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TODAY

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Full Reports
of the Margate
Debates
(See also p. 4)

Two Views on Public Ownership

Bevan Clashes With Summerskill

THAT Nationalisation will be the key issue of the Conference was revealed at the Eye-of-Conference Rally in a clash between *Edith Summerskill* and *Aneurin Bevan*.

In a carefully camouflaged manner, *Dr. Summerskill* introduced this most contentious item on the Conference Agenda.

After a number of remarks designed to humour the audience, she said "that the public will judge us not by means but by ends; not by how much nationalisation we carry out.

"We will not be judged by whether we nationalise agriculture", she continued, "but by how much food there is in the shops; not by whether we have

A Delegate's Report

comprehensive schools, but whether our children have a better opportunity than the older people here."

If it was true that startling slogans win elections she asked, how can we explain that the Communist Party lose their deposits?

In Germany the workers have just elected a reactionary government. We must not forget the psychology of the people. They would sooner have things remain as they are than elect a Social Democratic Government of whom they are uncertain.

Social Democracy in France was disrupted by internal disputes and was discredited. The French workers put into power a reactionary government. The workers in this country put into power a Tory government. We must not rely on the social conscience, we must have a rational approach through the press, etc.

Nye Bevan then spoke and dealt first with the Soviet Union. Peace could only come as a result of agreements, he said, not by one

nation imposing its will on another.

"We have long known that with the great industrialisation which has taken place in the Soviet Union the Russian workers—who are no different to ourselves—would demand the 'liberalisation' of the regime.

"The expansion of the Red Army beyond its borders has given the leaders 'political indigestion', but we must not take advantage of the crisis of leadership in the Soviet Union to intensify the cold war but must assist the Russian workers to achieve democratic Socialism."

Bevan then turned to Edith Summerskill and said: "With all due respect to my colleague, the election of Adenauer in Germany was, due to our not being bold enough, when we were in power, to nationalise the Ruhr industries". Had we done so we would not have given the power back to the old Nazi industrialists who are sabotaging the Social Democratic movement in Germany.

Referring to the colonies, he said, "When Attlee and I visited the colonies we saw people who could hardly keep body and soul together while in North America they have a glut. I submit that this is un-Christian.

"We must not only have a practical programme, it must have design and imagination."

On the differences within Labour's ranks, Bevan said: "The Tories say this is a personal difference. Well, differences always reflected themselves through personalities."

Other speakers were *Percy Knight* of the Seamen's Union and *Mr. Attlee*.

In opening the packed meeting, *Wilfred Burke*, the Chairman, announced that Labour Party membership had grown in ten years from less than 250,000 to over a million today. The total affiliated membership is now more than six millions.

Block Vote Hampers Advance to Socialism

Nationalisation 'Go-Slow' Decision is Challenge To All Trade Unionists

DESPITE a magnificent fight from the floor of the Conference, the attempt to commit the Party to extend nationalisation to important sections of the engineering industry has been defeated.

The voting for the Foundryworkers' amendment was 1,797,000 for and 4,499,000 against.

Once again, the block vote of the big Unions has been used by Mr. Deakin and others to smash down the Socialist wing of the Party.

The fight was handicapped also by the fact that the A.E.U. President, *Mr. Jack Tanner*, tried his best to kill the amendment which he had been instructed to second. Indeed, *Morgan Phillips* in his reply for the N.E.C., utilised *Jack Tanner's* obvious embarrassment and pointed out that whilst supporting the amendment, *Tanner* had in actual fact spoken against it.

Arthur Deakin, in a speech which angered the delegates, described the Foundryworkers' amendment as "a mumbo-jumbo of words" and attacked it as being "not in conformity with the position of the T.U.C." Deakin is contemptuous of the fact that the Foundryworkers amendment repre-

sented the opinion of three million members of the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions.

Arthur Woodburn, M.P., had the temerity to declare that the main issue between us and the Tories was not nationalisation! His speech also roused the delegates, and small wonder, for it is clear that the fundamental difference between the Labour movement and the Tories is, and always will be, that Labour aims to replace private enterprise with a publicly-owned and planned economy. Once remove this plank from Labour's policy and there are no serious differences between us and the Tories.

