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**COVENTRY AND
THE BOMB**

Special feature in next
week's Socialist Outlook

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Councillors

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INDO-CHINA: A CLASS QUESTION

AS in the case of German re- armament, Indo-China is proving to be an important policy test for the Labour Movement.

Some comrades appear confused on the role of Eden. The confusion spreads to some extent as to the representatives of Pandit Nehru at Geneva. Since, for reasons we shall presently examine, these statesmen play a somewhat different role to the mailed fist diplomacy of Bedell Smith, an incorrect conclusion is drawn that they can be used against the Americans in order to bring peace to Indo-China.

The foreign policy of a country and its representatives is determined by the people who control the economy concerned. Britain is owned and controlled by capitalists and landlords with a Tory Government in power. Eden represents this Government and its policy of waging brutal war on the colonial peoples of the Empire. The victory of the Indo-Chinese people would undoubtedly

By
G. HEALY

strengthen and encourage the colonial people elsewhere to intensify their struggle for freedom. Is it reasonable to expect Eden to chop off the branch on which he sits, and assist in bringing a just peace to Indo-China?

The sporadic differences between Eden and Dulles are over matters of tactics and not principle. In principle they both agree on the need to cut the throat of the colonial revolution. The British Tory's problem arises from the overwhelming opposition of the British people to any attempt to open a fresh battlefield in Indo-China. Bevan's resignation was a warning of how deep that opposition is.

Right now the Tories must play for time, so their statesmen shuffle around the corridors at Geneva plugging the traditional British diplomatic double talk which, at times, is very annoying to the outspoken representatives of the United States.

At rock bottom, however, Eden is at one with Bedell Smith. The economic and class alliances which bind the Tories to Wall Street predominate over every-

Leeds "Socialist Outlook" Meeting

S.E. Leeds Labour Party
Rooms, 233 York Road
Sunday, June 20th, at 7.30 p.m.
HARRY RATNER
(Chairman L.P.S. Management Committee)

"WAGES" AND THE INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLE

All Readers and Shareholders cordially invited.

Merseyside "Socialist Outlook" Meeting

Sunday, June 20th, at 6.30 p.m.
138 Price St., Birkenhead.
G. HEALY
(Editorial Board Member)
HARRY CONSTABLE
(London Docker)
All Readers and Shareholders cordially invited.

thing else. Thus, it is reported by the U.S. Information Service Wireless Bulletin that "at a meeting on June 14th, Mr. Eden and the U.S. Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Bedell Smith reached what was described as full agreement on all matters of principle connected with the future of the Indo-China Conference."

The role of Krishna Menon, the Pandit Nehru representative, must be looked at in a similar way. Nehru represents the native Indian capitalists, who dominate India. Consequently the policy pursued by Menon must inevitably reflect their interests and their dilemma.

They are in a difficult position. The teeming, poverty-ridden masses over which the Congress Party rules, seeth with revolt, and a desire to emulate their Chinese brothers. Nehru has to box carefully on matters of foreign policy concerning colonial peoples. Nevertheless the press reports that Mr. Menon complains about the intransigence of the Chinese and Russians.

The Labour Movement must be guided by working-class interests in matters of foreign policy. It is necessary to support the Indo-Chinese people not because of humanitarian sentiment but because they struggle against our enemy—imperialism. This is the real reason why Labour must have an independent foreign policy in relation to the East, as everywhere. This cannot be achieved if Eden is hailed as a "peacemaker." Such confusion, in fact, weakens the movement and the struggle of the Indo-Chinese people.

There is only one way to exploit rifts between the Tories and Wall Street. That is by the Labour Movement propagating and fighting for its own class policies. Let us demand:

No war on the Indo-Chinese people.

Withdrawal of all imperialist forces.

Let the people of Indo-China elect the government of their choice.

Tories Support McCarthy! Labour Movement Must Act

ALMOST daily, there is fresh evidence about the sinister implications of the Tory Government's tie-up with Wall Street. A recent example is the case of Dr. Cort.

In June, 1951, Dr. Cort arrived in England on a joint passport with his wife who is a house physician at the Queen Elizabeth Hospital, Birmingham. Before leaving the U.S. he registered with the army authorities under the Selective Service Act. He was told he had fulfilled all the necessary formalities and thus was permitted to leave the country.

PROTESTS

SCIENTISTS, students, doctors and factory workers have protested at the refusal of the Home Office to grant political asylum to Dr. Cort. A deputation of M.P.s is visiting the Home Secretary, Jack Stanley, on behalf of the Construction Engineering Union has made the following protest to Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe.

"We are very concerned at this action as it seems contrary to all precedent in regard to the granting of political asylum. We feel that the reasons advanced by your office in refusing permission to stay in England hardly bear examination. The danger to Dr. Cort, if he is returned to the United States, is apparent to everyone in view of the attitude to anyone at one time or other had any known connections with the Communist Party, however brief they might have been. The implications of the McCarran Act are such that it is almost certain, if Dr. Cort is returned to the United States, that he will be incarcerated for a considerable number of years according to the nature of his action as viewed in the eyes of American judges.

"My organisation feel, therefore, that the whole position should be reviewed and Dr. Cort given the political asylum which this country in the past has never been backward in granting."

In November, 1951, the U.S. Embassy demanded the return of his passport. This he refused. Following its expiry, in June, 1952, he was instructed to return to America and be inducted into the American forces. Since then the Home Office has twice renewed his permit but in March of this year they refused a further renewal.

A most serious side to this affair is that the decision of the Home Office to expel Dr. Cort followed an "investigation" by the McCarthyite "Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities." In the course of this inquiry, many of his friends were asked if they knew that Dr. Cort was a member of a "secret communist cell" when a student at Yale University. All who refused to testify were dismissed from their jobs.

The charge now levelled against Dr. Cort is that he left the U.S.A. to evade military service. That is absolutely untrue.

If he returns he may lose his citizenship and be sentenced under the McCarran Act to 5-10 years imprisonment.

Birmingham Trades Council has decided to approach the Home Secretary and the T.U.C. on this case. Mr. Harry Baker, the secretary of the Trades Council, said in a statement to the press: "The long arm of McCarthyism must not be allowed to stretch out into this country. When people come from Eastern Europe and say they are being persecuted we welcome

them, and we should do the same if they come from the west."

The whole Labour Movement will endorse this statement, and the action of Birmingham Trades Council. Much, however, remains to be done.

It is criminal folly to dismiss McCarthyism as something which threatens only those who are, or have been, members of the Communist Party. Their rights must be defended, but, further — McCarthyism threatens the whole Labour Movement. In America, the Socialist Workers' Party, and other working-class organisations politically opposed to the C.P. suffer under its persecution.

In the past our movement here has been far too complacent about the evils of McCarthyism. We permitted him to slander the late Harold Laski on television a few months ago. Not one protest came from the N.E.C. of the Labour Party, of which Laski was a member for many years.

McCarthy is not solely an American phenomena. In his attack on Harold Laski he simply repeated the Tory slander which was put around in the 1945 elec-



SENATOR MCCARTHY

tion. This detested American senator is a fascist and the Tory Party is honeycombed with gentlemen who think the same as he does.

The case of Dr. Cort should rally the widest possible immediate support. The N.E.C. must issue an immediate demand for his right of political asylum.

