FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1953

Block Vote Hampers

Advance to Socialisn

Full Reports of the Marga **Debates** 

(See also p. 4)

Foreign Police

N.E.C.'s new statement Foreign Policy on Monday n

ing, and there is great resent

at this attempt to push thr such an important declaration

policy before the local parties Trade Unions have had any of

Already, on the second da

Conference, an attempt was reby the delegates to get the wastatement referred back to

membership. This vigorous def

of the party's democratic r was led by Jack Dipple (To ham) and Tom Braddock (Win

Those delegates who think

the Party should alter course make a clean break from

present tie-up with the Un States have had their case siderably strengthened by re

happenings in foreign affairs-

open support by the Ameri for Adenauer in Germany,

recently concluded mil alliance with Franco Spain,

bellicose declarations on for policy by Mr. Dulles, and

revelations of the reactionary

of U.N.O.'s Far Eastern stand bearers, Chiang Kai Shek

But, all this aside, the second the document dealing with

Commonwealth contains poproposals which have never

supported by any previous sions of Party Conference.

No Conference has ever

Syngman Rhee.

tunity to discuss it.

THE majority of the Ma

## Two Views on Public Ownership

### **Beyan Clashes With Summerskill**

be the key issue of the Conference was revealed and

carefully camouflaged manner, Dr. Summerskill intro-duced this most contentious item on the Conference Agenda.

After a number of remarks After a number of remarks designed to humour the audience, she said "that the public will judge us not by means but by ends; not by how much nationalisation we carry out.

"We will not be judged by whether we nationalise agriculture", she continued, "but by how much food there is in the shops; not by whether we have

#### A Delegate's Report

comprehensive schools, but whether our children have a better opportunity than the older people

If it was true that startling slogans win elections she asked, how can we explain that the Communist Party lose their deposits?

In Germany the workers have just elected a reactionary government. We must not forget the psychology of the people. They would sooner have things remain as they are than elect a Social Democratic Government of whom they are uncertain.

Social Democracy in France was disrupted by internal disputes and was discredited. The French workers put into power a reactionary government. The workers in this country put into power a Tory government. We must not rely on the social conscience, we must have a rational approach through the press, etc.

Nye Bevan then spoke and dealt first with the Soviet Union. Peace could only come as a result of affiliated members agreements, he said, not by one than six millions.

THAT Nationalisation will nation imposing its

[Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper]

"We have long known that with at the Eve-of-Conference Rally in a clash between Edith Union the Russian workers—who Aneurin are no different to ourselves—would demand the 'liberalisation' of the regime.

> "The expansion of the Red Army beyond its borders has given the leaders 'political indigestion', but we must not take advantage of the crisis of leadership in the Soviet Union to intensify the cold war but must assist the Russian workers to achieve democratic Socialism."

> Bevan then turned to Edith Summerskill and said: "With all due respect to my colleague, the election of Adenauer in Germany was due to our not being bold enough, when we were in power, to nationalise the Ruhr industries". Had we done so we would not have given the power back to the old Nazi industrialists who are sabotaging the Social Democratic movement in Germany.

Referring to the colonies, he "When Attlee and I visited the colonies we saw people who could hardly keep body and soul together while in North America they have a glut. I submit that this is un-Christian.

"We must not only have a practical programme, it must have design and imagination.'

On the differences within Labour's ranks, Bevan said: "The Tories say this is a personal differ-Well, differences always reflected themselves through person-

Other speakers were Percy Knight of the Seamen's Union and Mr. Attlee.

In opening the packed meeting, Wilfred Burke, the Chairman, announced that Labour Party membership had grown in ten years from less than 250,000 to over a million today. The total affiliated membership is now more

Challenge To All Trade Unionists

the Conference, the Unions. attempt to commit the Party to extend nationalisation to important sections of the engineering industry has been defeated.

Once again, the block vote of the big Unions has been used by Mr. Deakin and others to smash down the Socialist wing of the

The fight was handicapped also the fact that the A.E.U. Presi dent, Mr. Jack Tanner, tried his best to kill the amendment which he had been instructed to second. Indeed, Morgan Phillips in his reply for the N.E.C., utilised Jack Tanner's obvious embarrassment and pointed out that whilst and pointed out that whilst supporting the amendment Tanner had in actual fact spoken against

Arthur Deakin, in a speech which angered the delegates. described the Foundryworkers' amendment as "a mumbo-jumbo of words" and attacked it as being "not in conformity with the posi-tion of the T.U.C." Deakin is contemptuous of the fact that the Foundryworkers amendment repre-

### ORDER NOW

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ESPITE a magnificent sented the opinion of three million the General Council of the T.U.C members of the Confederation of have no heart to challenge the Engineering and Shipbuilding

Arthur Woodburn, M.P., had the temerity to declare that the main issue between us and the Tories was not nationalisation! His speech also roused the delegates, and small wonder, for it is The voting for the Foundry-workers' amendment was 1,797,000 for and 4,499,000, against.

clear that the fundamental difference between the Labour movement and the Tories is, and always will be, that Labour aims to replace private enterprise with a publicly-owned and planned economy. Once remove this plank from Labour's policy and there are no serious differences between us and the Tories.

Tories-but with this decision on nationalisation they have issued a brutal challenge to Trade Unionists. That challenge will be taken fight will largely depend the future of the Labour Party.

The organisation of a Trade Union Left wing is now task number one.

Significantly enough, although the miners delegation was challenged by Ernie Roberts and Norman Dinning of the A.E.U. to declare openly where they stood on the nationalisation of engineer It is clear that the N.E.C. and ing, no miner took the rostrum.

### Top of the poll again!



The Left Re-elected

Voting for the constituency Party representatives on the National Executive Committee has resulted in no change-six "Bevanites" plus Jim Griffiths, with Aneurin Bevan again at the top of the poll. A sure sign that the Constituency Labour Parties remain firmly Left and firmly wedded to the progressive decisions of last year's Conference.

The actual vote was:

Aneurin Bevan . . 1,142,000 Barbara Castle . . 1,026,000 Harold Wilson . 934,000 Jim Griffiths 913,000 Tom Driberg . Dick Crossman .

included that perennial supporter

of the Cold War, Noel Baker. As a concession to the feeling of the

delegates, he (as well as E. Shin-

well, and the N.E.C. speaker, Margaret Herbison) commenced

their pleas for a continuation of

the present position by declaiming

#### clared that Central African Fection—which the document ad 842,000 we are a gainst—should supported "now that it has bec law". That is the position of I Jowett and Mr. Attlee—but 788,000 637,000

not the position of the Party Similarly with Kenya. year's Conference expressed firmly in favour of a solutio Kenya land question w would be fair to Africans. therefore follows that the I —far from being in favou "repressing Mau Mau" (as document says)—should be favour of suppressing those W Settlers whose reactionary pol

have led the Kikuyu people to

up arms in sheer self defence

Nobody can deny that the to unloosed by the settlers is ap ing and abhorrent to Labour. Movement cannot possibly re the slightest support to Lyttel imperialist policies. On the trary, it must use all its strength to frustrate these viol of the rights of the Af peoples by fighting for the restion of the rich land of Kenvits rightful owners, the Africal Market Strength of the rich land of the rich land of the rightful owners, the Africal Market Strength of the rich land of t

· We hope that success attend efforts of those delegates who fighting to have the state referred back to the Party r bership. But should they millions of our oppressed bro in the colonial world will e Conference to have the coura vote against the document whole.

the

bury) in a short but very forceful speech, exploded by saying: "No sensible delegate believes there is much danger of the Red Army preparing to march in to Britain to instal Harry Pollitt as the dictator. Let us take foreign policy out of the realm of national unity and place it where it belongs in the struggle of party politics.

