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# Socialist Outlook

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GERMAN WORKERS  
WILL HAVE  
LAST WORD

by G. HEALY

(page 3)

## Labour Parties Say: LIFT BAN

### THE ISSUES AT SCARBOROUGH

BRITISH Labour represents millions of the most important people. Next week it meets in Conference. Without exaggeration, it is safe to say that this year's deliberations will rank amongst the most important in its history.

Let us consider for a moment the background of the Conference. U.S. imperialism continues unabated its preparations for a global war.

Admiral Radford and his supporters step up their provocations off the Chinese mainland. From his Duck Island retreat Foster Dulles hops around the capitals of the world plotting and planning with ultra-reactionary circles.

Like a boy scout on a "bob-a-job" mission, Anthony Eden precedes "big boss" Dulles with a satchel full of formulae and plans on how to rearman German capitalists and make it look "democratic." Meanwhile Herbert Morrison puts in a little overtime on the same question at Strasbourg.

#### A Disastrous Illusion

From the events of the last few days one thing should be very clear to the Scarborough delegates. The Tory Government of Eden and Churchill is fully behind Wall Street and its war policies. It would be a disastrous illusion to imagine that Anthony Eden is any more a "man of peace" than Foster Dulles. They both faithfully serve the same imperialist ends, regardless of the fact that they sometimes employ different methods.

The Scarborough conflict on German rearmament contains within it the growing volume of anti-war feeling which more and more dominates political life in this country. That is why a defeat on this issue can have serious consequences for the Right Wing. For this reason they will fight to the last ditch to roll up the votes. Unless the Left Wing does likewise victory can be snatched from our grasp by superior organisational teamwork.

If conference decides against German rearmament then a new stage in the fight against Toryism and war has begun. Working people in all parts of the world will take fresh heart and redouble their efforts to save mankind from a new slaughter.

From a determined struggle against the war policies emerges the necessity for socialist domestic and colonial policies. Resolutions for extended nationalisation, improvement in living standards and pensions should be fully supported. Conference must endorse the decision of the T.U.C. to campaign against the Rents Act.

#### The Colonial Statement

The statement submitted by the N.E.C. on colonial policy is dangerous and inadequate. By repeating all the old imperialist lies about "Communist-inspired" movements, the document tends to obscure the responsibility of imperialism for these colonial struggles and place it at the door of those who are fighting for colonial freedom.

Like last year's Margate statement on foreign policy, this year's statement on the colonies has been submitted at the last minute. It is impossible to alter or amend it. Conference should refer it back to the N.E.C. and support all resolutions calling for colonial independence and the withdrawal of troops.

Finally; the elections. This year the left must make a special effort to return seven Bevanite candidates to the N.E.C. plus Bevan to the post of treasurer.

All eyes are on Scarborough. This year the left can win its most outstanding victory since Morecambe.

### Speaking on China

MORGAN PHILLIPS gave a report on his China visit to a West Regional Labour Party Meeting last week-end. In arguing that we should have "peaceful co-existence" with China no matter what we thought of its political views he stated "socialists cannot be party to banning ideas and views, because we dislike them."

A delegate referred to the ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK and asked how Mr. Phillips reconciled not banning ideas outside the Labour Party with the N.E.C.'s recent decision to ban ideas inside. The question was applauded.

Mr. Phillips said he did not mind coming some other time to defend the N.E.C.'s decision on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK; right now, he was speaking on China and he thought that is what delegates came for. He then sat down amid silence.

## Protest Storm at N.E.C. Gag

IN a confidential circular to N.E.C. members, Morgan Phillips discloses that 63 Constituency Labour Parties; 28 local Labour Parties; 5 Trades Councils and Labour Parties; Renfrewshire Federation of Labour Parties; Salford City Labour Party; Macclesfield Federation of Labour Women; South and East Cheshire Labour Women's Advisory Council have sent in resolutions protesting against the ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. ONLY ONE C.L.P.—NORTH-EAST LEEDS—CONGRATULATED THE N.E.C.

This list, which was compiled for the N.E.C. meeting on September 22 is now hopelessly out of date. Every day fresh protest resolutions are flowing into Transport House.

#### Most Unpopular Measure

The ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is one of the most unpopular measures ever undertaken by the N.E.C. The Labour Movement is declaring in no uncertain terms: **LIFT THIS BAN.**

Let it not be thought that only C.L.P.s are involved. Trade unions are swinging into action

### BIRKENHEAD DOCKERS VOTE FOR BLUE UNION

Birkenhead, Sunday, September 19

"YOU must think carefully about what you are going to do. Don't imagine that the 'blue' union is an Eldorado. If you do join, you will still have to fight, to get the conditions you want. You will find, however, that the leadership will fight WITH you."

These were the words of Mr. Albert Timothy, Executive Council Member of the N.A.S.D.U., when he addressed a mass meeting of dockers at Birkenhead last Sunday.

Well over 950 dockers packed the Birkenhead Town Hall. Many

By  
**Dan Brandon**

more waited patiently outside in the rain, unable to gain admittance to the capacity-filled hall.

Opening the meeting, Chairman John McShane welcomed the E.C. members from N.A.S.D.U. and the two observers from the Salford men. "Birkenhead dockers", said McShane, "are fed up with the Transport & General Workers' Union and the way it has consistently let us down."

#### FORMED IN 1872

Bill Johnson, prominent Birkenhead port worker, cited inaccuracies in the remarks of Mr. O'Hare, T. & G. official, in his attack on the "blue" Union quoted in the local press. Concerning O'Hare's allegation that N.A.S.D.U. was only formed after T. & G.W.U. ejected Communists from holding official positions, Bill Johnson stated that the "blue" union was in fact formed

● Continued on page 2

propagandists and journalists, hardly one voice is raised in defence of the N.E.C. That is a fact which must be clear to all conference delegates.

#### Unprecedented

The hostility to the N.E.C. circular arises from its unprecedented nature. Members of the Labour Party cannot hold shares, donate money, write for, or distribute SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. Every independent Labour paper in the country can be banned by Transport House under the terms of its decision.

Any member of the Labour Party who expresses ideas inside the Labour Party similar to those

of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, can be expelled under the clause which declares ineligible for membership of the Labour Party all those who "associate with" or "support" the paper. Such an attempt at thought control runs parallel with McCarthyism and against every progressive trend in British Labour.

