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SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

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THE OUTLOOK
DISCUSSION AT
SCARBOROUGH

(page 2)

DOCKERS' CASE

MERSEYSIDE DOCKERS JOIN BLUE UNION

THIS meeting has been called to finalise our entry into the 'blue' union," said chairman John McShane opening last Sunday's mass meeting in Birkenhead Town Hall. Despite torrential rain, the Hall's Assembly Room was packed to capacity and the doors had to be closed as at the previous meeting two weeks ago.

First speaker was Bill Newman, Assistant General Secretary of the N.A.S.D.U. who said he brought the fraternal greetings of his members in London and Hull. To tumultuous applause, he announced that the Birkenhead men had been unanimously accepted into membership of the "blue" union.

Newman said that his executive had decided to suspend the usual entrance fee of £1 and reduce it to 5s. "Cards and entry forms were being printed and an office in Birkenhead would soon be opened," declared Mr. Newman.

He finished his speech by say-

By
Dan Brandon

ing "the first of many jobs confronting us in Birkenhead is to get the reinstatement of Bro. Brandon."

Albert Timothy, who was one of the seven dockers tried at the Old Bailey in 1951 and a member of the N.A.S.D.U. National Executive, emphasised once more the need for struggle and unity on the docks. "Our union is a fighting union and has been a constant thorn in the sides of both the employers and the T. and G.," he remarked.

"We shall," he continued, "wage a determined struggle to better dockers' conditions, it is better to go down fighting than never to fight at all."

RECRUITMENT SATISFACTORY

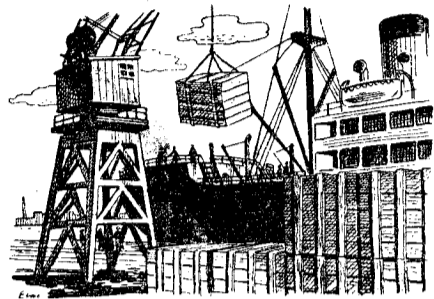
Full-time N.A.S.D.U. official in Hull George Hearne, reported to the meeting that recruitment in the Humber port was proceeding very satisfactorily. Hearne said that "Hull and Birkenhead have given the lead to dockers in other ports who wish to join our union."

Alf Henshaw, branch committee member of number 611 branch T. & G., stated that he was confident that Salford dockers would soon be following them into the 'blue' union.

Last speaker of the evening was Bill Johnson, one of the local leaders. He announced that they had already received invitations to address two controls in Liverpool on the question of the "Blue Union". Johnson asserted his confidence that Salford and Liverpool would soon be joining the N.A.S.D.U.

The accounts of the Portworkers' Committee were read to the men and accepted, a further collection was taken which realised £14 3s. 0d.

A resolution terminated the proceedings, and this reaffirmed the men's determination to join N.A.S.D.U. and conveyed their greetings to London and Hull.



JOHN McSHANE Chairman of Birkenhead Portworkers Committee Says:—

We Need a Fighting Union

THE job confronting any trade union is the defence of its members' rights, the betterment of their living standards and improvement of their working conditions.

It is a simple formula, but not, I admit, an easy task, though this is acknowledged and appreciated by the union members themselves. Dockers criticise the Transport and General Workers' Union, not because it has failed to win these things, but because it has failed to conduct a real struggle for them.

CONSTITUTIONAL PATHS

For years we dockers have patiently and faithfully plodded the "constitutional" paths of Privy Counsellor, Arthur Deakin. In the branches we have moved all the necessary resolutions for democratising the organisation. We have worked hard to replace its present policy of collaboration

Salford Token Strike

A TOTAL stoppage took place on Salford docks last Monday, affecting over two thousand men.

The men had decided on a token stoppage when the appeal of George Norman and seven other dockers was heard. These eight dockers were sacked a fortnight ago.

The men had been working for the United Grain Elevator Company. They claimed the dust was excessive and applied for a 1/- per hour "dust money." Their request was refused and they consequently stopped work in protest.

Later in the week they were brought before the District Tribunal—the chairman of which was Mr. Fred Scholes, a full-time Transport and General Workers' Union official. The tribunal found the men guilty and they were dismissed.

Last Monday the Appeals Tribunal dismissed the appeal of George Norman and another docker. The rest of the men had their appeals allowed and were given seven days suspension instead.

A meeting of dockers decided to fight the dismissals through legal channels.

with the boss with a forthright militant programme.

All to no avail. I suspect there must be the world's largest waste paper basket at Transport House to which are relegated all our opinions and aspirations expressed in resolutions.

The last biennial conference of the T. and G. in 1953 is a clear indication of how democracy operates in that union. A delegate's resolution which was opposed by Deakin, was ultimately carried by conference. However, the General Secretary had the final word. Said he: "All you will get in two years time is a report that your executive found it impossible to accept your proposal."

Dockers in Birkenhead can never forget that infamous declaration of June, 1950. It was signed by the employers and T. and G. officials and threatened to dismiss all dockers in the port.

There is the case of Constable, Dickens and Saunders who were expelled from the union because of the fight they conducted on behalf of the men.

The former editor of the PORTWORKERS' CLARION, organ of the Birkenhead Portworkers' Committee, was dismissed from the docks by the casting vote of a T. and G.W.U. official.

Time and again when we have been forced to take strike action, the T. and G. has lined up with the employers against the men.

THE BRANDON CASE

In Salford, T. and G. officials were part of the tribunal that dismissed George Norman three weeks ago.

Now, following the lead of the Hull men, dockers in Birkenhead have decided to join the N.A.S.D.U. This step was not taken in a light hearted manner. Posing itself before all dockers today is an urgent problem, the answer to which cannot long be delayed. That is the need of a fighting union, a union controlled by the men themselves, a union that can unite all portworkers.

WAY FORWARD

I believe, in common with my fellow dockers in Birkenhead that the N.A.S.D.U. is such a union. Reform of the T. and G. is a dream, not realisable in the real world. To stay in there can only lead to further defeats.

