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**LABOUR
PARTY**
TODAY

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

WORKING CLASS UNITY!

THE START OF MAY DAY By Reg Groves

IT was in the year 1889 that the Socialist International resolved to organise a universal demonstration for the eight-hour day.

The day chosen was May First, traditionally a peoples' day for centuries. The International, however, made its choice on more immediate grounds; the American labour movement had already chosen this date for its eight-hour-day demonstrations, which had started three years before

On May 1st, 1886, Chicago workers had come out on strike for an eight-hour day.

Prominent among the workers' leaders were a group of Anarchists. These men used strong language about the evils of capitalism; they used even stronger language about the civil authorities when the police made brutal baton charges on peaceful crowds on strike and took shots at strike pickets.

At one meeting, the police arrived armed; as they began dispersing the crowd, a bomb was thrown and seven policemen were killed. No one knew who threw the bomb: no one was ever found who had seen it thrown: it was almost certainly the work of an employers' agent.

It gave the authorities the pretext they had long been seeking to institute a reign of terror against the labour movement. Socialists and Anarchists were arrested in large numbers; labour newspapers were suppressed or heavily cen-

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Comrade the world is loud
with songs of freedom
Mankind is breeding heroes
every day
On high the scarlet banner
flies aloft
Below the earth re-echoes
liberty!

Martin Carter,
(British Guiana)

MAY DAY should mean unity — unity of the working-class to defend and improve working-class living conditions. The Eight Hour Working Day is a slogan no longer carried in British May Day processions for it has, by working-class unity, been achieved.

The owners of wealth and property have been compelled to concede—over the years and after much struggle—better living conditions to a better organised working-class, but they have never—nor can they ever—grant security to those whom they exploit

Editorial

If security of employment today exists for most British workers it is only because capitalist society is embarked upon a criminal (but from their point of view, logical!) arms drive. By compelling the working-class to devote their energies to the production of guns, tanks, planes and atom bombs, and by conscripting the youth, the rulers of the old society have temporarily overcome the nightmare of unemployment—only to create another (and more hideous) nightmare—atomic world war!

Security of employment has been achieved at the expense of the security of the whole of mankind!

Is there any wonder that, in face of the ghoulis nature of the old order, the socialist and communist movements of the world have grown by leaps and bounds since the end of the last World War? Is there any wonder that great areas of the world like China have, through the struggle of their common people, broken away from this nightmare of monopoly capitalism so wrongly named "private enterprise"?

Is it really surprising that the colonial peoples of the earth prefer death rather than continue in the misery they are condemned to suffer under the white man's rule?

Capitalism has long ceased to

WHAT LIES AHEAD? This fine study of a Negro worker was kindly lent us by Fred Dannreuther of Birmingham.

May Day Answer To War Plans

play anything but a thoroughly reactionary role. Commencing with the Russian Revolution of 1917, more and more people have broken the chains which bound them to the old order until today more than one third of all humanity lives and works in a system which possesses no owners of private property in the means of production, and is, as a consequence, free to develop its resources for the betterment of the lives of all its producers.

Indeed, only one important country today remains firmly capitalistic, its working-class still relatively passive. (Although this last factor is bound to change, and, indeed is already changing). That country is the United States of America.

All the others—including Great Britain—are faced either with mass socialist opposition at home, mass revolt in their overseas possessions—or both! For this reason it is the United States which, possessed as she is of great wealth and tremendous productive capacities, today leads the capitalist world and, moreover, leads them in one direction—to war!

War to seize back the "lost" territories of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China for

capitalist exploitation; war to keep in subjection the colonial peoples of the earth whose labour are so urgently required to feed the war machine and provide it (cheaply) with the vast accumulations of raw materials it so greedily devours; war, in fact, against social progress everywhere in the world.

To further this reactionary aim, the rulers of capitalist America—by a mixture of threats and bribes—have forged a "Holy Alliance" of all who dread the march of human progress. English Tory gentlemen, discredited French capitalists, Fascist dictators like General Franco, re-created Nazis in Western Germany, and, of course, the vicious stooges like Bao Dai, Chiang Kai Shek and Syngman Rhee who remain in public life thanks only to American dollars and American military support.

