

Socialist Outlook

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Labour cannot co-operate with a Tory Govt.!

WE MUST HAVE . . . A POLICY-MAKING CONFERENCE NOW!

EGYPT:

THE despatch of thousands of British troops to Egypt since October 25th is ugly proof that Churchill's electoral victory brings nearer the danger of war.

The shameful thing is that Mr. Churchill can argue that in Egypt he only continues the policy initiated by Mr. Morrison. Surely this will awaken in the movement a recognition that the previous policies of Mr. Morrison were Tory policies. That has now been made crystal clear.

The only Socialist policy in the present situation is to insist on and work for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all troops from the Canal zone and from the Sudan. Unless we do that, we are supporters of national oppression—we are not socialists.

There are some "Socialists" who try to cover up their capitulation to imperialism by uttering loud denunciations of the corrupt Farouk regime in Egypt.

It is time we all understood that the main responsibility for the continued existence of the Farouks throughout the world is the existence of "Socialists" who support national oppression. When the Egyptian people achieve their national independence, they will, on the morrow, overthrow Farouk. Why? Because the landlord and capitalist class that Farouk represents can solve none of the problems of the Egyptian workers and peasants.

But so long as Farouk can point to foreign troops on Egyptian soil the truly socialist aspirations of the Egyptian people will be hindered by their legitimate nationalist sentiments. Therefore, if we are really concerned about the welfare of the Egyptian workers we will give unconditional support to the demand for national independence of Egypt.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE ELECTION

By JIM FIGGINS (General Secretary, National Union of Railwaymen)

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THE Conservatives have no popular mandate to make drastic changes, but they must do so if Britain is to overcome the severe economic crisis that faces her. Imports must be cut, exports raised, productivity increased, sales raised a little further, CONSUMPTION REDUCED, SACRIFICES MADE FOR REARMAMENT. These are the hard realities that could not and cannot be escaped."

Reduction in Standard of Living

In these words (from *New York Times*, 27/10/51) you have confirmed, in language which permits of no misunderstanding, all the warnings of the Labour Party to the electorate that the Conservative Party and their masters in the United States have decreed that the standard of life of the British worker must be reduced.

This is 1931 all over again, but with the Conservative Party not possessing—which is extremely disturbing to them—an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons. British Labour must appreciate the full significance of the present period and the urgency of their taking vigorous action by a radical change of policy and its exposition to the people if the interests of the British people, not merely the workers, are to be protected.

It is worse than folly to expect any support from the Liberal Party, which is now virtually extinct. Five of its representatives who sit in the new House had no Conservative opponent in the Election. Only one was successful in a three-cornered contest against Conservative and Labour candidates. The Liberals are therefore no longer of any

WITHOUT wishing in any way to minimise the ill effects of our defeat on October 25th, there are solid grounds for optimism in the fact that nearly 14,000,000 people have voted against the present Government, while in the working class—which is the only class that counts in a decisive show-down with the Tories—Labour's support is absolutely overwhelming.

Mr. Churchill's Government of bankers, brokers, and noble lords will not for long rule this country if Labour's ranks are united around a clear programme of opposition on all fronts. No Government can rule—at least, not in the traditional parliamentary manner—when once the working class decides to lead a majority of the people into real socialist opposition.

But unfortunately that vital decision is the very thing that is lacking right now. The movement has no programme which can act as a guide in the new political situation created by the return of a Tory government. For this reason the organisation of a special policy-making conference is absolutely essential.

The last conference at Scarborough was merely an election rally. It did not, and could not, provide the working class movement with a programme of struggle against a Tory government.

Meanwhile ideas are being put forward by various leaders of the movement; ideas which are not backed by conference decisions, and which do not have, in our opinion, the support of the workers.

The General Council of the T.U.C. has proclaimed its willingness to "work amicably" with the Tory Government; Sir Hartley Shawcross—even before the Election was over—informed us that our duty in the event of a Tory victory was "TO IMPLEMENT (TORY POLICY) AS FAR AS WE CAN TO THE BEST ADVANTAGE OF THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE"; Mr. Morrison has said that in Egypt "we stand on our rights". The Tories say that also, so it looks as though Mr. Morrison would have us unite with the Tories in a war against the Egyptian people.

We do not accept for one moment that these dangerous ideas represent the views of the great majority of Labour workers.

The immediate organisation of a special national conference is the only democratic way to end the indecision and clear up the confusion. Such a conference will be the first step in preparing our ranks for a decisive struggle against Toryism.

account except as votes for the Conservatives on vital issues in the House. This was the role of the Liberal Party in 1931 and it is now repeated twenty years later.

Price of U.S. Help

The burden of rearmament, as acknowledged by the famous journalist, Vernon Bartlett, in the issue of the *News Chronicle* of 29th October, inevitably means this lowering of the standard of life. Mr. Bartlett's only hope of avoiding a drastic reduction is expressed in these words:—

"Mr. Aneurin Bevan's influence in a future Labour Government is such that American sacrifices to help the new Government through the deepening British economic crisis will be far greater than would have been made on behalf of Mr. Attlee's administration. Furthermore, Mr. Churchill is held in such esteem that he could probably convince the Americans of British inability to carry the present rearmament burden—as Mr. Bevan, indeed, forecast months ago—without greatly strengthening the Isolationists in the United States."

This in the light of the previous quotation from the *New York Times*, is obviously a complete illusion and contains no prospect whatever. As in 1931, the capitalists of the United States will dictate their price for any concession they may make to Great Britain, and since Mr. Churchill is most amenable to the capitalists on the other side of the Atlantic, no one should entertain any doubt as to the consequences of this price.

The Conservatives have complained bitterly about Labour's reaction during the Election to the Tory Press attempt to make "Abadan" synonymous with "Munich" and by insinuating that the Conservative Party were a Party of warmongers, and expressed the hope that no more would be heard of

such insinuations.

What the leaders of the Labour Party said was that the policy of the Conservative Party inevitably meant the third world war and the action of Mr. Churchill in assuming the dual role of Prime Minister, and Minister of Defence, similar to what he held during the war, should be well noted and I hope understood by everyone concerned.