The move began in Hull and taken up by us in Birkenhead is, I am convinced, going to spread. It is the only way we dockers can unite our forces and go forward in common struggle for decent conditions.

There is trouble on the waterfront. Twelve thousand dockers are on strike in London. Eight men have been dismissed in Salford. Birkenhead dockers are threatened with a "lock out" by the officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union. In Hull and Birkenhead, portworkers have applied to join the National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' Union.

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK publishes here the dockers' case, in interviews with rank and file dockers and articles written by portworkers. Here is the background to the strikes, the bitter criticism of the Transport and General Workers' Union and the conclusions of the men, drawn from their own experiences.

Solidarity Can Win

DICK BARRETT, the general secretary of the National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' Union, made the following statement to SOCIALIST OUTLOOK:

"Reference has been made to this strike as the 'craziest strike.' I agree—but not in the manner that the capitalist press used the term.

"This all stems from the overtime ban. The general public ought to know that the members of N.A.S.D.U. are not against overtime, they are willing to work it—but will not accept compulsory overtime.

"Because of the determined attitude of the men—T. & G.W.U. members as well—the employers stoop to all unhealthy methods of provoking a strike which the members of N.A.S.D.U. have resisted month after month.

"Where have the principles of T.U.C. gone as regards hours of work? The busmen's new agreement included compulsory overtime. All workers must watch and fight reactionary trade union officials who seek to lengthen the working day. Only solidarity can win."

Dogmatic Attitude of Employers

Stan Blewer, N.A.S.D.U. member from Millwall docks, told SOCIALIST OUTLOOK:

"Although not wishing to go into minute details I have come to the conclusion that all the aspects of the present dock strike are definitely associated, and have arisen, from the overtime ban.

"This ban, put into operation last February by the N.A.S.D.U. on the basis and principle that overtime is voluntary, has been in unceasing conflict since the time mentioned with the dogmatic attitude of the employers in their refusing to recognise it as such.

ATTEMPT TO BREAK BAN

"Coupled with this came the employers' attempt to break the overtime ban by their continuous refusal to discuss other outstanding matters concerning the industry, a policy which so aggravated the situation that it has now reached its logical climax.

"The meat dispute supplied the spark, and in spite of harmful tactics of some T. & G.W.U. officials the unity of the men concerned remained solid. From this particular dispute together with the accumulated unrest of the previous months there developed this spontaneous strike action.

"It was in these circumstances that the N.A.S.D.U., considering the forward part they played, and realising the critical stage reached,

LONDON DOCKERS BATTLE FOR NEGOTIATING RIGHTS

WORK in the Port of London is coming to a standstill. At the time of writing over 12,000 men are on strike and the number is increasing all the time.

Behind the stoppage is a fundamental trade union principle—the right of the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union to negotiate on behalf of its members. This has now become a national issue in dockland, especially since many thousands of dockers in provincial ports have joined, or are in the process of applying to join, this union.

The origin of the dispute dates back to last year. A member of the stevedores' union was penalised for refusing to work overtime. This was resented by the union who rightly claimed that since overtime was voluntary, the employers had no right to take action in a manner that was tantamount to making it compulsory.

At a meeting on January 16, the N.A.S.D.U. members agreed that no overtime should be worked until the employers agreed it was voluntary.

As a result the union placed a ban on all overtime. The employers then refused to negotiate until the ban was lifted. Again the Stevedores replied that, whilst they were prepared to negotiate on all questions, they could not agree that the question of overtime should be made an issue for resuming negotiations, since it was voluntary and not compulsory.

Later in February the T. & G.W.U. agreed with the Stevedores that they would not nego-

by
London Docker
Jim Humphries

tiate until all questions were discussed.

A few weeks ago a dispute arose on the handling of meat cargo. The end of rationing meant a great deal of extra work and a pension was involved.

The employers concerned wrote letters to the T. & G.W.U. and Stevedores asking them to attend conference on this matter. The request was accepted by the G.W.U., in flagrant breach of February agreement. As part to this agreement the N.A.S.D.U. members were told not to handle meat.

It is significant to note well actions of the T. & G.W.U. cause according to the members of the N.A.S.D.U. is to freeze their union out of the docks. That is why the London dispute can have international implications at an early date, since the Stevedores determined to win their right to negotiate at all costs.

Support from T. & G. Members

FEELING in support of Stevedores runs high among the T. and G. rank and

HARRY BIGGS, who works West India Dock, told a SOCIALIST OUTLOOK reporter that the strike was the result of a lack of militant leadership on the part of the T. & G.W.U. officials. It was provided the story would be different.

Mr. DOWNER, employed on the same docks, declared that T. & G.W.U. men must support the stevedores.

Mr. TILSON of Millwall docks, commenting on Mr. Downer's statement that dispute pay was made to T. & G.W.U. men involved in the stoppage through action of the stevedores, declared that there was a catch in this cause when he reported, a requested, attempts were made to send him to another sector where there was work.

CASE OF CLERK LAKES

The following resolution was passed by the Leeds 10. A branch and forwarded to Leeds City Labour Party:

"We protest most strongly against the undemocratic and unconstitutional removal of delegates' credentials from Councillor L. by certain of the officers of Leeds City Labour Party. We believe that only the City E.C. or the delegate meeting has the right to reverse City decisions and, furthermore, affirm our confidence in Council Lake as chairman and a member of Leeds City Labour Party."

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USING THE CLUB

THAT one-and-a-half million votes were registered at Scarborough against the ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is a tribute to the depth of the opposition it aroused.

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK had only six weeks in which to campaign against the infamous circular of the N.E.C. Although the ban was carried through by the block vote, the union rank and file had very little opportunity to make their opinions known. As on the German rearmament issue the Right Wing worked to line up the union delegations. Many had no opportunity of discussing the ban at their delegation meetings. In others it was carried by only a small majority.

The SOCIALIST OUTLOOK had no opportunity at all of replying to the charges of Alice Bacon who tried to stam-pede delegates, concerned with freedom of the press, by denouncing the supporters of the OUTLOOK as sinister people. According to press reports she declared the N.E.C. was concerned to protect the party from "totalitarians."