"Come Weal, Come Woe, my Status is Quo." That old saw is the battle cry of the "men-of-the-old-order."

Against this alliance of world reaction there should stand the peoples of the Soviet Union and China, the colonial peoples in revolt, and the workers of Western

Europe. But unfortunately this great force, which is absolutely capable of frustrating the evil plans of the rulers of a decadent society is not united. It must be—if humanity is to be spared the terrors and agonies of an H-bomb war.

That in our opinion, is the message of 1954's May Day. Unity of the international working-class — against war and against the capitalist order of society.

Among the many reasons for this working-class disunity there is one which members of the Labour Party can do something about. Our party, which should, by its very nature and its working-class composition, be in the camp of human progress, is tied up to support the policies of United States capitalism. For all the fine work it did in the field of social welfare, the Labour Government never succeeded in developing an independent socialist foreign policy.

Under pressure from U.S. capitalism, Ernest Bevin agreed to abandon Labour's pledge to nationalise the Ruhr industries of Germany and handed them back to the biggest enemies of the Ger-

man working-class. Under that same pressure the Labour Government became embroiled on the wrong side in the war in Malaya, it assisted the Dutch in Indonesia, agreed to intervention in Korea, became a party to N.A.T.O. (the 'Holy Alliance') and, as a consequence, leased British territory from which the United States Air Force now plans to launch H-bomb assault on the Soviet Union.

Thoroughly alarmed at the dire consequences of these wrong policies, the ranks of Labour are now seeking to reverse them. The revolt commenced on the issue of E.D.C. and West German re-armament. It was given tremendous impetus by Nye Bevan who resigned in protest as it became clearer every day that the Tories and their American backers are planning to unleash the Third World War in Indo-China.

Resolute action by the rank and file in the Labour and Trade Union Movement can now completely isolate those leaders who have dragged us into this Atlantic Alliance. Having regained its freedom and independence, British Labour will be capable of initiating an international working-class movement against the "men-of-the-old-order." That must be our vision for this May Day. The way ahead out of the nuclear nightmare must be chartered by these rallying cries:—

Hands off Indo-China! Freedom for all Colonial Peoples! Unrestricted East-West Trade! Stop E.D.C.! Break with N.A.T.O.! Prevent the re-arming of the West German capitalists! Clear the American Troops out of Britain! A United Socialist Europe! All possible links with the American working-class! Clear out the Tories! For a Labour Government and a Socialist Britain!

THEY WON'T TALK!

HOW many Constituency Labour Parties have opposed the N.E.C.'s support for West German Re-arming and how many have demanded a Special National Conference to determine policy on this issue?

We don't know, but we do know that when one Labour Party requested this information it was refused by Transport House.

Why all this secrecy? What is there to be frightened of in telling party members what other members are thinking and proposing?

Is it because the opposition to the N.E.C. is so overwhelming that its publication would vastly encourage the movement and influence the Trade Unions to take similar decisions?

London's May Day

ALL OUT ON MAY 2nd!

United Labour
Demonstration

Assemble 1.30 p.m.
Victoria Embankment

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THE CONSTRUCTIONAL ENGINEERING UNION

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE UNION

Sends Fraternal Greetings on this, Labour's own day, to all our Members

and WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The threat to Peace, by the explosion of Atomic Weapons, particularly the Hydrogen bomb, against the results of which there is NO adequate defence, make it ever more necessary that the Workers of ALL Nations combine together to defeat this Imperialist and Capitalist design to preserve their fast decaying system