The argument of Shinwell that East-West trade really wouldn't help us much even if we had it and therefore it wasn't very im portant if it was restricted reminds me of the servant girl of Victorian times who, when confronted with the fact of her illegitimate child, sought leniency in the plea that the baby was, after all, "only a little one".

The only original point made by Margaret Herbison in replying,

# Margate: Report of First Two Days

had been settled—the Mayor's speech, the Standing Orders Report and Standing Orders Report and the Chairman's address—the Conference proper commenced with a speech from Jim Griffiths introducing the N.E.C.

Griffiths introducing the N.E.C.

Griffiths introducing the next of armaments to a level component of a lour description of armaments arising out of four to improvements in our westate in the cold War. The Cold War", he said, "is absolutely against the westare of all peoples" by words. Let men use words—a statement which drew applause for one a somewhat restrained of armaments to a level component of the cold War. The Cold War", he said, "is absolutely against the westare of all peoples" by words. Let men use words—not words use men. Mention Communism to some people and that, for them, is the finish of the argudraft programme for the next of armaments to a level commensurate with our economic 'Challenge to Britain''.

He stuck strictly to his briefexcept for some typical flourishes—and warmly commended the document to the Conference.

In his opinion, the N.E.C. had done right to place the dollar problem at the centre of the programme. As in every Conference since the war, Jim Griffiths stressed the utter decline of British capital-

But his speech contained the same contradiction as the docu-ment it was moving: it completely failed to recognise that the only hope for the British workers in such a situation is a radical break with all capitalist methods. All the arguments about increasing our Foreign Trade are completely utopian when viewed against the background of diminishing world markets and colonial uprising.

That the delegates are more aware of these problems, and more desirous of Socialist solutions, was seen in the debate which followed on the section of the Programme dealing with the Cold War.

### \* Rank and File Make Bid For Socialism \*

There were strength".

In moving the first amendment, the delegate from Barrow-in-Furness C.L.P. said: "It's no use



HAROLD DAVIES
"This ban on the export of antibiotic drugs is a crime against humanity."

two composite | Jim Griffiths asking us to subscribe | amendments arising out of four to improvements in our welfare if pages of party amendments. The we continue the Cold War. The Harold Davies, "is a crime against

### FREE WORLD MYTH

Supporting this amendment David Finch (Norwood C.L.P.) brought a note of reality into the debate. "Armaments", he said, "are to maintain the Empire intact against the great movements of national liberation in the colonies. We are in Malaya for tin and rubber—and that's all." As for the defence of the free world, this delegate refused to believe that Adenauer, Franco, Syngman Rhee, and Churchill were the representatives of the free world.

"This free world", he said, "is in fact the capitalist half of the world. Only by fighting re-armament can we aid our brothers in the Soviet Union to achieve real social democracy. The East social democracy. The East German uprising proves that the German workers don't want a return to capitalism,

The second amendment to the "Challenge" was very ably moved by Harold Davies, M.P., the dele-gate from Leek. His amendment called for "a drastic change of policy providing for a material expansion of East-West trade".

"The present ban on the export for them, is the finish of the argu-

Shrewdly, Harold Davies asked the delegates from the South Wales tinplate areas how they would vote. "If you vote against this amendment", he said, "there will be certain unemployment in your trade whose products are restricted for export by the American Battle Act.'

Amid the general applause, one could notice Nye Bevan, alone among those on the platform, clapping the speaker!

Emrys Hughes, M.P. (South Ayrshire) made a telling point in the debate when he said that the

AND BEVAN CLAPPED He concluded a very good speech with a declaration that no amount of A-bombs or H-bombs would stop the peoples of the East from achieving their freedom.

programme recognised that tanks and atom bombs will not defeat Communism. "Why then", he asked, "are we continuing to build tanks and atom bombs?'

Speakers against the amendment Continued page 4 col. I

THE PLACE OF FOREIGN POLICY

their passionate belief in "brotherhood of man", "i national disarmament",

world Socialism"!

They then proceeded to lay all the blame for re-armament on "Russia's aggressive intentions". A point which **Brian Thomas** (Salis-

Socialist Outloo Margate Delegates

Belle Vue Hotel (Cliftonville)

to a meeting in the

Thursday, Oct. 1

to prepare for real conflict. Exten-

sive plans were made to meet the

Union in battle at the end of the nine months, plans to keep "order", to run supplies, to break any strike

movement. A semi-official nation-wide blackleg organisation was founded. (One of its leading

sponsors, Earl Jellico, had a plaque placed to his memory in Trafalgar

Square by the last Labour Govern-

The Unions made no prepara-

THE General Strike of 1926 was the most impressive and important episode in history of Britain's labour vement during the years that lowed the first world war.

The strike marked the highest nt yet reached in Trade Union on in Britain: its defeat was as risive an event in labour's story was the failure and collapse of second Labour Government in With these two disasters, labour movement ceased to be ebel movement. Echoes of the oic past there were a'plenty vement were gone.



It is easier to outline the course the strike, and the events leadup to it, than to convey in iting the mood of the time, its itements, its atmosphere, its riding debates. The real undering issue of the strike was not ed at the time save in the tinctive responses and emotions both sides; nor has that issue both sides; nor has that issue been fought out to a finish. the bitter ephemeral details forgotten: the dust lies thick tors of the day, with one eption, have long been silent.

The nineteen twenties are a forne; as the interval between wars, rties were anxious and fearmuch high endeavour in the over the homes of millions.

And there was the up-andning labour movement, still character and opinion with gs to sing and choirs to sing and with a rebel red flag held m, and with a rebel red flag held m. If the movement at times The post-war L.

Labour's History

### No. 18. 'Black Friday'

## Towards the General Strike

Who Owns "Socialist Outlook"?

Provident

labour movement ceased to be bel movement. Echoes of the bic past there were a plenty—the heart and spirit of the ement were gone.

mood and atmosphere is as important bare facts—had been quieted with promises and small concessions. Now the old order regained its supremacy. The attack on wages commenced—was a decisive element in the situation.

In December 1923, Labour won lower wages, longer hours, and less divided Liberals, and 258 for the old order regained its supremacy. The attack on wages commenced—wiser' to let Labour have a brief power and will to make the change was a decisive element in the situation.

Population than are in Unions now—had been quieted with promises and small concessions. Now the old order regained its supremacy. The attack on wages commenced—wiser' to let Labour have a brief ing crisis in the summer of 1925.

The mine-monoured method of the lower wages, longer hours, and less divided Liberals, and 258 for the old order regained its supremacy. The attack on wages commenced—wiser' to let Labour have a brief ing crisis in the summer of 1925.

The mine-monoured method of the divided Liberals, and 258 for the old order regained its supremacy. The attack on wages commenced—wiser' to let Labour have a brief ing crisis in the summer of 1925.



