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3d.

The Object
of McCarthyism
Exposed

(See article p. 3)

OPERATION 'CHUCK-OUT'

Reported by Andrew Kirkby

FROM Pimlico to Princes' Gate, from Charing Cross to Chelsea Bridge, the 100 per cent Tory City Council of Westminster is stepping up the attack on the 1,200 or more occupiers of requisitioned properties. Some 420 of them have been singled out for rent increases.

Last week scores of notices were issued to the first unlucky ones. They were told that from a date in May they will have to pay the "economic" rent—which means what the property costs the Council in compensation to the landlord.

In many cases the rents will be doubled.

One tenant earning £7 per week has been told his rent will soon be over £6 per week!

A rent rebate scheme is to be introduced. This will allow tenants unable to pay the "economic" rent to subject themselves to a good old-fashioned Means Test. The rent will then be assessed on the basis of what the City Council thinks the tenant can afford.

GO TO THE SUBURBS!

This blow follows close on the City Council announcement, (reported recently in the "Socialist Outlook"), that all tenants of requisitioned properties will be made to leave. The Council is not providing them with alternative accommodation. It is telling the tenants to consider taking mortgages on suburban houses.

Most working people will find this financially impossible, but what happens to them is apparently no concern of the Tory City Councilors and their landlord friends. "I'm all right Jack!"

The Tories will not have things all their own way. Resistance to these attacks on working class living conditions is growing. The Cities of London and Westminster Labour Party has elected an Action Committee to plan the fight against the Tories on this issue. Two of the members of this Committee are themselves occupiers of requisitioned properties.

ONE AT A TIME!

One difficulty to be overcome is the fact that many requisitioned houses and flats are isolated in the Tory areas of the City. A large and lively campaign will be necessary to make sure that all the threatened tenants are made aware of the fight being made in their defence.

Help For E.T.U. Strikers is Urgently Needed

The latest batch of 'guerillas' to be sent into action on behalf of the contracting electricians' wage claim are those employed at the British Industries Fair. It is 100 per cent successful—with the local N.F.B.T.O. refusing to work with non-union labour.

But this gallant struggle by the E.T.U. is entering a critical stage. Those thousands of members who are on 'indefinite' strike have now been out since January 18th. Financial aid from organised Labour is urgently needed.

The employers are well provided with support. Don't let your fellow-workers lose through lack of money.

In an attempt to counteract opposition the City Council is sending out its notices on a very selective basis. One tenant will get a notice whilst two or three others in the same house will, perhaps hear nothing for the time being. The Tories are trying to pick them off one by one.

Labour's course is clear in these circumstances. The City Council must be told to withdraw all the notices. No de-requisitioning should be accepted so long as a housing waiting list remains. (There is a long one in Westminster despite the 5-years residence qualification needed to get on to it).

If the City Council insists on its ruthless campaign to hand the requisitioned houses back to the landlords the Labour and Trade Union movement must do all in its power to help the tenants to stay on as squatters.

I hope to report further on this battle from time to time in the "Socialist Outlook."

The Rent Bill

—and how to fight it

By Councillor John Goffe

THE Housing Rents and Repairs Bill is supposed, in the words of the White Paper, to tackle the problem of putting "dilapidated houses in good repair as regards both structure and decoration." This is just not true.

There is not a word in the Bill about "decoration" and as far as structure is concerned the landlord is required only to maintain it in a state "fit for human habitation." The Bill however lowers the existing standard of "fit for human habitation."

This revolting piece of hypocrisy will not appeal to the millions of housewives battling against steadily worsening conditions who are looking for some relief from the constant strain of trying to bring up families decently.

Something is supposed to be done for "houses which could give years of good service if they were improved." The Labour Housing Act of 1949 permits local councils to make "improvement grants" up to £400 (at the rate of 50 per cent of the total expenditure) to private landlords who are entitled to increase the rent by 6 per cent of the landlords share of the cost. The maximum of £400 is to remain under the new Bill but landlords will be able to raise the rent by 8 per cent of his cost.

Another dangerous clause permits landlords to obtain eviction orders against families (in excess of one) who inhabit a dwelling which does not conform to the standards, instead of remedying the defects.

These clauses, coupled with those which permit the landlords to raise rents without proof of the state of the property or the sums spent in repairs, clearly demonstrate that the Bill's sole purpose is to benefit the landlords.

To such a Bill the Labour Party must counterpose its programme for the whole of rented dwellings to be owned and controlled by the local authority.

This is the only way to tackle the problems of "dilapidated" houses, houses in need of improvements (for example—bathrooms,

THE proposal to re-create a German Army led by Nazi Generals, supplied by the already regenerated Ruhr industrialists and backed to the hilt by American capital, sends a shudder down the spine of all Europe—for all Europe knows this is likely to be a fatal step to World War III

The Russian and German workers—the two nations who bore the brunt of the last war's misery and destruction—are bitterly opposed to this dastardly plan. So are the French and the Italians whose respective governments are paralysed by the depth of the opposition to German Re-armament. In Britain only hopeless servants of Imperialism dare speak up for the plan. Labour's

rank and file are pressing its leadership for an Emergency Conference of the Party to decide firmly against German Re-armament. All this is good.

But it is precisely this mass opposition which is now pervading all Europe that is forcing the hand of the warmongering American, British and German capitalists. They badly need a well-trained German Army, officered by Hitler's old faithfuls, not only to strengthen their base for war against the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe—but also to police a Europe whose old order rulers are fast losing all control of the situation.

"Washington is disturbed," says a prominent French journalist, Maurice Duverger, "about the revival of the French Communist Party: hence a more energetic pressure for the adoption of a treaty which will permit the re-armament of the 'sound', the 'healthy', the sane Germany, bourgeois, liberal, without a Communist Party, without strikes, without social agitation: hence the support of Germany by the U.S. within the Europe of the Six... At the end of this clockwork mechanism there is the sting of final consequences: German soldiers maintaining order on the continent, subduing Communist Parties, trade unions, social movements. From this angle, the 12 German divisions regain importance... Is not the pseudo-Europe of the militarists, whose justification is further weakened by the H-bomb, going to become the Europe of the Gendarmes?" (our emphasis).

There it is. Much more than purely military considerations, the plan to create a German Army is a plan to create a Europe of the Gendarmes!

If, with but few exceptions, and

those mainly among the 'leaders,' all European labour is opposed to this plan, then all European labour must have a common line of opposition—a common alternative to present to the people.

It is no longer enough to act like a pacifist opposition to some Boer War adventure—it is neces-

By the Editor

sary to propose and make clear to millions of people a positive, practical alternative to the military nightmare into which the old order of Europe has descended.