It is clear that the N.E.C. and

the General Council of the T.U.C. have no heart to challenge the Tories—but with this decision on nationalisation they have issued a brutal challenge to Trade Unionists. That challenge will be taken up, and on the outcome of the fight will largely depend the future of the Labour Party.

The organisation of a Trade Union Left wing is now task number one.

Significantly enough, although the miners delegation was challenged by *Ernie Roberts* and *Norman Dinning* of the A.E.U. to declare openly where they stood on the nationalisation of engineering, no miner took the rostrum.

Top of the poll again!

The Left Re-elected

Voting for the constituency Party representatives on the National Executive Committee has resulted in no change—six "Bevanites" plus *Jim Griffiths*, with *Aneurin Bevan* again at the top of the poll. A sure sign that the Constituency Labour Parties remain firmly Left and firmly wedded to the progressive decisions of last year's Conference.

The actual vote was:

<i>Aneurin Bevan</i>	1,142,000
<i>Barbara Castle</i>	1,026,000
<i>Harold Wilson</i>	934,000
<i>Jim Griffiths</i>	913,000
<i>Tom Driberg</i>	842,000
<i>Dick Crossman</i>	788,000
<i>Ian Mikardo</i>	637,000



Margate: Report of First Two Days

★ Rank and File Make Bid For Socialism ★

AFTER the preliminaries had been settled—the Mayor's speech, the Standing Orders Report and the Chairman's address—the Conference proper commenced with a speech from *Jim Griffiths* introducing the N.E.C. draft programme for the next Labour Government—"Challenge to Britain".

He stuck strictly to his brief—except for some typical flourishes—and warmly commended the document to the Conference.

In his opinion, the N.E.C. had done right to place the dollar problem at the centre of the programme. As in every Conference since the war, *Jim Griffiths* stressed the utter decline of British capitalism.

But his speech contained the same contradiction as the document it was moving: it completely failed to recognise that the only hope for the British workers in such a situation is a radical break with all capitalist methods. All the arguments about increasing our Foreign Trade are completely utopian when viewed against the background of diminishing world markets and colonial uprising.

That the delegates are more aware of these problems, and more desirous of Socialist solutions, was seen in the debate which followed on the section of the Programme dealing with the Cold War.

There were two composite amendments arising out of four pages of party amendments. The first called on the next Labour Government to "seek every opportunity to end the Cold War" and called for "an immediate reduction of armaments to a level commensurate with our economic strength".

In moving the first amendment, the delegate from *Barrow-in-Furness C.L.P.* said: "It's no use



HAROLD DAVIES
"This ban on the export of antibiotic drugs is a crime against humanity."

Jim Griffiths asking us to subscribe to improvements in our welfare if we continue the Cold War. The Cold War", he said, "is absolutely against the welfare of all peoples"—a statement which drew applause from a somewhat restrained audience.

FREE WORLD MYTH

Supporting this amendment, *David Finch (Norwood C.L.P.)* brought a note of reality into the debate. "Armaments", he said, "are to maintain the Empire intact against the great movements of national liberation in the colonies. We are in Malaya for tin and rubber—and that's all." As for the defence of the free world, this delegate refused to believe that *Adenauer*, *Franco*, *Syngman Rhee*, and *Churchill* were the representatives of the free world.

"This free world", he said, "is in fact the capitalist half of the world. Only by fighting re-armament can we aid our brothers in the Soviet Union to achieve real social democracy. The East German uprising proves that the German workers don't want a return to capitalism."

The second amendment to the "Challenge" was very ably moved by *Harold Davies, M.P.*, the delegate from *Leek*. His amendment called for "a drastic change of policy providing for a material expansion of East-West trade".

"The present ban on the export of antibiotic drugs to China", said *Harold Davies*, "is a crime against humanity. Let us not be confused by words. Let men use words—not words use men. Mention Communism to some people and that, for them, is the finish of the argument."