A word on totalitarianism is perhaps not out of place here. Totalitarianism is the attempt to defeat political ideas with the club. And who in the Labour Party is at the present date, attempting to beat down the ideas of the Left by the organisational club? Precisely Alice Bacon and the Right Wing caucus. Their ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK and its supporters proceeded under the shabby and ridiculous cover of an expressed concern to prevent totalitarians from gaining a grip on the party in the future; but is a step toward totalitarianising the party now.

Ideas Dangerous

The anti-war past of some of the contributors and supporters of the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is well known. They are not ashamed of it. It was known to their local parties and the party leadership long before WORLD NEWS revealed a most open secret to its readers.

Their ideas are dangerous to the Right Wing because the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK has been the bluntest and most consistent of Left Wing journals in its opposition to war and capitalism, and in its support for workers' struggles. The Right Wing knows only one way to deal with ideas—to use the machine.

They see the Labour Party, not as an instrument to change the social order, but as an electoral machine alone, a useful springboard to cabinet posts; an unfortunately essential prerequisite for a game of ins and outs with the Tories. Policy questions are not to be decided by a struggle of ideas in debate within the party but by lining up votes in hotel bars; by bludgeoning with the machine or wooing with the fruits of power; by working out the right formula to trap the unwary or the weak.

More and more the demand is growing for the Labour Party to give socialist answers to the burning problems posed before the working people by a capitalism in decay. More and more the Right Wing leadership refuse to do so.

The SOCIALIST OUTLOOK has attempted to give such answers. Hence the ban—the club—the mark in politics of men afraid of their opponent's ideas. It is used in a time when the movement is deeply divided in an attempt to silence one clear and insistent voice and with the object of warning others.

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK had a contribution to make in the fight for socialism—which is also today a fight for the Labour Party—and a duty to make it. It has been kept going solely on the financial and physical sacrifices of the supporters—every one an active member of the Labour Party.

They gave their support and built the paper not because it offered a path to a career but because they had devoted their lives to the struggle for socialism, earnestly desired a victory for the Left Wing in the Labour Party, and embraced SOCIALIST OUTLOOK as an instrument to aid that victory.

Thanks to those who fought

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK thanks all those who fought the ban before and during the Labour Party conference. We are particularly grateful for the efforts of Jennie Lee and Michael Foot. The Socialist weeklies who protested also deserve the commendation of all those who wish to see party democracy preserved.

The issue must be raised at every trade union conference between now and the next Labour Party conference. The struggle for internal democracy in the Labour Party, for the rights of the independent Labour press has not ended, it has only just begun. At root it is a political question. Capitalism will not be ended by a party of sheep or by a monolithic machine where policy is determined solely from above.

In fighting to place the Labour Party on the socialist road the Left Wing must and will fashion a party clear in conviction and ideas, a party of men and women bound together by fundamental agreement on the need to change the social order and with clarity and independence of discussion internally able to present the sharpest and most united instrument externally.

OUTLOOK HAS RIGHT TO MAKE CONTRIBUTION

says JENNIE LEE

THE Trade Union block vote defeated the reference back of the N.E.C. decision to ban SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. On paper, the vote of over one-and-a-half million for the reference back and 4,475,000 in favour of the ban may look like an impressive victory for the witch-hunters. But it remains a fact that the overwhelming majority of individual delegates at Scarborough were sympathetic to the case for SOCIALIST OUTLOOK and ashamed of what the N.E.C. was doing in their name.

Some of the Trade Union delegations which cast their millions of votes for the ban, only reached that decision with the narrowest majority.

The A.E.U. delegation went in support of the N.E.C. as the result of a scratch consultation in the conference itself.

As they sat in the conference hall immediately after Alice Bacon's reply, the delegates were confronted with a resolution of their union's E.C. supporting the N.E.C. The matter was not discussed at the delegation meetings. Even so, 13 out of 28 delegates signified their opposition to the ban.

There can be no doubt that the majority of the rank and file in the Trade Unions and the overwhelming majority of the constituency parties are against this act of tyranny. Only the peculiar system of voting prevailing at Labour Party conferences prevented a true expression of the real wishes of the membership.

WEEKLIES HAD RALLIED

Jennie Lee, who moved the reference back, said that she never thought that it would be necessary to remind a Labour Party conference, in the year 1954, of Voltaire's words: "I don't agree with what you say but am prepared to die for your right to say it..." FORWARD, TRIBUNE, SOCIALIST BEACON, LABOUR'S VOICE—all the independent Labour weeklies had rallied to SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, not because they agreed with everything the OUTLOOK said but because they believed that the OUTLOOK had the right to make its contribution to Party policy.

Why, she asked, was the N.E.C. taking this action against the

Many comrades have asked: What is to be the future of the paper after the decision of Scarborough?

The Management Committee of the Labour Publishing Society will discuss that question this week-end. Following its meeting a statement will be issued.

OUTLOOK? Because it was interfering in the internal life of the Labour Party? But the whole capitalist press was interfering in the internal life of the party, telling us what policies to support and which leaders to elect!

CONTRARY TO POLICY

Jack Stanley said that the banning of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK was contrary to the declared policy of the Labour Party throughout its history and confirmed at almost every conference. He had one or two quotations to support this.

In 1925, a Trade Union leader who was also a Socialist, said: "What Socialist was prepared to say that Trade Union opinion would always coincide with the opinion which was today finding expression through the mouths of some of their political leaders. Not one! And if they passed a bye-law or regulation which said to the Trade Unions that the only people they could send there (to L.P. Conference), were the people who agreed with the present policy, then they effectively prevented any change in working class opinion finding expression at the conference and to that effect they would prevent the Labour Party from remaining an actual political reflex of working class opinion in the country."

In 1942, went on Jack Stanley, Percy Collick, moving the resolution calling for the lifting of the ban on the DAILY WORKER, said: "Whilst giving support to the lifting of the ban on the DAILY WORKER, (this conference) is also convinced that the

freedom of the press is an integral part of the democratic order and essential to the maintenance of public morale."