We urgently appeal to all readers of the paper to mobilise their organisations by pouring in resolutions to the Home Office and Transport House. Only the widest possible action can halt the British McCarthys.

Is War Near?

AT the command of Eisenhower, Eden and Churchill visit Washington. The meeting is directly related to the recently concluded secret talks between military leaders of the United States, Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand.

Wall Street grows desperate. It has financed the French in Indo-China to the tune of 1,000,000,000 dollars a year for the purpose of holding down the Indo-Chinese people. It is now faced with the alternative of writing off its investment as a complete loss.

Dulles cynically remarks that the visit of Churchill and Eden results from "no more than a general desire on the part of Winston Churchill to keep in touch with his American friends and American public opinion." That will fool nobody. The squeeze is on Churchill and the Tories to get into the war and only British Labour can stop them.

The situation is desperately urgent. We can be at war in a matter of weeks. Let the entire Labour Movement speak with one voice. **DOWN WITH THE WALL STREET-TORY WAR-MONGERS. HANDS OFF INDO-CHINA.**

One Thousand New Readers

THE Management Committee of Labour Publishing Society Ltd., met in London on Sunday, June 13th and reviewed the position of "Socialist Outlook" since the Annual General Meeting on May 15th.

The Committee expressed satisfaction at the way in which the finances of the paper have been reorganised and the activity of the Editorial Board.

A lengthy discussion took place around plans for the development of the paper. It was unanimously decided that the month of September should be set aside as a special campaign month. A target of £200 Fighting Fund and 1,000 new readers was agreed upon. Members of the Committee will now report back to local shareholders who will decide the quota for their district.

These will be published in subsequent issues of "Socialist Outlook."

The Committee decided that a National Tour on behalf of the paper should be undertaken by G. Healy during the next few weeks, to discuss with shareholders, ways and means of improving the paper and increasing the sales. The route and dates would be as follows: Sunday, June 20th, Birkenhead; Sunday, June 27th, Birmingham; July, 3rd, 4th and 5th, Manchester, Rochdale and Ashton-under-Lyne; July 17th-18th, Leeds; August 1st to 6th, Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Dates for other areas have yet to be fixed. Time and place of meetings will be announced later.

DOCKERS NEED ONE UNION

ELEVEN THOUSAND London dockers have operated an overtime ban for twenty weeks. It is an action against dock employers' contention that overtime is compulsory for the portworker.

On Merseyside it is generally recognised that the heavy increase of cargo passing through the Port is in no small way due to the London ban. The questions most frequently asked are: Is the ban still operating? and, if so: What became of the Londoner's published intention of seeking the support of all ports?

WHY LEAVE US IN THE DARK?

The fact that the first question can be asked at all, and by men working in the same industry, is in itself, a criticism of those responsible for conducting the struggle. Why leave dockers in Merseyside and elsewhere in the dark? Where are those vital explanatory leaflets detailing the case against the universally detested compulsory overtime, and recording the progress of the struggle. None know better than the dockers and lightermen that this is no local or minor matter. On the contrary, it is an issue of the utmost importance, which directly concerns every docker from Glasgow to Southampton.

Says this Merseyside Portworker

It is an issue in which every docker has a vital interest.

The Press, not unexpectedly, has drawn a tight curtain around the situation. For example, the "Liverpool Echo's" first intimation that there was anything afoot in London, came many weeks after the overtime ban was first imposed. Then it was tucked away

By Bill Murphy

in an article which gloated that a London firm had transferred ships to Liverpool where they were being handled very efficiently.

BREAK THROUGH THE CURTAIN

The first and most obvious task of the leadership of the Stevedores' and Dockers' Union and the Watermen, Lightermen, Tugmen and Bargemen's Union—the two unions involved in the dispute—is to break through the curtain of silence and propagate their cause in the industry. The necessary machinery exists and a receptive ear awaits. Why is it not being done?

It is when we ask why the ban has not been spread that we come to the same perplexing problem that has confronted militants throughout the industry for many years, and in particular since

1945. The answer is — the ban cannot officially be spread.

The unions concerned, the "Blue" union and the Lightermen's Union are accredited trade unions. Both are affiliated to the T.U.C. and as such cannot urge members of other unions—such as the docker members of the T. & G.W.U.—to act in a manner contrary to their own official leadership. In the docks this means that the progressive unions who represent no more than 15,000 men are very effectively sealed off by the T. & G.W.U. and the G.M.W.U. who between them hold the remainder of the total labour force.

SPLIT FIVE WAYS

We are, in this numerically small industry, organised in no less than five different unions. This is a highly dangerous and wholly wasteful form of organisation under the best of circumstances. In the docks, where it is the dead hand of the T. & G.W.U. which holds the overall majority, it is sheer folly.

There are numerous examples of its consequences but a topical one will suffice. Take the heroic but futile stand of the Salford dockers in April, 1951. It was ignored by the N.A.S.D.U. and W.B.T.L.U. and Salford was left to fight alone. Today the boot is on the other foot.

It is a tragic situation and one

which indicates clearly the urgent need for an organisation which will break down the artificial barriers separating portworkers throughout the country. A National Portworkers Union with a constitution similar to that of the present Stevedores' and Dockers' Union — the "Blue" union—would make such a catastrophe impossible.

Attempts to weld together such a powerful organisation for the docks industry would immediately meet with opposition from the paid organisers of the T. & G.W.U. whose role in the docks industry for many years has been to oppose and stifle all attempts at progress.

The time has come for the British portworker to seriously reconsider his position. He is faced with two alternatives. On the one hand he can proceed forward to national unity or on the other he can continue to look in five different directions.

Honours List

In the Queen's Birthday Honours, published last week, Mr. Arthur Deakin was made a Privy Counsellor for "services to the trade union movement."

O.K. Deakin. We always knew you'd make it.

Scarboro' and Foreign Policy

Fight the War Alliance!

FOREIGN policy dominates discussions now taking place in preparation for this year's Labour Party conference. The Anglo-American Alliance dominates foreign policy.

The N.E.C. resolution placed before the Morecambe conference of the Labour Party in 1952 laid stress on the need for close co-operation with America. Such co-operation, it declared, was vital to Britain. For months before Morecambe, leaders of the Labour Movement were conducting a campaign against "anti-Americanism."

by
Bill Hunter

At the Conference itself, Mr. Denis Healey went so far as to declare that the major problems facing the movement could not be solved without America. "We cannot solve the Russian problem" he asserted. "We cannot solve the German problem without America... Finally, we cannot solve our own economic problems or the problem of poverty in Asia and Africa without the co-operation of the Americans."

It is true that without the co-operation of the American working class, the major problems of

world—which are bound up with the struggle for Socialism—will certainly never be solved. But the America with which the N.E.C. resolution sought co-operation, and to which Mr. Healey wanted to tie all our aspirations is not the America of the working people.

It was, and is, the America of the big trusts and combines, of the great financial houses, the America whose economic compulsions makes it inevitably today the leading force in the drive to war.

FOREIGN POLICY AT MARGATE

At Margate, the N.E.C. made co-operation with this capitalist America the main plank of its foreign policy. The foreign policy statement was thrust upon delegates at the last moment. It went to the vote without the possibility of amendment and before the rank and file had any real chance of discussing it. It once again committed the conference to the Anglo-American Alliance.

"Conference supports N.A.T.O." went the N.E.C. declaration, "not only for the purpose of collective security, but also because it provides a framework for close co-operation with the U.S.A. which is essential to Britain and the Commonwealth."