If we demand—as we must demand—a reduction in the Arms Programme, we cannot even tacitly support the purpose which that Arms Programme serves. If we do we shall be accused by the Tories—as Attlee and Morrison have already been accused—of utter irresponsibility in matters of defence. We must therefore tear to pieces the very purpose of this alleged Defence Programme.

Stationing eighty per cent of the armed forces abroad where they are set to work holding millions in bondage—from Georgetown to Nairobi, from Hamburg to Hong Kong—has absolutely nothing to do with the defence of the ordinary people of Britain.

Set the colonial people free! End these "overseas commitments"! Withdraw the troops—and from Germany as well! By these acts alone, a tremendous burden of armaments could be lifted off the backs of the British people.

AND WHAT OF EUROPE?

Europe is the key. There above all must Labour have an alterna-

tive policy. What shall it be?

Mr. Molotov has suggested that all the occupation forces should be withdrawn from Germany and Europe should form a peaceful union for mutual security, open to all European nations, and in which the unification of Germany could be finally resolved.

Taken out of the diplomatic handbag and given flesh and blood by the Labour Movement, Molotov's idea can be developed into Labour's positive programme for peace.

Naturally, such a United Europe, a peaceful Europe, can never be acceptable to Dulles, Churchill, Franco and Adenauer. For both social and economic reasons Europe's capitalists must remain firmly wedded to N.A.T.O. and this present monstrous militarism.

But the idea of a peaceful European Union is wholly acceptable to the workers who hate the very thought of another futile blood-letting, and it certainly ought to be acceptable to the workers' parties.

Here then is the key to peace: a United SOCIALIST Europe to be worked for, and fought for, unitedly by every socialist and communist party in Europe. Here is the alternative to German Re-armament and E.D.C. A new Europe: united because the old divisions are economically and politically ridiculous; socialist—because only socialists are today interested in peace.

If British Labour adopts this plan and seeks support for it among the German, the Italian, the French, the Dutch, the Belgian and the Russian working class, the grisly plan to create a "Europe of the Gendarmes" may yet be still-born.

Wages and Arbitration

The 'Bob-a-Month' Award

THE Court of Enquiry recommendation that Engineers should have a 5 per cent wage increase (whilst completely exposing the lies of the employers that they could not afford anything and that the claim was unjustified) falls totally short of what the workers need and are entitled to.

Seven full months have elapsed since the date of presentation of the claim—seven months of frustrating waiting by the workers, except for the brief and glorious December 2nd demonstration. And what is the result?

Seven bob—one bob for every month of waiting! And yet the gentlemen of the T. & G.W.U. have the temerity to come forward and say that this niggardly and belated recommendation proves that Court of Enquiries are much better than all your strikes and industrial actions!

WHAT THEY FORGOT

Firstly—the award hardly covers the increase in the cost of living from last July up to the present—let alone anywhere approaching the increase in the cost of living from November, 1952 to July, 1953.

Secondly the Court was set up precisely to avoid the show-down

between employers and the workers.

Can any honest person believe that the Court would have recommended seven shillings if there had been no industrial action threatened?

The recommendation, being so low, should be rejected by the unions. But indications are such that both the employers and union leaders might accept. It may be argued:—"Well half (in this case one third!) of a loaf is better than

none." But the workers could get all the loaf if the correct strike strategy was embarked upon coupled with correct leadership. But the Trade Union leaders reveal, not leadership, but timidity every time the question of mass industrial action, which challenges both the employers and their Government, is involved.

GAS CHAMBERS

The Court, fearing for the future, suggests the setting up of a permanent "joint body which could keep wages and related matters under periodic review..." This suggestion is highly dangerous because, if accepted, it could be used to stop all industrial action by the workers to enforce

their claims and could channelise militant actions into the gas chambers of the Board Rooms. We have enough of this procedure as it is without adding a new one to the York Memorandum.

AUTOMATIC INCREASES

They also expressed concern at the annual wage claims by unions. I agree—but not for the same reason. The Court is hinting that the time has come to stop wage increases.

I believe the time has come for the engineers to get an automatic increase in wages with every increase in the cost of living based on a cost of living index that would be genuine—that is drawn up by the unions themselves.

This 5 per cent wage recommendation is the first one where a wage claim has not been settled in the same year. We cannot go on having the farce of waiting months for an increase—it is our right to have it automatically. In this way the union could concentrate on other urgent issues.

To achieve a Sliding Scale of Wages would not be an easy fight at all. Certainly Courts of Enquiry or so-called Joint Wage Boards would never hand this over on a plate. Only with bold industrial action coupled with correct leadership can the workers hope to protect their standard of living from the ravages of capitalist cut-throat competition in the year 1954.

By

Harry Finch

Unity with the German Workers

By
Bill Hunter

IN building up German militarism as an integral part of their war plans, American capitalism and its allies are giving back power to the monopolists and Generals in Germany who backed fascism. Symbolic of the growth in influence of fascist elements is the decision of the German authorities to exhume and re-inter the bodies of 91 Nazi concentration camp officials.

In the House of Commons six Labour M.P.'s have tabled a resolution of protest against this action. The concluding sentence of their resolution, however, makes it clear that the time has come for some plain speaking on internationalism.

"...such arrogant repudiation of guilt", it declares "proves Germany to be still unfit to take her place in the community of civilised nations."

That sentence contains an absolutely false, unsocialistic and nationalistic condemnation of a working class and a labour movement. For it is Germany as a whole that is branded, a Germany that contains such a class and such a movement. And let it not be forgotten that it was as part of the fascist instruments of terror against the German working class movement first and foremost, that the concentration camps were built.

The working people of Germany are no more responsible for the growth of German militarism and the manifestation of the Nazi forces today than are the workers in the capitalist countries who are occupying Germany, and whose rulers determine all major questions in Germany.

And the German worker may rightly ask "Who, precisely, comprises this community of civilised nations to which we Germans are unfit to belong?" Who, indeed! Britain? In Kenya alone, under British rule atrocities are being committed which equal those of the s.s. in occupied Europe. France? In French North Africa there is a rule of terror. America? In America itself, McCarthyism, the American form of fascism, is spewing forth.

War preparations and militarism will not be fought by raising the jingo flag and telling the British working class that the world is divided into civilised nations and "lesser breeds without the law." International socialists will not give an inch to reactionary nationalistic prejudices. Those prejudices have always served the war aims of capitalism. They will be used to foster war hatred against the Soviet Union tomorrow. When the propaganda machine churns out Russian atrocities, then the chauvinism against the German nation which is whipped up today will be used to brand Russia as an "uncivilised nation."

British socialists are tested first and foremost in their attitude towards the militarism and oppression of our own capitalist class. It is here that the struggle begins against the preparations for the Third World War. We have a duty to aid the German workers in their struggle against the growth of German militarism and to smash German monopoly capitalism. But that means a fight first and foremost against our own government and the class it represents. For our own rulers, together with those of the other capitalist powers, are nourishing and feeding these enemies of the German working class.

