegal demonstration. According to the government, police who attempted to disperse them were met by a shower of bullets!

THE NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY reports that 5,000 Chinese residents who have long been settled in Siam have been ordered to move from their homes at Bethong before September 28. The agency ascribes this to the "speeding up of war preparations under American instructions."

SAIGON POLICE opened fire on refugees demanding to be returned to their homes in northern Indo-China. The French Press Agency reports two demonstrators were killed.

AT THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR CONVENTION on September 21 Mr. Meany, the President, denounced Mr. Atlee and Mr. Bevan for their recent trip to Russia and China. He declared that they had

thereby promoted "anti-American sentiments in the free world."

Arriving in New York on the same day, Sir Alexander Grantham, Governor of Hong Kong, announced the trip was "unfortunate." He added: "Indirectly, it has done harm in the sense that it has strained British and American relations."

THE JAMAICAN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES has urged the Government to make a "most vigorous protest" to Canada over the treatment of Dorothy Holtz, a young Jamaican model who was given five days' notice to leave a school in British Columbia. They declared her treatment was an "insult to coloured people throughout the world."

THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE has declared a state of siege for six months. The action was taken to circumvent delays in parliamentary approval of emergency powers to deal with the copper strikes.

THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE reports that, in comparison with 1937, the housing conditions have deteriorated. The number of dwellings constructed in 1953 was about eight per cent. higher than in 1952, but this was more than offset by the increase in the number of families.

ASSIST OUR GERMAN BROTHERS

Readers Forum

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

At Dusseldorf recently the annual Youth Conference of the powerful Federation of German Trades Unions passed unanimously a resolution opposing German rearmament on the grounds that it would prevent the unification of Germany. At the same time rearmament in the Soviet Union was condemned.

Also recently, the chairman of the German Transport Workers' Union—Herr Kummernus—stated that the German trade unions regarded the prevention of a Nazi or Nationalist revival as one of their main tasks. He believed the elements of a dangerous political faction already existed in Western Germany. "German rearmament would increase the dangers of political reaction," he said.

The Right Wing of British Labour help Eden by trying to line up the Labour Party in opposition to rearmament Germany and help German reaction fasten its grip round the German workers. They would be acting more in line with Labour's interests if they were seeking ways to assist our German brothers in their fight against Hitler's backers.

North London reader

Wrong Kind of Question

And now we mustn't ask the wrong kind of question at meetings of the London Labour Party. So we were told at a meeting on the Rents Act, last Saturday.

Let me explain more fully. The meeting was addressed by Arthur Skeffington, M.P. He outlined the salient points of the Housing Repairs and Rents Acts, stressing the class nature of this iniquitous legislation. After a series of questions on detailed aspects, one of the delegates asked if the con-

ference could vote on a motion demanding the repeal of the Act.

"No," said the chairman. "This conference has no powers to move or vote on motions." This was bad enough—but it wasn't all.

Another delegate asked a follow-up question. This is how it went. "Mr. Skeffington has argued that there are two possible courses a tenant can take. The first, that he challenges the landlord at the County Court. Mr. Skeffington counselled caution here. The second, that the tenant applies for a certificate of disrepair. Here too, Mr. Skeffington had stated that this was not final because the landlord could challenge the certificate in the Courts.

"Under these circumstances," the delegate said, "surely as we were a political party there was a third course, which might at least halt the hand of the landlord. That is a statement by the L.P., either the Parliamentary L.P. or the N.E.C., that on its return to power, Labour would repeal the Act. Why had no such statement been made?"

That question could not be answered, said the chairman because the conference was only called to discuss questions which advice bureaux would be confronted with and not policy questions as such. The delegate could not restrain himself. "Why not," he called, "Mr. Skeffington is in the Parliamentary Labour Party isn't he?" There was no answer.

Right at the end of the conference, just before the chairman closed the meeting he decided that the question could be answered

after all—but without any chance of the delegates querying the reply. "We would not like it if the Tories repealed Acts previously legislated by Labour and that it would not be right if we repealed Acts legislated democratically by the Tories... Furthermore, as millions of new contracts would be entered into between tenants and landlords it would be most difficult to upset these..."