Labour Policy

The situation is one of extreme seriousness for Labour politically and industrially. When the Annual Conference of the Party took place at Scarborough, it was known that the General Election would be held on the 25th October. In these circumstances everyone appreciated the urgent necessity of closing the ranks and fighting our opponents, the Conservative Party, as a united Party irrespective of differences on many vital issues, which would obviously have found expression at the Conference. Many of us were doubtful, even by such unity, that Labour would succeed in obtaining the third period of office and power.

My own opinion found clear expression in the issue of the 9th February, 1951, in these words:—

"The writing is on the wall for all to see. It is unmistakable unless Labour is going to make up its mind right now to stand firmly for the principles on policy which it put in front of the electors in 1945, and that it is going to fight for the economic and political independence of Great Britain, and that it is no longer going to be subservient to the reactionaries of the United States who dictated the reduction in the standard of benefit to the unemployed in 1931 and who, it would appear, are to-day dictating British international policy."

"We must firmly make up our minds that if we give a lead to the people of

Editorial

THE DANGERS AHEAD

THE Election result has greatly disappointed the Tory Party. They clearly do not have a sufficient majority in Parliament, or enough popular support in the Country to carry through their programme. Their REAL programme, that is, and not, of course, their Election promises which have deceived no one—except the 'educated' people from suburbia.

To carry through the programme outlined by R. A. Butler, the Tory Party leaders must endeavour to gain the support of sections of the Labour Movement. That is why they are creating an atmosphere of 'National Crisis'—even to the extent of proposing to re-establish the Home Guard! They know that prominent leaders of the Labour Movement have always considered that questions of 'National Interest' over-ride the interest of any particular Party or class. It is this false idea which will be exploited by the Government in an effort to win the leaders of the Movement to a policy of co-operation.

No wonder the Tory Chancellor took time out to applaud the declaration by the General Council of the T.U.C. that it would 'work amicably' with the new Government! Are we soon to face a new Mondism? Will

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this country against rearmament, and for peace and prosperity; for a mighty effort similar to that which it is proposed to make for rearmament; for the building of houses, for the providing of higher pensions for the aged and infirm, for improved social services; for a raising of the standard of life for the British people, and for economic world co-operation, we will get such a response from the people of this country which will dash for ever any hopes the reactionary element still entertained of recapturing economic and political power. This is the only way to inspire the rank and file. The leadership must be conscious of it. Let it unhesitatingly face its responsibility."

Had we changed the policy of the Labour Party at that date, February of this year, I have no doubt, and the Election results confirm my view, that Labour would have won the Election.

In the meantime, the centre of gravity for the workers has shifted from Parliament to the Head Offices of the Trade Unions. This is acknowledged on all sides.

The possibility of serious industrial disruptions is widely feared and unless Sir Walter Monckton keeps a sharp eye on his colleagues in the Government these fears may be transformed into living realities, as they were after the first world war.

Regarding the policy of de-nationalisation, Mr. Trevor Evans, the Industrial Correspondent of the *Daily Express*, has put the matter with a clarity that needs no emphasis from me. These are his words:—

"There'll be trouble as sure as tomorrow is Tuesday if there's much tinkering with nationalisation."

OURSELVES

As stated in October, the price of "Socialist Outlook" is now THREEPENCE. Rising costs have made this inevitable. We know our readers will support us in this unavoidable decision. Remember—More readers means lower costs!

THE CASE OF THE SUSPENDED LABOUR PARTY

REPORTED BY SALFORD READERS

THE East Salford Labour Party had one of the biggest memberships in the country — more than 4,000 individual members — and in the last Municipal Election, when the general trend was to lose seats, this Party actually improved its position on the local Council. Today this Labour Party stands suspended by Transport House.

Why? What infamous crime did its members commit that could justify such drastic action taken right on the eve of the recent General Election? It is a matter of concern to the whole movement. Here are the facts.

SUPPORT FOR DOCKERS

In April this year, a dispute broke out in the Manchester Docks and dragged on for six weeks with no sign of a settlement. Conscious of the fact that most of the dockers actually lived in Salford—hundreds were, in fact, members of the local Labour Parties—the Executive of the Salford City Labour Party invited its two members of Parliament, and some dockers' representatives, to a special meeting called to explore a possible way out of the deadlock.

After hearing the dockers and Alderman Hardy, the M.P. for East Salford, the Executive sent an appeal to the Minister of Labour urging him to intervene in the dispute.

They also expressed the opinion that the only way to facilitate a return to work, and enable negotiations to take place on the many grievances of the dockers, was for the Dock Labour Board to lift the suspension of the two dockers who had refused to work overtime. It was these suspensions which had been the immediate cause of the strike.

TRANSPORT HOUSE ARRIVE

Apparently this simple, straightforward attempt to settle a dispute which was causing tremendous hardship to hundreds of Salford families aroused the anger of Transport House. The Regional Organiser of the Labour Party, Mr. R. Wallis, arrived in the area and instructed the City Party Executive to alter its decision.

This it did—but a subsequent delegate meeting refused to endorse this reversal and maintained the original position. Thereupon Wallis warned the City Party that action might be taken against them unless they bowed to the wishes of Transport House. Again, after a lengthy discussion, a resolution to comply with the wishes of the Organiser was declared by the Chairman, Clr. Burchill, to be not carried—the vote being 26 for and 26 against.

However, at a recalled meeting, the wishes of Transport House were complied with and the "offending minute" was struck from the records. This was done out of a sincere desire to prevent a split in the Salford Labour Movement—many members maintaining that their stand in support of the dockers had been correct.

ENTER THE BIG STICK

It would now seem that Transport House should have been satisfied as, on the face of it, they had got what they wanted. But not at all. A number of leading members of the City Party were now called to an "inquiry" held by a sub-committee of the Regional Executive. At this inquiry no charges were made against individuals and no reference was made to the City Party itself—in spite of the fact that all the decisions had been arrived at collectively and were the responsibility of the entire Party.

After hearing further secret evidence the Regional Executive expelled Clrs. Burchill and Williams, President and Treasurer of the City Party, and P. Grimshaw, a member of the Executive. It also suspended from all Offices in the Party H. Ratner and I. Zott.