"Everybody in this conference," continued Jack Stanley, "is committed to the principle of the freedom of the press, whether you agree with what the press says or whether you disagree. One of our declared war aims, through the mouth of Mr. Roosevelt and accepted by Mr. Churchill and everybody else, is freedom of speech and freedom of the written word."

FREEDOM OF PRESS

"We must have freedom of the press at all times. Just as we have had to struggle for the maintenance of this movement, so the freedom of the press has had to be fought for and we cannot afford to give it away. What was good enough for the DAILY WORKER in 1942, should be good enough for the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK today."

Mr. Sandy of U.S.D.A.W., said that SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is a dangerous publication but it would not be less dangerous outside than inside.

While not agreeing with everything said in SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, said Mr. Sandy, it was his duty to say that if SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is thrown out of this movement it would be a sad day for the movement.

Tom Chapel (Exeter) supported the National Executive. In Exeter they had had experience of the people who supported SOCIALIST OUTLOOK and it was not plea-

sant. He was president of his constituency party and had a great deal of trouble from these people. There was more in this ban than the banning of a paper. The ban would not stop the paper being printed and read. What was objected to was groups of people acting as groups, using N.C.L.C. notepaper to convene their meetings, holding secret meetings to disrupt the work of the party. If conference supports this reference back it was storing up a lot of trouble for itself. We might be strong enough to fight the Tories from without and yet be destroyed from within. The SOCIALIST OUTLOOK group in Exeter always praised everything Russia and China did but had nothing but condemnation for everything done by our own party.

N.E.C. REPLY

Alice Bacon put the case for the Executive, pulling every stop and no holds barred. Her main source of information seemed to be the Communist Party publication, WORLD NEWS, although she did not have the courtesy to give it due acknowledgement.

She admitted that there had been a good deal of criticism of the N.E.C.'s action. She could understand this reaction, she added hypocritically, because it was feared that the N.E.C. was interfering with the freedom of the press and telling people what they must read. They (the N.E.C.) were not persecuting a minority in doing what they did. They were not banning the paper—they could not do that even if they wanted to.

TROTSKY MOVEMENT

They were not concerned with the OUTLOOK as such. What concerned them was that we had here an organisation masquerading as a paper. They were not dealing with the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK but with the Revolutionary Communist Party or the Trotsky movement inside our party. From time to time this movement had raised its head in various parts of the country.

It was a troublesome and fanatical group. The Revolutionary Communist Party had not

really been disbanded but was carrying on under the name of shareholders of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. SOCIALIST OUTLOOK had supported every unofficial strike which had taken place.

She referred to the proscribing of Socialist Fellowship and said the OUTLOOK had persistently put forward the policy of the Fellowship. In January, 1951, she said, the N.E.C. sent out a warning to Labour Parties and Leagues of Youth because SOCIALIST OUTLOOK was interfering with the work of the League of Youth at that time. They were asked not to encourage the sale of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK or SOCIALIST YOUTH. Unfortunately, little heed was given to this warning.

In various parts of the country regular meetings of shareholders were just a mask for the activities of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Last year, said Miss Bacon, Conference supported the decision of the N.E.C. not to endorse the candidature of John Lawrence, who was then editor of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. Since then, even Lawrence was too mild for the OUTLOOK and had been sacked. Today the editor was Healy, who was the publisher of the Trotskyist SOCIALIST APPEAL in 1938, was a member of the executive of the Workers' International League and a paid organiser of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

LAUGHING AT N.E.C.

While the Communist Party satellite organisations had a habit of disappearing and then re-appearing under different names, the Revolutionary Communist Party thought they were very clever in having no name at all. "We on the N.E.C., she said, could not sit back and let them laugh at us."

Defining the meaning of association, she said that anyone could buy and read the paper—"Herbert bought one the other day," but if anyone was pushing the sale of the paper or became a shareholder, the Party had the right to take action.

There was only perfunctory applause when she sat down.

Summing up Scarborough

THE socialist historian of the future will find much food for thought in the Scarborough conference decisions. Needless to say he will not receive much assistance from the reports in the capitalist press. There is only one conclusion to draw from that source—their complete inability to understand what is going on inside the Labour Party.

Scarborough was a high point in the political development of Labour's rank and file. No amount of Right Wing threats, supplemented by press distortions, can obscure that all important fact.

On the basis of political struggle around German rearmament, Nye Bevan almost succeeded in rolling up half the trade union vote at conference. This is a remarkable achievement, especially since it was entirely along political lines.

WHAT NEXT?

What will happen in the unions when Bevan is assisted by a conflict on domestic issues? Those who say Bevanism is finished understand nothing of what is in effect taking place. Once the coming industrial struggles are geared into line with the political issues, the coming to power of Bevanism in the Labour Party and trade unions is assured.

For this reason Mr. Bevan was absolutely right in dispensing with double talk in his speech to conference delegates at the TRIBUNE meeting. His declaration that no war can take place if the working class oppose it will be endorsed by every serious-minded socialist throughout the country.

There comes a time in every

serious struggle which involves fundamental issues when it is necessary to call things by their right names, otherwise nobody can be prepared or educated as to what lies ahead. Of course those who are unprepared for such talk may sometimes be resentful of the "strong medicine," but there is no way round this.

Those comrades who were a little worried over Mr. Bevan's blunt presentation of the facts

By Socialist
Outlook Reporter



By courtesy of the "Daily Herald"

they can utilise such demogogy with effect in this respect.

DOOMED TO DISAPPOINTMENT

They will be doomed to disappointment, especially if the left identifies itself clearly with the real struggles of the trade unionists. More and more this becomes problem number one in the fight against the block vote. Serious trade union work on the basis of a socialist policy is the only answer to Ernest Jones, Deakin and the rest.

Scarborough was a turning point. The Right Wing scraped the barrel of the block vote and only succeeded in holding the apparatus.

The speech of Mr. Bevan can be the start of a political rearmament in the Labour Party. It is necessary to continue the work and develop a fighting socialist policy which will be a real death blow for the Right Wing.