### Reg Groves

reports, debates, pamphlets and pact was made between the men in spapers of the day, and the power and the soldiers, sailors, ators of the day, with one airmen and workers of Britain, a

The bargain made was kept only then decade, remote and unreal by the masses: the men in power, us today. Many who became the politicians and the wealthy, us today. Many who became the politicians and the wealthy, cialists in the nineteen thirties, did not keep their side of the lid slump, growing reaction, the agreement. There was no new of Hitler, and the certain Britain and no new world. There proach of World War II, regard was no just peace and no lasting two decades as being much the peace. There were no homes for heroes, no jobs for heroes, no new minated more and more by a life for heroes. The slums still and of approaching catastrophe. stood in the great industrial cities, Nothing could be further from the workers still hungered, the truth: where the nineteen children of the poor lived—or died—in the squalor of sunless streets. iden, the twenties were eager and over the land that was to be so peful. There was much light, h excitement, much conflict of unemployment hung with gloom



By the winter of 1920, industrial depression had begun, and over 700,000 were unemployed. By

In any story of those years, bigger proportion of the working party.

out attack on wages everywhere. By the end of 1923, real wages stood at, or slightly below, the level of 1914. Kamsay MacDonald, and La first government took office. It's life was short. It minority government, and it but ring months; and the property of the stook of the stook



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Anyone who is a member of, or is eligible for membership

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The Officers and Committee

of Management are elected at

an Annual General Meeting,

and they appoint the Editorial

Industrial

Outlook".

Societies Act.

and

It's life was short. It was a minority government, and it lived but nine months; and though the political and economic orthodoxy Union membership fell: it was that was the keynote of all its it take action to avert the dispute. down to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million by the end action was much denounced at the of 1923. Political action seemed time, it was never rooted out of airmen and workers of Britain, a compact underwritten by the blood and tears and sweat of the common people of these islands.

The bargain made was kept only action. The Labour Party, up to the war no more than an ineffectual wing of the Liberal Party, in the leadership or the philosophy of the movement but allowed to grow to proportions that made ineffectual wing of the Liberal Party, in the leadership or the philosophy action. The Labour Party, up to grow to proportions that made inever rooted out of the movement but allowed to grow to proportions that made inever rooted out of the leadership or the philosophy action.

The present Chairman of the

Society is Jack Stanley, General Secretary of the Con-

structional Engineering Union.

Bob Streetley, for many years

a well-known member of Ber-

mondsey Labour Party, is the

ice-Chairman. Tom Braddock,

Labour M.P. for Mitcham

(1945-50) and now chairman of

Wimbledon Labour Party, is the Treasurer. The Secretary is

The aim of the "Outlook" is

quite simple: to assist the rank

and file in securing a Socialist

Councillor, Tom

Lambeth

Mercer.

seemed pre-occupied with the battle for an extra shilling, it was because it saw in that shilling the shape of a whole new world.

The armies were safely debecame, through circumstances rather than its own merits or policies, the biggest opposition affiliated to the T.U.C. in 1920, a party.

The Tory Government that followed joined with the employers in trying to restore Britain's declining industries and export trade by the time-honoured method of In December 1923, Labour won lower wages, longer hours, and less argued, would be to suggest desire

Rail and Transport Unions were pledged to joint action with the miners. On a fateful day in April, 1921—known forever after as mighty movement of strike and protest among the workers of Britain. During that war a common the first of 2 articles by

Rail and Transport Unions were government, rather than face a pledged to joint action with the miners. On a fateful day in April, 1921—known forever after as "Elack Friday"—the leaders of the other Unions drew back, and the miners were left to fight alone.

"Black Friday" let loose an allout attack on wages everywhere. By the end of 1923, real wages

The first of 2 articles by

Rail and Transport Unions were government, rather than face a pledged to joint action with the miners. He framed his King's national agreements in place of national agreement, and the abolition of the principle of a minimum combined Liberal - Labour vote wage. The old agreement was to expire on July 31: if the miners refused the new terms after that Ramsay MacDonald, and Labour's date, they were to be locked out. Badlwin's Government—in which Mr. Churchill was Chancellor—made it clear that it supported the made it clear that it supported the mineowners, that it favoured allround wage reductions in industry, and that under no conditions would

> On the afternoon of July 30, a special conference of Trade Union executives gave unanimous approval to proposals from the seneral Council of the T.U.C. These proposals comprised instruc-tions to transport workers of all kinds to move no coal after mid-night on Friday, July 31.



next day it announced that a 20,000,000 subsidy would be paid to the industry to maintain exist-ing wages and conditions for nine months: that a Royal Commission, under Sir Herbert Samuel, would investigate the condition of the coal industry and make recom-mendations; and that the mine-owners had agreed to withdraw their lock-out notices. Red Friday! proclaimed the "Daily Herald" newsbills next day, and throughout the movement there was enthusiastic rejoicing at the victory gained by this demonstration of solidarity with the miners.

The Baldwin Government had

to force a fight. The Samuel Commission reported in March, 1926: it revealed the anarchic, inefficient condition of the coal industry, urged extensive re-organisation, but favoured wage reductions. The miners, in delegate conference, rejected the findings of the Commission, and the views of owners and Government, insisting that, while favouring re-organisation of the industry, they would not negotiate on terms which de-manded that they should first agree

to wage reductions or longer

hours.

The nine months truce ended on May 1. On that Saturday, the Union executives met in conference at the Kingsway Hall. The General Council proposed a strike, to begin at midnight, on Monday, The strike was to include all transport, all printing, iron and steel, most of the metal and heavy chemical industries, all building—except housing and hospitals—and gas and electricity, Unions in which were to get together with "the object of ceasing power". The Unions were to undertake to resist the propriet of health maintain the running of health, At once the Government acted: food and sanitary services. Al-ext day it announced that a organised workers were to be

> Union by Union answered the roll call on this plan of action. Union by Union answered "yes". There voted for the strike plan Union executives representing 3,653,527 workers: there voted against, executives representing 49,911 workers.

Outside in the streets, the biggest May Day procession for many years was winding its way from the Embankment to Hyde Park. As it passed along Kingsway, news came of the decision to call the strike. The news was greeted with wild excitement and enthusiasm.

Inside, Ernest Bevin was telling the conference:

"We look upon your 'yes' as meaning that you have placed your all upon the altar for this great movement, and, having placed it there, even if every penny goes, every asset goes history will ultimately write up that it was a magnificent generation that was prepared to do it rather than see the miners driven down like slaves

... I rely, in the name of the General Council, on every man and woman in that grade to fight for the soul of Labour and the salvation of the miners." salvation of the miners.

Speeches, by John Bromley, of the A.S.L.E. & F., by Ramsey MacDonald, and by Herbert Smith, for the Miners, followed. Conference sang the "Red Flag" and dispersed.

That evening, the General Council of the T.U.C. re-opened negotiations with the Government.

described as having been "praised

The Communist Party was pre-To the support of this comnot with Trotskyists. Far, far better to sabotage the fight, even though this weakened their own case against the witch-hunters, than incur the wrath of their masters in the Kremlin.

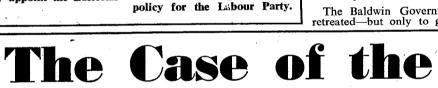
> Throughout the campaign the did the line change and the order went out to keep silent about the Kutcher case.