Thus the future of the Labour Movement was nailed to that of the world's strongest and most powerful capitalist nation.

The policy of that nation today in international affairs is determined, like that of any other

capitalist nation, by its ruling group. America's foreign policy is the policy of its "sixty families," of Wall Street and its representatives. It is a policy which has encircled the world with military bases, which has placed its military advisers, its "technicians" in all corners of the globe, which today in Asia prepares to intervene against the movements for national liberation.

All this we are told is "defending the free world." Tear away the fine phrases and you find the stark reality. You find the "free world" is the world of corruption and tyranny, of repressive landlordism and colonialism in the East and Africa, of puppet semi-colonial governments in South America, of shaky capitalism in Europe. It is the old world which Labour is pledged to destroy in its struggle for the socialist order

FIGHTING FUND

Our Fighting Fund last month was £41 19s. 4d. Below are the donations received for the first two weeks of this month. Our readers and supporters have two more weeks to ensure that our Fund for June is well above that of May. Go to it comrades!

Edinburgh readers, 5/-; Nottingham readers £1; R. E., 11/-; West London readers, £10 3s. 6d.; Leeds readers, £1 10s. 0d.; S. W. London readers, £1 3s. 6d.; Yorkshire miners, £1; East Islington readers, 4/-; Norwood readers, £2 4s. 6d.; Miscellaneous, £11 17s. 6d.
Total £29 19s. 0d.

of peace and plenty.

For the Tory Government and the class it represents in Britain the Anglo-American Alliance is indeed a vital principle, the most important principle "in the modern world," as the "Economist" indicated recently. For only with the aid of American Big Business can British capitalism preserve its still vast Empire. The old capitalist powers in Europe have common interests with the more virile American capitalism in meeting the crisis facing their society.

But the Labour Movement's task is not the preservation of the old society but its elimination.

OPPOSITION TO AMERICAN POLICY

Not only among the Labour Party rank and file but throughout the country, opposition grows to the policy of the present American government. Faced with the crumbling of colonial rule in Indo-China, the most bellicose section of America's rulers have voiced their demands for full military intervention in the East, for blockading China, for dropping the atom bomb, and for "preventative war."

It may be that by the time the Scarborough conference meets, the Anglo-American Alliance will have culminated in full intervention in Indo-China. It would be a folly to delude ourselves that Imperialism is not capable of taking a desperate chance, despite the knowledge that full scale intervention in Indo-China would meet with deep-seated resistance among the Asian peoples and the working people of Europe and America.

PREPARING FOR BREAKDOWN

In Britain and the U.S.A. the ruling circles are now preparing for a breakdown at Geneva. They are discussing what to do if the Soviet and the Chinese leaders refuse to come to terms with them there in the next few days. There looms high in their discussions the possibility of further aid to the French colonial forces in Indo-China to prevent a complete rout in face of a new offensive by Vietnam in the Red River Delta.

Even if "agreement" is reached at Geneva, full scale war in Asia will only have been postponed. Preparations will go ahead to create a more solid front for the future. The South-East Asia Pact will be speeded up. Our leaders will no longer be able to evade taking an attitude to it or cover up support for it by stating it is only being "examined."

At Scarborough the left wing must fight to win the Labour Movement to a repudiation of the aims of British and American capitalism.

Unity with the working people of the United States in a struggle against war and imperialist policies. Certainly! Unity with U.S. Big Business in its war plans. Never!

The "Recorder"

THE world's first newspaper, that is the modest description applied to itself by the once daily and now weekly "Recorder." If you have exhausted your local library's stock of amusing novels, and read all the kid's comics, I recommend you try the "Recorder." Some excerpts from its 12th of June issue will illustrate what I mean.

In the top left hand corner of page 4, the "Recorder", with pride I imagine, announces to the world at large what its principles are and its mission is.

Its "independence of any political party" is stated to assure you in case you imagined it was

£18,675

AT the Mayfair Restaurant, Liverpool, on Friday, June 11th, a large gathering of "Spidermen," members of the Constructional Engineering Union, together with wives and friends witnessed the presentation of a cheque for £18,675 to Mr. Christopher Smith in respect of an award for damages sustained by him arising out of an accident during the course of his employment at the new Atomic Research Establishment at Capenhurst.

Mr. Jack Stanley, General Secretary of the C.E.U., in making the presentation, said that his sympathies with the injured member for the loss of faculty, and with the dependant relatives, often bereaved, was only partly compensated by monetary awards. In the case of Bro. Smith, however, he was pleased to say that the award was substantial, in fact, it was the largest given by an Assize Court Judge in a case of this nature arising out of an industrial injury.

Mr. Stanley went on to remark about the hazardous nature of the work undertaken by members, the necessity of adopting at all times every possible safety factor, both by the employers and workers alike, and the justification of our claim for a higher rate of pay more commensurate with the risks involved. Mr. Stanley recalled the part played by members leading up to "D"-DAY in the construction of P.L.U.T.O., Tank Landing Craft, Mulberry Harbours, etc. These efforts, judging by the present uneasy international situation, may have been to no avail, however, and was to be regretted.

Winding up, he said that without Trade Union backing by their legal departments, many deserving cases would be lost because individuals, generally speaking, could not meet the heavy costs involved to press their cases forward to a successful conclusion.

Mr. Smith, in reply, thanked very sincerely the efforts of the C.E.U. on his behalf.

J. Dunning

biased. However amongst its principles is a "belief in free enterprise" and an "opposition to Nationalisation." Perhaps it's my suspicious mind but those slogans seem rather familiar, and the property of a well-known political party.

Now, let us turn to one of the "Recorder's" contributors. "Brutus" has a few points to make on voting rights. He wants them limited. However, he declares: "Being a Government of a so-called democracy the heavens would fall if it added to the injury of paying M.P.s more money the simultaneous insult of restricting voting rights to those who knew what they were voting about." (my emphasis). The author of those lines however has faith in the future. He went on to say: "One day a brave Government will have to tackle the whole problem." For "the socialists have a vested interest in the votes of the illiterate."

The "Recorder" has an acute problem on its mind. Besides the "illiterate" there are the "unthinking masses." Displayed very prominently on the front page with a large photograph of Nye Bevan are the following words: "This man is dangerous, he means to socialise Britain and the unthinking masses are behind him."

by
R. Pennington

In the article dealing with Bevan, Mr. Martell, the editor, painfully informs his readers just who Nye's supporters are. "Talk to bus conductors and railway porters, builders labourers and truck drivers, engineers and workers in the field, postmen and teachers", with rare exceptions, says Martell, they are all behind Bevan. It appears that "Brutus" scheme for disenfranchisement would be rather extensive!

The masses in Britain may be "unthinking" but the masses in Hungary are thinking very much, according to the "Recorder". They are worried over the recent defeat of the British football team. You may remember the Hungarian team won by seven goals to one. The "Recorder" reports consternation in Hungary. Hungarians were "sick at heart" when they heard the result. Not for them the joys of Arsenal supporters when the "Guns" defeat Chelsea. They looked upon the victory of the Hungarian team as a "victory for totalitarian propaganda."

Perhaps the real explanation of the British defeat was a "Red Plot." Next time let us have Arthur Deakin and Tom O'Brien in the forward line.