The East Salford Labour Party refused to accept this "disciplinary action" and consequently refused to appoint new officials in place of the old. The Party maintained that these measures were an attempt to victimise leading members for their past criticism of official policy and for their association with demands for a more socialist programme. The Party re-emphasised its collective responsibility for all decisions and for taking up this stand. . . . East Salford Labour Party was suspended on the eve of the General Election.

WORKERS DEFEAT TORIES

The Regional Executive were apparently unconcerned with the effect of their action on the result of the Election, but the membership of the suspended Party showed a great sense of responsibility. They knew, despite all provocation, that the main enemy was Toryism and the task over-riding all internal differences was to secure a Labour victory.

The suspended Party met and decided unanimously that, despite their suspension, an effort would be made to return the suspended members to the Party. . . .

Now the Regional Executive are . . .

of a local dispute. What is involved is whether we are going to submit to all opposition within the Party being stifled.

Is it a coincidence that East Salford has the record of being among the most militant constituency parties in the country? Is there any connection between the harshness of the disciplinary action taken and the fact that the East Salford Party instructed its delegate to last year's Annual Labour Party Conference to oppose the Executive's position on the Korean war?

WHAT IS REALLY INVOLVED

We suspect that this is part of a general drive against the growing mass of criticism in the Party as exemplified by the Bevan movement. We must not allow individual militants and local parties to be picked off because they have been in the forefront of the fight for a Socialist policy within the Party.

Already a storm of protest has been roused in the Lancashire area. Powerful bodies such as the Manchester District Committee of the A.E.U., the Oldham Shop Stewards' Quarterly Meeting, the Shop-Stewards' Committee of Metropolitan-Vickers, representing many thousands of workers, the Dockers' Branch of the T. & G.W.U., and dozens of trade union and labour organisations have protested.

This protest must spread throughout the country. Transport House must be made to realise that such actions will not be tolerated by the rank-and-file.

Socialist Outlook Supporters Meetings

NOW the big fight begins. Toryism in power can only be defeated by the Labour Party adopting a real socialist policy. This is the sure way to win. For a long time now the Editorial Board has been painfully aware that a monthly paper cannot really tackle the urgent tasks which confront the movement. The "Socialist Outlook" must appear more frequently. With a Tory election victory, this is vital, and we want our readers to consider seriously the question of a fortnightly.

Briefly our needs are as follows. Apart from the money already in the Special Development Fund, we need £500 by the end of the year. This will enable us to guarantee regular publication until such time as the revenue from sales and donations begins to roll in. But we can only go forward to the Fortnightly (and then the Weekly) provided this money is forthcoming and a determined effort is made to increase the circulation.

To help organise the work, we are

'Speaking My Mind'

WHAT NEXT FOR LABOUR?

by Tom Braddock

TWENTY-TWO bewildered Labour members of the last Parliament who have just lost their seats will be asking that question; others will be congratulating themselves, for no reason whatsoever, on having just crept in; others having had another try, after their 1950 defeat, find themselves defeated again, by bigger majorities. Why?

All the Bevanites, for instance, went back. Moreover, it was the vote of electors who took the Bevan point of view that put back the narrow majority non-Bevan M.P.s. Most candidates during the campaign thought it wise to pedal very softly on their opposition to Bevan. They had to tread delicately between the winning of votes and incurring the wrath of Transport House.

Had Transport House not set its face so resolutely against possible candidates who were, and had been, critical of our Tory foreign policy most of the seats lost in 1950 could have been won back and more besides.

Support for rearmament and the American tie-up was made a condition of endorsement. This piece of political stupidity not only lost us the election but has put the people of this country in the most dangerous position

they have been in since the Napoleonic wars. Given the chance, the British electorate will vote just as strongly against Tory policy and war as they did in 1945, but they will not vote for a peace party that leads them to war or for a Socialist party that shows no confidence in its own ideals.

In its September issue before the abortive Annual Conference, *Socialist Outlook* declared itself absolutely against a General Election. It pointed out that it was the duty of the Labour Government to hold the pass during the dangerous period we are now facing. Unfortunately, the aged and middle-class leaders of the Party thought otherwise; Nye Bevan having lived and compromised himself with them for so long was in despair.

A TERRIBLE MISTAKE

Events have proved that a terrible mistake has been made, and there is no defence for what has been done if considered from the point of view of the well-being of our people.

During the election fight our party leaders told us there would be a greater danger of world war and of further reductions in our living standards if a Tory government was returned. If this is true, why were the Tories given the chance of exposing us to these dangers?

Our leaders must have known that, to say the least, there was the danger of a Tory government; what justification have they got for taking such a risk? They knew, or should have known, that the majority of people in this country wanted a Socialist and peace government; in the event the votes confirm that this was the case.

If we are to have a government with a narrow majority that government should represent the views of the majority of the electorate. This was the position that existed prior to Mr. Attlee's inept decision. He had a majority in the House, his party had lost no by-election, but we were nevertheless thrown to the Tories. It is a gross betrayal of our Socialist cause, and we cannot safely continue to be led by such men.

THE OLD GAME IS DEAD

Even now they seem to be unaware of the seriousness of their action, for they are talking and acting as if nothing had happened. They seem to think that the Labour Party is just another party replacing the Liberals of old, not differing, apart from personalities, from the Tory party, and that they can play political careers and the old in-and-out game in the approved gentlemanly manner. They think they will 'kiss hands' again at no distant date. What folly!

To start with, having been presented with a new life it is to be expected that the Tories will risk another 1945? With our present leaders it will be a long day before we see another election campaign. That can now only be forced by the direct action of the workers and perhaps not even then. Fascism will soon be showing itself again; it is not without significance that Rommel has become a hero in certain quarters.

We are in the midst of a world revolt against capitalist imperialism and there will be no time for the old political game. Unfortunately, we have taken the side of the imperialists in the struggle and we are therefore at the mercy of a half-demented and desperate gang of American money lords. These pious ruffians will sacrifice the people of this country with as little compunction as they had in dropping the first atomic bombs on the Japanese, they are in fact itching to repeat the process on the people of some defenceless nation which are standing out for better living standards.