James Kutcher to his credit, at every opportunity referred to the the Communist Party as fellow-victims

● Continued on page 3, col. I

### Socialist Outlook

177 Bermondsey St., London, S.E.1. Telephone: HOP 4554 Editor: John Lawrence



James Kutcher left High School in 1932. America and the whole now. of the greatest slump in history. skyscrapers. With his father, a fur worker, laid off for frequent and ever-longer periods. James had to are forced to do?" give up all hopes of a college career, on which he had set his

of job seekers for whom there sense of security. It lasted almost were no jobs. Until the outbreak exactly two years. On August 16, of World War II he never knew 1948 "came a bombshell more of World War II he never knew 1948 what it was to be in steady stunning than any I ever exemployment. His longest job lasted perienced in the war: The manager six months and ended with the . . . called me into his private To the support of this c firm going bankrupt.

His experiences during the and he joined the Socialist Party. When the left wing was expelled by the right wing leadership, he left with them to help to found the Socialist Workers' Party (Trotskyists).

"The depression introduced me to Socialism". he writes, "but I found Socialism was a way of life and an answer to more problems than unemployment. . .

The Roosevelt Government tried, for ten years, to end the depression but it did not succeed—until World War II broke out in Europe. World War II broke out in Europe. as a "subversive organisation".
"It took the evil of war to end the James Kutcher, the war veteran, evil of unemployment."

James Kutcher was at a government school undergoing industrial training when the draft caught up with him and he was conscripted into the army. On a battlefield in Italy, a piece from a mortar shell hit him and he had to have both legs amputated. After a period of

S.W.11. Price 4s.)

Legless Veteran

Yes, that's what they called him But, as James Kutcher in 1932. America and the whole writes, there was nothing especially capitalist world were in the slough writes, there was nothing especially "heroic" about what he had done. of the greatest slump in history. There were 13 million unemployed, paper millionaires were diving off was not a 'hero'. . . I was was not a 'hero'. . . I was drafted, I did not volunteer. What's heroic about doing something you

In August 1946, he got a job with the Veterans' Administration eart. in Newark. For the first time in Instead he joined the vast army his life he had a real job and a

Century American—a son of the great depression and a victim of World War II.

Has is the story\* of a 20th training at the Walter Reed civil liberties. If the party in power could proscribe the Socialist discharged from the Army, complete with artificial limbs and the prevent it taking similar action against other organisations toagainst other organisations to-morrow? If allowed to go un-checked it meant the end of democracy, the beginning of the police state.

James Kutcher was now faced with a difficult choice. He could try to save his job by repudiating his association with the black-listed organisation—or he could perform a public service by challenging the principle behind the purge.

After a painful internal struggle, by the Chamber of Commerce, he made his decision. He would and useful to the F.B.I." How fight it out and make his cause part of the battle for civil rights. The Kutcher Civil Rights Commerce, Attorney General Clark's list? part of the battle for civil rights.
The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee was formed—a name that

### **Inside The Witch-Hunt** depression led him to Socialism SANTO JEGER

of his membership of the Socialist Workers' Party which the Attorney General had listed the year before the "hero" who had lost both his legs on the battlefield was now a victim of the witch-hunt. As to President Truman. someone asked: "How many legs While all tendence do you have to lose to prove your lovalty?

There was no question of a trial, of definite charges which could be refuted in a court of law. James Kutcher was guilty by virtue of

office and handed me a letter tell- mittee rallied labour organisations, office and handed me a letter telling ing me that I was . . . to be fired within 30 days on the ground that I was 'disloyal' to the government of the United States."

The letter made it clear that the charge was based, not on anything he had done but solely by virtue of his membership of the Socialist.

insight into the witch-hunt which is today ravaging American democracy. Administrative hearings carried on behind closed doors; biased articles in the capitalist press; unanswered letters

While all tendencies in the Labour and Liberal movements helped in the work of the Committee, there was one important exception. The Communist Party, itself the main target of the witch-hunters, actually joined in the campaign of hounding Kutcher \*"The Case of the Legless his association with the Socialist Its West Coast paper "Daily Veteran" (New Park Publications, Workers' Party. What was at People's World" used the case to Ltd., 266 Lavender Hill, London, stake was not only his job but the launch a dirty attack on the Social-



p among the many good friends until his death.
the "Socialist Outlook", for he
as always willing to help in the
opposed by Wil ht for a Socialist policy, even to extent of criticising the Labour

wernment, as for instance, when opposed in Parliament the arges on prescriptions proposed the Labour Chancellor of the tcheauer.

He spoke at meetings organised the "Socialist Outlook" on two three occasions and was always lling to write for the paper.

Labour Movement. He was r many years a practising doctor Shoreditch, and the rotten contions he met there made him ore determined to help change system that produced them.

Dr. Jeger had a long record in

During the Spanish Civil War, very important fight.

M.P. for Holborn and St. Brigade to Spain and retained his Pancras South, will leave a membership of that organisation

In an L.C.C. election he was opposed by William Joyce (Haw Haw) who used his fascist thugs to try, unsuccessfully, to defeat the Labour Candidate.

Dr. Santo Jeger fought the old South East St. Pancras seat many times, and won it for Labour in 1945. After the seat was merged with Holborn, he was chosen candidate and held the seat in the 1950 and 1951 elections. At the latter, he not only increased the majority, but had an outright victory over both Tories and Liberals combined.

In the by-election that must now take place, we would urge all London readers of the "Socialist Outlook" to come to Holborn and St. Pancras South and help in this

much more important issue of ist Workers' Party, which it

The book gives a remarkable

# "Free Africa" Conference

THE outstanding feature of the "Africa must be Free" Conference organised by the British Centre of the Congress of Peoples Against Implatform / spokesmen for all parts of Africa.

Whether they came from French North Africa, Kenya or Uganda, from Central or Southern Africa, all the speakers told the same tale. They told of racial oppression and exploitation not far removed from chattel slavery; of people denied the elementary rights to live as human beings in their own country; of the humiliation of the colour bar. But they also told of the great struggle which is now going on in all parts of Africa and which on the West Coast, has already won for African measure of self-government. for Africans

It was very heartening to see so many Labour Parties represented at Conference. This bears witness

### A Report From Croydon

→ IGHTY - ONE delegates Trades Council to protest against the cuts in municipal

Welcoming the delegates, the President Mr. Bert Wright (E.T.U.) expressed appreciation of the strong local support given to the conference. The Tories, he said, had slashed spending to ribbons.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Trades Council, the Secretary Mr. Reg Brown (A.U.B.T.W.) strongly attacked the Tory economies. The present Government, he said, was in power on a minority vote and its region was reflected in cuts in policy was reflected in cuts in municipal expenditure throughout

Councillor Reg Prentise, for the Labour Party, stated that the Tories, who are in a majority on the local Council had only one viewpoint—namely, how to keep the rates down in spite of the fact that prices, wages and salaries were continually rising. In education the Tories had moved backward from the 1944 Education Act. Since the Tories took power unemployment had increased and in Croydon it had doubled.

The resolution adopted recognised that the policy of the central government called for huge expenditure on armaments, welcomed the growing opposition to cuts in local government expendi-ture and promised full support to the struggle for their termination.