WAGE CLAIM

A MEETING between the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation and the Constructional Engineering Union will take place on Friday, July 2nd to consider the Union's claim.

Mass Meetings in support for the claim have already taken place in Glasgow, Bolton and Manchester when unanimous support was given for any action the Executive Council may decide to take in order to enforce the claim.

The following meetings have been arranged at which the General Secretary—Jack Stanley—will be present:—

SCUNTHORPE — "Highfield House", Thursday, June 17th.

SHEFFIELD, ROTHERHAM and CHESTERFIELD Branches—at the "Brunswick Hotel", Haymarket, Sheffield, Friday, June 18th.

LIVERPOOL and BIRKENHEAD Branches—at the "Coopers Hall", Shaw Street, Liverpool, Friday, June 25th.

MIDDLESBROUGH, HARTLEPOOL and STOCKTON Branches — "ECKETS Empress Hall" Albert Road, Middlesbrough, Monday, June 28th.

All meetings to commence at 7.30 p.m.

MEETING

Commemoration Meeting for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg (Electrocuted June 19, 1953). Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Monday, June 21, 7.30 p.m. Tickets 6d. each from Mrs. R. Waterman, National Rosenberg Defence Committee, 242 Willesden Lane, N.W.2. or at the door.

Left Winger Excluded!

THE latest action of the right wing to deprive known left wingers of their right to participate in the Parliamentary activity of the party is contained in a statement now being circulated by the Streatham Constituency Labour Party to all C.L.P.s and affiliated bodies.

"The Streatham Constituency Labour Party" the statement says, "is extremely disturbed by the way in which the N.E.C. is using its powers to discriminate against members where political ideas, although they are entirely compatible with membership of the Labour Party, do not meet with the approval of some N.E.C. members."

"In our own Constituency, Comrade T. G. Healy, for many years a member of the Executive Committee and for three years Chairman of the Constituency Party, was selected as a suitable person to represent the Labour Party in Parliament, and his name, with the recommendation of the Party, was sent to Transport House in June, 1952, for inclusion in list "B" of possible Parliamentary Candidates.

"This list, as you know, is maintained by instruction of Conference, and consists of the names of members who have been recommended by the affiliated organisations sponsoring them but have not been promised financial support. The only restriction is that the members recommended must have been in the Party for at least twelve months.

"Comrade Healy was called for

an interview at Transport House and references were also called for; in November, 1952, we were informed that they were in order. Nothing further having been heard, we wrote in February, 1953 to ask the position, and were told that the matter would be placed before the February meeting of the N.E.C.

"In July, 1953, after another long silence, we again asked for news; this time we were told that "the matter has been deferred."

"In September, 1953, we were told that the delay was due to Conference work, and that the matter could not be dealt with before the sub-committee of the new N.E.C. met in November. Finally, on 25th November, the N.E.C. decided to exclude Comrade Healy's name from list "B".

"No explanation was given for the N.E.C.'s action (nor, indeed, was there at any time any expression of regret for the dilatory way in which the affair was conducted) and no answer was given to the question "in what circumstances a person, otherwise qualified to be a member of the Labour Party, would not be qualified to represent it in Parliament."

sent it in Parliament."

"The National Agent declined the invitation for himself or the Assistant National Agent to address the General Management Committee but instead offered to send the Regional Organiser to discuss procedural matters.

"We believe that the N.E.C. has taken this action solely for political reasons. We also believe that this action is an infringement of the rights of both Streatham C.L.P. to put before the membership the name of a member it believes a suitable parliamentary representative and of the membership as a whole to make an unfettered choice when selecting a candidate to bring before a Constituency Selection Committee.

"We intend to make a protest at Annual Conference and we earnestly ask for the support of your delegation."

Attached to this statement are copies of no less than twenty-one letters which have passed between the Streatham Party and Transport House officials.

The T. G. Healy in question is a member of the Editorial Board of "Socialist Outlook."

Sealed With a Doll and Two Stallions

The Balkan Alliance

By
M. BANDA

THE people of Athens recently witnessed the Republican communist President of Yugoslavia and the Monarcho-fascist dictator of Greece indulging in mutual toasting and presentation of gifts. Marshal Tito received the Grand Cross of the Order of Athens; a Corinthian helmet, and a 4th century B.C. statuette, from King Paul.

Tito presented the king with two grey stallions, he presented the royal family with dolls, camping equipment, lace and national costumes. The gifts had a more than ordinary significance. They symbolised a political approach, soon to be sealed by a military alliance between the pro-Western capitalist class of Greece and the ruling bureaucracy of Yugoslavia.

Following the exchange of gifts was a secret conference. The Greek-Yugoslav News bulletin makes it abundantly clear, one result of this conference is that

the Yugoslav leaders have made a de-facto alliance with the N.A.T.O. powers. The report states: "There was complete agreement on the general situation and the position of the Tripartite pact... there was particular examination of the co-operation of the three countries (i.e. Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey) and the conclusion was reached that the time had come for common defence to be organised."

Now, it is one thing for a workers' state to make military alliances with reactionary powers in its own interests. But it is quite a different thing for the leaders of such a state to proclaim to the world—as Marshall Tito did—that such an alliance "will constitute a pillar of stability in the Balkans, as well as an important contribution to the efforts of consolidating peace in the world."

Military alliances only reflect a temporary alignment of forces, to be broken when that alignment changes. To state that "peace" and stability can be established on the basis of military alliances, is to presume a fundamental

identity of political and economic interests between the three contracting powers. The Stalin-Hitler pact proved how unstable are military alliances of the character entered into by Yugoslavia in Athens. What is there fundamentally in common between Yugoslavia, which has undergone a social revolution and Greece and Turkey, two of the most reactionary forces in Europe? Precisely nothing!

Except for enhancing her diplomatic status in relation to Italy, Yugoslavia has little to gain. She has now become an unofficial member of N.A.T.O. a fact which is hopelessly compromising.

The Greek rulers, however, have a less dubious advantage. "Without a Yugoslav alliance" states the "Economist," "Greece's strategic line of defence must be brought far south of its actual northern frontier in order to prevent an out-flanking of its defence line on its eastern side as well as on the side of the famous Monastir gap... For Greek diplomacy, therefore, a Yugoslav alliance has long constituted a kind of dogma inspiring the statesmen in Athens..."

Socialist Outlook Editorial Board

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

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

Ourselves and Contributors

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the Editorial Board, even when written by Editorial Board members themselves.

Face These Facts!

THE JUNGLE WAR IN INDO-CHINA

GIVEN free elections, the majority of the country would vote for Ho Chi Minh. That is what the "Observer" of 12th July, 1952, said about Indo-China. It remains true today. Here are the reasons why, and some other relevant facts about this country which is in the throes of a struggle for national liberation.

The Bank of Indo-China, which is the controller of French investment there, made £43 millions in profits in the ten years 1934-44, and paid £28 millions in dividends on a capital of £5 millions.

The movement led by Ho Chi Minh, called the Vietminh, gets its name from the anti-Japanese resistance movement during the war. When the Japanese invaded Indo-China in 1940, the French authorities, and Bao Dai the present so-called "Emperor" of Viet Nam, collaborated with them. At the end of the war, the Vietminh drove out Bao Dai and forced the French to recognise the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. In 1946 elections were held for the National Assembly of Viet Nam, and Vietminh got a majority, with Ho Chi Minh elected President of the Assembly.