The Editorial Board of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK appeals to every trade union and C.L.P. delegate at the Scarborough Conference to work might and main to force the N.E.C. to withdraw its decision. The good name of British Labour demands this.

G. Healy  
Jack Stanley

#### Withdraw the Ban on Socialist Outlook

#### MEETING

Esplanade Hotel,  
Belmont Road, Scarborough

SUNDAY, 26th SEPT. 3 p.m.

DELEGATES TO THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE AND FRIENDS OF SOCIALIST OUTLOOK ARE INVITED

## Deakin's Union Canvassed Our Members

says  
**Dick Barrett**

THE recent decision of Hull dockers to join the National Amalgamated Union of Stevedores and Dockers—the "Blue Union"—has been met with accusations that this move would be contrary to the T.U.C. "Bridlington" agreement. The Hull dockers were formerly members of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

The Bridlington agreement lays down that one union may not accept members from another that is engaged in a trade dispute. Readers of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK will remember that in our issue of August 27 we reported Mr. Dick Barrett, General Secretary of the N.A.U.S.D. as declaring: "Officials of the T. & G.W.U. have actively canvassed for our members during the period of our overtime ban—which is a trade dispute."

We are informed by Mr. Barrett that on June 25 he wrote to Sir Vincent Tewson on this matter and was in fact gathering the facts in preparation for laying the matter before the T.U.C.

"I hear," said Mr. Barrett, "that Arthur Deakin is wanting an enquiry by the T.U.C. Disputes Committee into the application of the Hull dockers for entry into our union. I suggest he looks into the matter of his own union's behaviour."

Mr. Barrett made the following accusations on the activities of Transport and General Workers' Union members while the 'Blue

Union' has been operating its overtime ban.

"In the early stages of the overtime dispute," declared the Secretary of the N.A.U.S.D., "our members were taken into the Tilbury branches of the T. & G.W.U. This fact, alleged Mr. Barrett, was reported to the Secretary of the T. & G.W.U. docks section, but no action was taken to stop this happening."

#### SPECIAL CLERKS' BRANCH

He declared that in the Royal Group of docks, T. & G.W.U. clerks were assisted by their paid official to seduce members from his union. "A special branch of the T. & G.W.U. was to be formed, namely 1/48a", he added. "The real trade unionists in the Transport union", he continued, "opposed this attempt at seduction. From authoritative sources I know that one branch of the T. & G.W.U. raised the matter with their regional committee and asked for disciplinary action against a member who they stated had participated in approaching my members together with one of their own officials."

"They accused them of accepting monies in respect of entrance fees into the T. & G.W.U. from members of my union. I know that members of the Transport and General are very concerned. Despite the fact that the matter has been raised strongly within their union, no action has been taken against those responsible."

To underline his statements, Mr.

Barrett produced a T. & G.W.U. membership card. This, he stated, had been given to a member of his union.

"We are struggling to secure that overtime be voluntary", concluded Dick Barrett. "If a fight for principle is to be fought then it is only a matter of common decency for other unions not to interfere with the union in dispute with the employers. If they want to invoke the Bridlington agreement they should keep to the matters contained in that document and at least keep to the principles of the Labour Movement."

### Appeal to Delegates

Many members of the Labour Party have expressed their protest against the N.E.C. circular by becoming regular readers of the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. If you want to get our paper regularly then order it from your newsagent or fill in the form on page 4.

We need money to ensure that the fight for party democracy is carried to every corner of the Labour Movement.

If you are with us in that fight and want to help win it, then make a donation NOW. Send it to SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, 177 Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1.

# Lining the Landlord's

## Pocket

THE agitation of "Key Flat" tenants in London's Maida Vale last week, following the earlier demonstration by the residents of luxury Queen's Club Flats, West Kensington, has speedily exposed the *Tory Rents Act* for the class legislation it is.

The Housing Rents and Repairs Act is supposed to have had its origin in that deep feeling of sympathy for the "little man" which, we are asked to believe, always motivates Tory actions. It was born out of a Conservative

Conference Resolution calling for higher rents to "help the widow, the elderly spinster and the working man in the autumn of his life." Like shareholders in industries destined for nationalisation, landlords, according to the Tory propagandists, consist almost entirely of thrifty working men, widows and orphans.

### THE TRUTH

How different is the truth. When Mr. Macmillan introduced the Act into Parliament, he was consciously acting on behalf of the big business interests which own giant blocks of flats in all the big cities and suburbs and the bulk of rented properties throughout the country.

Of Britain's 13½ million houses and flats, less than 4 million are owned by the people who live in them. The rest are rented—nearly eight million from private landlords, and two-thirds of these from one or other of the big property companies. Of the total

owners of Key Flats — London County Freehold and Leasehold Properties Ltd. Their latest dividend was 11½ per cent. on profits of £230,486. This was a marked improvement on previous earnings, despite rent restrictions.

Other investment companies have done even better, paying as much as 15, 17 and 23 per cent. dividends. One of them, Land Securities Investment Trust, paid their shareholders the record dividend of 50 per cent.

No wonder the STOCK EXCHANGE GAZETTE, a year before the Tory Government projected its Rents Act, advised its readers to invest in property. Those who took this advice will now reap an even richer harvest, for the new Rents Act will undoubtedly boost these shares sky-high. The Tories, indeed, are looking after their own!

### A RUDE SHOCK

It has come as a rude shock to the middle-class flat dwellers of Maida Vale and West Kensington to find that they are affected by the Act. They did not expect this from their Tory Government, the "friends of the little man." Now they are learning that the Tories are the friends only of very big business. This, undoubtedly, partially accounts for the fall in Tory stock as revealed in the latest Gallup Poll.

This Rent Act can be the Achilles Heel of the Tories. It is naked class legislation for all to see. If Labour seizes this opportunity and takes the lead against this iniquitous Act, the Tories can be sent tumbling from power.

But this will need more than the passing of resolutions or the setting up of Advisory Bureaus. It needs an all-out campaign on the part of Labour. Labour must organise the tenants to resist these rent increases and must pledge itself to repeal the Rent Act when returned to Power. Vigorous action now can bring that day much nearer.

## DOCKERS

Continued from page 1

in 1872, just 77 years before Deakin removed the C.P.-ers!

O'Hare's Red Bogy has got whiskers on it," said Bill Johnson, and added, "He had better try something better than that!"