It is nine years of occupation which have resulted in the growth of German militarism and the division of Germany. That is why the immediate unconditional with-

drawal of troops must be the foremost demand for socialists. To fight for that is the way to disrupt the war plans in Europe and secure a united Germany.

In the West the occupation forces have propped up German capitalism. In the East, as the June uprising showed, they support a stalinist regime to whose bureaucratism the workers are opposed.

In a united Germany, freed from the occupation of other countries, the German working class power would increase as against that of the monopoly capitalists who fastened the fascist terror on them in the past. The workers in the East would link with their brothers in the West to defend the nationalisations and proceed to extend them throughout Germany.

To sharply counteract chauvinism, to say openly and clearly, our troops, our occupation is bolstering up German capitalism as part of the war preparations of British capitalism, and to demand the end of our occupation; to expose the terror and atrocities of our own imperialism—all that may take more political courage than to play in the muddy waters of chauvinism. But it is the only internationalist, the only socialist, way to proceed. It is the only way to bring out the unity of interests between British, German and all other workers, and forge the links of solidarity that can break the war plans. It would be the task of an Emergency Labour Party Conference, if the Labour Party, is to fulfil its socialist obligations, to decide how to proceed in such a way.

"The Prophet Armed"—
Trotsky: 1879-1921 by Isaac
Deutscher. Oxford University
Press. 30/-

NO man of comparable historical stature has been more maligned and lied about than Leon Trotsky. Throughout the last period of his life (ended by an assassin's axe) millions of people were "educated" by Stalinist propaganda into believing that Trotsky was some sort of "mad fascist dog", the "depraved lackey of imperialism."

Indeed, so widespread was—and is—this grotesque conception of one of the world's greatest revolutionary figures that his biographer, Isaac Deutscher, in the introduction to this book, has felt obliged to anticipate the emotional shock which his recital of the true facts about Trotsky's life and work will give to so many of his readers. He writes:

"My account of Trotsky's role in the Russian Revolution will come as a surprise to many. For nearly thirty years the powerful propaganda machines of Stalinism worked furiously to expunge Trotsky's name from the annals of the revolution, or to leave it there only as the synonym for arch-traitor. To the present Soviet generation and not only to it, Trotsky's life story is already like an ancient Egyptian sepulchre which is known to have contained the body of a great man and the record, engraved in gold, of his deeds, but tomb-robbers and ghouls have plundered and left it so empty and desolate that no trace is found of the record it once contained. The work of the tomb-robbers has been so persistent that it has strongly affected the views even of independent Western historians and scholars."

By undoing the ghoulish work of the tomb-robbers, by restoring to the world the true picture of Leon Trotsky, Isaac Deutscher has performed a service of inestimable value to the cause of truth and of socialism.

How many British socialists are aware that Leon Trotsky was the first President of the first Soviet in history? How many know that he was the President of the Petrograd Soviet again in 1917 and, in that capacity, led and organised the insurrection which brought into being the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? That few know these incontrovertible historical facts is a measure of the success of the tomb-robbers—and the ghoulish work still goes on.

I.C.I.'s Disappearing Trick!

THE Board of Directors of I.C.I. and its Chairman, Dr. Alexander Fleck, are somewhat annoyed that they are due for partial nationalisation under the next Labour Government, so they have issued a pamphlet—"The Chemical Industry and Challenge to Britain"—which they say is "For the information of stockholders and employees."

"There is no foundation," says the pamphlet, "for the assertion that the chemical industry is under tight monopoly control, although it is true that there is a monopoly in certain products..." "As far as I.C.I. is concerned there is no truth in the implication that the Company controls the Chemical Industry."

In case you assume from those remarks that I.C.I. is making heavy weather against capitalist competition, the pamphlet will sadly disillusion you.

"I.C.I. manufactures some 4,000 separate products," it says, "not counting various grades of the same product. In some of these I.C.I. has a monopoly or near monopoly in the narrow sense, but quite often it is more apparent than real" (my emphasis). So now, like the Church, it has a metaphysical monopoly!

As a further masterly example of the shyness and reticence of I.C.I., the pamphlet claims that the Company only employs one third of the workers in the industry and is only one of 260 firms who are members of the Association of British Chemical Manufacturers. The fact that I.C.I. supplies most of the other firms with raw materials places it in a position to dictate terms of trade,

'We are not a monopoly'

—But this chemical worker doesn't believe it

allocation of markets and selling prices is conveniently overlooked.

For example, the International Alkali cartel of 1936, which was preceded by earlier agreements "allocated many countries as exclusive markets to each of its three participants. The Belgian Solway et Cie, was granted the European mainland except Russia, I.C.I. was allocated the British Empire (except Canada) and the Middle East; and an American Export Cartel got Canada, Central America and the Dutch East Indies.

Finally, I.C.I. and the American cartel shared, with percentage quotas allocated for each country, the markets of China (gone) Japan, Brazil and other South American countries." ("Monopoly Good and Bad" by Richard Evelyn).

On this aspect the I.C.I. pamphlet proceeds to offer some ominous hints and threats.

"In some countries I.C.I. owns subsidiary manufacturing and trading companies, and is often called upon to make decisions on whether to export to a given market or to undertake local manufacture. In other countries I.C.I. has partly-owned associated companies in which local nationals share in joint ownership and joint management, and similar decisions have again to be made.

"If I.C.I. were to be nationalised this collaboration could not continue undisturbed. Moreover, decisions on local capital investment either alone or in collabora-

tion with local interests are at present determined by a balance of technical and commercial considerations. If the company were nationalised such decisions would tend to be determined by political considerations."

If the Board of Directors wished to clinch the case for nationalisation they could not have more accurately pin-pointed one of the most vital issues.

It is precisely because this gigantic international cartels' Commercial interests are the heart of Imperialist political considerations that the Labour movement, if it is to end Imperialism, must control I.C.I.

"I.C.I.," says the pamphlet "also maintains contact with many overseas chemical companies with whom it negotiates for patents, processes and know-how. It is in this way that the Company spreads to other countries the benefits of its new discoveries."

As an example of this beneficent international agreement, it should be remembered that one of the Companies concerned was the I.G.—Farben Industrie who, during the war made terrible use of the "benefits of its new discoveries". One of these "new discoveries" was the gas "Zeekon" manufactured by I.G.—Farben under a patent agreement with I.C.I.

"Zeekon" normally in the form of white powdered crystals volatilises at 27 degrees centigrade. It was dropped down the

ventilator chutes of the extermination chambers by the s.s. Guards at Auschwitz, Belsen, and other concentration camps, and the heat from the packed bodies of the victims was sufficient to gas them.