ALL IS NOT LOST

The position, however, is not altogether hopeless. The recent election result shows that the majority of our people are not in agreement, they have voted against the Tory party because they know they are their class enemies; they have voted Labour because they hope that what the Labour leaders told them during the election campaign may be true, i.e., that with a Labour government there is less possibility of war.

Next, the struggles of the Koreans and the Indo-Chinese show that military might, no matter how powerful are the nations who wield it, cannot succeed even against a weak opposition without terrible sacrifices and bloodshed.

Thirdly, the actions of Persia and Egypt are effective checks on the war-like activities of the imperialists.

None of these events are absolute in their effect, the drive to war has still an overwhelming strength, and if it is to be more effectively checked we in this country will have to play our part. We can't be saved by the sacrifices of Eastern peoples!

There must first of all be a vigorous campaign inside our own movement against the leaders who have betrayed us, they will have to go. If Nye Bevan cannot trust them neither can we.

Next, we must revive our Socialist propaganda in those parts of the country whose voters do not return Socialist M.P.s. The need for this has long been known and the *Socialist Outlook* was formed for that purpose. It was, of course, proscribed by the National Executive, but it must be re-

arranging a series of supporters' meetings in all the principal cities. The agenda at each of these will be divided into two parts—a discussion on the political situation, followed by a discussion on ways and means to help forward the fortnightly paper. Readers will be duly informed when a meeting is being held in your area. We appeal to you to rally as much support as you can.

London Readers

NOTE THIS DATE

Sunday November, 25th
2.30 p.m.

HOLBORN HALL

Rally for the Fortnightly

TRESSSELL OF MUGSBOROUGH

THE name of Robert Tressell is now known to millions as the author of that great classic of working class life, *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*. But it was not always so, for Robert Tressell (his real name was Bob Noonan) was "just a worker", a house-painter who lived, worked hard, and suffered in the days of England's so-called "greatness" in the period just prior to the First World War. His great book was not published until 1914—three years after he had died of pulmonary tuberculosis in a Liverpool workhouse at the age of 40. He died quite alone and, apart from his daughter who he struggled to rear from a baby single-handed, he died quite unknown, "just a building worker".

But Bob Noonan was a genius—a working class genius. The very title of his book proves that. Where in all the mountains of socialist literature is there a more perfect description of the working class than "ragged-trousered philanthropists"!

So completely was Nob Noonan a member of the working class that F. C. Ball in this excellent biography* informs us that he found it impossible to establish anything certain about Noonan's life prior to his arriving in Tory-riden Hastings as a building worker at the age of 30. Certainly he was an Irishman but where he was even born nobody knows for certain—perhaps in Dublin, perhaps in a back street in the London Borough of St. Pancras. He was one of the millions of workers who sweated to "make England great" and precisely because he was so completely of the working class he succeeded in doing what few others have done—writing a book about working class life, with all the humour, all the tears, all the bitterness, and all the understanding of a class-conscious worker that one day this horrible system must perish and give way to socialism. For Noonan was a socialist, an active member of the Social Democratic Federation in Hastings and fairly well-known to the early socialist pioneers of that town.

Among the many things which F. C. Ball

quotes from the original manuscript of *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*, a passage omitted by Tressell's publishers, which, after prophesying the doom and collapse of capitalism, ends with these fine words:

"But from these ruins was surely growing the glorious fabric of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Mankind awaking from the long night of bondage and mourning and arising from the dust wherein they had lain prone so long were at last looking upward to the light that was rising asunder and dissolving the dark clouds which had so long concealed from them the face of heaven . . . the golden light that will be diffused throughout all the happy world from the rays of the risen sun of socialism."

These are the very last words in a book written by a man, dying of T.B., who had never once lost faith in the ability of his class to go forward.

But perhaps the greatest value of "Tressell of Mugsborough" lies in the interest that it will surely re-awaken in *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*. F. C. Ball says that Tressell's book "is a novel for working-men. It won't for many years make much appeal to intellectuals and 'literary people' who are unsympathetic to the forms of dissent it expresses. And the lives it depicts are wholly outside their experience. They do not quite know how to come at it . . ."

That is a correct estimation of *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*. But workers will know "how to come at it." And for the youth especially, for those whose knowledge of socialism has been derived solely from the old-maidenly writings of Oxford-trained Fabians, *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists* will come as a vigorous antidote and a real socialist revelation.

We have the greatest pleasure in recommending all our readers to get hold of both these books for the quicker some of Robert Noonan's great message, his hatred of cant and hypocrisy, and above all, his perfect understanding of the needs of the working class.

HALF THE WORLD IS AGAINST THIS TREATY!

Japanese "Peace" Treaty Exposed as War Pact

By Colvin R. de Silva



THE right honourable gentleman as well as the propagandists of the international press who sponsor this Peace Treaty have particularly recommended the draft to us on the ground that it is not a punitive Treaty.

If you will look at Chapter II of the Draft Treaty—it is very properly headed "Territory"—you will find that the so-called Allied Powers have in fact stripped Japan of all her territories outside the area of the islands which are presumably said to belong to the Japanese. Now I point to this fact not in order to suggest that Japan should have been allowed to hold colonies or to keep countries under colonial oppression in this Treaty, but in order to draw attention to a completely different aspect of the matter. When Japan is stripped of these territories, the purpose, the entire character of such stripping of these territories could be properly inferred by asking "What is being done to those territories?" And when you look at it that way, you begin to see at once that what has been done in the "territory" clauses of Chapter II is purely predatory.

If you will look at Article 3, you will find the following:

"Japan will concur in any proposal of the United States to the United Nations to place under its trusteeship system with the United States as the sole administering authority, Nansei State south of 29 north latitude (including Ryuku Islands and the Daito Islands) the Namp Shoto south of Sofu Gan (including the Bonin Islands, Rosario Island and the Volcano Islands) and Parece Vela and Marcus Island."

Note, Sir, the next sentence:

"Pending the making of such a proposal and affirmative action thereon, the United States will have the right to exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of these islands including their territorial waters."