Johnson went on, "Deakin's policies and their effects go far beyond Transport & General Workers' Union. The dockers are the spearhead of the fight, on behalf of all the workers of Britain, against wage-restraint and trade union rule from above."

Bill Newman, Assistant General Secretary of N.A.S.D.U., stressed that his union required at least 1,500 of Birkenhead's 2,000 dockers to apply for membership before the "blue" union could accept them. "If we are to negotiate for Birkenhead, then we must be based on a substantial majority."

Bro. Newman described the rules and constitution of the Union. N.A.S.D.U. officials come up for re-election every three years, and this information was certainly well received by the dockers.

"Any other applications from dockers elsewhere to join N.A.S.D.U. will be considered in the same way as those from Hull and Birkenhead," he said.

A tremendous ovation greeted Albert Timothy when he said, "If you do join our union, from then on what happens in Birkenhead will interest us in London. There have been no Brandon cases in London!"

The spokesmen of the "blue" union asked for questions from the body of the meeting. These took up 35 minutes and covered all the details that the men wanted to know.

A resolution was then read to the meeting: "This mass meeting of Birkenhead dockers extends its most fraternal greetings to the N.A.S.D.U. representatives. It reaffirms its previous decision to apply for membership of the N.A.S.D.U." McShane called for votes for and against. Not a single hand was raised in opposition.

## Hull Dockers

Some 2,700 Hull Dockers have now been accepted into membership of the N.A.S.D.U. Last week Mr. W. Hearne opened premises on behalf of the "Blue" Union.

The Transport & General Workers' Union has responded by issuing leaflets attacking the "Blue" Union. Feeling among the dockers is that it would be more to the point if they took action against the Dock Labour Board. Leaflets opposing the "rival" union is no substitute for that.

## Salford Dockers

Many dockers in Salford are watching events in Birkenhead with great interest.

## Liverpool Dockers

Feeling among dockers here is reported to be very strong and there is a great deal of support for the action of the Birkenhead and Hull dockers.

A leaflet issued by Sid Foster, Secretary of the Liverpool Communist Party, opposing the move to the "Blue" Union, has not been taken too seriously by the dockers. Many of them feel that issuing instructions to dockers from the Party offices is too much like "Deakinism."

## THE RIGHT TO READ

**"YOU** may read Tory, Liberal or Communist literature till you are blue in the face. You may read Fascist literature if you can find any. But go into a newsagent's shop and buy a SOCIALIST OUTLOOK and you are liable for expulsion from the Party". So writes the Editor of SOCIALIST BEACON in the current issue of this Yorkshire Labour monthly.

The editorial is headed "Thou shalt not think" and is a forthright condemnation of the N.E.C. ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. "If this action of the N.E.C. is supported at the Conference, democracy in our party is dead," it bluntly declares. "For it will mean that the handful of members who sit on the National Executive have the right to decide what the million members of the Party may read and what they may not read.

"That is the principle at stake," says SOCIALIST BEACON. "The policy of the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, whatever it might be, has nothing to do with the principle involved. The issue here is democracy itself."

Protests at the ban and demands for its withdrawal continue to stream into Transport House. Here are a few of the most recent protests:

Rochdale Trades and Labour Council; Eccles Trades and Labour Council; N. Leeds, Ilford South, Hackney South, Hendon North Constituency Labour Parties; Wolverhampton Borough L.P.; North Herts Labour Party; Coventry C.L.P.s.

The Manchester District Committee of the A.E.U. (representing 30,000 engineering workers) have asked the E.C. of their union to support a demand for the removal of the ban. Ashton-under-Lyne No. 2 and No. 3 branches of the A.E.U. have called for the lifting of the ban, as has Bromsgrove A.E.U. branch, and Ashton branch of the C.A.W.U. The Ashton and District branch of the E.T.U. add their protest against the ban.

## RAILMEN NEED LIVING MINIMUM

NINE months have now passed since the railway unions withdrew the threat of strike action. Railwaymen's wages, we were told, were then to be examined as a matter of urgency. After nine months of haggling only insignificant concessions have been wrung from Sir Brian Robertson. This is a great tribute to that hard-faced man of business who jealously guards the ex-shareholders' interests, but not flattering at all to the good sense of railwaymen's leaders.

In a statement issued jointly with the Transport Commission last week, the leaders of the N.U.R. accepted a minimum wage for railwaymen of 127/- . This is scandalous! Only two weeks before the RAILWAY REVIEW featured an article which demonstrated how the lower paid

to manage on 127/- per week he must live a life of penury. In 12 months 127/- will be sheer starvation. The Tory crowd will see to that with the cost of living once more on the rise and the rent increase demands already going out.

### DEMAND No. 1

A living minimum wage for railwaymen is demand No. 1. Something nearer £8 than £6 should be the aim, with other grades lifted up accordingly. To start from the top rate men and work down, on the basis of what the Transport Commission can "afford" is no doubt very good business for Toryism the aim of which is to keep freight charges low and the shareholders pockets well lined. But it is bad business for railwaymen, bad trade unionism and bad socialism too. Fix a decent minimum bottom rate and build up from that.

What are the chances of talking Sir Brian Robertson into accepting such a militant demand? None at all! It will take action to get it. Action such as was demanded by the Manchester District Council a few weeks back. To the rank and file the need for decisive action now is obvious but the leaders recoil before it. Talking is much safer.

In the camp of the N.U.R. they even talked themselves substantial increases in salary at the A.G.M. last June, so that even the lowest paid organiser now draws not less than £20 per week, three times the "value" of a porter who might not be such a good talker but is still worthy of a better deal.

Railwaymen are being robbed every week of millions of pounds by the Transport Commission which deliberately drags out the negotiations to save expense. The negotiations have now become a farce and should be stopped. Railwaymen must insist on their full demands being met—a living minimum wage with increases in proportion for higher grades. The rank and file should flock into the branch rooms and demanded militant action. It is time their fist was placed on Sir Brian Robertson's table.

By P. Morris

workers' families were forced to go hungry because £6 10s. a week left very little for food.

Oh yes, but there are extras to be earned, say the pundits, tips and overtime and night rate. The short reply to that one is "nuts" and the Transport Commission is busily cutting down all the extras. Sunday work is being slashed, night shifts eliminated where economy can be shown and the tips, for the very few that get them, are one of the first things the travelling public cut down on.