In Auschwitz concentration camp alone four-and-a-half million dead testify to the fact that "the Company spreads to other countries the benefits of its new discoveries."

There are two subjects upon which the I.C.I. pamphlet is noticeably silent. Firstly, the enormous profits it makes every year by exploiting its monopoly within many industries, exploiting its price agreements and regulated foreign markets, and exploiting its labour in foreign countries as well as in Britain.

But after all the pamphlet was for the information of stockholders and employees, and this might have been embarrassing.

Secondly, it said little or nothing about its virtual monopoly over the production of explosives, and its extremely large production of ammunition of all calibres.

Besides fertilizing the soil of Britain and many other countries with nitrates, phosphates and potash these last named products of its Nobel and Metals division have contributed to fertilizing numerous battlefields with the blood and bodies of its customers, often by supplying both sides.

"Left alone," says the pamphlet, "private industry will continue to work out priorities according to the demand for its products." Amen!

Since the products of I.C.I. affect not only the economy of Britain but also the peace of the World, the socialisation of this great monopoly must be a priority task for the next Labour Government.

This Was Trotsky

★ Deutscher Undoes the 'Tomb-Robbers' Work ★

Only last week, for example, the "Daily Worker," in an angry reference to Deutscher's book, asserted—as it has asserted a million times before—that Trotsky played no role whatever in the Russian Revolution. Yet it was Stalin himself who wrote, in Pravda, November, 1918, that "all the practical organisation of the insurrection was conducted under the immediate leadership of the President of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Trotsky. It is possible to say with certainty that the swift passing of the garrison to the side of the Soviet and the skillful direction of the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee, the party owes principally and first of all to Comrade Trotsky."

Stalin, in 1918, could hardly write otherwise for then Trotsky's passionate revolutionary oratory and his cool-headed organising ability had earned him a place in the affections of the Petrograd workers higher even than Lenin.

All this emerges clearly from Deutscher's stirring account of the revolutionary years. It would be wrong, however, to think that this book is simply an uncritical eulogy of Trotsky. On the con-

Book Review by
John Lawrence

trary, he is spared nothing. His long dispute with Lenin is painstakingly elaborated and it is the Bolshevik leader who undoubtedly emerges with the greater credit.

THE 'MENSHEVİK PERIOD

Yet Trotsky was never really a Menshevik—his "intuitive sense of history singled him out among the political thinkers of his generation." His conception of permanent revolution separated him fundamentally from those who saw for the Russian working class only long years of parliamentary opposition to a capitalist government. For this reason, while his former Menshevik associates more or less rapidly found themselves on the side of the counter-revolution in 1917, Trotsky, in complete agreement with the Bolsheviks, came together with them, was elected on to their Central Committee with the second



LEON TROTSKY

At his desk as the Chief of the Red Army during the Civil War in Russia, 1918-21.

highest vote and played a giant's role in the 1917 upheaval.

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

After the crushing of the 1905 Revolution, and while awaiting trial in a Czarist jail, the young Trotsky first developed the political theory for which, perhaps more than anything else, posterity will remember him.

Almost alone among Russian socialists he saw that the Russian capitalist class, late in arriving on the stage of history, was utterly unfit to emulate its brother class in Europe and carry through the destruction of Russian feudalism. It might, reluctantly and almost unwittingly, initiate the mass insurrection against Czarist absolutism but to the young and numerically small Russian proletariat would fall the task of completing this revolution—accomplishing thereby the historic tasks of the bourgeois revolution by specifically socialist means.

Furthermore, said Trotsky—and all this is well explained in Deutscher's book—such a revolution would itself inspire revolutions in either the East or the West without whose help the Russian revolution, born in backwardness and poverty, could not develop towards proletarian socialism.

BRILLIANTLY CONFIRMED

The first part of this theory of "Permanent Revolution" was brilliantly and positively confirmed in the Revolution of 1917. A mere nine months after Czarism fell and a mass movement hoisted the unwilling Russian capitalists into power, the working class—led

by Lenin's Bolsheviks—placed itself at the head of an enraged and frustrated peasantry, brushed aside the short-lived capitalist regime, crushed the old system of landlordism and thus inaugurated the first Workers' State in history.

35 years later, the theory of permanent revolution again finds confirmation in China where the Communist Party, leading a huge movement of peasants, has been impelled to undertake a socialist revolution in order to solve the bourgeois tasks of national independence and freedom from landlordism.

Mao Tse Tung, for all he is a product of the Stalin School, conducts himself—in fact, although not consciously—much more in accordance with Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution—than with that peculiar brain child of Stalin, conceived as an empirical adaptation to world reaction—the theory of "Socialism in One Country."

The permanence of the revolution on a global scale has also been confirmed but, unfortunately, only from the negative side. There has been no lack of revolutionary situations in the world since 1917 but they have all—until today and the advent of the Chinese revolution—failed to bring the working class to power.

Explanation for the existence in Russia of a police regime and a super-privileged caste of bureaucrats is to be found, in the last analysis, in the failure of the Russian Revolution to extend itself to the great industrial centres of the capitalist world.

Trotsky himself was later to explain this historic process—and thus, incidentally, to explain his own "downfall"—but Deutscher's biography takes the reader only to 1921. The long years of exile are to be treated in a separate volume. Even so, Isaac Deutscher anticipates his next book by suggesting, in both the introduction and conclusion of the "The Prophet Armed," that Trotsky's "fall from power" was due in no small measure to his personal failings and weaknesses. I must take issue with the author on this question.

WHY STALIN TRIUMPHED

If Trotsky—the hero of Petrograd, the founder of the Red Army, the Revolution's first Foreign Secretary and brilliant

theoretician could be exiled, hounded and persecuted throughout the world, the real explanation is to be sought, not in personal weaknesses, but in those grandiose sweeps in the historical process which Leon Trotsky, above all men, was best able to comprehend. Much better, if I may say so, than his present sympathetic biographer who sees "tragedy" where Trotsky himself saw only the inexorable workings of historic laws. Let him speak for himself.

"The working class of Russia," he writes in "My Life" "under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, made an attempt to effect a reconstruction of life that would...lay the foundations of a higher culture...The revolution is an experiment that will undergo many changes and will probably be made anew from its very foundations. It will assume an entirely different character on the basis of the newest technical achievements. But after a few decades and centuries, the new social order will look back on the October Revolution as the bourgeois order does on the German Reformation or the French Revolution."

Personal tragedy? Trotsky saw none at all. "Since my exile," he wrote, "I have more than once read musings in the newspapers on the subject of the 'tragedy' that has befallen me. I know no personal tragedy. I know the change of two chapters of the revolution...In prison, with a book or a pen in my hand, I experienced the same deep satisfaction that I did at the mass meetings of the revolution. I felt the mechanics of power as an inescapable burden, rather than as a spiritual satisfaction..."