This is the straight handing over of a group of subject peoples to a new imperialist subjection. I will not elaborate it further.

The other way is the indirect method of subjection known as trusteeship through the United Nations. In particular, one might see Article 2 (d) which reads as follows:

"Japan renounces all right, title and claim in connection with the League of Nations Mandate System, and accepts the action of the United Nations Security Council of 2nd April, 1947, extending the trusteeship to the Pacific Islands formerly under mandate to Japan."

The one thing the unfortunate people of the Pacific Islands are apparently to be denied is freedom. Trusteeship as the form of subjection is one of the things embodied in this Treaty.

Secondly, in order to show from another angle that this Treaty is in fact punitive while purporting to be soft. I should like to point to another aspect which arises from Article 6, which reads:

"All occupation forces of the Allied Powers shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present Treaty, and in any case not later than 90 days thereafter. Nothing in this provision shall, however, prevent the stationing or retention of foreign armed forces in Japanese territory under or in consequence of any bilateral or multilateral agreements which have

WHY BRITISH SUGAR TASTES SWEETER IN PERSIA

IN an interview with "U.S. News and World Report" an Iranian editor had the following to say about the influence of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Persian affairs. It should remove all doubts from the minds of those who may still think that "the British helped the Iranian people". This editor said:

"Our peoples have had many years of suffering through contact with Western civilisation and British Imperialism . . . The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, as a company, has been interfering with all political and general affairs of the country . . ."

"We have found 50,000 documents testifying to the fact that the company has been corrupting members of the parliament and members of the Government in order to express company wishes rather than the wishes of the Iranian people."

"They have representatives in our Government and in our Parliament and every one of these would receive instructions from British sources and from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company . . ."

"For instance, they have called for bids to buy sugar. There were bids from Canada and the U.S.A. well below those of England. But the spokesmen from England in our Parliament voted that this sugar should be brought from Britain, though it was more expensive. Some members of the Parliament questioned why we should pay more for the sugar from England. They were told . . . 'because this sugar is sweeter' . . .!"

Such cynical corruption has been one of the chief causes of the Iranian people's determination to rid the country of the Anglo-Iranian "benefactors". For our part we say . . . good luck to the Persians!

THIS article is composed of extracts taken from the official record of a speech made by one of the leaders of the Socialist Opposition in the Ceylon Parliament during a debate on the Japanese Treaty on August 23rd. Colvin de Silva expresses not only the views of the Ceylon workers, but the attitude of more than 800,000,000 Asian peoples whose representatives have refused to sign this "robbers war pact". For that fact alone, his speech is worth the most careful attention. Unless the Labour Movement repudiates Mr. Morrison's signature on this Treaty we are likely to find ourselves—especially now we have a Tory Government—AT WAR with those 800,000,000 Asian peoples!

been or may be made between one or more of the Allied Powers, on the one hand, and Japan on the other."

The second sentence completely negates the first, for, once again in the form of a negotiated bilateral or multilateral agreement, what is being arranged is that Japan can continue under the military control of those who are militarily controlling her now; only this takes the form not of an occupation as a result of conquest in war but of control as a result of a supposed voluntary agreement. I shall later show what kind of a Japan it is that they are making their agreement with, and, therefore, why it is easy to realise that the second sentence is there for no other reason than to open the way to the continued military occupation of Japan by American imperialism.

WHY CHINA IS NOT THERE

There is no question that the countries called China and Japan and their respective States have long been at war—indeed for a much longer period than the Anglo-American imperialists were at war with Japan. What is the meaning of this alleged effort to pursue peace and security, which is referred to in the preamble, if the most important and to-day what I consider to be the major Power in Asia is not present at the making of the Treaty?

We know why China is not there. Those

CHINESE TROOPS FIGHTING JAPANESE



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who really control the situation in respect of Japan and in fact are imposing this Treaty upon the Japanese people refuse to recognise the present Government of China, in particular the United States of America.

Consequently, a Government which America's own intimate ally, Britain, has accepted publicly as wielding *de facto* power over the entirety of Chinese territory, outside Formosa, is not to be at the Treaty table, and not to participate at the signing of the Treaty.

This is indeed a queer way of entering into a treaty to settle all outstanding differences from the point of view of peace and security, especially when we know that the Government of China would have had some very important considerations to place before the other powers, and before the world, at the treaty table in respect of the rights of the Chinese Government and people against the Japanese imperialists.

WHO RULES JAPAN?

What is the Government with which these Allied Powers are signing this treaty? Is it indeed a Government of the people of Japan, freely chosen by the people of Japan in conditions in which the freedom of choice could in fact be exercised by the people of Japan? Is this Government which at San Francisco is to set its signature to this treaty, in fact truly representative even of the interests of the Japanese people?

There cannot be the slightest doubt—I am keeping myself carefully within the proper

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limits in referring to a foreign state—that the present Japanese Government with which this Treaty is to be entered into, is nothing but the creature, the puppet, of the Military Occupation Authority in Japan.

Even the most casual readers of newspapers know that the true ruler of Japan is the American General who heads the American Forces which are in occupation of Japan, allegedly on behalf of the United Nations and Allied Powers, but, in fact, largely on behalf of American Imperialism.

To sign a treaty with your own creature and then embody in the treaty a statement that it is a treaty as between equals is either to make the word "equal" unreal, or to indulge in diplomatic hypocrisy.

I want to point out also that the sections of Japanese society on which the present Japanese Government rests, are sections which, since the American occupation of Japan, are known to have become interlocked economically in particular with monopoly American capital.

Now let us take that fact with a very significant Article in this Treaty, namely, Article 14 (a), sub-head 1. After Article 14 has recognised that although Japan should in principle pay reparations nevertheless Japan lacks the capacity to make adequate reparations, it goes on to say:

"However, I. Japan will promptly enter into negotiations with Allied Powers so desiring, whose present territories were occupied by Japanese forces and damaged by Japan."—Please note these next few phrases—"With a view to assisting to compensate those countries for the cost of repairing the damage done, by making available the skills and industry of the Japanese people in manufacturing, salvaging and other services to be rendered to the Allied Powers in question."