Motor drivers, porters, labourers and many more grades come very near to the bottom rate with no extras available or allowed. What about these men? Are they to let their families slowly become undernourished, their children develop rickets through lack of fruit and vegetables? Perhaps their wives are supposed to make up their pay so that capitalism get two week's work for the price of one, not one of the N.U.R.'s principles surely.

For the worker and his family

## AMERICAN NEWS LETTER

# Workers Solidarity in Detroit

New York, September 17

**A**n inspiring resurgence of militant working class solidarity is now taking place in Detroit, main centre of the powerful C.I.O. United Auto Workers' Union.

Taking a resolute stand against the mounting anti-union offensive, the ranks of that mighty union have massed in fighting support of a picket line at the Square D company where 1,200 members of the independent United Electrical Workers' Union have been holding out for 14 weeks against the savage attacks of scab-herding, club-swinging cops and a fury of red-baiting propaganda.

This strike was deliberately provoked as an important test case. At issue is an effort by the auto-barons to utilize the present political climate to defeat a major strike by direct union smashing tactics in the very heart of America's industrial union movement. For weeks the strike has received close attention from such authoritative organs of the capitalist class as the WALL STREET JOURNAL and BUSINESS WEEK.

### Forced to Strike

The Square D workers were forced to strike last June when the company refused a wage increase, demanded a completely unprecedented no-strike formula, and finally flatly refused to sign a new contract.

From the bosses' viewpoint, the selection of this particular union for a test case seemed an excellent one. The U.E. has been a long-time target of the witch-hunters as "Communist-dominated." It is one of the unions expelled from the

C.I.O. by the top C.I.O. officials who hoped to escape the blows of the witch-hunters by outdoing them at their own game. Since that time the U.E. has been harassed by governmental attacks and raids by other unions.

The bosses undoubtedly counted on the top U.A.W. leadership to look the other way while they conducted their strike-breaking experiment, but they failed to reckon with the ranks of the U.A.W. and those elected officials most responsive to their pressure.

### A Hundred Cops

For twelve weeks the company tried to starve out the Square D workers. Then on September 12, one week after passage of the "Communist Control Act," a hundred cops appeared at the plant gate heavily armed with tear gas, riot guns, gas masks and clubs and began to run scabs into the plant.

For a week the Detroit press and radio waged an intense campaign to recruit scabs to replace the "Communist-led strikers." In the face of largely unorganised opposition from the strikers the cops began to run about 175 scabs a day into the plant and stepped up their brutal assault on the strikers. A court injunction was issued barring mass picketing to "prevent violence" by the strikers.

### Other Workers Rally

But on September 9 a decisive change in the situation took place. That morning thirteen officers of nine of the largest U.A.W. locals buttressed by contingents of U.A.W. flying squadrons joined the picket line. (The flying squadrons were created during the great strike struggles of 1936-37 to

defend the picket lines of the new-born U.A.W.). A circular issued by the U.A.W. locals declared, "The issue is clear: **SQUARE D WORKERS TODAY; C.I.O. AND A.F.L. WORKERS TOMORROW.**"

A report from the picket line in the current issue of the socialist weekly, THE MILITANT, gives a vivid account of what transpired with the appearance of the U.A.W. contingent.

"There were scenes of solidarity such as have not been witnessed here for many years. Tears came into the Square D workers' eyes when they saw their picket line being filled up with men and women wearing the bright colours of their U.A.W. locals.

"The old union songs broke out; and lusty singing filled the air. **Solidarity Forever, Picket on the Picket Line, and We Shall Not Be Moved.**"

### Now: Push us Around!

"About 50 of the scabs turned back or failed to show up. No new applicants whatever entered the plant. The police appeared visibly shaken and the Square D workers stood under their noses and yelled: 'Push us around now!'"

"There was no trouble at the picket line and no attempt to stop the scabs except by shouting at them. When the police tried to stop mass picketing under the injunction, the U.A.W. men sent the Square D workers to the end of the street, and maintained the mass picket line themselves, maintaining they were not bound by the order against the U.E."

"The following day was much the same, except that the number of scabs fell noticeably. The high point of the day came when the flying squadron of the **Murry Body Local 2**

(Murry Body is going out of business because of the recession) came swinging into the street in military formation behind their flags and to the tune of **Hold that Fort**. Most of the men in this squad are grey-haired veterans, and they marched like they remembered 1937. The cops tried to prevent them from entering the street, but they marched on without stopping, and the cops made way."

### Thousand Pickets

Since then there have been more than a thousand U.A.W. workers on the picket line daily. So solid is their support that the national U.A.W. officials have finally sanctioned their action. Forty-one U.A.W. locals with a membership of 450,000 are now supporting the strike.

Equally heartening is the spread of strike support to many A.F.L. unions. The A.F.L. Butchers' Union is contributing 150 pounds of meat a day to the strike kitchen. The A.F.L. electrical workers' union at the company's Milwaukee plant has sent funds and pledged not to handle scab work.

On September 14 the company agreed to discuss conditions for conducting contract talks—which it refused to do for 95 days since the strike began.

With their course of action the Detroit workers have delivered a solid blow to the union-busters. If they continue on this road, they can not only win the strike but also set in motion forces that will reach far beyond Detroit. Their splendid battle can spark a new mood of militancy throughout American labour capable of delivering a crushing defeat to the forces of reaction.

## PROTEST

The secretary of the Ebbw Vale Divisional Labour Party—M.P. for the division is **Aneurin Bevan**—sent the following protest to the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK.

"At the quarterly meeting of the Division held Saturday last, considerable time was spent discussing your circular banning SOCIALIST OUTLOOK.

"We feel that every publication that writes anything contrary to the official party line is in danger of suffering the same fate. This party has been built up on the accepted principle that the party derives its strength from the different expressions of opinion, that is why we are proud to call it a **true democratic party.**"

"We, therefore, contend that the most effective way of combatting the arguments put forward in SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is to put forward better arguments in the case for Socialism; to ban or proscribe is no solution..."

## Fighting Fund

We still have a great deal of leeway to make up if we are to reach our £200 target by September 28, which is the last day for receipt of campaign monies. Please note this, and be sure to post to us by last post on Monday at the latest.