The French attacked the new Viet Nam government in December, 1946, with the aid of commandoes, Japanese troops, and the British 20th Indian Division, under Major-General Douglas Gracy (now knighted). That is how the war started.

As an alternative to the Vietminh, the French have been trying to get a stable government by giving their investments by giving partial independence to the large native landowners. This has not worked. The Indo-Chinese people do not care for the native landowners any more than for French imperialists.

Nine-tenths of the people of Viet Nam are peasants. At the end of the war, the great majority of them (94 per cent.) owned just over 1½ acres each. The "middle farmers", 5 per cent of the population, owned 31 acres each, on the average. A mere handful of rich men, three in every thousand, owned 1/3 of all the land, over 480 acres each.

In addition, French landlords had the biggest rice plantations and rubber estates—about 700 French landlords owned 8 per cent of the whole rice-growing area, with some estates reaching 54,000 acres.

"The Land to those who work it" has been the slogan calling the Viet Nam peasants to arms, like the Chinese peasants.

Since the war, as in Britain, wages have gone up less than the cost of living. The average food consumption per head is only

Most of the above-mentioned facts, with many others, can be found in "Report on the War in Indo-China," by Nicholas Reid-Collins, and published by the Union of Democratic Control, 21 Stratton Ground, London, S.W.1., at 6d. only.

Resolutions against extending the war in Asia or intimidating the Vietminh by a South-East Asia "Pact" are pouring in for the agenda of the Labour Party's Annual Conference.

4/5ths of what it was even pre-war. These are the reasons why the mass of the people are against the French and their friends, the great native landowners and the native directors of French companies.

Have the French no support, then, in Indo-China? While the rebels have made most spectacular headway in the province of Viet Nam, there are other provinces, Laos and Cambodia. The French have been trying to find some, any, reliable native group, to rule for them in Laos and Cambodia, and stem the advancing tide of Vietminh and the peasants.

Mr. Eden at Geneva does his best to force Ho Chi Minh to agree that the people of Laos and Cambodia, the neighbours of Viet Nam, shall be under the rule not of the French directly, but some native puppets of the French. The difficulty is to find any capable of ruling! In any case this will not avail them. The peasant is land-hungry in Laos and Cambodia as well as in Viet Nam, and Vietminh has shown him the way.

The Great Powers are concerned because Indo-China lies across the way into China, from the south. As long as the French are safe in Indo-China, airfields can be laid down for future raids on China. Nor is this all. The people of the rest of South-East Asia, Burma, Malaya, Siam, the Philippines, Indonesia and India, are nearly all small peasants. If they see Vietminh winning, they will be encouraged to shift the landlords and imperialists from their back too.

The peoples of South-East Asia still see a large part of the wealth which their labours produce consumed by a small, rich land-owning class or shipped out of their countries as the profits of foreign companies. They need, not only constitutional freedom, but economical freedom.

The wealth which the foreign firms extract from South-East Asia, the rubber, the tin, the coal and the oil, strengthen our masters in Europe. The fight of the Indo-Chinese people is our fight. The best interests of the British workers lie in demanding, "Remove the causes of possible war in South-East Asia; withdraw the foreign troops."

ing for years." Leading from the rear, like the Fabians of today!

"The Fabians were never ready to believe that the time was ripe for the formation of a new party."

What about the Nonconformist influence which, according to Mr. Morgan Philips, dominated the philosophy of the movement for a Labour Party? "It becomes difficult," says Mr. Pelling, "to draw a distinction between the attitude of the Nonconformist ministry and that of the Establishment, and to argue that the former were more sympathetic to the special interests of labour..."

But there is no comfort in the records for those who turn their backs upon the Labour Party or who despair of the workers.

This Industry Must be Nationalised

THE British aircraft industry has made considerable advances in recent years and, in spite of the temporary setback due to the Comet disasters, it has gained a clear lead on its competitors in the remainder of the world. Because of these advances, and the potential for future development, the aircraft industry represents a major economic asset within the country and its future demands consideration with a view to determining the actions of the next Labour Government in relation to it.

CONFLICTING OPINIONS
The Labour Party programme—"Challenge to Britain"—states the next Labour Government will:

"...take powers to acquire any firm which falls down on its job, especially if it neglects valuable opportunities for expansion."

This proposal makes it quite clear that no extension of public ownership is envisaged except insofar as a particular firm may fail to measure up to requirements.

by
Bernard Dix

The suggestion that this should be the policy of the next Labour Government was strongly challenged at the Margate Conference and the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen moved an amendment which required the next Labour Government to bring under public ownership the main firms engaged on engine and airframe manufacture—an amendment which was resisted by the National Executive Committee and the Right Wing of the Conference.

THE BASIS FOR NATIONALISATION

The manufacturers of aircraft in Britain are in rather a unique position in as much as they are practically dependent upon the State for orders. By far the greater proportion of the industry's output is taken up in military orders for the Royal Air Force and a further part of the industry's production is concerned with the provision of civil aircraft for the nationalised civil airways of Britain.

The extent to which the industry is dependent upon the Government for its orders may be determined from the fact that, of a

total output of approximately £200 million last year, no less than £130 million was accounted for by Government orders; and this is expected to increase to about £150 million during the current year.

The dependency of the industry on Government departments and Government funds for research was acknowledged by "The Economist" on July 18th last year, when it said:

"To-day, the Ministry of Supply gives research and development contracts to the aircraft industry (as well as the service of research establishments such as Farnborough); without these contracts, the aircraft gas turbine might never have been developed so far and so fast, and the British aircraft industry would never have gained its current pre-eminence."

A PROFITABLE INDUSTRY

The aircraft industry, unlike some of the industries nationalised by the last Labour Government, is extremely profitable—as one would expect when most of the research, risks, and orders are backed by public money. Complete figures for the whole of the industry are not available in a readily accessible form, but the following figures for a few of the larger firms for 1951 will give an indication of the rewards which are being reaped by the private owners of the industry.

Firm	Gross Profits	Earned Dividends After Taxation
Bristol Aeroplane	1,968,584	441,573
De Havilland	2,297,293	612,754
Fairy Aviation	567,447	214,459
Handley Page	692,805	184,718
Hawker-Siddeley Group	6,500,968	1,960,401
Rolls-Royce	1,759,772	362,813

Thus these six figures alone earned between them, after tax, nearly £4,000,000—and the position is now much more favourable, as evidenced by "The Economist" on September 12th last year when it said: "The industry would appear to be facing a prosperous future..."

ARGUMENTS MADE AGAINST NATIONALISATION

One of the arguments made against the nationalisation of the aircraft industry is that it is widely diffused and comprises such a large number of firms that it would not be possible to organise them efficiently. It is true that there are about 400 firms involved in the manufacture of aircraft in one way or another; but this is taking into account all the

firms which manufacture accessories for aircraft. There are only 20 firms engaged in the manufacture of the main components—engines and airframes—these being easily definable and would present no difficulty whatsoever in organising.

Another argument made against the nationalisation is one which was presented at the Margate Conference by George Strauss, who was Minister of Supply in the Labour Government. George Strauss said:

"It is not sufficiently realised that the Ministry of Supply does in fact control the aircraft industry. It is the government alone that decides which new planes are to be

ordered, the type of plane, where they are to be made, and the price at which they are to be made. Consequently, the control over the industry is comprehensive."