This is one of those subtle provisions which in form appears to be an undertaking that the Japanese people will aid other people in the restoration of their economies, but, when one studies the realities and the relations within the Japanese economy, financial and otherwise, then one sees here that American capital already substantially in control of important sectors of the Japanese economy, has through this article provided itself with a legal channel for joining together with Japan and re-penetrating with its own finance the very areas which it had penetrated before the war. The moment one looks at the fact that Japan is a political puppet and economically almost subordinate partner one begins to understand once again what is the meaning of this supposedly soft peace.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TREATY

The present international situation is characterised not only by growing tension but by the growing open conflict between two power blocs which, though they do not exhaust all the major States in the world, nevertheless, drawing respectively a sufficient

DANGER - - - Warmongers at Work

by JOHN OAKES

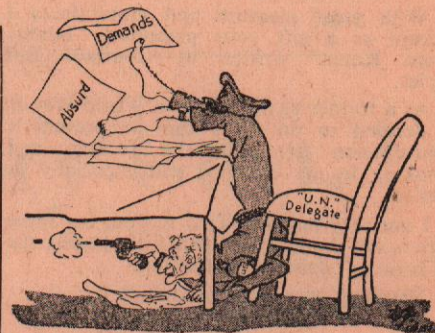
ONE of the most obvious conclusions to be drawn from the Election result is the need for the Labour Movement to prepare to meet repression from the Tory Government. We must not allow Labour's huge vote to lull us into a sense of false security. To say that the Tories "would not dare" is stupid. They must dare if they are to satisfy their backers, monopoly capitalism. And we must be on guard against, not only Tory legislation, but general police, and even fascist, activity.

The attacks will take all forms, but, as the American millionaires are very interested in securing a docile Labour Movement in Britain, we can expect that the experiences and the resources of the F.B.I. will be placed at the disposal of the anti-Labour forces in this country. Every militant worker should now familiarise himself with the work of the F.B.I. and, in this respect, a book recently published in this country—*The Federal Bureau of Investigation* by Max Lowenthal—provides valuable material for study. The facts it reveals about the hold the F.B.I. have now gained over the American Labour Movement are really startling.

As far back as 1918 the F.B.I. was active in investigating the political opinions of American citizens.

Says Lowenthal: "By January 1920 one-third of the detective staff at Bureau headquarters in Washington had been assigned to anti-radical matters".

Special agents and informers



The contempt in which Imperialism is held by the Asiatic peoples is biting portrayed in this cartoon reproduced from the Chinese magazine *World Culture*. The caption reads . . . Peace Talks, American Style!

number of important States within their respective groups, make a clash almost inevitable in international politics.

There is what is popularly known as the Anglo-American power bloc which has gathered round itself a whole series of its own satellites. There are especially in South-East Asia various important countries which really do not belong directly to either of the power blocs which centre round American imperialism and the Soviet Union but which vacillate between the two and are sometimes flung about between the two.

You will find that it is precisely that group of States which thus do not belong, as I may put it, in a straight way to either of the power blocs which found certain difficulties in Asia about this Treaty for various reasons. One factor is however clear, namely, that throughout the world the power group which centres round American imperialism is building its bases and preparing its springboards for an imperialist attack upon the Soviet group, in particular the USSR and China. Incidentally, permit me to say in passing that we do not regard China as being in any manner a mere puppet of the Soviet Union. China we regard as an independent major power which within what is termed the Soviet bloc pursues its own interests. That is by the way.

Now, the whole meaning of this present Treaty, the whole significance of this Treaty, is to be found in the state of international relations. When you look at the military clauses, when you look at the economic arrangements, when you look at the intention to rehabilitate aspects of Japan's economy under imperialist control and to give Japan a certain striking power both economically and militarily, then we can see that clearly the purpose and object of this Treaty is to convert the country known as Japan into an imperialist springboard of attack against the Soviet Union and China.

The only peace that we can support is a peace without annexations and without indemnities freely entered into by an unoccupied Japan with a Ceylon which enters into negotiations on the basis of complete repudiation of the alliance with and commitments to imperialism both during the war and after.

I say, let our country say, "We wash our hands of you in so far as this Treaty is concerned."

were trained to enter radical organisations. Stenographers were sent to take full reports of speeches made at working class meetings and, where the meetings were closed, informers provided the information. Senator Wheeler estimated that "sometimes 75 per cent of the total attendance at meetings was composed of informers."

The names of all radicals were card-indexed. Edgar Hoover—then chief of the anti-radical division—could say in 1919 that 100,000 names were on the list, by 1923 it had risen to 750,000, and in 1926 to 1,500,000.

The cost of organised spying was enormous. In 1928 the F.B.I.'s budget was 24 million dollars, but by 1948 it had risen to 35 million and today Mr. Hoover claims that 112,000,000 Americans have been fingerprinted by his anti-radical department!

The brutality used to extract this information is notorious. Even a solemn Congress Committee (in which President Truman participated) was forced to record its objection to "the searching of private homes without warrant—excessive grilling—unwarranted chaining and other degrading and 'third degree' treatment—oppression of factory workers because of their views and activities in regard to labour unions and other economic movements."

These are the sort of things the Tory Government will try and do in this country—in fact, they may very well leave the control of such activities in the experienced hands of their great friends and allies of the F.B.I.! Watch out, brothers and comrades!

Readers Forum

Bill Tyler—an appreciation from Berlin

With great pleasure and gratefulness I accept as a gift your pamphlet "Letters from Korea" written by Comrade Bill Tyler.

As a former naval officer in World War II I decided to do all I can to prevent a rejuvenation of militaristic feeling and thinking in my country, and especially in Berlin.

I am very much obliged to you, for these letters are the best comments illustrating the "Christian" defence of freedom.

Thanking you and good luck!

Very truly yours,

Horst C. Kinger.

Greek 'Democracy'

Readers of the *Socialist Outlook* may be familiar with the case of my husband, Tony Ambatielos, the General Secretary of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, who has been imprisoned since 1947.

On September 9th, 1951, he was elected a Member of the Greek Parliament, but he is still kept in prison and under sentence of death. In addition a report from the correspondent of the *Associated Press*, published in *Reynolds News*, on September 16th, stated that he, as well as several other exiles and prisoners elected, will not be allowed to take their seats in Parliament.