A man who could, from exile, so calmly view historical events in which he himself had played so great a part, who could remain entirely and wholeheartedly devoted to the revolution and, to the end of his life, could call upon the working class to defend the Soviet Union from all imperialist attack in order to protect—not the distorted present—but the glorious future of the new social order—such a man surely deserves the most careful study by all serious socialists.

Isaac Deutscher's book will, I am sure, inspire many readers to turn to the works of Trotsky himself. For this reason alone—quite apart from the excellence of the book itself—I heartily recommend "The Prophet Armed"—especially to the socialist youth who must live and act in a period of revolutionary upheavals whose scope will make even the great October Revolution appear puny by comparison.

Honduras Crisis
by
George Padmore

IN NEXT WEEK'S
"SOCIALIST OUTLOOK"

Make sure of your copy. Order
it NOW from your newsagent.

'Anti-Communism Is Reaction's Block-buster Against the people of America'

The Object of McCarthyism Exposed

By George Clarke

IN Europe, fascism emerged and triumphed in defeated countries wracked by economic crisis, where mass socialist and communist parties threatened the powers-that-be with revolution. Fascism was the attempt of the most privileged of the propertied class to solve the crisis by smashing the labour movement and establishing totalitarian rule. In this way, they eliminated the social threat and began to restore profits.

But in America today, none of these conditions have obtained. America was a victor country in the war, and of all the capitalist countries its only beneficiary. There has been full employment and prosperity for 13 years. The labour movement is led by capitalist-minded leaders among whom there is not a single Bevan or Thorez. There is no socialist left wing in the ranks, hardly any opposition at all.

Yet it is precisely these conditions that brought McCarthyism into existence. For if the situation was generally favourable for Big Business at home it was just the contrary abroad.

CAPITALISM'S NIGHTMARE

There they were faced with an acute and growing threat of social revolution on all sides. The old regimes were pushed out in Eastern Europe, capitalist rule

was overthrown in China. There was now a front of 800 million people organised in the Soviet or communist bloc and hostile to the profit system. And the front was constantly expanding.

Not all the billions of Marshall Plan dollars had changed the allegiance of one out of four voters in France, or of the even larger proportion in Italy. Nor could modern armies conquer for imperialism in Korea, Indo-China or Malaya. Rather the fever of discontent has spread to the colonial peoples of the Near East and all parts of Africa, from Egypt to Kenya.

This became a perpetual nightmare for American capital. Its world empire was vanishing, and it feared the day when this tidal wave of social change would overwhelm it in America as well. Big Business declared war against this world revolution which they call Communist. And it was that declaration of war that raised the curtain for McCarthyism.

WAR WITH RUSSIA

From the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine in 1947 to Dulles' latest speech, the government has acted as if it were not merely giving leadership to the forces of anti-communism in the world, but actually at war with the Soviet Union, China and the states of Eastern Europe. All the language, methods and acts of war, short of actual hostilities, have been in constant official use.

Government spokesmen designate the U.S.S.R. as the enemy. A world-wide chain of encircling military bases have been built around it. The State Department sought to create a military coalition of states directed against the U.S.S.R. In the dispute that flared up between Truman and MacArthur over strategy in the Korean War, the fact of war with the U.S.S.R. was not questioned.

The "cold war" was no brilliant success from the military standpoint. Its only real victory was in the United States. The chief victim was the American people who were driven by skillfully exploited fears or by intimidation into accepting, or acquiescing in America's role as the aggressive leader of world reaction.

NEW DEAL VICTIM

But there was another victim

BRITISH socialists find it difficult to understand why America—which has no large communist movement and which is the furthest away from the U.S.S.R. and China—should be plagued with a virulent anti-communist witch-hunt. Why is it that McCarthyism finds no supporters on European soil (where even Herbert Morrison protests) yet flourishes to a dreadful extent in the land of "freedom and democracy"? This article by one of the Editors of the "American Socialist" (and condensed and reproduced from that American journal) goes a long way in answering those questions.

whose defeat was almost as ardently desired by Big Business as the defeat of Russia itself. That was the "New Deal."

We use this term to designate the broad social movement that had arisen in the last depression, a movement which was based on powerful trade unions which rallied the people to fight the Big Business monopolies for a programme of social reform and a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth.

For almost a dozen years the kings of industry and finance had been vainly trying to destroy this movement. They denounced it as

"socialist." (Despite the honest, indignant denials, there was a certain grain of truth in the charge. For if the movement continued it was bound to be forced to the left, to adopt a more radical programme and to find a new and socialist leadership). But the denunciation fell on deaf ears. The workers saw in it another device to restore the open shop and jungle conditions of the last depression.

FRANKENSTEIN CREATED

It is one of the ironies of history that always overtakes liberals, that the very men who were sup-

posed to lead this movement, the so-called New Deal wing of the Democratic Party and its labour leader allies, were most responsible for preparing the conditions for the defeat of the movement.

The "cold war" and the mould of "national unity" it created, which they authored, directed and led for its first five years, proved to be the Frankenstein monster that eventually rose up to destroy them politically, and some of them personally. Big Business now has the formula that had previously been lacking.

It was a diabolical one, skillfully adapted to the prejudices of a wealthy America surrounded by an impoverished and revolutionary world.

First: Capitalism, the profit system, "free enterprise" so-called, is the American way. To support this system is patriotic, to oppose it disloyalty, subversion.

Second: Communism is totalitarian, anti-Christ and aggressively seeking world domination. It is not merely a doctrine, or peoples in revolt, but above all a number of states possessing big police forces and bigger armies.

TREASON APPEARS

From here it was short "logical" steps to the crowning conclusion that all opposition to capitalism, that even liberal criticisms of the power of the monopolies is communist, or a step on the road to communism. Therefore it is treachery, or a step in the direction of treachery on behalf of a foreign power with which America is, in effect, at war.

And, contrariwise, all desire for peace is really support or appeasement of communism, which means the enemy foreign power, Russia—and is therefore tainted with subversion.

This equation of communism to treason is the keystone of the witch-hunt.

The American people had no palpable reason to be frightened by the threat of communism as a native movement. "Communists" and "radicals" could do all the "agitating" they wanted, all the "fomenting" and "inciting", but if nobody responded there was no serious danger. There had to be a threat to "national security"—which was parlayed into a threat to the standard of living—a conspiracy organised by a

ORGANISED LABOUR BEATS MCCARTHY

Another piece of McCarthyism has come unstuck—thanks to the swift action of the American Trade Unions.

In Flint, a woman teacher was to be sacked—because she married a socialist!

But—the A.F.L. Teachers' Union, its State Executive and the Regional Director and U.A.W. officials at the Buick and Chevrolet plants all protested

Result—the teacher still teaches!

foreign power through secret agents here.