We know now why the right wing of the T.U.C. opposed the resolution at Brighton which demanded the Repeal of the Rents Act. They don't want it repealed.

It looks, after all, as if the motions demanding the repeal of the Rents Acts (England and Wales and Scotland) may be opposed by the N.E.C. at Scarborough. The Conference will, I'm sure, still vote for repeal.

Labour Councillor

Bomb Panic

Two jet planes flying over the town of Melrose, in America, broke through the sound barrier and shook buildings, broke windows and cracked ceilings in a twenty-five mile area. Immediately there was panic among residents of 12 towns in the area.

The BOSTON GLOBE says that the two explosions "turned this city of 27,000 into a madhouse." Within seconds "houses all over Melrose were emptied as residents swarmed into the streets... others more prudent took to their cellars. There was a widespread belief at

first that the city might be the victim of a sneak air attack."

In a nearby city of Everett "thousands of residents frightened into a panic... Traffic throughout the city... came to a standstill as motorists slammed to a stop and dove for cover... police officers worked for twenty minutes before they could disperse the crowd assuring them a bomb had not been dropped."

What a comment on the fear of atomic war. A well-justified fear with the American ruling class hell bent for war on China and the Soviet Union.

South-East London reader

Risking Their Membership

The N.E.C. declares you are ineligible for membership of the Labour Party if you "support or associate with" SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. It seems however, that you can associate with Tory and European capitalist politicians without risking your membership.

Representatives of the opposition are to attend a dinner party at 10, Downing Street on September 28 given for the foreign ministers who are at the nine-power conference.

Of course, there is much in common between some of the leaders of the Labour Party and these nine-power representatives who are meeting in London. Both sets of people are trying to find the best formula to help forward German rearmament. The N.E.C. have produced theirs for the Labour Party conference. No doubt they will wish Eden the best of luck in his efforts.

Watford reader

Labour's Voice

Who decides, and by what methods, the contents of speeches made on behalf of the Labour Party on the B.B.C.?

Last week Sam Watson gave a Party political broadcast.

The talk consisted of a long eulogy on the benefits to be gained from increased production, an appeal to the trade unions not to press for wage increases, and an implied statement that workers should not spend their money but save it.

Not once did Sam Watson mention the Tories, not once did he attack the capitalist system, not once did he make any proposal for the realisation of Socialism. His whole broadcast was devoted to mouthing phrases which would not have been out of place had they been made by the Tory Chancellor, R. A. Butler.

The rank and file should demand that those who speak on behalf of the Party on the radio give clear expression to the aims and ideals of the Party. They should be propagandists of Socialism not apologists for capitalism.

Kent reader

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by JOHN BANKS

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People, Places and Politics

By Cassia

Aikichi Makes History

LAST March Aikichi Kubo-yama was just an ordinary Japanese fisherman.

Now all the world knows of him. The American Government, who were responsible for detonating the bomb which caused his death, record his place in history in the only way known to those who worship before the altar of gold—they offer to his widow and family the sum of £1,000 as compensation for the loss of a husband and a father.

The Japanese workers record his place in history by organising a campaign against the war-minded maniacs who seek to make, and use, yet bigger bombs as part of their plans for world domination.

Aikichi is dead but his ghost remains to fight alongside the workers of the world against H-bombs and the system which breeds them.

Subversive Activities

THE directors and shareholders of industry never tire of telling the working class to be on guard against those "subversive elements" who seek to disrupt the smooth running of industry.

It appears that there are

also such "subversive elements" amongst the ranks of the capitalist class—as evidenced by recent reports of an extraordinary meeting of the Cunard Steamship Company which was held in Liverpool.

The company announced that it would increase its capital from £14,500,000 to £15,500,000 by issuing to shareholders two new £1 shares for each £3 in nominal stock already held.