I believe Socialists everywhere will readily appreciate that a democratic principle is at stake, as indeed they did when a similar case occurred recently on the Gold Coast, Kwama Nkrumah was elected whilst in prison and the British authorities were influential in securing his immediate release.

May I appeal to your readers to urge that British influence is again exerted so that the people of Greece are allowed to have men, whom they have democratically elected, representing them in Parliament. Surely in my husband's case, the 8,000 votes cast for him during the general election have more significance for Socialists than the five votes of army officers who sentenced him to death in 1948 for his trade union work.

Yours sincerely,

BETTY AMBATIELOS.

Thanks from Canada

Have just received the *Outlook* for September. I haven't read it thoroughly but it seems an outstanding issue. I'm old, stone deaf, and only earn a low wage. Yours for a Socialist Britain...

Vancouver, B.C.

Arthur Stratton.

The Right to Criticise

Ernest Pollak of Lewes, whose letter you recently published, opposes the idea of the *Outlook* becoming a weekly paper and says that "the Labour Movement has already a sufficient number of monthlies and weeklies." That may be true—but how many of these publications are SOCIALIST? That is a different question and is the reason why so many of us who are socialists and loyal members of the Labour Party are doing our best to spread the "gospel" as it was intended by some of the founders of our movement like Karl Marx, Keir Hardie, George Lansbury and others.

Mr. Pollak objects to the *Outlook's* "criticism of the Party and Government". Surely we have the right to criticise the party we helped to build. I personally joined the Labour Party nearly 30 years ago and I would say to Mr. Pollak: if you go to a theatre and see a lousy show would you still clap and applaud? Having paid my cash I claim the right to voice my disapproval in the usual way. If you let the players think they are good then they will surely go on dishing up bad stuff.

His allegation that the *Outlook* prints "misinformation" is untrue and I challenge him to prove otherwise.

As for "disrupting the movement", it is the fellow-travellers of the Tories and Liberals in our movement who are doing the disrupting. Mr. Pollak can know absolutely nothing of the working class if he imagines that we, the workers, wish to destroy the very organisation we have given so much time, energy, and effort to build up.

Bob Streetley.

Bermondsey.

For Whose Interest the 'H' Reserve?

For whose interest are young men once again conscripted into the R.A.F.? These are the facts! Young men from all walks of life, who had the unfortunate experience to be conscripted for the R.A.F. from the 1st January, 1949, have now to serve 15 days' compulsory reserve training yearly, for 3½ years. Having spent 18 months (now two years) of conscripted service in defending the interests of capitalism and imperialism, we are once again torn from civilian life for 15 days' training to ensure that they have plenty of young men to fight for their benefit!

During my 18 months I was used, and with many others like me, to break the Dock Strike in early 1950 and then again for

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

servicing the aircraft to train pilots who are now or in the future being used to fight the Colonial Peoples who are struggling for Liberation against the capitalists and the imperialists.

Throughout my 15 days so-called training, I was informed "you are being trained so that the Country has men ready in the event of another War!" WAR! Why should the young workers of the world be always fighting each other for the interests of the two above-mentioned evils? Now is the time when we should make it quite clear in our local Labour Parties and Trade Unions that we oppose this capitalistic conscription and reserve training! We should go out in the streets and let the public know the truth! Instead of letting the Capitalist Press distort and lie, to cover up their actions!

Let the Workers of the World unite to gain Peace and Socialism!

A Worker in the R.A.F.

American Domination

Thank you for the copies of the *Socialist Outlook*, a very outspoken news sheet, the thing that is needed in the Labour Party.

British foreign policy today is dominated by America and its financial pressure groups; before there can be any stability in Europe, European Statesmen must have courage to oppose the war-like attitude of these dominant pressure groups.

When the English pound was devalued to two dollars eighty cents, the devaluation was brought about by the pressure of Wall Street financiers. At Par the pound should be four dollars eighty cents and the sooner that equality in face value comes about the better it will be for economic stability at home. In 1941, when England stood alone, the pound was worth five and sixpence in New York. In 1929, the franc was quoted at forty to the dollar. It is strange, peace or war, the dollar must not fall. Can there be any lasting economic stability when one nation sets out to dominate other nations with a selfish monetization system? When our new Parliament meets will they remember where the English pound stands, and think! This dollar imperialism has gone on long enough.

America and its Korea adventure has upset the economy of the European States and that war is not worth one British life. The world has had this American picture before in the Caribbean, Central and South America. Phillander Knox, American Secretary of State, backer of the U.S.A. dollar diplomacy believed in the big brother policy, wielder of the big stick policy when other things did not work out. Under a perverted Monroe Doctrine, misinterpretation of which brought the American marines to Haiti and Nicaragua to settle their domestic affairs on behalf of the New York bankers.

"Where there is imperialism the veneer of civilisation is very thin. Man in his vileness and grandeur, pomp and pageantry, side by side with haunting poverty, that is the symbol of imperialism."

Ressendale.

W. Maxwell.

Karl Westwood Memorial Fund

Dear Friend,

The lamented death of Karl Westwood has robbed the Labour movement and particularly this Divisional Party of a very valiant fighter for Socialism whose work, we feel, should be commemorated. With that in view the Richmond and Barnes Divisional Labour Party has inaugurated a Memorial Fund to which we feel every individual who knew Karl Westwood, every Party and Trade Union who have heard him speak or with whom he has worked, every person interested in education within the working class movement, will wish to contribute. The form of memorial will depend on the amount of these contributions but the committee hope to be able to provide one or more scholarships such as Karl Westwood would have wished and to help Mrs. Westwood if it is found that she requires financial assistance to tide her over her immediate needs.

We appeal to every individual, organisation and group who receives this letter to make as large a donation as possible and send it as soon as they can so that the memorial can be established while the memory of Karl Westwood's vivid personality is bright in everyone's mind.

Donations should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Karl Westwood Memorial Fund, 87 St. Leonard's Road, Mortlake, London, S.W.14.