There had to be spies, helpers of spies, dupes of spies. The Hiss Case was the key piece to the whole structure of what is now called McCarthyism. Its effect was reinforced by the Rosenberg Case and The Harry White Case.

Strange as it may seem, the spy scare took hold precisely because the American people didn't want war, they weren't particularly interested in foreign adventures to crush revolutions or for any other purpose. Unlike pre-Hitler Germany, there were jobs and careers at home, and plenty of illusions about the possibilities of getting ahead. The people accepted the anti-Communist "cold war" on one condition: that they wouldn't have to fight it personally.

SECURITY SCARE

But all of this was geared to the notion that America's monopoly of the atom bomb gave us the security that was once provided by the oceans. The Truman Administration was primarily responsible for convincing public opinion of this fantasy. But when Russia exploded its own atom bomb the road was clear for McCarthy. He added a spy scare to the anti-communist drive and made it the focal point.

He could double Truman in brass in tearing up the First Amendment, smearing reputations, burning books, turning the country into a paradise for cops, vigilantes and informers. Once again the Truman administration was smeared in the process because obviously—obviously!—the spies could not have operated so successfully if not for their well-known softness to communism which was the natural result of New Dealish, socialist ideas.

Once the spy theory became accepted currency it was converted into a theory of history. Why had communism overrun one-third of Europe and all of China? The answer was simple. Because the Roosevelt and the Truman Administrations were composed of fools and knaves.

Didn't they make the deals at Yalta, didn't they present Stalin as a faithful ally and the Chinese communists as "agrarian reformers"? Obviously they were appeasers of communist or fellow-travelling sympathisers.

It was a theory that had many virtues. It depicted the revolutions in the world not as vast peoples' movements but as cloak-and-dagger conspiracies. It comprised all political opponents, all dissident thought, outlawed the "red" and smeared the "pink."

It concealed the fact that the anti-communists were tied in with the China Lobby, the oil interests and big investments houses, that all the tears about "America losing China" was nothing but mourning for the loss of a lucrative source of cheap labour, raw materials and profits.

To sum up: The cold war has won victories only in the United States where anti-Communism is reaction's blockbuster against the American people.

American Workers Fight Witch-Hunt

San Francisco

THAT the American workers are awakening to the dangers inherent in McCarthyism is demonstrated by the following item of news from San Francisco.

The witch-hunting Velde Committee recently visited San Francisco to "investigate communism" in the Dockers' Union. The Union warned the Committee that if they attempted any attacks on them there would be a strike—and there was!

In protest against the "investigation," 6,000 dockers stopped work and called a mass meeting of protest in front of the City Hall where the investigation was proceeding.

Inspired by this working class example, students at the

local university organised a packed meeting and set up a committee to continue the anti-witch-hunt activity.

Meanwhile the demonstrations had penetrated to the Velde hearings and all the witnesses—except a few pathetic stool-pigeons—stood firm and refused to testify. The public at the hearings were hostile to the Committee which eventually packed up the "investigation" and departed the city a week before it was scheduled to do so.

Its departure is being widely interpreted in San Francisco as a flight before the stormy wave which broke over the waterfront from American dock workers. Quite clearly American Labour has not yet spoken its last word—hardly its first!—about this bestial phenomena of McCarthyism!

COLONIAL FREEDOM

New Organisation Formed

A NEW organisation to rally public opinion in favour of a change in colonial policy will be launched at a special delegate conference on Saturday, 11th April, 1954 at the Waldorf Hotel, Aldwych, W.C.2.

The acting officers of the new organisation are: Chairman—Fenner Brockway, M.P., Treasurer—Anthony Wedgwood Benn, M.P. One of the main speakers at the conference will be Jennie Lee M.P.

Among the individual sponsors of the new organisation, which will be called the "Congress for Colonial Freedom," are:

Sir Richard Acland, M.P., Leslie Hale, M.P., Jack Stanley, Canon L. John Collins, Sir Fred Messer, M.P., Rev. Dr. Donald Soper, Walter Padley, M.P., Sir Leslie Plummer, M.P.

Three organisations specialising in colonial affairs have already decided to amalgamate in the "Congress for Colonial Freedom." They are the British Centre of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism; the Council for the Defence of Seretse Khama and the Protectorates; and the British Guiana Association.

Among the objects of the organisation are to support:

The rights of Colonial peoples to independence (self-government and self-determination) and of all peoples to freedom from external economic or military domination.

The application throughout the world of the principle of "fair shares for all" by extending to under-developed territories economic aid free from exploitation or external ownership.

The application of the Four Freedoms and the Declaration of Human Rights to all peoples, including Freedom from Contempt by the abolition of the Colour Bar.

Socialist Outlook
177 Bermondsey St., London, S.E.1.
Editor: John Lawrence

BLOWING HOT, BLOWING COLD!

SOMEONE is being taken for a ride! First of all the White Paper on Defence told us, on page one, that there had been some alleviation of international tension. Then, in the middle of a speech on the Berlin Conference, the Prime Minister seemed to indicate that the Foreign Secretary was not quite justified in using the word "disappointment" about the Conference.

Churchill believed that some real advantages had been gained. He added that it was "a very remarkable conference... It has restored the reputation of such meetings." This was followed by a Churchillian request for more East-West Trade. Here the Premier outstripped the speeches from the Executive of the Labour Party at Margate.

It is now "the thing" to be an advocate of more East-West Trade. Thus, one would assume that all this was leading to a happier atmosphere between us and Russia. But we were wrong. The Government were making a few speeches laminated with frozen honey, then demanding bigger and better Atom-Bombers and a German Army. All through the night the Air Estimates were under discussion until the worry-cows came home. It was all about attack. Defence! That's another kettle of fish in this Atom Age. Although, mind you, I have heard it suggested that it would be excellent defence for the navy if we bored into the sea cliffs holes big enough for the navy to ride in and shelter.

Summing it all up we now con-



by Harold Davies, M.P.



clude that the only defence is to have bigger and better A. Bombs. Some day somebody will discover that after all it isn't just the size of your destructive power that counts. Rather one should get the right amount of firing power at the right place and at the right time.

WITH SWORD AND SEAX

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence moved in, fully accoutred with his brief, his sword and his seax to expound on modern logistics. I listened in amazement.

Goldsmith's Village Schoolmaster was as nothing compared to this modern Scipio expounding phrase after phrase from the jargon of strategy. Last year he told us we initiated the policy of the "long haul". That doesn't mean any lessening of our present burdens we were warned. Large sums were being spent on research and development. Probably that is why the Minister of Education is so keen on creating the very best conditions in our schools! We need the talent for research. I wonder if she knows how much pay a science graduate gets for the hard job of teaching our future research workers!