MAY THE FIRST

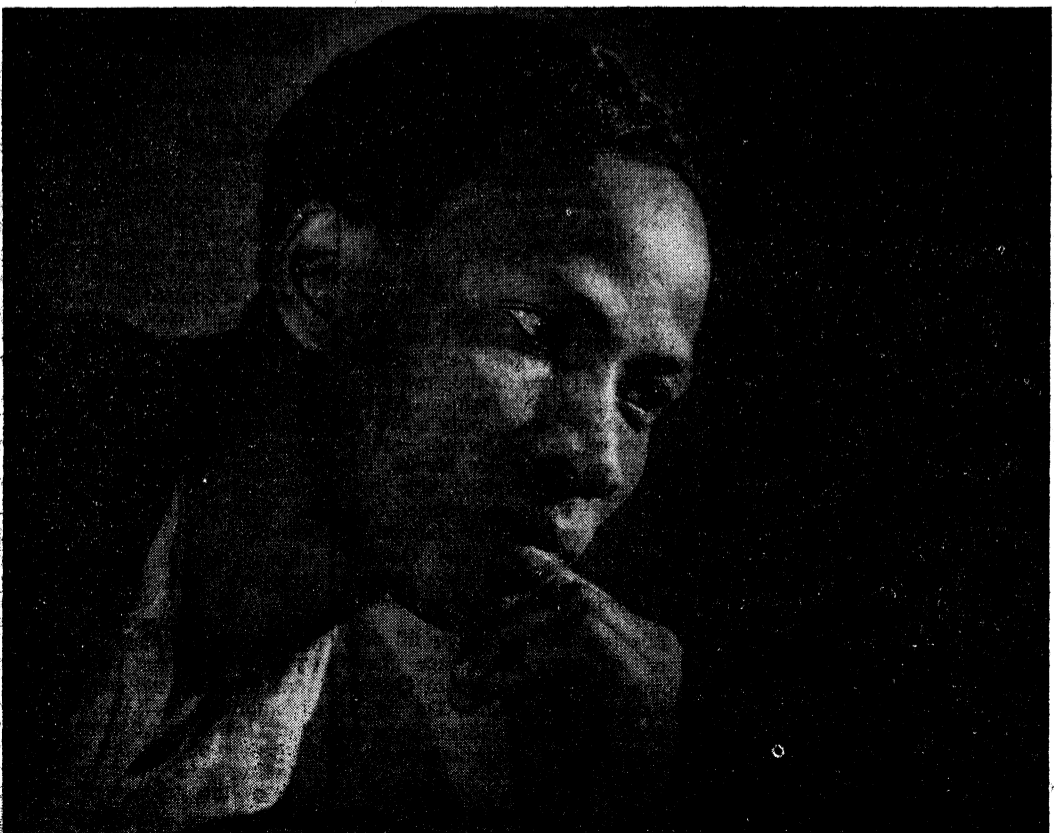
attempt to use it spell their own DOOM.

W. F. KENT, President JACK STANLEY, General Secretary

NO ORDINARY WAR

Despite the fake "victory" reports issued by the French high command in Indo-China, despite the constant promises of "show-downs" and final settlements, which never materialise, the military situation of the French in Indo-China has steadily deteriorated. Nobody in his right mind in France believes the war can be won.

This is not because of the incompetence of French generals or strategy, or for lack of the most modern means of murder. It is because the Indo-Chinese war is not an ordinary war; it is a war of national liberation and social revolution rolled into one.



**Martin Carter,
(British Guiana)**

WHAT LIES AHEAD? This fine study of a Negro worker
was kindly lent us by Fred Dannreuther of Birmingham.



'End Foreign Rule In My Country'

COUNTRYMEN, fellow Party members, supporters and sympathisers of the Convention Peoples' Party:

I am very happy to welcome you all here today on behalf of the Central Committee and the National Executive of the Convention Peoples Party. We are assembled here on this momentous occasion to rededicate ourselves anew to the struggle against foreign domination and to launch the electioneering campaign for the forthcoming general election upon which the future of this country depends.

The History of the Convention Peoples Party is the history of the struggle of the militant masses of this country against imperialism; it is a history of which every true patriot of Ghana must be justly proud.

When in 1950 a "bogus and fraudulent" Constitution was thrust upon us, the people of the Gold Coast under the leadership of the Convention Peoples Party demonstrated their aversion to it by the declaration of Positive Action.

Then in 1951 when some of my comrades and I were in jail for the part we played in the struggle for freedom, the people of this country once more demonstrated their confidence in the Convention Peoples Party and vindicated their reputation for political sagacity by voting overwhelmingly for the Party.

Our Party has been in power for barely three years, and you can testify to the fact that its achievements—political, social and economic—have been quite spectacular. In all these fields our Party has so impressed the world with its performance that the old imperialist myth that Africans cannot govern themselves has been exploded.