Yours fraternally,

A. PAXTON, President
Richmond and Barnes D.L.P.

E. T. RANN, Vice-President
Richmond and Barnes D.L.P.

D. STARK MURRAY
T. RAYMOND STARR
HAROLD TAYLOR

P. McLEOD, Hon. Treasurer
Karl Westwood Memorial Fund.

EDITORIAL continued from page 1.

the T.U.C. soon be urging sacrifices in the 'national interest'?

In the political field Mr. Morrison expresses the unspoken desires of the T.U.C. when he says that in Egypt "we stand on our rights." Mr. Morrison, needless to say, is a great believer in the over-riding urgency of 'National Interests'. He considers Egypt must be held in subjection because it is 'our right.' Unless we hold the Suez Canal 'Our' living standards will fall.

And what of the Egyptians? What if they resist? In that case, it is clear that Mr. Morrison and many leaders of the Trade Union movement will not hesitate to join Mr. Churchill in a war against the Egyptian people. That is the logic of the false idea that there are 'National Interests' which overcome class and Party interests.

This is a disease which runs deep in the movement. Even a left-winger like Mr. Tom Driberg has stated in *Reynolds News* immediately after the Election, that "when it is necessary and right to do so we shall support the new Government and keep them up to pledges which should bind us all... such as U.N.O."

That, of course, means supporting U.N.O.'s war in Korea. It means supporting U.N.O.'s Japanese Peace Treaty which half the world is against. It means supporting the Atlantic Treaty. It means supporting rearmament which, in turn, means condoning the reduction in living standards which rearmament demands.

If the Movement doesn't wage a sharp fight against the tendency which places 'National Interests' above the interest of the working class, Labour will be weakened and divided, and Churchill will have a fair chance of carrying through his horrible programme. World War 3 will then soon descend upon us.

Is it not better that Labour declare itself in favour of the immediate and unconditional freedom of the Colonial peoples in Egypt, Persia, Korea and throughout the world rather than call upon our people to pay so heavily for the 'privilege' of keeping them in subjection—a hopeless task anyway.

Is it not better that we should align ourselves with the poor people of the world against the rich, so that by our joint efforts we can secure a Commonwealth of free and independent nations trading with and assisting one another. Of course it is! But such a policy forbids co-operation with the Tory Government on any single question.

DISASTROUS FOR LABOUR

Co-operation—whether it be complete or only "when it is necessary"—will in any case prove disastrous to our chances of ever again establishing another Labour Government. This is made quite clear when we see what caused our recent electoral defeat.

It is impossible to explain why Labour's majority of 171 in 1945 has been turned into a minority of 31 in 1951 simply by referring, for example, to the 'peculiarities of the British electoral system.' That system existed in 1945 when Labour was swept into power and, had the same radical mood existed in 1951, the Tories wouldn't now be the Government—they would be reduced to a position in Westminster very similar to that now held by the Liberals.

Nor can such a dramatic change in the Parliamentary forces be explained by saying—as Mr. Attlee has rather smugly said—that "the Liberals decided to vote in their majority for the Tories." The question left unanswered is, of course, why did the Liberals decide to vote Tory in 1951 and not in 1945?

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED

The only real explanation must be sought in the changed positions of the various classes which go to make up the electorate.

The capitalist class proper—Big Business—has not shifted in its consistent moral and financial support for the Tory Party

throughout this whole period. Likewise—as Labour's nearly 14,000,000 votes clearly show—the working class also has not shifted its allegiance from the Labour Party. That leaves only one class that could have shifted, the much discussed 'Middle Class'. And that, in fact, is what has happened.

The army of petty business people, civil servants, teachers, clerks, small farmers, shopkeepers, artists, 'intellectuals', which make up the so-called middle class has changed, in six years, from a position of benevolent neutrality in 1945 into one of active hostility in 1951.

All this means that the Tories have now secured a mass base with which to confront the Labour Movement. The country is divided into two great hostile camps. But this alignment of forces will not last for ever—it will not even last very long.

The aim of Big Business is "to cut mass consumption in the interests of re-armament" and they cannot do that and at the same time satisfy the host of silly people who voted Tory in the belief that a Tory Government would mean paradise.

The Tory Government will not be able to build their 300,000 houses, or seriously reduce taxation, or maintain the social services, or increase the rations or do any of the things they promised to do during the Election. The mass of Tory voters is destined, therefore, to suffer another great disillusionment.

Does that mean that before very long the middle class will flock back to Labour? It can mean that—but only if, in the meantime, Labour has refused to co-operate in any way with the Tory Government, only if we have refused to take even the slightest responsibility for Tory policies.

And here lies the seriousness of all those suggestions about "working amicably", "co-operation on questions of National Interest", etc.

If, for example, Labour does not oppose the Tories on the question of sending troops to Egypt then we shall have to take a share of the responsibility for the sacrifices necessary to finance this military operation. And, as with Egypt, so also with Korea, with the Atlantic Pact, with re-armament. If we support these things we inevitably shall be associated together with the Tory Party in the burdens they will impose on the mass of the British people.

THE FASCIST DANGER

In anger and frustration this middle class will then be ready and willing to listen to the voice of a "saviour" who will preach opposition to both Labour and Tory—who will probably prattle about "Jews and communists", who will denounce the parliamentary system and who will, if the history of Germany means anything at all, succeed in rallying millions of enraged, stupid little people into the ranks of a Fascist movement. And such a movement will, under those circumstances, receive the support of Big Business.

It is very dangerous to think that Big Business and the Tory Party is one and the same thing. Big Business will support the Tory Party only so long as it can carry through its policies. If it fails to do that—and all the indications are that it will fail—the moral and financial support of vested interests will be given to other organisations—to gangs of Fascist thugs!

Please don't tell us that we exaggerate or that it "can't happen here". People said those kind of things in Germany and Italy. They later had time, inside the concentration camps, to reflect upon their stupidity.

It is a serious perspective that confronts our Movement but if we decide to follow a course of real socialist opposition, if we work out a programme based, not on co-operation with the Tories, but on co-operation with the workers of this and every other country, then there is every reason to believe that Labour will soon lead a tremendous mass movement forward to the establishment of the new society in Britain.

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