Despite the "broken-backed warfare" that we were told about, that is to follow an atom and hydrogen attack, we are to keep a "firm defensive shield in Europe." I was stunned with admiration for

the Minister's concept of the poor British working-man's commitments. He and his officers are to protect those living in the Commonwealth from pillage and rapine. That is after we have put up the European defensive shield, I suppose.

To carry on the Cold War we must still have troops armed with conventional weapons. As Mr. Nigel Birch said: "What good are atomic weapons in Malaya?" Then there is the little matter

of keeping our raw materials and grubstakes coming into our country on the high seas. Fifty million tons of dry cargo and 30 million tons of oil. We must also keep stuff flowing to the continent! Seems to me we are going to "Go it alone!"

Metaphorically, our modern Scipio had by this time reached such zeniths of strategy that I could see him grasping the handle of his Anglo-Saxon sword and fumbling with his seax (The short broad dagger at his warrior's girdle). Then followed the gobbledegook thus: "The problem involves a complex of political strategic, technical and financial considerations, none of which are static. Therefore there is no final or tidy solution at any point in time. (My emphasis because it deserves it). What we have to do is to pursue a policy of gradual change and compromise. It would be wrong in these circumstances to put our foot further forward than we can keep it down."

By this time having grasped that there was no "final or tidy solution at any point in time" I thought that I had heard enough of the jargon. By now it was obvious that the Labour Members had to go into the Lobby against this kind of rubbish. So we did and the Ayes had it by 295 votes to 270, but Labour had shown at last that we were thinking in terms of Defence differently from the Tories. The bogey of bipartisanship is broken.

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Even Tories Want Bank Rate Reduced

Because of the increasing costs of erecting council houses, four per cent rate of interest on money borrowed for the purpose was far too high, said Cleethorpes Council members at their February meeting. The Housing Committee chairman, Councillor J. O. Oslear, (Tory) suggested that the support of other authorities should be sought in calling for a reduction.

"The rate of interest was a national matter" he submitted, "Money was borrowed from the Public Works Board, at four per cent. The board obtained this money cheaply from the Government who acquired it from the taxpayer. They are lending us our own money at four per cent. If we could only get it at two per cent, it would knock 10/- a week off the rent of houses."

This Tory even went on to complain about the 25 per cent increase on sanitary appliances, 25 per cent purchase tax on floor tiles and of course, being a Tory, he had to mention the 1d. per hour increase in building operative wages.

It doesn't seem to have occurred to these Tories that the Government support created the difficulties deliberately, with which they are now faced. In order that his wealthy friends could buy their jewelry much cheaper, Butler placed a tax on floor tiles. The penny increase in wages—far too little anyway—is also the result of the Tory Government's action in forcing up the cost of living.

Grimsby S. R. Pearson

The Pools Are Big Business

No one but the pools firms themselves know how the winning sums are arrived at. They must count on the winner being so staggered that he won't argue. They are most unwilling to publish their accounts. Why not, if their profits are reasonable, and all is above board? Are their "expenses" swollen by directors fees and the like? This is what millions of investors are asking.

No one believes the pools firms' claim that it would cost £3,000,000 to provide this information. Their accountants get it out anyway, in the normal course of business, for the directors—but not for the public! The firms could not carry on if they did not already know how they calculate the winning amounts. In any case, how much has the pools firms' "ballot" cost the investors?

It is no better than blackmail to suggest that publishing the accounts would cost so much that the winning amounts would be lower. No evidence is offered by the pools firms to support this threat. If there were any truth in it, they would publish the evidence, which they must know from the accounts which they keep for themselves.

Every working man and woman can easily understand why the pools firms shun the light of publicity. They are Big Business. The Tories are the party of Big Business. Are they likely to embarrass their supporters? Just another reason here for clearing the Tories out of office.

Leeds J. Smith

Our Attitude To Germany Criticised

There is no problem over which there is greater confusion in the Labour Movement than that of German Re-armament. I fear that the article by John Lawrence in the "Socialist Outlook" of February 26, will do nothing to resolve this

confusion. On the contrary! Yet, for a Socialist Internationalist, the problem is not at all a difficult one.

If an analysis was taken of the reasons why a great many people within the Labour Movement are opposed to the re-armament of Germany, it will be found that they are based on chauvinistic motives. They subscribe to the reactionary view that the Germans are a pariah nation, unfit to bear arms because they will once again exert their national characteristics and launch yet another "aggressive war." Such reasoning is foreign to socialism.

Of course, Socialists are not in favour of the re-arming of a capitalist Germany—any more than they are in favour of the arms programmes of Britain, the U.S.A. or any other capitalist state—but we don't demand an emergency conference to discuss the Labour attitude towards the arms programmes of all these countries. No, only Germany—the "Pariah" nation is singled out.

As Socialists, our prior attitude toward the German Question must be to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all occupying forces from Germany. And if the foreign troops leave German soil what is to prevent the Germans from re-arming? German re-armament can only be effectively prevented by the continued occupation of Germany by foreign armies interested in keeping her disarmed.

I can hardly believe that the editor of "Socialist Outlook" is in favour of such a policy. How then does Comrade Lawrence contemplate keeping the Germans disarmed, and for how long?

I repeat, to avoid misunderstanding, that British socialists cannot be for the re-armament of Western Germany and the action of the Labour leaders in actively advocating this must be condemned. But equally we cannot actively single out Germany and oppose her re-armament. Our job is to disarm British capitalism. The German working class will take heart from any success we achieve in this direction and deal effectively with their own ruling class.

Richmond C. van Gelderen

John Lawrence Replies:

It seems that comrade Van Gelderen is both for and against German Re-armament! "British Socialists," he says, "cannot be for the re-armament of Western Germany" but "equally we cannot actively single out Germany and oppose her re-armament." At best this is a position of complete paralysis—at worst, it is passive support for the Right Wing re-armers. For this kind of "internationalism" Mr. Morrison will be eternally grateful.

German Re-armament is part of a dastardly capitalist plot to make an inevitable war against Russia. Opposition to this plot—despite the undoubted existence of a certain chauvinistic element in the opposition—is essentially progressive and anti-capitalist. If comrade Van Gelderen waits for a simon-pure mass movement he will wait in vain.

Who will keep the German capitalists disarmed? The German Labour Movement—which has insistently stated its complete opposition both to re-armament and to E.D.C.

As for the disarmament of the British capitalists, be patient comrade, it will come. Already, under the influence of the mass opposition to German re-armament, the Parliamentary Labour Party has voted for a reduction in the Tory Defence Programme!

Finally, who does Van Gelderen have in mind by the "we" who don't demand conferences to discuss the arms programmes of all countries? It can't be the "Socialist Outlook" which has led conferences and meetings up and down the country to demand an end to the war preparations, the withdrawal of troops from Germany and the colonies, and a programme of peaceful co-operation with the non-capitalist world.