This argument overlooks one very important factor—the profits. Nationalisation is not merely a means of obtaining control of the industry for the sake of having control—it is part of a plan to remove the private profit motive in industry and to replace capitalism with Socialism. Looked at in this light the arguments of George Strauss are not valid reasons for leaving the industry in private hands.

● Continued on page 4

Readers Write... Cost of Living

As a working-class housewife I was very much impressed by Comrade Bradbury's article on the Cost of Living. My view is that the cost of living index is entirely false. My husband is an engineer and I have to strictly budget his wages to be able to buy the necessary commodities of life.

I have two young children so therefore my cost of living index is shown by the bill presented to me at the grocery stores every week. Most of our income goes on food and since the removal of the food subsidies I find it more and more difficult as the weeks go by and further increases develop to make our money last out. In fact since butter came off the ration and the price went up it looks as if that must go into the luxury class of foods only to be had on special occasions. This was a thing that happened pre-war and it should not be allowed to happen again.

As a miner's daughter I remember before the war when butter was something we had as a real treat but I hesitate to let the same thing occur to my children now. As I go out shopping now I find that more and more money is being spent and less goods are going into my shopping bag. Growing children need more to eat and my husband has practically cut out smoking altogether to let me have a little bit extra money to ease the situation. Should we as grown-ups deny ourselves small pleasures so that we can buy enough for our children to eat?

Our cost of living is the amount paid over the counter for the necessary things of life and not the amount for television sets, motor cars, luxurious furniture and washing machines. In spite of the fact that my husband recently had a wage increase which was

already well behind schedule I fully agree that if prices continue to rise then it is vital for Trade Unions to demand further wage increases.

Harehills C. Walls

Useless People

The "Sunday Pictorial" had a leading article a fortnight ago pointing out what a waste it was for Princess Margaret to spend her time on a grand charity play "The Princess and the Frog" with an all peer cast.

£10,595 was given to the Invalid Children Aid Association. But these young people did not put on this performance for the sake of charity. That is just a traditional excuse. Nor is that why so many people gave so much money. The audience paid with notes for a Programme, and luxury entertainment businesses paid £100 a page for advertisements. Why should they do this when so few people will ever see the programme? £300 was spent on flowers. This certainly served no charitable or business purpose.

The "Pictorial" gives the reasons. The financial and social support was given because Princess Margaret was associated with this futile little effort.

The performance was given for purely social—which means snobbish—reasons. This class of people have a great deal of the country's money to play a social game with; on which in this case they spent £14,095.

If we did not tolerate these useless people we could afford to give higher standards of living to workers' families, support widows and old people; and still give every proper assistance to invalid children.

Leeds C. Holland

"SOCIALIST OUTLOOK" XMAS BAZAAR

A committee is being set up to organise a bazaar to assist the funds of "Socialist Outlook."

It will be much appreciated if any reader of the paper who can assist this venture in any way, would get in touch with the organiser: George Ellis, c/o "Socialist Outlook," 177, Bermondsey Street, S.E.1.



IN UGANDA total expenditure on Education of African children during 1952 was less than £5 per year or less than £1 for every African child of school age. The colony had in 1952, 444 European children whose education costs were £199 each.

IN BUENOS AIRES, Argentina, 3 men were killed and 48 injured when police attacked strikers at a metal-workers' meeting on June 4th.

WILHELM LANGEN, pre-war managing-director of the Mannesmann steel combine, former member of Goering's Armaments Council and one of the leading directors in Hitler's War Economy is to-day still with his previous firm—Mannesmanns.

IN EGYPT, where out of a total population of some 20 millions almost 14½ millions are completely dependent on the land, 11,780,000 own no land at all, 2,000,000 own less than 1 acre, while 585,000 own less than 5 acres.

INDO-CHINA had one doctor for 38,500 inhabitants compared to one for every 250 in France, in 1948.

AN AMERICAN delegation of industrialists is at present visiting Italy to investigate possibilities for the investment of private American capital in Italian industry. Mr. Harold MacLellan, leader of the delegation said the first requisite for such investment is "an atmosphere of political and economic tranquillity and the prospect of its remaining unchanged in future."

THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE INDIAN TRADES UNION CONGRESS said on June 7th that industrialisation in India was leading to more, not less unemployment. The Indian labour force had fallen from 3,000,000 in 1948 to 2,900,000 in 1951, in face of an annual increase of 1,800,000 seeking employment.

IN BOGOTA, COLUMBIA, 12 people died when troops attacked a students' demonstration on June 9th.

AT THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE in Geneva, the President of the National Assembly of Panama accused the United States of perpetuating racial discrimination in the Panama Canal Zone. He stated that "north Americans" were paid, not only up to four times the rates paid to local workers, but also benefited from various forms of discrimination.

IN THE MALAYAN FEDERATION—according to the Straits Budget of December, 1951—during 1950, 17,000 Europeans paid income tax of 3,850,382 dollars while approximately 1,900,000 Malayan Chinese paid 3,050,612 dollars.

IN CANADA, at an international meeting of psychologists, Dr. C. Tolman stated that the United States is in the grip of an anti-intellectual fever that is endangering scientific progress.

"I am profoundly disturbed at the attacks upon the probity and usefulness of scientists now going on in my country. The case of J. Robert Oppenheimer is but an illustration..." said Dr. Tolman, who is a Professor of psychology at the University of California, and a world authority in his field.

IN MOSCOW on June 7th, Nikolai M. Shvernik, leader of the Soviet trade unions, criticised failings by four Soviet Ministries. He accused the Oil and Building Ministries of systematically failing to fulfill the targets set for them by the state and stated the Ministries of Agriculture and of State Farms had lagged behind in their plans for building houses for farm workers.

He was speaking to the Eleventh Congress of Soviet Trade Unions.

AT HASTINGS the conference of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers passed a resolution calling for a new claim of 9d. per hour.

The Origins of the Labour Party

THE Origins of the Labour Party," by Henry Pelling, an Oxford historian, is well worth reading. It will cheer up many of the older staunch Labour men and women. If only for that, it should be in every local library, but it has something for us younger ones too.

It is all about the heroic days of the 1880's and 1890's, yet it is quite unlike the official literature. It drags many a skeleton out of the cupboard. It spotlights many who were lukewarm in the hard times and later climbed on Labour's bandwagon.

For instance; nowadays the Fabian Society is officially said to have taken the lead in founding the Labour Party. In fact, says Mr. Pelling, "they were simply accepting, albeit temporarily and hesitantly, what the Independent Labour leaders had been advocat-

ing for years." Leading from the rear, like the Fabians of today!

"The Fabians were never ready to believe that the time was ripe for the formation of a new party."

What about the Nonconformist influence which, according to Mr. Morgan Philips, dominated the philosophy of the movement for a Labour Party? "It becomes difficult," says Mr. Pelling, "to draw a distinction between the attitude of the Nonconformist ministry and that of the Establishment, and to argue that the former were more sympathetic to the special interests of labour..."

But there is no comfort in the records for those who turn their backs upon the Labour Party or who despair of the workers.

"The Socialists were the one active political group interested in bringing the party into being."

They alone could provide a programme which would make it distinct and separate from the existing parties. This faith was ultimately based upon the analysis of society first presented by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto of 1848 and elaborated in their subsequent writings.