Shrewdly, *Harold Davies* asked the delegates from the South Wales triplate areas how they would vote. "If you vote against this amendment", he said, "there will be certain unemployment in your trade whose products are restricted for export by the American Battle Act."

AND BEVAN CLAPPED

He concluded a very good speech with a declaration that no amount of A-bombs or H-bombs would stop the peoples of the East from achieving their freedom.

Amid the general applause, one could notice *Nye Bevan*, alone among those on the platform, clapping the speaker!

Emrys Hughes, M.P. (South Ayrshire) made a telling point in the debate when he said that the programme recognised that tanks and atom bombs will not defeat Communism. "Why then", he asked, "are we continuing to build tanks and atom bombs?"

Speakers against the amendment

included that perennial supporter of the Cold War, *Noel Baker*. As a concession to the feeling of the delegates, he (as well as *E. Shinwell*, and the N.E.C. speaker, *Margaret Herbison*) commenced their pleas for a continuation of the present position by declaiming their passionate belief in the "brotherhood of man", "international disarmament", and "world Socialism".

THE PLACE OF FOREIGN POLICY

They then proceeded to lay all the blame for re-armament on "Russia's aggressive intentions". A point which *Brian Thomas (Salisbury)* in a short but very forceful speech, exploded by saying: "No sensible delegate believes there is much danger of the Red Army preparing to march in to Britain to instal *Harry Pollitt* as the dictator. Let us take foreign policy out of the realm of national unity and place it where it belongs—in the struggle of party politics."

The argument of *Shinwell* that East-West trade really wouldn't help us much even if we had it and therefore it wasn't very important if it was restricted reminds me of the servant girl of Victorian times who, when confronted with the fact of her illegitimate child, sought leniency in the plea that the baby was, after all, "only a little one".

The only original point made by *Margaret Herbison* in replying, ● Continued page 4 col. 1

Foreign Policy

THE majority of the Margate delegates only received the N.E.C.'s new statement on Foreign Policy on Monday morning, and there is great resentment at this attempt to push through such an important declaration of policy before the local parties. Trade Unions have had any opportunity to discuss it.

Already, on the second day of the Conference, an attempt was made by the delegates to get the statement referred back to membership. This vigorous defence of the party's democratic right was led by *Jack Dipple (Tonham)* and *Tom Braddock (Windsor)*.

Those delegates who think the Party should alter course make a clean break from present tie-up with the U.S.A. States have had their case considerably strengthened by recent happenings in foreign affairs—open support by the American Government for *Adenauer*, in Germany, recently concluded military alliance with *Franco Spain*, bellicose declarations on foreign policy by *Mr. Dulles*, and revelations of the reactionary of U.N.O.'s Far Eastern stand-bearers, *Chiang Kai Shek* and *Syngman Rhee*.

But, all this aside, the secret of the document dealing with the Commonwealth contains proposals which have never been supported by any previous Conference of Party Conference. No Conference has ever declared that Central African Federation—which the document advocates—are against—should be supported "now that it has been law". That is the position of *I. Jowett* and *Mr. Attlee*—but not the position of the Party.

Similarly with Kenya, the year's Conference expressed its firmness in favour of a solution to the Kenya land question would be fair to Africans. Therefore follows that the Party—far from being in favour of "repressing *Mau Mau*" (as document says)—should be in favour of suppressing those *White Settlers* whose reactionary policies have led the *Kikuyu* people to up arms in sheer self defence.

"Nobody can deny that the treatment of the settlers is appalling and abhorrent to Labour. Movement cannot possibly receive the slightest support to Lyttelton imperialist policies. On the contrary, it must use all its strength to frustrate these violations of the rights of the African peoples by fighting for the restoration of the rich land of Kenya to its rightful owners, the African people."

"We hope that success attending efforts of those delegates who fighting to have the statement referred back to the Party membership. But should they millions of our oppressed brothers in the colonial world will expect Conference to have the courage to vote against the document as a whole.

Socialist Outlook
invites
Margate Delegates
to a meeting in the
Belle Vue Hotel
(Cliftonville)
Thursday, Oct. 1
8 p.m.