The confidence of the outside world in the ability of the African to manage his own affairs has been created and now the whole of the black world looks to our country and our Party for inspiration.

PLEDGES FULFILLED

What is more, the Convention Peoples Party has been able to fulfil its important pledge, namely that it will use its position in the Legislative Assembly, not only to prove to the world the ability of the African to govern himself, but also to fight for a more democratic constitution which will lead us to full independence. The new constitution will give us a fully elected Assembly and an all-African Cabinet collectively responsible to it. For such an achievement the credit goes to the Convention Peoples Party. After the next election the requisite and necessary arrangements will be made for the final transfer of power.

This transitional period is the most hopeful and yet the most difficult in the struggle of emancipation, for it is the last opportunity that the protagonists of imperialism can bring out their wicked and venomous plans to demoralise and create confusion and division within the ranks of the fighting masses. This therefore is one of the reasons why the Convention Peoples Party has made an open declaration to win all the 104 seats in the new Legislative Assembly.

DEMOCRATIC ELECTION

The election will be conducted on purely democratic lines and every registered elector will be perfectly free to vote for a candidate of his own liking. Each political party in this country will be free to place candidates in all the 104 constituencies and try to win them. Therefore, there is nothing wrong about our determination to win the 104 seats; it will be a democratic election and its results will reflect the democratic wishes of the people of this country.

I have always looked upon the colonial struggle as a war against

Says Gold Coast Premier

Kwame Nkruma

Extracts from a speech delivered by the Life Chairman, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, at the Sports Stadium, Accra, on Sunday, April 4, 1954, in connection with the launching of the Party's campaign for the 1954 General Election.

foreign domination and just as in war a united and disciplined army is the biggest asset for victory, so also is an Assembly united under a bold leadership at a time like this.

The forthcoming General Election will determine the future of the Gold Coast. The eyes of the world are on us; Africans and people of African descent everywhere also look to us for inspiration and we must not disappoint them.

Friends and comrades, we assumed the reins of Government straight from jail and the three years of a semi-C.P.P. administration have been years of achievements. The people of this country can bear testimony of the tremendous strides we have made everywhere.

REAL ACHIEVEMENTS

A tour throughout the country will reveal these signal achievements of the Party. Roads and bridges are being modernised; new ones are being constructed; schools and colleges are on the increase; water supplies are being provided in an ever increasing number. Besides, in the Public Service, Africanisation has gone forward so very rapidly that now we can boast of African Directors and Deputy Directors. We have also seen to it that farmers, cattle dealers and fishermen, as well as traders are being encouraged to improve their business by granting them loans.

It is a source of gratification to note that the Cocoa Purchasing Company has done so much to help our cocoa farmers; arrangements are afoot to give even further aid to them. There is general prosperity in the country, and the Government, by realising a surplus



of 16½ million pounds in one year has demonstrated the sound economic policy of our Party.

The aims of the Party with regard to the forthcoming elections are outlined in the Manifesto: briefly, they are: first—to get the British Government to declare the Gold Coast a sovereign and independent State within the Commonwealth; secondly—to pay sufficient attention to agricultural development and to the economic and productive services, and thirdly—to promote a higher standard of living among the people.

Friends and comrades, let us embark on OPERATION 104 with zeal and determination to end foreign rule in this country. The eyes of the world are on us. The eyes of the generations yet unborn are on us. Let everyone of us DO his duty and freedom and independence shall soon be ours.

Friends and Comrades, **FREE-DOM!**

The Shame of Kenya

★ Stand By The Kikuyu People! ★

At dawn on April 11th, a full scale offensive was launched by British troops and armed police in Kenya. The Tory Government, and the supporters of colonialism in Kenya, would wish us to believe that this offensive is against a minority of the Kenya people enrolled in terrorist bands of "Mau Mau"—a reversion to barbarism.

That is not true. The colonial war in Kenya is being waged against the majority of the exploited inhabitants of Kenya.

The very scope of the offensive which began with the breakdown of "surrender" talks makes that clear. Thousands of troops with armed police are involved in this colonial war. In twenty four hours after the beginning of the offensive, 700 suspected "Mau Mau supporters" were interned in "special camps". (For "special camps" read concentration camps.) By April 13th the newly arrested suspects numbered 1,200.