We learn that the Socialist Pioneers, the real ones, had patience and a perspective. Like them, the "Socialist Outlook" bases itself on the needs and the energies of the lower-paid workers, and wants to see the intellectuals made the servants and not the master of the workers' movement. "Socialist Outlook" offers the Socialist perspective of the 1950's, to build the Left Wing of the Labour Party and the Trades Unions, to play its part in mobilising the workers to solve the problems of Welfare and Peace by Socialist means. D.S.

Youth Must Fight Conscription

Says Leaguer G. Gale

THE Labour League of Youth is conducting an official campaign for the reduction of conscription. This is good as far as it goes—but it does not go far enough. Any attack on conscription must be based on a clear understanding of what the purposes of conscription are.

The purposes of conscription are to hold down the colonial peoples, and to prepare for world war. This is the only way in which the complete collapse of Capitalism can be postponed a little longer.

Few people now believe the myth of "private enterprise" and "competition". Capitalism is now organised in huge monopolies which are chiefly based on colonial possessions, where capital is scarce, and raw materials and labour are cheap and plentiful.

Aircraft Industry

Continued from page 3

In spite of the theories advanced by Tony Crosland and the assurance by George Strauss it is obvious that the only future for the industry—so far as the Labour Movement is concerned—must be nationalisation.

By nationalising the industry the community, which already foots a large part of the bill and takes most of the risks, will then also receive the benefit of the high profits.

One of the most unconvincing reasons advanced for not nationalising the aircraft industry is that which was made at Margate by C. A. R. Crosland, the M.P. for South Gloucestershire. This argument is that if the aircraft industry, which is doing reasonably well at the moment, is nationalised, it will frighten away the floating voter. Tony Crosland thus represents the line of thought which framed the policy as it stands in "Challenge to Britain"—this being: If the industry is increasing production and making profit—then leave it to the private capitalists. If the industry is failing to produce and is losing money—then saddle the taxpayer with the burden. Anything less like Socialism and more like State Capitalism than this is hard to imagine!

Obviously, demands by the colonial peoples for national independence and a decent standard of living constitute a grave threat to British business interests. That is why British troops are in Malaya, British Guiana, etc. It is important to realise that this is not in the interests of the British working-class. Those who say that withdrawal from the colonies would involve lowering our own standard of living are guilty either of political misunderstanding, or of trying to frighten the people of this country.

Since Capitalism depends so much on colonial exploitation, withdrawal of troops from the colonies could only take place together with the overthrow of Capitalism here.

Thus along with the re-organisation of industry here, would go long-term trade agreements with the former "colonial" countries and co-operation with them in genuine development plans.

This would mean a rising standard of living both for the British working-class and for the working-classes of the under-developed areas. Working people in this country have far more in common with the exploited people in the colonial countries than with the moneyed classes here.

Capitalism is faced with the eternal problem of getting rid of its surplus production. "Surplus production" in the Capitalist world does not mean what is left over after everyone has satisfied his needs. Capitalist production always runs down before that point is reached. It cannot raise or maintain the standard of liv-

ing of the mass of the people beyond a certain point, because there is no profit in it.

For instance, most people would like to own a car, but Capitalism could never provide cars for working-class people because there would be no profit in building cars at prices which working-class people would be able to pay. A more homely example concerns butter. Butter is now 4/2d. per pound—but in American warehouses tons of butter are rotting away because to put it on the market would bring down the price and reduce the profit of the farmers and distributors.

But if Capitalism produces more than it can sell there is a slump. This it can only deal with in two ways—by limiting production, which produced the pre-war slumps; and by finding new markets and places for investment. This search for markets caused the rivalry between imperial powers in the early days of colonial expansion. Now, however, there are no new areas to exploit—that is why it is so necessary for the imperialists to retain their colonies.

The Capitalists cannot forget, however, that a large part of the earth is shut from exploitation by them—China, Russia, and Eastern Europe. The constant economic crises of Capitalism (there is now 20 per cent. unemployment in the American auto industry) plus the refusal of the Asian peoples to submit to further exploitation, drives the capitalist powers inevitably towards war with the non-capitalist world. That is the purpose of N.A.T.O. and of the build-up for South-East Asia pacts.

That is why British troops are

in Europe. That is why a European Army is wanted. How can anyone pretend that this is to defend Britain?

Are British troops in Malaya, and British Guiana protecting Britain? How can anyone pretend we are defending "democracy"? We are in alliance with Syngman Rhee, Bao Dai, Chiang Kai Shek and Franco. Some Democrats!

If these arguments are valid, and conscription is used to hold down the colonies and to prepare for war, then obviously it is dead against working-class interests. If so it is not sufficient to campaign for the reduction of conscription, we must fight for its complete abolition. This would be striking at the very roots of Capitalism—its drive to war and its need for colonies. It could only take place as part of a genuine Socialist drive against Toryism.

We must be very clear on this. The Communist Party refuses to demand the abolition of conscription. It misleads people into thinking that conferences between Eden, Dulles and Molotov can bring peace.

This is a stupid mistake. The talks at Geneva will either break down and so enable Eden to blame the Russians for the failure, as propaganda for war; or some bargain will be made, with the Stalinists trying to block the peoples rising in Indo-China, thus giving the Imperialists a breathing space to fasten their grip on the colonies and carry on their preparations for war.

We need an all-out campaign for the abolition of conscription, the overthrow of Capitalism, and withdrawal from the colonies.

People, Places and Politics

By Cassia

McEISENHOWER

AT the beginning of this month President Eisenhower held a news conference in Washington at which he made public one of the records of his Administration—this was so impressive that I feel it is worth reporting in some detail. During the sixteen months which the Eisenhower Administration has been in office:

Sixty-eight leaders of the American Communist Party have been either arrested, indicted, or convicted.

Sixty-two organisations have been declared subversive, making a total of 255.

One person has been convicted for treason, 2 for espionage, 8 for making false statements to the Government, and 3 for perjury.

Eighty-four aliens have been deported as subversives and orders issued for the deportation of 268 others.

127 persons who had arrived at American ports were denied entry into the country as subversive aliens.

Twenty-four proceedings have been started to denaturalise persons who are naturalised citizens and are considered subversives.

I find this list, which seemingly escaped the attention of the majority of British newspapers, adequate proof that Eisenhower is opposed to McCarthyism as a person and not McCarthyism as a policy—and the only reason that he is opposed to McCarthyism as a person is because he considers that McCarthy's methods are not subtle enough for this particular moment

of time. As evidenced when he said that the surveillance of Communists was a job which was being carried out "quietly and relentlessly" by the "appropriate Federal authorities."

TIME FLIES

THE Soviet Trade Unions have recently been holding their 11th Congress in the Great Kremlin Palace at Moscow. When I received reports of this it struck me as rather odd that this should only be the 11th Congress—I thought that there had been more. To satisfy my idle curiosity I began checking back on the dates of previous Congresses and I found that the 10th Congress was held over five years ago—in April, 1949; to find the date of the one before this I had to go back to May, 1932—a total of three Congresses in twenty-two years!

Perhaps I am a little old-fashioned in my ideas but I have a strong preference for such meetings to be held each year and I am sure that I should kick up one hell-of-a-row if there were any suggestion that the Trade Union Congress in this country should not meet for seventeen years!

ECONOMICS FOR TRADE UNIONISTS

I HAVE recently received a copy of the "Transport and General Workers' Record" for the month of May in which I read with some interest the report of a speech made by the Assistant General Secretary of that union—A. E. Tiffen—to union members at Long Eaton.