The purpose of this slander is a clumsy attempt to halt the growing support for the Left inside the trade unions. Lawther & Co. hope

JAPANESE UNIONS PLAN GENERAL STRIKE

We have received an English translation of the proceedings of the Japanese Trades Union Convention held last July. Although it is now several weeks since this convention met we are sure our readers will be interested in this summary by our industrial correspondent.

The militancy of some of its major decisions, particularly on domestic policy, are in refreshing contrast to our own T.U.C.

THE working class of Japan have been persistently struggling against United States' Far Eastern military policy and the militaristic reorganisation of the Japanese economy. The policy of rearming Japan cannot but lower the standard of national life and lead to a revival of militarism to the detriment of peace, freedom and the independence of the Japanese nation.

That is how the General Council of the Trade Unions of Japan introduced the action policy adopted by the convention of Japanese trade unions held last July. Two hundred and fifty-nine delegates were present from 36 unions, embracing in all, four million workers.

The leadership of the trade unions reported that the conditions of the Japanese workers were steadily worsening. As in Britain, the cost of living is rising—even the figures issued by the Japanese government show a rise of 7 per cent. in the last year. Unemployment is at its highest since the war.

ECONOMY CRUMBLING

Japanese economy has crumbled on its foundations since the end of the Korean war and its abnormal "munitions inflation," declares the policy resolution carried at this convention. Since the truce in Korea, Japanese capitalism has driven forward with rearmament on the strength of

American aid. With the collaboration of American monopoly capital it has pursued a policy of "financial retrenchment, tight money and industrial rationalisation." This has led to the closing of factories, mines and blast furnaces.

The conditions of the employed worker have been undermined by the combined attack of Government and employers. The government has attempted to cripple the unions by anti-labour laws including the denial of the right to strike to state employees and the restriction of their political activities.

The Japanese unions report that "the intensification of labour forced upon the workers and the inadequacy of safety and sanitary arrangements in the workshops are responsible for the increase in labour accidents and diseases. The exact number of occupational accidents cannot be ascertained, but it is impossible to cover up the increase in the number of deaths by occupational accidents."

"While such deaths were 3,300 cases in 1951, they increased to 4,100 cases in 1953."

Individual employees impose despotic and semi-feudal conditions on their workers. Others hold back wages. "Delay and default in wage payment are not infrequent, particularly in medium and small enterprises." A survey by the Japanese Ministry of Labour disclosed that the total

amount of wages remaining unpaid was double the amount for the corresponding period last year.

FIGHTING BACK

But the workers are fighting back. The convention noted that more and more workers were taking strike action and decided on a campaign for unification of struggle.

From October to the end of this year all unions are to carry a fight simultaneously throughout Japan centering on the demand for a "year-end allowance." The convention resolved that following this campaign "all industrial unions will launch struggles simultaneously throughout the country during the period from January to March with the demand for regular wage increases as the main objective."

To prepare for these struggles "mass discussions must be carried on," say the Japanese unions, "until each and every one of the workers rids himself of the idea that 'no wage-hike is possible as the times are bad' and becomes convinced that a wage increase can be achieved by a nation-wide general strike which will break through the thick wall of deflation."

AN APPEAL

Discussion on the effects of the H-bomb experiments inevitably occupied a central place at this convention. Born out of their experiences as human guinea pigs for the latest horrors of science came an appeal to the world labour movement.

"The Japanese people who were used as specimens of atomic bomb tests in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and are now being made victims to the 'ashes of death' have the right and obligation to appeal once again to the whole world the intense fears by which they are constantly haunted and their sincere desire for peace.

"We will expose the horrors of the 'Bikini ashes' to all the world," the convention pledged. "We will demand the Government to relieve the sufferers from the 'Bikini ashes', cold weather and flood damage with the money set aside for rearmament and construction of atomic furnaces."

The Japanese unions are opposed to the war drive against the Soviet Union and China. At the same time, however, they express a critical and independent position in regard to policies pursued by the Soviet Government.

"It is true that the Soviet Union is on its way to the development of Socialism," they said in their policy resolution, "but a few incidents we have heard of make it hard for us to believe that democracy is perfect in that country as yet, nor can we pass over the loud cry for the betterment of living by the workers in the various countries within the sphere of Soviet influence."

PREPARING BATTLE

The resolutions of the Conference showed the Japanese trade unions prepared to do battle both with the policies of Japanese-American capitalism at home and the imperialist war drive. They reflected the growing militancy of Japanese workers. While, like the British movement, the unions in Japan expressed illusory hopes in Big Power conferences the positive side of their international policy was shown by their recognition of the need for the international solidarity of world labour.

Their conference ended on an international and militant note. The final manifesto declared:

"The labour movement in Japan must identify itself firmly with the labour movement of the world. It must be a struggle for wage increases and full employment under a peace economy plan, as against the war economy."

"We pledge ourselves, therefore, that we, fearing nothing at all and standing at the top of the suffering masses, shall devote ourselves heart and soul to the development of the great united action of the workers to overthrow the militaristic government and achieve better living, democracy, peace and independence."

American News Letter

McCarthy Defiant

New York, September 30

WITH the recommendation of the Watkins committee that the U.S. Senate censure McCarthy, the "anti-McCarthy" daily press is once again writing political obituaries for the fascist Senator.

Hailing "The Demagogue's Day of Disaster" the NEW YORK POST editorialised, "At last it is plainly established that McCarthy's power to bully and frighten is fading."

In a more pompous vein, the NEW YORK TIMES asserted, "The tough resilience and essential balance of our American democracy, which generates its own controls, has been illustrated once again."

His Big Chance

What are the sober facts about this latest "investigation"? Most important, the committee did not even consider McCarthy's really big crime—that of conspiring to fasten a fascist dictatorship on the United States.

The committee did find him guilty of two relatively minor offences: abusing a General and his fellow-Senators, and ignoring a request to appear before a previous investigating committee. But at the same time it whitewashed him completely on the one charge

directly related to his fascist conspiracy.