Our thanks to: **Holborn Hall** audience, £30 10s.; **Leeds** readers, £20 10s.; **Manchester** readers, £8 3s.; **Tottenham** readers, £7 17s.; **Islington** readers, £5 13s. 6d.; **West London** readers, £5 11s. 5d.; **Westminster** readers, £5; **Birmingham** readers, £4 3s. 2d.; **Platts** workers, £2 13s.; **Platts "Buster,"** £2 11s.; **Ashton - under - Lyne** readers, £1 8s.; **J.F.L.O.,** £1 1s.; **Nottingham** readers, £1; **W.R.W.,** £1; **Edinburgh** readers, 12s. 6d.; **R.J.D.,** 10s.; **Norwood** readers, 10s.; **H.G.H. and friends,** 6s.; **Worcester Park** readers, 6s.; **J.S.G.,** 5s. 6d.; **Bebington** reader, 4s.; **J.H.J.,** 8s.; **Anon.,** 2s. 6d.; **S.A.K.,** 2s. 6d.

Total to date, £100 3s. 1d.

The third in a series of articles on German Re-armament

GERMAN WORKERS WILL HAVE LAST WORD

FOR both the Right Wing as well as some of the Left Wing in the Party, the whole problem is posed, as we have seen, not on the basis of the interests of the working class — in Britain and in the world as a whole—but on a much different basis. It is a basis assuming that the present power blocs in international politics are more or less immutable. That "we" — i.e. the Labour Party—"belong" to the Western bloc (dominated though it is by capitalist interests) as a matter of course.

and outside the conflict between East and West. "Nature abhors a vacuum," Morrison and Co. echo THE ECONOMIST and vice versa. Germany has to line up either with "us" or the East. Regardless of what other disadvantages may be involved, the argument runs. Isn't it preferable that she be on "our" side than on that of the Russians—in the last analysis?

PRELUDE TO WORLD WAR

Such a solution, the Bevanites retort, inevitably means World War III, or the prelude to it. And since that is too horrible to contemplate, the thing to do is to forcibly "neutralize" Germany for another ten years by agreement with Soviet Russia as part of a plan of "peaceful co-existence."

These two old saws—"Nature abhors a vacuum" and "Peaceful Co-existence" seem to epitomize the two contending positions and they therefore deserve some analysis.

Both sides take these two clichés for granted. Only the Right puts the emphasis on the first, while the Left stresses the second. Let us first examine Ger-

many from the point of view of its danger as a "vacuum."

What is meant when it is said in connection with the German problem that "nature abhors a vacuum"? Are there "natural" laws that operate in the cold war? Is it part of nature? Or is it man-made?

To pose the question is to answer it. And if the problem is

By G. Healy

man-made, what men made it? The truth is that the problem was created by the creators of the cold war—by the power bloc headed by American capitalism directly and by the power bloc headed by the Kremlin in response to this initiative, in a sort of negative self-defence.

The Right Wing, siding with the American capitalists outright, lays all its stress on the horror conjured up by Germany being swallowed up in the totalitarian bureaucratic system of the Kremlin. To avoid that possibility, Morrison and Co. argue it is preferable to side with Washington and bring Germany into its system, even if it does mean shutting

an eye not only to the McCarthyite fountainhead of a new fascism but also to the revival of Neo-Nazi power in Germany itself.

They convince themselves and try to convince others that through E.D.C. it is possible to keep the lid down on this Pandora's box which they have thus help to unlock.

Frightened by this prospect, the TRIBUNE pamphlet authors, seeing it in its true light, fall back on the purely negative proposition of postponing a solution of the problem by a forcible ten-year neutralization of Germany. That is, by maintaining what they too regard as a natural "vacuum." But they lay their trust in the prospect of "peaceful co-existence" between the two power blocs and a consequent agreement on Germany by them. And now they point to Indo-China as an example of the possibility of success along this line.

IDEA EXPLODED

The idea, however, that Germany is a "vacuum" that must be filled by one or the other of the two power blocs was exploded in June, 1953. The workers' insurrection in East Germany at that time was a violent demonstration that the politics of both blocs in regard to this key country stand on spindly legs. That the German working class may yet have the last word in the matter. That both blocs were, so to speak, counting without their host.

The Western powers tried to utilize the insurrection of June, 1953, for their propaganda. But the truth of the matter is that their troops were alerted against its possible success at the time and that the nightmare of a successful repetition of the June events plagues both Washington and the Kremlin. What they fear is not a "vacuum" in Germany but an explosion of the class struggle that can disrupt both power blocs and open up an entirely new perspective for the masses of the world.

The slogan of the rising of June, 1953, was widely reported to be: "Neither Adenauer nor Ulbricht—but Ollenhauer." In this personalized form, the rising workers made clear that what they were striving for—in struggle against both the capitalist and the Kremlin puppets—was a unified, socialist Germany.

In spite of all the machinations of the power blocs, this slogan and drive behind it is still bound to make itself felt in the times to come. The task of British socialists is to support this drive, to foster these aspirations by demanding first and foremost the withdrawal of all occupation troops.

The Right Wing solution is merely support to shackling the

German workers by means of a revival of counter-revolutionary militarism under a Wall Street-supported capitalist régime.

The solution of the TRIBUNE pamphlet leads, on the other hand, to shackling the German workers by means of an agreement between the rulers in Washington and those in the Kremlin. In this connection, Indo-China is held up as a shining example. But what has really happened in Indo-China?

There, the liberation of a colonial country, which was about to meet with success by arms after a seven-year struggle, has been halted half-way. There has been

Continued on page 4

Answer to Adenauer

ADENAUER has taken his policy to an important section of the German people. And he has been defeated.

Everyone understood in Germany that the recent state election in Schleswig-Holstein was fought on foreign policy issues almost solely. The workers in Schleswig-Holstein knew that they were being asked to endorse the rearmament plans and American link-up which Adenauer's right wing coalition has foisted upon Western Germany. Decisively, they refused to do this.

The 32 per cent. of votes polled by the Opposition (Social Democratic Party) must be seen first and foremost as a set-back to Adenauer's war plans. The verdict is all the more telling in that it comes just at the time when Adenauer himself is demanding the rebuilding of the Nazi military machine "without restriction," and when elements in his government are calling openly (Herr Schroeder, Herr Blank, Herr Kaiser) for the forcible reunification of "the four Germanies"—Germany in the East, Germany in Poland, Germany in Denmark and Germany in France.