Brother Tiffen was lecturing his members on a variety of subjects and during the course of his speech he said that there was "a lot of pseudo-scientific nonsense talked about economics." This is a statement with which I find myself in some measure of agreement—for I have suffered many hours of "pseudo-scientific nonsense" myself; most of it while I was studying at the London School of Economics and at the hands of a certain section of the academic staff whose "learned objectivity" was somewhat distorted by their eagerness to defend the existing economic and social order. But after this brief agreement with Brother Tiffen I find we must part company, for he said, almost in his next breath, that there is only one economic reality and that is Britain is impoverished "as a result of two world wars." With this statement I find myself in absolute disagreement.

The real fact is that Britain began to decline as a major capitalist power before even the first world war of 1914-18—this being adequately borne out by an examination of the statistics contained in the Fiscal Blue Book which was published by the Government in 1910. This book records the growing power of America, and to a lesser extent Germany, as an industrial nation; thus the relationships in the capitalist world were altered at the expense of Britain.

This was not as a consequence of any particular event but as a result of the development of international capitalism—a process which has continued throughout this century and which now finds Britain placed in its present position.

I am afraid that Brother Tiffen may not agree with that—he may even call it "pseudo-scientific"—but nevertheless it is firmly established in fact.

QUOTE FOR THE WEEK

"It would be wrong to conceal from you that your board are worried—very worried—about the political future of British Guiana."

Chairman of Booker Brothers, McConnell and Co., Ltd., in current report to shareholders.

Is the "SOCIALIST OUTLOOK" in your Local Library?

If not—ASK FOR IT!

Continuing: "Tory Aim: Free the Pound"

Freedom for Big Business

A "FREE" economy today means the freedom of the owners of Big Capital to do pretty much as they please. It means a return to the convertibility of sterling, to the economic system of the between the wars period. It does not mean a return to the

capitalist freedom of the 19th century. The day of the individual capitalist is over. That period ended before the First World War. A "free" economy today means the freedom, or—to use the correct term—the domination of the finance capitalist.

It means the regulation of the economic system by Big Capital in its own interests. If it suits Big Business to expand production then it will expand it. If, on the other hand, it pays to restrict production then it will be restricted—as it was in the Thirties.

RICHARD THOMAS

Consider the case of Richard Thomas and Co., Ltd., of Ebbw Vale in the middle thirties. This firm attempted to break out of the steel ring. It built a modern continuous strip steel plant. Working at full capacity, this plant would have enormously increased the output of Richard Thomas and Co., at a very much reduced cost per ton. That would have been disastrous for Big Business interests in steel.

Richard Thomas' credit was cut off by the banks and access to raw materials denied them. Montagu Norman, governor of the Bank of England, organised the disciplinary campaign against the rebel company and it was compelled to come to terms with the cartel.

From the aspect of private enterprise principles as talked of by the Tories, Richard Thomas and Co., was the ideal enterprise. Its earning prospects were, in theory, dazzling. The banks should have been falling over themselves to give all the credit wanted. The raw material suppliers should have been delighted to do business with a customer who was creating a bigger demand for their products. But Richard Thomas were forced into virtual liquidation and amalgamated with Baldwins Ltd.; the family concern of Prime Minister Baldwin and a docile unit of the cartel.

The output of the Ebbw Vale plant was fixed at about 25 per cent. of potential—an absurdly uneconomic level, but one which did not disturb the cartel. That is how the "free" economy of finance capital operates.

It is obvious that financial operations will be conducted in the classical manner once full con-

vertibility is achieved. For example—the Bank Rate. During the period of the controlled economy—since 1939 in fact—the bank rate has been a fiction, but with the opening of the commodity markets and the ending of controls and particularly when control over foreign trade is ended by convertibility, the bank rate will again operate to control the level of production of the whole of the economy; as distinct from the controls operated by the Trusts.

It works as follows: When imports exceed exports too much, as they do at the height of a boom, the bank rate is raised. This stops the export of capital and reduces productive spending at home. In other words, it pays the financier to keep his liquid capital at home by raising interest rates and at the same time reduces production by making it too expensive to raise loans from the bank to finance it. This causes a rush to sell the accumulation of goods produced in the previous period, causes a fall in prices, and bankrupts a number of small capitalists. It forces others, big and

by Tom Mercer

little to reduce their operations and, of course raises the number of unemployed. Spending is reduced, imports cut down and a balance effected in international trade.

On the other hand, when the process has gone too far as it always does, and industry is virtually at a standstill, the Bank rate is reduced. This has the opposite effect on interest rates, and stimulates production by making credit cheaper. Liquid capital is no longer bribed to stay at home. This increases sterling held abroad, helps to pay for a greater quantity of imports and so on to the next cycle.

BANK RATE MANIPULATED

While not itself being a factor in production or the cause of the crisis, the bank rate is a useful mechanism in the hands of the financiers for changing the direction—up or down—of production. They are thus able to manipulate the economy and prevent it from breaking down completely through "over-production."

There are political and econo-

News from Guiana

Georgetown, June 3, 1954.

The People's Progressive Party called a boycott on all Empire Day celebrations for May 24th. The usual Empire Day parades were not held in different parts of the country. At the traditional Empire Day celebrations for school children, the anticipated broadcast was not made. Despite reports of the success of these meetings, on the spot reports indicate that the children did not respond in the usual manner.

Seven persons were arrested at Vreed-en-hoop (on the West Coast of the Demerara River) on Empire Day being charged with unlawful procession. Demonstrators carried flags and placards reading "Down with the Empire"; "End Colonial Rule"; "End Emergency Laws"; and "We want Dr. Cheddi Jagan".

The "Daily Argosy" and "Guiana Graphic" have editorially demanded the banning of the P.P.P.'s official paper "Thunder". Police still guard the "Thunder" Printery twenty-four hours daily.

Following the blowing up of a statue of Queen Victoria on May 25th on the grounds of the Victoria Law Courts, the special

reserve police have been called out. Armed police guard numerous city buildings. The police have intensified their searches and on the 26th May the homes of six prominent P.P.P. members, including Messrs. Westmaas, Carter, Bowman and Mrs. Jagan, were raided. The newspapers carry rumours of the possibility of the introduction of curfew in the still proclaimed areas of British Guiana.

On the 27th four persons were arrested at Soesdyke a village adjacent to the former U.S.A. air-base for illegal assembly and were dragged from a sports club.

Following the application of a writ of Habeas Corpus in the case of Barrister Rudy Luck, who had served twenty-six days in prison by an order of Magistrate Sharples, Justice Boland on May 31st, discharged Luck from prison on the grounds that he had been illegally detained. Barrister Luck had been charged with disorderly conduct in an incident arising out of a tear gassing of the Party's headquarters on the 7th April. The Magistrate had discharged Luck on condition that he signed a bond. Luck refusing to sign the bond, was sent to prison by the Magistrate. It is reliably understood that a \$10,000 action will be filed against the Magistrate.

News on the health of Dr. Jagan has been under consideration and discussion, but no reports have been given by the prison authorities and no one is allowed to visit him. However, Mr. Luck who was just released from prison has informed Dr. Jagan's family that his health has improved following an attack of flu. Dr. Jagan is now out of the prison infirmary.

Janet Jagan

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