A full report of the conference is to be drawn up and circulated to represented organisations and to the Borough Council. The Trades Council was also asked to organise another deputation to reopen with the Borough Council question of cuts in local

### Legless Veteran (from p. 2)

of the witch-hunt and called for the defence of their civil rights.

The Kutcher Case was fought in the courts and on October 16 1952. the Court of Appeals gave judgment in his favour. But this did not mean that he got his job back. The Veterans Administration Loyalty Board of Appeals envoked the Hatch Act and said that there was "a reasonable doubt" about his "loyalty to the Government of the United States"

Meanwhile Eisenhower replaced Truman as President and the new Attorney General issued his "sub-versive" list, which not only conlist, which not only contained the 192 organisations previously listed, including the Socialist Workers' Party, but added a further 62 groups whose only "crime" was the help they had extended to victims of the witch-

Thus the police state fastens its tentacles round what remains of civil liberties in the States.

### Reported by KIES VILJOEN

perialism in London, on September 26 and 27, was that it struggle of the colonial people brought together on the same against imperialism and Labour's fight against capitalism is one and the same and that there can be no ictory for one without the aid of the other.

present as they recalled that it was a Labour Government which sent him into exile.

He said that it was very difficult for him or any other African to believe that democracy really meant anything where Africa was concerned. Since the English first Confe went to Africa and discovered its riches and appreciated its cheap so hot that it was melting the chill An addendum from the Peace labour they have brought nothing of imperialism. Since the Gold Pledge Union which wanted Conbut bitterness, hatred and suspi-cion to that Continent. Nice catch phrases about liberty and U.N.O. always brought applause but people like him had to travel 6,000 miles to enjoy free speech-in their own countries it was prohibited.

Russia, said Mr. Khama, was not the only country which deported political opponents. Many Africans were not permitted attended a conference to return to their homes but it called by the *Croydon* was all done in the name of democracy and therefore, presumably, alright.

against the cuts in municipal expenditure made by the Croydon Borough Council.

Aninu Allah Khan, Secretary of the Islamic Conference, gave a vivid description of his recent tour through Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. In these countries, he Morocco. said, Martial Law was sometimes in full action but it was always there. French North Africa was under the rule of the whip and the gun. All the people wanted the right to determine the own future as guaranteed in the United Nations Charter to which France was a signatory. When the question was raised in U.N.O., Britain always supported France.

Abu Mayanja of the Uganda

anything could be regarded as sedition. In 1945, the people of Uganda asked for a share of the freedom for which they had fought and died in World War II.

Light Series Severe that almost sherra Leone and to other parts of Africa. He quoted Dr. Nkruma: "The freedom of the Gold Coast means nothing to me if the rest of Africa is not free". The Labour Government refused their demands. A peaceful demonstration was fired on and many killed. Their leaders were exiled unleashed in West Africa beside without trial.

Labour's victory in 1945, he look like a picnic. When Tseretse Khama spoke there must have been a chill in the British capitalism but it did noth-hearts of all Labour delegates ing to change the picture in the ing to change the picture in the colonies. Indeed, capital fled from Britain to the colonies to intensify ne exploitation of the people

> Kofi Baako, Political Secretary to Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, told Conference that in West Africa today the wave of nationalism was

The Gold Coast Conventions decisively defeated.

Africa. Meetings of more than 250 people were prohibited; press national struggle to Gambia and laws were so severe that almost Sierra Leone and to other parts of could be recorded as

Unless the constitutional dewhich the struggle in Kenya would

The basic resolution (see "Socialist Outlook" September 18), was passed after it had been strengthened by two amendments moved by the West African
Students Union. These amendments made it clear that it would be the national movements in the various African territories who would determine the date for selfgovernment to become effective.

An addendum from the Peace Coast got its new constitution, the ference to go on record that it colour bar had practically ceased "opposed the use of violence" in the liberation struggle, was

### **'Black' This Firm!**

THE 39 Unions in the Con-workpeople to be members of federation of Engineering Trade Unions". and Shipbuilding Unions have endorsed the total "blackof work and supplies for an enquiry into it. the Medical Supply Association at Park Royal, London.

This decision is in pleasing contrast to the action of the T.U.C. effect. at Douglas in turning down a workers they ask them to resolution aimed at joint action make sure their factors on cases of victimisation.

Recognised as a lock-out by the A.E.U., S.M.W. & B.U. and E.T.U., this dispute is now 16 weeks old, and started with the victimisation

National Congress described conditions in his country which repeats the general pattern of oppression so typical of colonial shall recognise the freedom of his

The Unions have claimed that this is being contravened and the Ministry of Labour is conducting

Meanwhile the "Lock Out Committee" is energetically campaign- are now picketing this firm with ing to see that the "blacking" of the result that the management has work and supplies is put into asked to see an official of the effect. In an open appeal to all Union.

doing work for M.S.A.

make sure their firm is not supplying goods to the M.S.A. make sure that their depots are not handling goods to or from the M.S.A.

Much of M.S.A. work is for nationalised hospitals, and therefore comes under the 1946 "Fair obstinate in this dispute is British

### Our Readers $\mathbf{W}$ rite . . . .

### Political Rights For Africans

African representation to a miserly the Labour Party) are Use four and European members to headed by Sir Winston Churc 12. This in a country which has latest guest on the Riviera, a native population of 1,640,000 Tom O'Brien. as against 35,000 Europeans.

African members of the North Union Congress, lunched ye Rhodesian Legislative Council day with Sir Winston Chur (Mr. Yamba and Mr. Sokota) have He was guest of the Preturned home after stating: "For Minister at the Villa Capo the third time we are returning to Cap d'Ail, Southern Fran North Rhodesia bitterly dis- (Press report.) appointed. . . . Meanwhile we S. A. Woodman. cannot in the name of our people accept the decisions of the Secretary of State. . . .

Colonial Office has the effrontery to say "the British (Tory) Government looks to the day when the column we read that the pro part played by racial considera- of capital investment can tions in the affairs of the terri- solved only if the workers torial Government will become shares: neglible" after this fresh denial of the political rights of the Africans to govern themselves.

J. Tieman. Barnehurst (Kent).

The M.S.A. workers are conmake sure their factory is not fident of final victory. not understand that they are not point out that the M.S.A. still do fighting 70 workers, but the Trade Union movement.

Every worker can play a part in this by seeing that no work is done for M.S.A. or the Surgical Manufacturing Co. another of its trading names, and by seeing that a collection is taken in every shop for the ndustrial Gases of Hackney who ave, so far, refused to withhold upplies of Pas.

Therefore the M.S.A. workers

### These Men Ar Useless

I read with disgust of the Last week you had an a Colonial Office statement on the headed "Such Men are Da Northern Rhodesian Constitution ous". I would like to suggin which it is proposed to increase similar one headed "Such Me

Mr. Tom O'Brien, M.P., ir It is no wonder that the two diate past-president of the Tr

Westmi

### I cannot understand how the Capital Problem

In the "News Chronicle"

"Plainly, there is only adequate alternative source new capital-in a free ecor -and that is savings by wage-earning working cla... Can he (the worker persuaded to invest in indusecurities?!"—September 29. You rich workers! You.

are buying up the new issue Steel Shares! Remember, "Socialist Outlook" has first on your "capital". Invest in more shares in us! R. Hood.

Is the "SOCIALIOUTLOOK" in yo Local Library?