'VILLAGISATION'

The Acting Governor, Sir Frederick Crawford has said that with the new offensive the Kenya Government would institute measures designed to control the Kikuyu tribe: "One thing we shall do is to go full out on the villagisation of Kikuyu because it is a means of getting some control over them."

Thus the aim is to drive a million Kikuyu—a vast number of them in the towns—into settlement camps in the hope that they can be isolated in small groups and suppressed.

The Kenya Government has announced that there is little

doubt that the Kikuyu people "are now convinced that the whole surrender project was a Government trap designed to bring them together so that they could be slaughtered." The Government declared that attempts would be made to convince them this was not the case. Presumably those attempts are what General Erskine meant when he boasted: "We are going to hit these people harder than they have ever been hit before."

A TRAP

Presumably everyone is to believe these surrender talks were not a trap for the Kikuyu when the East African Command Headquarters informs us that the

By A. Banda

majority of arrests now being made were the result of information obtained by the police and Army Intelligence Officers during their meetings with "Mau Mau" leaders.

Whether a manoeuvre or no, the surrender talks had one purpose—to disarm the insurgents in Kenya—so that White settler and imperialist Government could ensure their own "peace" and rule.

The surrender "terms" called for the capitulation of the Kikuyu. They promised only not to shoot at them while surrendering, not to illtreat them after surrender and not to execute them for crimes committed before surrender.

To the basic question in Kenya—that of the desire of the native inhabitants in this country for their own land, the colonial imperialist forces can only offer a solution of brute force and repression. That must be realised by every member of the British Labour movement.

Dedan Kimathi, Field Marshal of the African Land Freedom Army, the so-called Mau Mau, wrote to Lyttelton at the beginning of the year and declared that "now is the last chance for the Whites to make peace if they want to remain in Kenya, but they must

give back the land to the Africans."

The answer was the surrender terms, their breakdown, and now the all-out offensive, the villagisation of the Kikuyu, the wave of arrests, and the increased terror bombing of the forests.

POPULAR REVOLT

It is now one year and five months since the declaration of the Emergency in Kenya. All attempts to crush the Kenya people have so far failed. The "Mau Mau" have broken through every encirclement and operate as a popular movement—in the rear of the colonialist forces, in the mountains as before, in the reserves, and in the towns.

Not only the Kikuyu but Meru, Embu, Masai and Indians have been accused of aiding and sheltering "Mau Mau".

The African Land Army has created its own organisation. It is organised into regular military formations with their own staff and committees on a territorial basis. There is a kind of commissariat of supply with its liaison committees with civilian sympathisers. It has a million pair of eyes and ears in its intelligence service, as has every peoples' uprising. It has its courts with their own emergency laws and regulations. In fact, it is one system of law and order pitted against another system.

LABOUR'S DUTY

The duty of British Labour is to support those forces which are fighting for the freedom of the African in Kenya. Without a betrayal of socialist principle it can neither stand aside nor support the Tory Government and white settlers who have launched the new terror offensive against the Kenya people.

No real socialist could experience anything but a blush of shame on reading Lyttelton's words last October, when he spoke of the attitude of the Labour Party... "which has supported what has been done and for which I thank them." He expressed his hope that "they will continue to support us so that the law breaker will realise that in these matters they are dealing with a united British people."

Let us shatter his hopes. Our oft repeated support in resolutions and speeches for colonial freedom demands it.

Let us end the coalition on colonial affairs. Let us counterpose to the Tory imperialist policy our own socialist policy to conform to the interests of the crucified people of Kenya. Let us demand the withdrawal of the troops and self-determination for the Kenya people. Let them decide what kind of Government constitution and laws they desire.

WHAT N.A.T.O. MEANS

IT is certain that, with few exceptions, the Labour movement will welcome and support the stand against war that Bevan has taken.

Already T.U.'s and Constituency Labour Parties are recording their appreciation of Bevan's initiative—and undoubtedly, the whole of the political scene in Britain will be transformed by the action of Bevan. The left of the L.P. has a duty not only to assist Bevan in his fight in the Parliamentary L.P. and on the N.E.C., by resolutions of support, but it also must discuss and re-discuss the political issues involved in order to clarify the Labour Party and Trade Unions.