The neighbours of "Germany in Denmark" have given their answer. Together with the powerful strike struggles that have developed in Bremerhaven, Hamburg, West Berlin, Bavaria, Hesse, Rhine-Westphalia and Wurtemberg, this action of the German workers confirms the class truth that—of necessity and by the very logic of events—the fiercest fighters against German imperialism are precisely the German workers.

press cable merely said: "151 words censored."

The NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE of September 17 gave his words as: "Ho Chi-Minh is not followed by only Communists. He has succeeded in welding behind him a great lot of people, most of them nationalists."

THE SINGAPORE GOVERNMENT is introducing a Bill at the next meeting of the Legislative Council to control schools in the colony.

This would give the Government power to close immediately any school if it appeared it was "being used for political propaganda detrimental to the colony or the public or pupils, or was being used as a meeting place for an unlawful society."

THE JAPANESE MILL WORKERS' strike against the Omi Kenshi Textiles Company ended last week after three months. The President of the company agreed that in future the management would "respect the human rights of the workers" and increase wages.

The 12,000 strikers were fighting feudal restrictions imposed by the management which restricted their personal lives. They have now won the right to marry, receive letters unopened, wear lipstick and forego daily Buddhist religious observance before work.

THE BUTCHER ON FORMOSA "An Ignorant, Arbitrary Stubborn Man"



dent of the island of Formosa, and according to some, the main hope for "democracy" in Asia. Well, maybe the tiger has changed his spots? Perhaps Chiang has become, since his rather hasty departure from the mainland, a reformed character?

Let us examine his record during the last few years. Operating on Formosa is a company known as the Commerce International (China) Inc.—a company with which the generalissimo has very close connections. A conservative American newspaper, the WASHINGTON POST, pointed out that the C.I.C. has engaged in "forgery, fraudulent execution of inspection reports and widespread bribery."

In 1950 the Formosan Government bought from C.I.C. 25 obsolete Mustang aeroplanes. This out-dated collection of junk resulted in a profit of a cool 9,000 dollars per plane for C.I.C. Chiang's boys collected a rake-off of 8,000 dollars per plane each. Modern planes could have been bought at less cost from ordinary sources in the U.S.

In the same year C.I.C. sold to the Nationalists a quantity of bombs at double the price they could have been obtained from elsewhere. These bombs actually came from an army dump in Europe. The military authorities had declared them fit only for scrap.

LOST ON WAY

Two of Chiang's former officials, General P. T. Mon and Colonel V. S. Hsiang, insist that a large part of a 500 million dollar gift from the U.S. government—supposedly granted to support Formosa's shaky currency—got lost on the way. By some peculiar accident it finished up in the private bank accounts of Chiang and his lieutenants.

Recently the ex-civil governor of Formosa, Dr. K. C. Wu, has shed a little light on what takes place on the island

"Formosa," says Wu, "is a police state, a state where the rule of the secret police involves shootings, secret arrests and imprisonment of opponents of the régime."

Giving an example of Chiang's "democracy" Wu tells how during the 1950 elections things didn't look too promising for the Asian Al Capone. However, Chiang's son, Chiang Ching-kuo, being a dutiful lad, didn't believe in Pop being worried by such problems. Ching simply ordered

Wu to remove the independent candidates.

It was Chiang, says Wu, who at the 1952 conference of the Kuomintang very helpfully hand-picked all the delegates.

Without doubt the racketeers of even America's prohibition era were a bunch of playboys compared to Chiang.

Yet it is Chiang's representative who sits in U.N.O., it is Chiang who receives billions of pounds worth of aid from the capitalist world. In its plans for war, U.S. imperialism can't afford to be too choosy in its allies.

T. R. Roberts

WORLD NEWS + in Brief

IN JAPAN, both the Right and Left Wing Socialist Parties issued statements on the signing of the South-East Asia Treaty. The Left Wing Socialists expressed opposition to the treaty, stated it was mainly signed by European and American countries, would not only keep colonialism in Asia, but sow the seeds for military alliances and split Asia into two hostile camps.

In their statement the Right Wing Socialists expressed doubts about the treaty without the participation of India, Burma and Indonesia. "Japan should not join the treaty", they declared.

IN CHILE, six thousand striking copper miners at an American-owned concern were placed under military law. President Ibanez issued a decree calling them to the colours. The strikers declared on September 15 that they would not accept conscription and would "meet force with force."

The President has asked for extraordinary powers from Congress for six months. The powers sought include the right to arrest and deport, to carry out domiciliary searches, restriction on free speech and the freedom of wire-

less and telegraphic communications. The TIMES last week reported "strong criticism" in the press and in the Senate to these acts.

IN ISTANBUL, threats were made to wreck the building of YENI SABAH, a leading opposition paper, when it published a series of articles written from Moscow by its special correspondent.

When the paper published an open letter to the Turkish Prime Minister declaring it would "defend its printing plant by all means in its power," the publisher was arrested. On September 10 he was sentenced to six month's imprisonment on charges of inciting public opinion.

BRIG. GEN. CHRISTIAN DE CASTRIES, the commander of Dien Bien Phu, returned to France last week. He arrived in complete secrecy. NEWSWEEK of September 20 stated that after his release from a Viet-minh camp three weeks ago "heavily censored news dispatches" quoted him as saying that the "Indo-China Reds were real nationalists and independent of Red China." One

S.E.A.T.O. License For Imperialist Intervention

IT is time to sit up and take notice when a well-known American columnist, a supporter of American foreign policy and of the South-East Asia Alliance, tells us frankly that the Manila Treaty is an attempt to license intervention in the internal affairs of other nations.

Here are the very words of Mr. Walter Lipmann, writing in the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE of September 17. The South-East Asia Treaty "marks a new venture," he declares. "... It is the first formal instrument in modern times which is designed to license international intervention in internal affairs."

So there shall be no doubt in the minds of his readers he returns three times to make the above statement in almost identical phrasing.

Plugs a hole

This treaty for "legalised and licensed intervention," he says, is meant to plug a "big hole in the old-style pacts." That hole is the inadequacies of the old alliances in face of the colonial revolution or the struggle for national liberation in the East.