If not—ASK FOR

### a Police State Where the Tories own HILE listening to the brother, Basil Brooke, the Six men. The disloyal people are the news on the Irish radio County Prime Minister, who has Seen.

once again the government of Northern Ireland have banned at a commemoration meeting the flying of the Irish national flag, the green, white and orange tricolour the longonce again the government of orange tricolour, the longestablished symbol of unity between the "Green" South and "Orange" North.

It was nothing new of course. There have been similar announcements for many years now, but this one had, however, a special significance as, only two days before, the B.B.C. had announced

two announcements. Indeed I am painfully aware that neither will the majority of our comrades in Member, Sir Patrick Hannon, who had hitherto voted Labour.

At last week's meeting of the Trade Union Congress a vociferous denunciation of Malanism was followed by a thorough trouncing of an attempt to besmirch "the good name of British rule in Kenya".

B.B.C. prefaces the word with "socalled".

the periodic voting process in the Six Counties is carefully rigged to But the fight against the new totalitarianism is growing and James Kutcher, the leveless veteran, has become the symbol of that fight.

and nagrant nouting of those munity. Said Mr. Hugh Minford, a leading member in the Northern liberties which are the proud liberties which a

employ Catholics, but I have not nection between Great Britain and one about my place." The words are Basil Brooke's. Again, "At the last twelfth of July, I said what I did after thinking out the whole question carefully... I recom-mended those people who are before, the B.B.C. had announced that there would be a general election in the North of Ireland in October.

Catholics, 99 per cent. of whom Commonwealth and to implement are disloyal. . . I want you to this hereby instructs the Executive realise that, having done your bit, Committee to proceed at once to you have got your Briting Minister.

The attitude of British Roman the Labour movement be in any degree puzzled. For surely one of the outstanding traits in the British character is an unrivalled ability to see the mote only in the other person's eye!

Member, Sir Patrick Hannon, who had hitherto voted Labour.

As long ago as 1911 the Belfast I.L.P. adopted a similar policy and provoked James Connolly into writing in the Glasgow "Forward" a memorable exposition of Socialis one of the great gentlemen of our time.'

### **RELIGION AND POLITICS**

Englishman assimilates imperialism with his mother's milk. He keeps religious sym-pathies firmly under control except In our daily newspapers the when there is a hint of religious word election when referring to persecution outside the Commona Communist country is carefully wealth. Then, of course, the encased in inverted commas. The heavens are rent with howls of righteous anger as happened when Tito on his visit here was showered But there is never a hint that with abuse from R.C. writers and the precious voting process in the

Yet on their own doorstep ensure the continuance of a Tory Roman Catholics are regarded as puppet state; that there is a daily a dangerous element in the com-and flagrant flouting of those munity. Said Mr. Hugh Minford.

news on the Irish radio last week I heard that peerage.

County Prime Minister, who has Socialists, Communists and Roman Catholics." (I wonder if the editor of "Socialist Outlook" will

People", a phrase coined by Lord political oblivion by adopting at Craigavon, the first Prime its 1949 Conference, "The Minister.

Northern Ireland Labour Party "Many people in this audience will maintain unbroken the con-

### By Tim Enright

I quite realise that the majority of the Eritish people will not see any incompatibility between the any incompatibility between the seek behind you."

The attitude of British Roman with the British Labour Party."

ist internationalism, from which I can only briefly quote:

"The Socialist Party of Ireland considers itself the only international Party in Ireland since its conception of internationalism is that of a free federation of free peoples, federation of free peoples, whereas that of the Belfast branches of the I.L.P. seems scarcely distinguishable from Imperialism, the merging of subjugated peoples in the political system of their conquerors. For the propagation universally of our ideal of a true internationalism, there is true internationalism there is only required the spread of reason and enlightenment amongst the peoples of the earth, whereas the conceptions of internationalism tacitly accepted by our comrades of the I.L.P. in Belfast required for its spread

flash of the sword of tions. The regulations were, militarism, and the roar of a British 80-ton gun."

To further ensure Tory domination in local government the right to vote is restricted to householders with separate valued The business man and his wife have votes for any business property separately valued at £10 or more. Limited companies appoint six nominees to vote on their behalf for each £10 of annual value of any premises in the local Government area. This ensures that all branches of big business vote six times. As the Minister vote six times. As the Minister of Home Affairs said, they "...represent what one might describe as strong financial in-terests in the country, and so are entitled to preferential treatment."

### BRITAIN'S POLICE STATE

take all necessary steps to seek the closest means of co-operation with the British Labour Party."

The second of course of course the closest means of co-operation widely use, all the powers of the police state. There is a vast corpus of Southern Ireland during of laws and regulations governing war. But there can be no laws and regulations governing war. the political life of the community, peace between the two cour among them one which punishes until there is removed what no

a memorable exposition of Social- found that out of eleven basic the fears, reasonable and unre rights submitted to the Assembly able, have been prevented, nine were infringed in Northern blocks the path of Irish free Ireland by these various regula- and British progress."

ever, abandoned to save barrassment and others were

To help the ordinary police Government have the aid of a 13,000 men recruited from Orange lodges. These sp police, called "B" Specials, been endowed with all the po of the Royal Lister Constabi at all times.

### NO LASTING PEACE

It would take more than democracy in Northern Ire which has the special blessin the Tory Central Office. Geo Bing has stated the case excellent his "Tribune" pamphlet " Bull's Other Ireland"

The British people like to t that the long history of Irela torment is over and that they The Government have, and reached the limit of human t with 14 years penal servititude the displaying of the Irish flag!

When the Consultative Assembly of Europe was formed at the end of the war the Tory delegation found that out of eleven basic the fears reasonable and unrespondent.

### Where One Vote Equals Two

RRYMANDERING in Northern Ireland politics is w known. The constant alteration of ward boundaries ensurunbroken Tory rule. Take Derry City where the Catholiare in a large majority. The following table illustrates tworking of the gerrymander in local government. It is tak from a Dublin pamphlet, "One Vote Equals Two".

| Ward                        | Inhabitants                    | Electors                | Electors                | Anti-<br>Terv    | Ten         |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|-------------|
| North<br>South<br>Waterside | <br>14.500<br>21.500<br>11,250 | 3.2%<br>11,067<br>2,654 | 4,905<br>2,305<br>3,351 | -<br>-<br>8<br>- | 8<br>-<br>4 |
| Totals                      | <br>46,250                     | 17,017                  | 11.061                  | 8                | 12          |

Total Anti-Tory Tory Councillors

### First Day's **Debate**

(from p. 1)

to reveal to the Conference in 1949 which had started embargo of strategic goods to She seemed quite proud . too!

n a show of hands, both these ndments were defeated rather

#### **BASIC INDUSTRIES**

Ithough somewhat dull, this an exceedingly interesting te. The delegates for Coventry and Bermondsey tried ough this amendment to get a rantee from the N.E.C. that no er compensation will be paid the owners of the de-nationalindustries; that in further conalisation the owners will be pensated by "a life interest assessed at its value on vestday"; and that the nationalised should be subject to trol by Parliament.

he amendment was heavily ated on a show of hands. bert Morrison (London Labour nd not pay twice for the deonalised industries but "this is quite the same thing as no pensation".