An important aspect of McCarthy's work of building a fascist machine has been his systematic efforts to create a network of spies in the government and the military with their allegiance pledged directly to him. This factor was brought before the committee with the charge that McCarthy had incited government employees to forward to him confidential information in violation of the law and their oath of office.

Motivated by "Duty"

On this crucial point the Watkins committee was "convinced that the invitation so made, affirmed, and re-asserted by Senator McCarthy was motivated by a sense of official duty and not uttered as the fruit of evil design or wrongful intent."

When the Senate takes up this report they can be assured that McCarthy will give them a real demonstration of his contempt for their parliamentary manoeuvres, and his ability to turn them to his advantage. When the report was published McCarthy arrogantly declared, "I do not care whether I am censured or not, but I will fight against establishing a precedent which will curb investigative power and assist any administration in

power to cover up its misdeeds."

McCarthy's line of battle was indicated this week by prominent journalistic spokesman, David Lawrence, who thundered, "There have been many martyrs in world history produced as a consequence of injustice not recognised in the passion of the day. We should witness as a consequence of Watkins report the making of a martyr." Millions of Americans, Lawrence fumed, will know that McCarthy "is not being pilloried and punished."

What the Senate fight will look like was predicted by the Alsop brothers, well-known American columnists, who said the debate "will be a long, nasty business... The Senate and his friends will filibuster at the very least." They pointed out that if the Republicans fare badly in the election—which will be held before the debate on the report—blame for this will be placed on the failure of the party to fully embrace McCarthyism.

Is he Finished?

While the Alsops share the idea that McCarthy has suffered a severe setback, they add the proviso, "He is not going to attain such eminence again, unless something unforeseen happens. His kind of politician is not going to attain such eminence again unless perhaps development abroad spread the poison of fear in American."

Stripped of the qualifying "unforeseen," "unless" and "perhaps," this is the nub of the question. Development abroad, as well as at home, already "spreading the poison of fear" throughout the American capitalist class. Each day the people of the world are striking new blows against Wall Street's drive to rule the globe or blow it up with the bomb.

McCarthy understands the inevitable growth of the present world crisis can only drive the American capitalist to the road of fascism, as he bases his perspective on the solid fact. The American workers must grasp this as an important fact with equal clarity if they are not to be lulled into the false and dangerous dream that McCarthyism is dead or dying.

Announcement has just been made of the settlement of the Detroit Square D strike. Terms of the settlement are not yet available. We will report on this next week.

Conference In Retrospect

Right will accept Unity On their terms Only

LOOKING back at the five days at Scarborough, the main impression is that the official leadership of the Labour Party is now completely dependent for their authority on the blanket support of the Right Wing trade union leaders. Between Transport House and the rank and file in the constituencies, the people who do the donkey work; whose job it is to put Party policy over to the electorate, there is an almost unbridgeable gulf.

At first glance, and if one bases oneself on the comments of the

he said that this was a fight of a narrow bureaucracy against the rank and file.

The average member of the Trade Union branch is not so very different from the average member of the local Labour Party ward. Indeed, in most instances, the active participant in both wings of the movement is one and the same person. The Trade Unionist does not undergo a metamorphosis when he leaves his branch meeting and goes to his ward meeting. He is not a Bevanite in the latter and a Deakinite in the former. The block vote does not derive its strength from the active branch member but from the millions who stay away from branch meetings through apathy or some other cause. One of the main tasks which confronts socialists in the coming months is to activate these silent millions whose views are misrepresented in the block vote at conference after conference.

NO RETREAT

That is what makes the most important event of the week at Scarborough something that happened outside conference—Nye Bevan's challenge to the Trade Union leadership and, in the first place, to Ernest Jones and the National Union of Mineworkers. For Bevan, now, there can be no retreat. He can get back into the leadership of the Labour Party only after he has won over a decisive section of the Trade Union movement to his policy. This remains an all-out war against the Trade Union bureaucracy. Never again can Bevan take his place on the National Executive as the prisoner of the Right Wing. If he even plays with such an idea; if he is tempted to compromise because of the imminence of the next general election, then he is doomed to political sterility.

POLICY IMPORTANT

The fight in the Labour Party is presented in the capitalist press as one between the political and industrial wings of the movement. That is what they would like to see because they reckon that without the financial contributions of the Trade Unions the electoral machinery of the Party would not be able to function efficiently and an easy Tory victory at the next General Election would be assured. It never even occurs to the gentlemen of Fleet Street that policy plays a more important role in winning elections than cash.

Deakin and Morrison would also like to believe that that is how the issue is posed—Trade Unions versus the political wing with their own positions safely resting on the heavy bastions of the Unions. In fact, of course, Nye Bevan came much nearer the mark when

by Conference Delegate

THE BAN

Apart from the debate on German Rearmament, the conference was only roused to any enthusiasm in the discussions on Colonial policy and the banning of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. The latter issue is dealt with fully in a separate report. It is necessary to say a few words on the Colonial debate.

From the resolutions submitted and the discussion from the floor it is quite clear that there is a very healthy attitude towards the

Continued on page 4



IN SICILY, 2,000 sulphur miners stopped work for 24 hours on September 30. They struck in sympathy with 300 fellow-workers who had remained underground for 70 days.

The 300 men are being fed on a shift system by wives and children, who lower their meals on a rope. They are demanding immediate payment of arrears of wages.

THE UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, Mr. George Humphrey, said on September 28 that "free world nations can attract private investment dollars by inspiring confidence and making an attractive return possible."

The U.S. Information Service Daily Wireless Bulletin reports him as stressing "that private investment is made with the hope of a commercial profit, not for philanthropic reasons, nor with extremely distant goals in mind."

IN UGANDA, the validity of the dismissal of the Kabaka of Buganda is being challenged in the courts. Opening the defence on September 30, the Attorney General of Uganda, Mr. R. L. Dreschfield, Q.C., said that under British constitutional law, British powers over a protectorate were the same as over a conquered country.

"I think it is taken for granted that if you conquer a country you can do what you like in it," he added.

CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN, an American union, is conducting a campaign for effective legislation to regulate the American poultry industry. The union has issued a pamphlet which is a shocking exposure of how the industry is passing

diseased chickens on to an unsuspecting public.

A typical first-hand report taken from an affidavit sworn to by a member of the union reads as follows:

"When packing, there would be hundreds of chickens per day coming into the packing room that would be bruised, have sores on them, and the chest cavity would be covered with pus... After taking the skin off or cutting the sores off, I would pack them in boxes and see them loaded on trucks to be taken to market."

"Others that would have different parts that had turned green would have the green parts cut off and the rest of the carcass would be packed and loaded out for market."

NEWSWEEK of October 4, reports: "The shaky South Vietnam Government has turned U.S.-sponsored refugee camps into smelly slums while thousands of acres of farm land stand idle nearby."

The New China News Agency reports that "sabotage and wrecking activities are being intensified in Hanoi" by the "Ngo Dinh Diem clique."

The Agency states Hanoi is "now virtually in a state of anarchy with many cases of theft, robbery, assassination, arson and kidnapping occurring every day. In the evening, shops and homes are bolted and shut early, for fear of the Ngo Dinh Diem elements."

PRESIDENT ARMAS declared last week that 2,000 persons remained in Guatemalan jails on charges of "communist activity." It is three months since American-backed Armas succeeded in overthrowing the constitutionally-elected government of Guatemala.

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 - U.D., H.H., 15s. 3d.;
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A UNION OF HIS CHOICE?

DURING a recent B.B.C. programme called *Any Questions?* a question was asked: should a person be able to join a union of his own choice?

It was asked by a seemingly disinterested party, but even this panel of experts, who must be veterans in the art of unrehearsed discussion, no doubt felt a little uneasy at this so-called spontaneous enquiry into the virtues of democratic rights.

I was then astounded to hear **Bob Mellish, M.P.**, viciously attack the dockers over the recent transfer from the T. & G.W.U. to the BLUE UNION, and in this he was ably backed by a Conservative-minded farmer and two representatives of the capitalist class.

If the dockers weren't sure on whose side the leadership of T. & G.W.U. was until this broadcast, they most certainly know now.

Manor Park reader

In Fetters

Backing at Scarborough the Executive motion in favour of re-arming the Nazis, **Morrison** said: "If this Party is to be returned as a Government, are we to be put in fetter?"

According to the DAILY EXPRESS, one delegate shouted "Yes".

Morrison's question must receive a full-throated "yes" from

Readers Forum

Correspondence should be as brief as possible and addressed to The Editorial Board, 177, Bermondsey St., London, S.E.1

the Labour movement if the Parliamentary Labour Party is to be anything but a second eleven to the Tory team.

Labour's present crisis goes much deeper than the issue of Bevanism. The vital and immediate need is a drastic reformation of the Party constitution which will make the professional politicians not the masters, but the servants of the rank and file.

To achieve this there should be an early National Conference of the rank and file.

Croydon reader

Instalment Plan

G. Healy makes a concrete suggestion for peace: Get all foreign troops out of Germany. As the Reds surely won't go first, nor can they be trusted to go simultaneously, I suggest that the Western Powers move out in instalments — for instance 1/10 of their forces on the first of each month.

The Red occupation troops would be expected to do likewise by the end of the month. Other-

wise the Western Powers would simply move back in the troops they had taken out. A 1/10 reduction would not substantially change the situation, and would be a challenge to Russian good faith. Until and unless some better details are worked out, I suggest Labour work to promote this plan.

"My own" basic peace plan—actually taken from **George Marshall**—is for the United States (my own country) to offer economic aid to any country anywhere that would hold democratic elections, witnessed by news correspondents to ensure fairness.

Unfortunately, this plan was jettisoned in practice by the United States, and Britain lacks substantial economic surpluses to offer. But some solution should be worked out along this line.

If Britain and all other West European democracies stand together, United States cannot prevent them from offering increased trade to Communist countries holding free elections.

Tertius Chandler

Crisis in Grenada

There is news of another crisis in the Caribbean. This time, it is one of the islands of the Windward Group—**Grenada**.

Little Grenada (area 120 square miles) possesses a powerful trade union movement, unaffiliated either to the W.F.T.U. or the I.C.F.T.U. Called **The Grenada Manual and Mental Workers' Union**, it has successfully organised within its ranks 23,000 of Grenada's 70,000 population!

This movement has recently won a sweeping electoral victory securing six out of the eight elected seats to the Legislative council. As a result, the balance between Whitehall and Grenada is now held by one independent

Conference In Retrospect

Continued from page 3

colonial people in our movement. The rank and file were in a mood to accept an out-and-out socialist policy embodying the immediate recognition of freedom for the colonies and all the sacrifices this might entail. From the platform they only got platitudes wrapped up in all the eloquent and passionate oratory of which **Jim Griffiths** is such a past master.

GRIFFITHS MAGIC

All the **Griffiths** magic came into play to assure the colonial people that the heart of British Labour bled for them in their sufferings but that British imperialism, with a few modifications, remained the master of their ultimate destinies. The colonial debate was admirably summed up in **Vicky's** brilliant cartoon in the DAILY MIRROR of September 30. This showed a portly **Jim Griffiths**, dressed in the khaki shorts and pith helmet which is characteristic of British officials in the tropics and carrying in his hands a brief case marked "Labour's Colonial Policy," striding along a road called "Progress" and not casting his eyes to right or left where lies strewn the skeletons of **Seretse, British Guiana** and the **Kabaka of Uganda**.

This conference started off with the usual pleas for unity and to "forget our differences" but, from the beginning it was clear that the Right Wing were prepared to accept unity only on their terms, implying an abandonment of all socialist principles and the best traditions of our movement. Unity on such a basis would be the end of the Labour Party as a political force in this country. For all socialists, unity must take second place to a fight for a return to a genuine socialist policy and for a leadership which will reflect that policy.

member. This state of affairs embarrasses the Colonial Office and as a result there is wild speculation in some conservative quarters.