"The story of Indo-China," writes Lipmann, "showed the old-style security pact did not fit the realities of the case. Viet Nam was being drawn into the Chinese Communist orbit, but it was not being invaded by Red China. Ho Chi Minh was a native leader with a native army and there was no legal right under the U.N. Charter or under any other pact by which international intervention could be organised." According to Lipmann the South-East Asia Treaty now legalises such intervention.

Legal niceties, of course, did not prevent the American Government from backing French colonialism in Indo-China and attempting to organise a full-scale intervention. What prevented that intervention was the opposition of the mass of the population of Asia, of Europe and America. In an attempt to meet that opposition, the powers who signed the treaty at Manila have produced a "license" for intervention in the future. What a transparent license! What a threadbare legality!

No license from Asia

Certainly the people of Asia have neither licensed nor legalised this future interference in their internal affairs. The Indian, Ceylonese, Burmese and Indonesian governments refused to participate in the discussions at Manila—a tribute to the widespread and deep opposition of the Asian masses to this new Imperialist Alliance in the Far East.

The Labour Party Conference must oppose this pact whose aims have been so frankly exposed by one of its supporters. It must condemn and repudiate this preparation for intervention in the internal affairs of Asian nations, intervention against what the Morecambe conference declared to be a "historic revolution against foreign exploitation and domestic poverty" now sweeping the world.

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# CAT AND MOUSE TREATMENT OF JAGANS

THE persecution of Dr. and Mrs. Jagan proceeds apace. Dr. Jagan was kept in gaol in the interior for a further day beyond the expiry of his sentence (less remission for good conduct) for some small prison offence. His wife, we are told, has been rearrested, after serving one prison term, for the "offence" of possessing — two copies of SOVIET NEWS!

What farce is this? Clearly the object of the Government is not the exercise of justice (which is daily flouted), nor even the "preservation of law and order" (which are not threatened). It is to destroy the national movement by truncating its leadership.

It is a fact that these Colonial Office moguls learn nothing and forget nothing! Let us step up our demands for immediate freedom for the colonies and the withdrawal of occupation forces now.

Watford reader

## ★ Colonies Irrelevant

Mr. Emanuel Shinwell spoke on conscription in Westminster last week.

After declaring that "if overseas commitments were ended, not only would the need for national service (i.e., conscription) disappear, but there would be no need even for a regular army." Mr. Shinwell was asked if he would press for the ending of these "commitments" by the grant of

immediate freedom to the colonies.

Mr. Shinwell declared he was against a service period of two years "on purely technical grounds": the colonies were irrelevant, and so was Germany.

So young national servicemen are expected to man purely technical machine guns against irrelevant colonial workers in an irrelevant colonial war.

Westminster reader

## ★ Class Lines

When will the editors of THE NEW STATESMAN, and other well-meaning people in the party, learn to judge the actions of Tory politicians on class lines?

This week (September 18) the STATEMAN asks us to believe that "Mr. Eden's much-publicised tour of Europe was, no doubt, intended as a serious diplomatic initiative," but that "its method,

in the long run, may prove to have done far more harm than good."

But how can a "diplomatic initiative" from a capitalist politician do other than "far more harm than good"?

Tottenham reader

## ★ Germany and N.A.T.O.

E.D.C. is a thing of the past, but German rearmament is still very much on the Agenda. The press reports that Eden is in favour of making Germany a member of a revised Brussels Pact at the same time as she is admitted to N.A.T.O.

This is more evidence that the military alliances which Britain has entered into are alliances for war. Previously, there was enough information to prove that there was nothing progressive in the Brussels Treaty or the North Atlantic Treaty.

The OUTLOOK has consist-

ently argued that military pacts with capitalist nations are dangerous. Unfortunately, many on the left who see the dangers of S.E.A.T.O. have not yet agreed that it is but a continuation of earlier military pacts.

At Morecambe (two years ago) an amendment to the main foreign policy resolution, which called for opposition to the Brussels Pact and N.A.T.O., was defeated. Most of the left, as well as the right, opposed the amendment.

It should now be more obvious that Labour must oppose the Pacts. It will be necessary to seriously campaign along these lines.

Mr. Morrison might think that N.A.T.O. is Socialism — but not many members of the party will agree with this novel piece of new thinking, introduced as a new argument to win support for German rearmament in another guise.

S.E. London reader

## ★ Fear

There is a very simple reason for the ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. It is not that "Trotskyists" are undermining the Labour Party, nor that OUTLOOK supporters "divert the Labour Party from its true work of building an efficient electoral machine."

Throughout the country local Labour Parties and trade union branches are rejecting Right Wing policies. The OUTLOOK has not only fought these policies but has publicised local decisions and opened its columns to rank and file members on these matters.

The rank and file want free expression of views. The Right Wing leadership wants to stop free expression. Unable to answer the OUTLOOK politically, it uses the organisational club. The reason is fear.

Leeds reader

# More Spent on H. Bomb Than on Hungry Youngsters

"TWO hundred and fifty million children throughout the world are starving." This was the picture presented by U.N.E.S.C.O. in its report "War Handicapped Children" published in 1950. Add to that figure the millions more rendered destitute and homeless by the wars in Korea, Malaya, Indo-China, Kenya and those suffering from poverty due to unemployment or miserable pittance doled out to their parents as wages and the picture is grim indeed.

Four years after the U.N.E.S.C.O. report we find that 60 of every 100 children live in countries where diets are not sufficient. Yaws, tuberculosis, malaria and malnutrition are taking a heavy toll of the world's child population. From T.B.

by  
Mary Smith

alone 5 million people die every year, 3 million will die this year from malaria, the highest proportion being children.

What is being done about it? Much publicity is being devoted at the present time to the work of U.N.I.C.E.F. and this organisation has undoubtedly rendered assistance to children suffering from hunger, disease and poverty. During 1953 nine million people were protected against malaria, B.C.G. vaccine has been provided for protection against T.B. and 12 million children are being treated with penicillin against yaws.

## ONLY THE FRINGE

However, U.N.I.C.E.F. has only touched the fringe of the colossal task which confronts it; it is seriously hampered by lack of financial assistance. So far as the various governments of the world are concerned, contributions to the work of U.N.I.C.E.F. are voluntary.

In 1953 50 governments contributed between them \$14,250,000 which amounts to approximately only £100,000 per Government. U.N.I.C.E.F. spends less than £5 million per year on relief projects, this is less than the cost of exploding one H-bomb and only a tiny fraction of the total amount being spent on war production. In America 12 billion dollars have been spent on the atomic energy project the major part of which

has gone in the preparation of weapons of war.