Whether or not Parliament uld control the nationalised astries is obviously a question will engender more and more aussion in the Movement. The de Union speakers—including Will Lawther—were, by and e, against any Parliamentary trol on the grounds that "legisn is the business of Parlia-nt". However, Alf Robens, exhister of Labour, pointed out the correctly that Parliament to represent the interests of the ple who are, he said, "the ple who are, he said, "the reholders in the nationalised

a legislative and an executive b. a legislative and an executive of the second of the sec

Trade Unionists Speak Up For Socialism! ONFERENCE started off Trade Unions are one vast mass ments which called for the nationits second day with a of Right wing supporters should alisation of individual industries.

'Challenge to Britain" was ably moved by J. S. Campbell of the National Union of Rail- Workers, opened the proceedings waymen and was finally with one of the best speeches so accepted by the N.E.C.

The amendment commits the next Labour Government "to remove all restrictions which are aimed at preventing the British Transport Commission from developing a fully-integrated public service of road and rail transport" and pledges them "to restore the British Transport Commission's power to re-organise road passenger services."

"The statement on Transport in Challenge to Britain' is the weakest thing in the document", said Mr. Campbell. It does nothing to avoid the most obvious and glaring mistakes made in the 1947 Act.

In a forceful speech he then gave facts and figures to show that the numerous restrictions placed on the Transport Commission were keeping the railways in an obsolete condition. He proved-obviously to the delegates complete satisfaction-that the B.T.C. was being deliberately handicapped in its struggle with private enterprise.

The burden of all the supporting speeches—notably those from J. N.E.C. who h Irvine, M.P. (Edgehill) and H. Engineer's plan. Popplewell, M.P. and J. Callaghan, M.P. (Cardiff)—were to prove that the nationalisation of the British Transport Commission ment that the nationalisation of the said. "Our task is to offer the engineering would cause "inmust have full powers to integrate engineering would cause road and rail transport to make it a real public service.

Augustial disturbance, Cassasola pointed out that "we cannot change

### THE FIGHT ON NATIONALISATION

On this subject the N.E.C. was That was really being discussed left in no doubt as to the Socialist aspirations of the delegates. Speaker after speaker argued the Speaker after speaker argued the case for extending nationalisation

The most heartening thing about till, this debate shows that the vement is heading clearly in direction. Democracy is takon on an ever wider meaning.

The most neartening thing about this most important debate was the this most important debate was the the N.E.C. that the acceptance of the N.E.C. that the acceptance of the Plan for engineering would not really commit them to very much. All those who imagine that the Next followed a series of amend
Next followed a series of amend
Next followed a series of amend-

victory for the floor. An have been at Margate today. They

Hendon C.L.P. wanted armaments

R. Cassasola, speaking for the should make profits out of war".

Amalgamated Union of Foundry far heard at the Conference in worth quoting at some length.

It calls for the adoption of the

Furthermore, the amendment is alisation. excellently motivated. It says that this plan if adopted "would give asking for the nationalisation of a Labour Government the econ-mining machinery and shipbuildomic power on which to build a Socialist economy. . . .

#### END TIMIDITY

Cassasola pointed out that this plan represented the experience of Trade Unionists in the industry and was compiled by men who have an "intimate knowledge of that industry". He said his Union was gravely disappointed with the N.E.C. who had ignored the country economically sound and progressively independ-

Anticipating the well-worn arguto a Socialist economy and Socialist planning without a certain amount of disturbance". He ended his most reasoned appeal these words—"Unless we end this timidity in our ranks the next Labour government will get the worst of both worlds."

Jack Tanner, speaking for the It was clear from his speech, how-Mr. Tanner was trying to convince

important amendment to of the matter.

would have learned the real truth nationalised on the simple yet powerful principle that "no-one powerful principle tha

**Margate: Second Day** 

#### UNANSWERABLE CASE

George Cornes of the A.E.S.D. -another Trade Union delegate moving his Union's amendment to and another good speech-made the document. This amendment is out an unanswerable case for the nationalisation of the aircraft industry. It is an industry which is Confederation of Shipbuilding and already largely financed by the Engineering Union's "Plan for State which is its chief customer, Engineering", a plan which emand whose research and technical braces the nationalisation of all development is carried out by the the important sections of that industry: aircraft, coal mining said this delegate, there is no probmachinery, machine tools, motor lem, as in transport, of taking over vehicles and foundries among many others.

said this delegate, there is no problem, as in transport, of taking over many scattered firms. It is a compact industry, over-ripe for nation-

> Amendments were then moved ing. Both the movers pointed out that there could be no expansion of industry unless this was done.

> Joan Mellors (Sheffield) then moved an important composite amendment which said "only the Socialisation of the essential industries will put sufficient power into the hands of the community

> "Why should we be talking in she said. "Our task is to offer the electorate an alternative to capital-

#### BEVAN QUOTED

Harry Ratner (E. Salford) seconded this motion with a speech which drew much applause from the delegates. "Morecambe inthe delegates. "Morecambe instructed the N.E.C. to go forward with nationalisation. If they had carried out that mandate we should A.E.U., seconded the amendment. not now be discussing all these amendments today. Instead we should be devoting our time to the ever, that his heart wasn't in it.
The impression created was that
The impression trace to convince mobilise the workers of this countries to convince mobilise the workers of this countries. try around a Socialist programme."



NORMAN DINNING His appeal to nationalise "the most profitable sections of industry" brought the house

is no royal road to Socialism without the old agony of public ownership".

The applause for this speech indicated clearly enough that the known to "Socialist Outlook" delegates would be more than readers, put the thing in a nutshell. esponsive to a bold Socialist lead from the platform.

Another delegate—Jack Dipple (Tottenham)—speaking in favour of nationalising the heavy electrical engineering industry also quoted one of Nye Bevan's past speeches very effectively. "If you want to make a success of nationalised industry", he said "you must nationalise the industry next to it"!

machine tools, the delegate from Solihull C.L.P. drew applause from Party Conferences—Ellis Smith, the Conference with this statement M.P., Chairman of the Pattern-

### AN EXCELLENT SPEECH

Seconding this motion we heard an excellent speech from a machine tool maker E. Roberts, a member of the A.E.U. delegation. He ddressed himself chiefly to those Trade Union delegations repre-senting workers in industries that are already nationalised or which the next Labour Government is pledged to renationalise — the miners, steel workers, transport workers, railwaymen and others.

"When the miners asked for our support in nationalising the industry, we willingly gave it beause we agreed with the miners leaders that there could be no advance, no development and no bettering of conditions in that in-

Challenge to Britain" makes no proposal to lessen these.

I have no space to expose his equally fallacious proposals with regard to productivity and agri-culture. Sufficient to say that under private ownership he will get no

We then come to his closing remarks. It became very evident here that he himself did not really believe all he had been saying,

Anyway Griffiths thinks, and I suppose the N.E.C. agree with him, that these changes have weakened the foundation of our economy — those are his own account with the U.S.A. and their trade uncomposed a therefore we need a new materials, and instead of special supposes the N.E.C. agree with they are to send them to the London banks so that we can balance our account with the U.S.A. and their trade Unions made no area therefore we need a new on the special suppose the N.E.C. agree with they are to send them to the London banks so that we can balance our account with the U.S.A. and their trade Unions made no asked the fovernment had not asked the workers to do enough. Could anything be more ungrateful. He was a minister in the Government. He must know that the workers to do enough. Could anything be more ungrateful. He was a minister in the Government. He must know that the workers to do enough. Could anything be more ungrateful. He was a minister in the Government and their trade Unions made no area to send them to the London banks so that we can balance our account with the U.S.A. and their trade Unions made no area to send them to the London banks so that we can balance our account with the U.S.A. and their trade Unions made no area to send them to the London banks so that we can balance our account with the U.S.A. and their trade Unions made no area to send them to the London banks are to send great demands during those years for improved wages although they knew that production was rising They wanted to help Mr. Griffith' Government. Now, having by his dreadful foreign policy handed the country over to the Tories he puts the worker in the centre of things.