Bevan raises the problem of America's role in Europe and Asia. So far as the "Pacific N.A.T.O." is concerned he speaks out sharply (Tribune, 16th April): "The demand that we should join an alliance for the containment of Communism in S.E. Asia is not sought as an instrument for the prevention of war, but rather as an extension into the international field, of the defence of American

Police Rule In Guiana

DR. CHEDDI JAGAN, deposed Prime Minister of British Guiana and leader of the People's Progressive Party led the movement of defiance of the six month old Emergency Laws when he broke his restriction orders on April 3rd. Two days before, he had received the Governor's orders restricting his movements to Georgetown and requiring him to report to the police twice weekly "with a view to preventing his acting in a manner prejudicial to public safety and order."

Dr. Jagan, who had left his dental practice over a year ago when he began campaigning for the April 1953 general elections, made plans on his return from India in February to open dental clinics in the rural areas so that he could more conveniently continue his profession and keep in close contact with the people. He had established two dental clinics, which were always busy due to the almost total absence of dental services in the country districts, except for quacks. (Out of a total of 36 registered dentists, only 19 are effective practitioners, which gives about one dentist to 24,000 persons. This average is even increased since 14 practice in Georgetown and 4 in New Amsterdam.)

FLAGRANT VIOLATION

Dr. Jagan, in a letter to the Governor, protested against the restriction on his movements. "This is a flagrant violation of my democratic and civil rights as a citizen of Guiana. I have neither committed nor have been charged for any crime. In addition this restriction denies me the opportunity of pursuing my professional calling." He applied for permission to visit his dental clinics on



Cheddi Jagan leaves the Court and enters a Police van.

April 3rd and added: "I wish to notify you that should this permission be withheld I would be forced to disobey the order restricting my movements."

Dr. Jagan was arrested over 40 miles from Georgetown and brought to Police Headquarters in the city, where he was held for two days and two nights without bail.

Dr. Jagan, representing himself on the charge of breaking the restriction orders, entered no plea before Magistrate Sharples, who incidentally, is the brother of Dr. Sharples who was defeated by Dr. Jagan in the 1953 elections. "To enter a plea of guilty or not guilty would be to presume the validity or justice of the Emergency Orders." This is a court of law not a court of justice. I do not expect justice in this or any

other court. Justice has been dead since the British troops landed in this country. Prison holds no terror for me... I am looking for the day when there will be a greater justice in this country... Lyttelton and his minions have sent troops to our peaceful country.

FASCIST ORDERS

"They have deposed our elected government and destroyed our constitution, limited though it was. Where then was the crisis? They created it. Out of the disorder which they created, they assume Emergency powers. But let us look at the application of their fascist order. Those who are their prisoners or the sympathisers of the imperialists are allowed every facility. No restrictions are placed on their movements. The

Emergency Orders are relaxed for some members of the puppet government.

"You have refused me the privilege of calling Governor Savage as a witness. He should be brought here to give evidence as to why he placed a restriction order on me. He deems my free movement as prejudicial to public safety and order... This whole trial is a farce... I will not obey the Emergency Orders. I advise the people not to obey these laws."

Dr. Jagan was immediately sentenced to six months imprisonment with hard labour. On the second charge of holding an illegal procession he was sentenced to two months imprisonment or £100 fine.

In the week following the arrest of Dr. Jagan, over seventy persons were arrested on various charges, including disorderly behaviour, holding illegal processions and meetings, assault, etc. One demonstration involving arrests was a march of women before Government House.

British Guiana is a police state at the moment. Several spontaneous strikes had already occurred on the sugar estates. At Port Mourant over 65 workers were arrested and tear gas used as they protested the arrest of Dr. Jagan. As the police carried away only a few of the demonstration leaders, others jumped on the police lorries, demanding to be arrested with their comrades. Forty-five refused bail. That area was then proclaimed by the Governor. On the Queen's birthday, the people wore mourning colours as a sign of protest.

Leading the campaign of defiance of the Emergency Laws which deny the people of Guiana their legitimate rights, Dr. Jagan became the first political leader to take voluntary imprisonment in British Guiana.

Janet Jagan

Socialist Outlook

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Editor: John Lawrence

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