It so happens, that this movement, like the others in the West Indies, is basically a Labour movement, which has already established for itself a tradition of struggle. In 1951, as a result of a brief but bloody struggle, it wrested a 25 per cent. all-round increase for its people. Now the colonial regime sees it as a major threat. How long before it is treated like the P.P.P. in British Guiana?

Ceylon Student

A Lost Week-end

I feel that a report on the Scottish Women's Annual Conference is deserving of worthy mention in your press. It was held in Edinburgh on September 17-18th. These two days could not be described as well spent except by the most unimaginative.

Two resolutions were on the Agenda and to make sure that no-one could accuse the Scottish women of dabbling in politics, were, by special request, dealing with administration only.

Only twenty minutes were allowed on the Agenda for the resolutions and the rest of the time was devoted to talks on administration and talks on organisation. There was one (almost) saving grace—a talk on Education by **Mr. Ross, M.P.** Otherwise a good time was had by all.

What is wrong with the Women's Sections? I'll tell you—you could never say they are encouraged along the road to political understanding. The label has been attached—**NON-POLICY MAKING BODY**.

Scottish reader

There's Money In Your Cup

ONE of the most pleasant things you can hear at any time of the night or day is, "What about a copper?"

The British are the world's champion tea drinkers. They drink on the average five cups of tea a day, compared to the American's half cup, whilst the Frenchmen won't touch the stuff at all. You would think that the price of an Englishman's cup of tea was something pretty sacred. Yet we find that even this in-offensive item has become a weapon in the hands of the Tories with which they can wage their class war.

First of all they took it off the ration in October 1952, when the price was 4s. 4d. As soon as free-enterprise rationed it by the purse, the price shot up to 5s. 8d.

FOURTH RISE

Now at any time we can expect the price to go up another 8d. a lb. This is the fourth rise in the price of tea this year. An increase in the cost of 8d. lb. happens to take £16 million out of the national house-keeping money to say nothing of the tea we drink in canteens and cafes.

Of course the Tories can say, "But we drink tea too." Let us look then at the latest survey published by the Tea Bureau in which it shows how we, as a country, drink our tea.

The heaviest consumer of tea is the working class at 11.8 ozs. a household per week. Those who drink least tea are the upper classes consuming only 9.6 ozs. a week.

Even the very poor and the old-age pensioners drink 10 ozs. a week; one of their main and hitherto cheapest reliefs from the worsening conditions hardening around them.

Of course the rich make up with their consumption of wines whose prices have just slumped. As one Tory business man was overheard saying to another in his club, "But if you gave them an increase in wages, old man, they'd only spend it on drink. Waiter! Two more whiskies."

Of the many reasons why the

People, Places and Politics

By Cassia

The New Boy

HUGH GAITSKELL has lost no time in adopting the mantle of chief propagandist for the Right Wing of the N.E.C. Five days after his propulsiion on to the N.E.C. by the block votes of the Right Wing trade union leaders the SUNDAY PICTORIAL featured an article written by: "The man the Pictorial tips as the heir to Attlee and Morrison."

In this article Gaitskell lists three conditions which he considers to be essential to the success of the Labour Party at the next General Election—they are a complete exposure of the intended manipulations of the Right Wing.

The first condition is the silencing of all critical voices within the Party. Gaitskell explains that the Labour Party contains people of all shades of opinion and that: "We shall always have our arguments over policy and on many issues there will be minority views." The hypocritical character of this statement is exposed in the very next sentence when Gaitskell said:

"But I believe that in the last few years, for various reasons, these internal controversies have gone further than is good for the health of the Party."

The nearer we get to the Election, the greater the need to close ranks—and the greater the need to accept majority decisions as final."

The second condition listed

by Gaitskell is the necessity to build the Party finances. This seems quite a harmless statement on the surface but has hidden implications—particularly in view of the rumours that the Right Wing Trade Union leaders intend to give direct financial assistance to local parties which "toe the line" and adopt Right Wing parliamentary candidates. Gaitskell can in fact use this excuse of increasing the Party funds as a tactical manoeuvre against the Left Wing.

Last on Gaitskell's list comes opinion. He expresses the opinion that propaganda should be directed on issues which count with the "ordinary people" and says:

"Phoney promises and head-in-the-cloud theories cut no ice; pathological fury and shrill cries of class hatred repel rather than attract support from our friendly, tolerant and commonsensical British people."

He leaves no doubts whatsoever that, in the opinion of the Right Wing, the challenge to the Tories must be made on points of detail—not fundamentals. On foreign policy, for instance, he says:

"I doubt if foreign policy will play a big part in the next election—not because it is not important, but because Mr. Eden has, in fact, mostly carried on our policy as developed by Ernest Bevin."

So here we have the complete plans of the Right Wing. A party from which every critical voice has been removed, financially sound because of the support of the Right Wing trade union leaders, and pursuing a mildly liberal policy which does not upset unduly the capitalist class either of Britain or the remainder of the world.

Who's Right?

DURING the Labour Party Conference I have been reading something like seven newspapers a day and it is rather amusing to see how reports of quite simple matters of fact differ widely in various papers. I thought the gem of the week was the wide divergence which appeared in two papers reporting on the meeting in Scarborough at which **Nye Bevan** flayed the Right Wing.

The DAILY MIRROR, adult—not children's—version, said: "It was a sad night for the greatest orator of the Labour Party. The hall where he spoke was not full—there were rows of empty seats."

The NEWS CHRONICLE, reporting the same meeting, said that Bevan spoke "To a packed audience of 2,000 in a Scarborough theatre."

It could be that the reporters for the Mirror and the Chronicle were at different meetings!

Quote for the Week

"It is incredible that the opponents of Socialism should imagine that victory will be conceded to them so readily. The answer to so plaintive and imprudent an appeal can only be given in the famous words of **Eliza Doolittle: NOT BLOODY LIKELY!**"

TRIBUNE, October 1, 1954, commenting on the Scarborough Conference.

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A pre-fab building would of course be erected to house Lord Clifford's grain.