A Matter of Life and Death

A few weeks ago, I suggested in a letter to the "Outlook" a petition within the party calling for the immediate resignation of the present Labour Leadership; since then the complete coalition on foreign affairs effected by the counterfeit Berlin conference has made this step an urgent necessity if the Movement is not to be utterly demoralised.

The whole conduct of the Morrison faction (instigated by a man who has no constitutional

rights to sit on the Executive) has been appalling in its insolent flouting of the rank-and-file member's desires: the declaration of Foreign Policy was rushed through Conference, no amendment was possible and now even the vague safeguards incorporated in it have been brushed aside.

Such open defiance of democratic procedure can only be met with drastic action: every ward and branch should back the 'S.O.'s' demand to recall Conference and at the same time circulate a petition calling for the resignation of the Morrison faction. Should these courses be blocked, every active Socialist in the wards should give advance notice that he will boycott the forthcoming Municipal elections, unless action is taken.

German Re-armament is a matter of life and death; the time for grousing and meek resolutions has gone; the Movement is facing 1931 all over again unless drastic action is taken by every individual member.

Carmarthen David E. Painting

Star Letter

We Too Are Indignant!

I noticed with joy the following resolution on the agenda of the forthcoming London Labour Party Conference: standing in the name of the Amalgamated Engineering Union (London North District Office):

"That this London Labour Party considers the occupation of London and Middlesex by the U.S.A. Armed Forces an insult and a slur; the loss of civic rights an affront to the dignities of the people and we demand and will support every effort for the withdrawal of this occupation force."

Then I noticed a whacking great asterisk printed by the side of this resolution which, I discovered indicated that it has been ruled "out of order as national or international matter." It seems the London Labour Party is not permitted to discuss such questions.

What a pity. A discussion on the indignities of the foreign occupation of Britain might have engendered a little sympathy for the millions of subject peoples in the British Empire who have suffered this kind of indignity for centuries!

Brixton (London) Negro Worker

★ Letter From British Guiana ★

Big Welcome Home For Jagan

Georgetown, British Guiana. JAGAN and Mr. Burnham, leaders of the People's Progressive Party returned to British Guiana by Air France on the 17th, after many difficulties in obtaining passage home because of the ban against them in Trinidad, they were forced to remain on the plane while at Piarco Airport. As the plane was ready to depart, Dr. Jagan called out "Get rid of Rance as soon as possible." (Rance is the Governor of Trinidad).

On the day Jagan and Burnham were to arrive the press suppressed all information concerning the arrival and instructions to the people on behaviour. It is understood that all three daily newspapers were instructed to suppress this news. Despite the fact that no mention of the arrival was made in the newspapers or on the radio, the largest number of persons ever seen assembled in British Guiana turned out to greet the return of their leaders. About fifty persons cycled the 26 miles to the air base while two women walked the whole distance. People waited in the sun and rain for hours on end, as it was first understood that they would arrive at noon. (The plane actually arrived at 4.50 p.m.).

A tumultuous reception greeted Jagan and Burnham during the 26 mile stretch back to the city with at least 90 per cent of the rural residents lining the roadside, waving flags, wearing clothes displaying the Party's tri-colour (Black, red and gold).

When the procession, which in-

cluded about 50 autos and a growing number of cycles reached Georgetown, the greeting was overwhelming. Police cars, motor cycles and horse guards kept the passage clear for the cars carrying the leaders to proceed. They were escorted past Party Headquarters to their homes.

Crowds of thousands remained in front of the homes of Burnham and Jagan for hours, each person seeking a clear view of their leaders.

On the morning of the arrival of Burnham and Jagan, Party Headquarters were raided again. Police Superintendent Barrow and four other Security Policemen remained in the headquarters for more than an hour, carrying away documents and papers. On the next day, the Police raided the new Party Office at New Amsterdam, carrying away the complete stock of books and papers.

The following statement was advertised in all the Sunday newspapers of February 7th:—

"The Officer commanding United Kingdom Troops and the Commissioner of Police wish it to be known that all ranks of the army units stationed in British Guiana are subject to the local civil authorities in the same manner as members of the British Guiana Police Force or the British Guiana Volunteer Force.

"Persons, who have any complaints to make against the conduct of British soldiers should inform the police in the ordinary way. If the evidence warrants it, the police will lay a charge or advise the complainant to take legal action privately, if the circumstances make such action more suitable. At the same time, the public are asked to note that persons who provoke breaches of

WESTMINSTER WANTS AN EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON GERMAN RE-ARMAMENT

Resolutions calling for a special National Conference of the Labour Party on the question of German Re-armament have been passed by the following organisations in Westminster.

The Cities of London and Westminster Labour League of Youth, the Westminster branch of the Plumbers' Union, St. John's (Westminster) Ward Labour Party and the 500-strong Victoria (Westminster) Ward Labour Party.

work the unification of Germany could be solved—is surely destined to provoke many repercussions among all European workers.

The workers' parties in Europe, by accepting Molotov's proposition, could commence a campaign for the economic and political integration of Europe through the creation of Socialist (or joint Socialist - Communist) Governments having the perspective of a Socialist United States of Europe.

The initiative would naturally rest with the workers' parties because the reactionary forces oriented towards war with the Soviet Union would in no case exchange their counter-revolu-

Tweedales & Smalley Dispute

FIVE-HUNDRED Engineering workers employed by Tweedales and Smalley of Rochdale, Lancs., downed tools on Thursday, February 18th, as a demonstration against what they considered to be a "dictatorial attitude" of the management.

Half a dozen keen Rugby fans had obtained permission from their foreman to have half an hour off in order to get to their team's cup-tie in time. But at the last minute, the top management, without any consultation with the Shop Stewards, stepped in and

withdrew this permission—saying that if the men did knock off early they must be prepared to suffer the consequences.

Naturally, the men, having made all arrangements and paid for their coach seats, knocked off early and went to the match. The following day they were suspended from work for one day.

This action met with indignation from the rest of the workers, and meetings were held in all departments, and while the stewards were discussing with the management, one department walked out in protest. Immediately the management broke off discussion. So the men in 12 other departments walked out.

The feeling of the men was not primarily concerned with the 6 and their football match. It was rather the high-handed manner in which the management handled the situation.

A notice put on the notice board a few days before the match might have saved all the trouble, for then the stewards would have had time in which to discuss the matter with the management and probably reach an agreement. The men feel that this was just what the management did not want.

In taking action as they did, the men have shown that they are prepared to defend the principal that the workers have a right to be consulted. They have fought for this and gained it in the past. They are not prepared to see it trampled on without a fight.

Janet Jagan

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