To provide the necessary penicillin to cure a child of yaws costs 1/-, 2/6 will provide 1 glass of milk every day for five children for one week. If you work out the number of shillings in the millions of pounds being spent on war production it is easy to see that tremendous relief could be brought to these suffering children in a very short time if this wasteful spending of money was transferred to provide for their welfare.

## DROP IN THE OCEAN

The situation in which these children find themselves is the direct result of world capitalist exploitation and war. The task of rehabilitating them is a world responsibility — but the assistance which is being rendered by the various governments is a mere drop in the ocean—just sufficient to salve the consciences of a few liberal-minded people and to hoodwink the general public that something is being done.

If the problem was tackled in all seriousness great strides could quickly be made towards a solution. There are 5 million unemployed in the U.S.A.—the world's richest country—if these 5 million were employed on producing medical supplies, pre-fabricated buildings, educational products, etc., which were used for the benefit of the handicapped children what a great step forward that would be.

## PLIGHT COULD BE CHANGED

If the goods which have been stockpiled in the U.S.A. were released—how the plight of these hungry youngsters would be changed. If the money spent on armaments were diverted to the production of agricultural machinery, building of schools and hospitals, equipping of medical units, etc., what a hopeful situation would open up before the eyes of these unwanted, uncared for victims of capitalism.

At best the aid rendered by U.N.I.C.E.F. will be first aid treatment only. This nightmarish problem of half the world's children being rendered homeless and orphaned by war or being stricken with poverty or disease will only be solved by ending decadent capitalism which places the survival of its own profit-making system before the welfare of the rising generation.

# German Workers

● Continued from page 3

a temporary partition giving half of the territory over for two years safe-keeping and arming to the routed imperialists. For the sake of a temporary cease-fire, a truce, a new powderkeg for World War III has in reality been created. The voice of the Indo-Chinese people, their right to determine their own fate, to choose Communism if they saw fit, has been put on ice.

The Indo-Chinese settlement, if it is a foretaste of the fruits of "peaceful co-existence"—and it is—should indeed be taken as a writing on the wall by socialists everywhere, including British socialists.

## CLASS COLLABORATION

"Peaceful co-existence" means co-operation in settling the fate of whole nations between the imperialist rulers of the capitalist West and the rulers of the anti-capitalist East. It is class collaboration in a formidable new form in which the aspirations of the masses to socialism and freedom are to be stifled as never before. For the Right Wing to countenance such a possibility with calm—in view of the character of Deakin, Williamson & Co., who rule its roost—is understandable. For the C.P., at the other end of the scale, to welcome it, is also understandable.

But why should Left Wingers who themselves aspire to head the struggle for socialism and freedom, want to help tighten such a noose around their own necks?

Why should they join in the build-up of Eden and the adulation of Churchill and the faith of three-power talks to bring peace?

At best "peaceful co-existence" means postponing, not abolishing, the horror of World War III. It means perpetuating the status quo, with continued oppression on both sides of the so-called Iron Curtain.

It means swallowing suppressions of risings like that of June, 1953, in East Germany as well as imperialist blood-baths like those in Kenya, Malaya, Morocco and raging reaction like that in Guatemala, British Guiana, etc. It means a strengthened hand for Tory and capitalist to deal with the working class at home.

At worst, it means a brief pre-

# People, Places and Politics

By Cassia

## Who's Off The Line?

IN writing a column of this character one sometimes observes a small item of news which immediately clicks in the mind and starts off a chain of thought which, with the aid of a little research work, leads to some startling conclusions. For example.

In WORLD NEWS, the weekly journal of the Communist Party, there was recently published a statement issued by the Executive Committee of the C.P. on German Rearmament. This statement contained the following paragraph:

"Twice in thirty years the German militarists and monopolists have plunged Britain and the world into war."

This is an interpretation of history with which I have no sympathy and whilst pondering on this I remembered that the same historian of the C.P., T. A. Jackson, had recently written an article on the study of history in the DAILY WORKER—I feverishly searched among the back numbers of that paper in the hopes that it would build up a story. It did!

T. A. Jackson wrote in the DAILY WORKER on Friday, September 17, 1954, giving advice to a reader who had asked him the best way in which to begin studying history; part of Jackson's reply said:

"What I would recommend in this case is that the reader should aim first at a general sense of the history of England, for which an excellent introduction is available in A. L. Morton's 'People's History of England'."

From this point it was easy. All

I had to do was to check on what A. L. Morton had to say about the origins of the recent World Wars. This is what he said concerning the origin of the First World War:

"A great deal of time and energy has been wasted in attempts to fix the responsibility for the World War upon this or that State or politician. . . . but they cannot affect the main fact, which was that for more than a decade Europe had been divided into two rival imperialist groups, each heavily armed and seeking to expand at the expense of the other... war was the result of the imperialist monopoly stage of capitalist development."

Unfortunately Morton's book does not deal with the Second World War, but the statement above is sufficient to frame the following conclusions:

Either T. A. Jackson is guilty of deviationism; or A. L. Morton is guilty of revisionism; or the C.P. Executive is guilty of chauvinism.

Readers may take their choice but I prefer the last solution!

## The 'Economist' Picks its Man

THE ECONOMIST is a journal which takes obvious delight in settling the problems of the Labour Party—it has currently been spending much time and energy in deciding for us who shall be the Foreign Secretary when Labour next takes office.

Bevan is rejected after a brief glance because "freedom's front would not survive such a shock." Herbert Morrison is considered unsuitable as THE ECONOMIST obviously wants to save him for bigger things, "he might be an even better Prime Minister than Mr. Attlee."

Gaitskell is not, at this moment of time, ready for the job of Foreign Secretary because: "if he was thrown into the centre of the party battle over foreign policy he might either wilt from it or be broken on the wheel."

THE ECONOMIST eventually comes to the conclusion that Attlee is most likely to choose Sir Hartley Shawcross as Foreign Secretary—but this does not please THE ECONOMIST, so it puts forward a candidate of its own—and you'll never guess who.

"But it must be quite clear who the best choice of all would be," says THE ECONOMIST. "The personification of Ernest Bevin is among us"—ARTHUR DEAKIN — that's the man THE ECONOMIST wants as Foreign Secretary!

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