One would think that the shareholders found this £1,000,000 gift very acceptable—but did they? According to newspaper reports the meeting was extremely noisy; shouts of: "We've had a raw deal," and "You ought to give us a 100 per cent. dividend," were made from the body of the meeting. When Mr. Lionel Childs, speaking on behalf of the Shareholders' Association, said that the offer was "niggardly and inadequate," he was told by the chairman that he could not speak on behalf of the Shareholders' Association but only on the basis of his own shareholding.

So it seems that as well as being dissatisfied with their £1,000,000 bonus the Cunard shareholders are also organising fractions within the company. I wonder if the Cunard Steamship Company will soon issue its own list of proscribed organisations?

Make Believe

THE militarists have recently been enjoying themselves in the exercise "Battle Royal" in which mock atomic weapons were used. But it seems that the brass-hats are immune from the dangers of atomic warfare.

A 50-gallon oil drum packed with napalm, T.N.T. and phosphorus was exploded to represent an atomic bomb and in its effective area there happened to be an army officers' mess in which the Minister of Defence, Field-Marshal Lord Alexander, was lunching with three lieutenant-generals. After some discussion with the "umpires" it was agreed that one mess waiter would be the "casualty" in order that the meal could continue without too much inconvenience.

Perhaps the wearing of a red-band around the hat provides protection against atomic radiation—Maxwell Fyfe must be told about this!

QUOTE FOR THE WEEK

"Policy-making is bound to bring its difficulties. A progressive and forward looking Movement like ours needs thorough discussion to fashion a truly effective programme."

Harry Earnshaw, Chairman's Address to Labour Party Conference at Morecambe, 1952.

Fighting Fund

Owing to lack of space the Fighting Fund has been held over this week. The totals of our September Campaign will appear in our next issue.

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LEAGUER

4,000 Injured every Week In British Factories

By K. G. Brown

IN many of Britain's factories, the safety of the workers is still very much a secondary consideration. This is clear from the Annual Report for 1952 by the Chief Inspector of Factories and published by H.M. Stationery Office.

Men and women are working in factories where conditions are reminiscent of the early days of the Industrial Revolution. Some of these buildings have been condemned but they still carry on. The Report gives examples of buildings of from four to five floors, with a separate factory on each floor. The only washing facilities for all the workers in these premises consist of two wash-basins, supplied with cold water only.

These conditions apply particularly to the London area, where in addition many unsatisfactory underground rooms are used as factories.

Every week twenty workers are killed by accidents and another 4,000 are injured. This figure is an improvement on the previous year, but the general reduction in the number of accidents has been partly due to unemployment in the textile industry (and, conse-

threatens profits it is safety that must be sacrificed.

Almost one in six of factory accidents involve injury to the feet. These are caused, chiefly, by inadequate fencing of machinery, slippery floors, unskilled use of vehicles and bad methods of handling articles of all descriptions. Workers are advised to wear more substantial footwear as many of them come to work wearing plimsolls, dancing shoes or sandals. They do this, of course, not because they want to but because their pay packets will not stretch to the purchase of the special footwear required by their jobs.

The avoidance of these industrial accidents is of fundamental importance to the workers and their families. There are less than 400 inspectors to cover over 200,000 factories. They average just over one visit per factory a year. Even with an adequate number of factory inspectors, the safety of the workers is not something which can be left to officials. This is something which the workers themselves must tackle.

COULD BE PREVENTED

Over 20,000 accidents were caused by falls and of these, almost one in ten were from ladders. These could have been prevented by the simple device of fixing non-slip attachments to the ladders. But a ladder-manufacturing firm reports that only about 30 per cent. of their customers are prepared to pay the small extra charge that is made for this device. When safety

A FARCE

In every factory there should be Workers' Safety Committees with full power to recommend and enforce safety measures. Some of the Accident Prevention Committees and Safety Officers existing today are just a farce. Their meetings tend to be formal gatherings for the "exchange of platitudes" and the issuing of "appeals to the workers." In many cases, they actually result in an increase in accidents for they engender a false sense of security.

This report is evidence, if evidence is still wanted, for the need for a national Industrial Health Service, as advocated by the Socialist Medical Association. Such a service would result in the prevention of countless industrial accidents and diseases. The establishment of an Industrial Health Service must be high on the list of priorities of the next Labour Government.

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