According to "Challenge to Britain" the next Labour Governof further use for capitalists.)

The practical answer to the problem? It is quite simple comades, all we have to do is to orget our Socialist objectives for orget orge dam' sight harder.

"Now", he said, "we want the miners to understand our point of view. If nationalisation is important for them it is just as important for the workers in engineering. We ask for your vote on this amendment." Then came the lone speaker

against the plea for more nationalisation—Anthony Crosland, M.P. for South Gloucestershire. His main argument was that the "floating voter" would be repelled by such a large measure of nation-"How can we make out a case for nationalising the aircraft industry", he asked, "when that industry has just succeeded in breaking two world records"?

The moans, groans and cries from the delegates indicated that they did not approve of this kind of argument after so many ex-perienced Trade Unionists had already told the Conference that the achievements of the aircraft industry had been built up on public money, public research and the hard toil of engineering workers.

Crosland's venture into Fabian "theory" drew a hard hitting response from the next two speakers—both of them speaking for their Trade Unions.

#### CROSLAND ANSWERED

Norman Dinning (A.E.U.), well 'The real test of our Socialist intentions", he said, "is whether we are prepared to go forward to nationalise the profitable sections of industry.

Dinning, like Roberts before him, made a forceful appeal to the Trade Union delegations from the nationalised industries to stand by the engineering workers in their struggle for nationalisation.

ext to it"! We then heard from a most Calling for the nationalisation of respected Trade Unionist who rarely takes the rostrum at Labour —"there is a fear of nationalisation on the N.E.C. which is almost pathological".

That he did so now was because, as he said, "it is necessary to warn the movement against the dangerous philosophy of men like Tony Crosland.

"All my life I have been privileged to serve my own class—the working class" said Ellis Smith. "The movement must not be afraid of its Socialism. It must get back to these principles and fight." That he had hit the mich note with this obviously sincere appeal was shown by the tremendous applause he received.

The last speech of the day and also one of the best, was made by the delegate from Bristol Borough Labour Party, Mr. Collins. He sharply criticised ("as a man of 60 years of age who knows many of the N.E.C. personally") the half-and-half measures and "down-right stupidities" of this section of "Challenge to Britain".

He made, with other delegates, an appeal for the nationalisation an appear for the nationalisation of the chemical industry. Referring to a statement in "Challenge to Britain" which says in effect that the next Labour Government will ask the industry which sections it would like nationalised, this delegate said "what rubbish"! 'Fancy asking the capitalists which sections of their industry they would like us to take over!" It He made it quite clear that it was the worker himself who was to close the dollar gap. And how?

by making sacrifices and tell them. "Let us inform this tell them." Conference clearly and boldly that we are fighting to end the capitalist system in Britain." system in Britain." And on this note, and amid the cheers of the delegates, the second day's debate ended.

> The voting on the amendments has not yet been taken but it is already clear that the N.E.C. have been morally defeated by the rank and file Trade Union delegates who, speaking from a deep experience, have made out an un-answerable case for the extension of nationalisation to all the major industries of the country.

> As with the voting for the N.E.C. the speeches of Ellis Smith M.P., Norman Dinning. Ernie Roberts, Roland Cassasola and George Cornes have shown the world that the rank and file of the Labour Movement is completely loyal to the progressive decisions on nationalisation taken last year at Morecambe.

BETHNAL GREEN "Socialist Outlook" Readers Gerry Healy reports on L.P. Conference—Tuesday, October 6, 7.30 p.m. Circle House, Alie Street (near Gardiners Corner).

### Friffiths on Labour's Plan was N.E.C.'s "Challenge to Britain", which he said will eloquent but empty

the programme of the next

do not know what the reaction these had largely gone. Secondly the party will be to this but to the question immediately unemployed. if this success had been neved why are the proposals of hallenge to Britain" so modest limited in their field of

think Griffiths felt the need to army would have helped the 1945

NAME

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Government, Jim answer this question and he gave Labour Government.

He admitted that foreign investments allowed us to live on the
degradation of the coloried marks. degradation of the colonial peoples and I did not gather that he thought a 2,000,000 unemployed benefit of more owners' profits.

fifths claimed that in the foreign trade crisis, he said, and sumed and used 30,000,000 tons of today we were feeling the full coal that we used to export when impact of world change. He also they were unemployed, and he did pointed out that we purchased seem to indicate that 30,000,000 tons of today we were feeling the full coal that we used to export when impact of world change. He also they were unemployed, and he did pointed out that we purchased seem to indicate that 30,000,000 abroad, before the war, with our tons for export would be a great foreign investments and today help to us now

What Griffiths seemed to overlook was the fact that the 2,000,000

Griffiths still seems to think that foreign sales and investments unless we did this, all our plans under capitalism is beneficial to and all our gains would go. the whole of our people. It is no such thing—it benefits only the owners. All we do is to send our commonwealth is to be brought in

words—therefore we need a new plan. "Challenge to Britain" is supposed to provide this plan.

He also indicated another difficulty we were in-the heavy Communist countries no further use for capitalists.)

forget our Socialist objectives for the time being, and earn enough



TOM BRADDOCK

When Sir Will Lawther (referring to a delegate who was trying to move a point of order) cried, "Chuck him out" Tom Braddock replied-pointing his finger at Lawther-"Chuck HIM out".

and all our gains would go.

How is it to be done? young boys as conscripts overseas to defend the possessions of these people.

Commonwealth is to be brought in practising austerity — his own words.

This we do is to send our young boys as conscripts overseas and they are to save dollars. This words.

The we do is to send our young boys as conscripts overseas and they are to save dollars. This words. the dollar countries their raw materials, and instead of spending on themselves the dollars they get, they are to send them to the Lonworkers to do enough. Could any-

won't work. We have already got most of the British conscript Army abroad forcing people to give up their raw materials to burden of armaments (i.e., the exploiters, and we just can't stand cost of defending capitalism overseas and preparing to fight the dollars in armaments to collect the strain. people of Communist countries who have decided that they have for capitalists So that won't work.

problem? It is quite simple comrades, all we have to do is to
Griffiths is, of course, an ex-miner
Griffiths is, of course, an ex-miner the time being, and earn enough miner to produce more so he asks dollars to close the dollar gap and that we save the 30,000,000 tons to buy enough gold to have a substantial reserve. (This sounds like poor old Phillip Snowden come to life again.)

that we save the 50,000,000 tons.

That is Margate's message the sum of our present consumption.

The according to the Right Hon. James Griffiths. "Oh! What a fall there is, but he can't stop it and was there my countrymen." Anyway he used all his Welsh after all the biggest waste is on valley eloquence to show that the manufacture of armaments.

Tom Braddock

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