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Socialist Outlook

WEEKLY

No. 88
[Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper]

FRIDAY, JULY 17, 1953

3d.

Meaning
of Beria's
Arrest
(See page 2)

END CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Says Eva Boulton

THE people of Rillington Place are complaining that Coronation trippers make a detour to view the scene of the murders. This new Elizabethan drama reflects all the disintegration and corruption of a dying society.

Apart from morbid curiosity, the public may well concern itself with a number of questions. How could seven women be murdered and buried away at 10 Rillington Place without any trace?

Nobody seems to have bothered about these women. They are not unusual cases, however, for prostitution is growing, along with illegitimacy—with all the social misery that entails. The discovery of skeletons of five babies in a loft in Harwich last week is another indication of what can happen in this not-so-Welfare State.

Why was Evans sentenced to death on the evidence of Christie, when from the dock he accused Christie as the real murderer? A little investigation of Christie as a witness should have revealed his history of nervous disorder and shellshock.

Why was Christie sentenced to death as a man sane according to law, when by medical standards as evidenced in his trial he was a sex-maniac acting under compulsion, whether he knew what he was doing and its immorality or not? The McNaughton Rules which govern the jury's decision have little in common with modern medical science.

Now, in order to review the Evans case it was necessary to cross-examine Christie, but of how much value was his evidence, particularly when we remember that if he rendered this "service to the Crown" the ultimate effect might be at least to delay his own execution?

Above all, why has the Government been allowed to get away with a secret, one-man enquiry into the Evans case, in which the dead man was not represented by counsel?

Evans' is not the first murder case where subsequent events have cast doubt on the correctness of the verdict, but it is one of the most sensational.

Among the numerous arguments for the abolition of the

death penalty, the case of the miscarriage of justice is unanswerable.

In spite of all the rational arguments and all the evidence of other European states where the death penalty has been wiped out, the ruling class will never be prepared to take this penalty off the statute book. In times of crisis it can be invoked for "treason" and extended in various ways, especially when the whole population is involved in a state of "national emergency".

The power of the state to take life is of vital importance when it wishes to purge its class enemy.

Today, when social life could be on a higher level than ever before, an overcrowded and war-conditioned society is breeding killers, prostitutes and pervers. Our answer to the secret Henderson enquiry on the judicial murder of Evans is a public, widespread revelation of the conditions of the working class in this coronation year. This could not fail to underline the fact that a Labour Movement with a Socialist policy is the only way to bring civilisation and sanity to Britain.

E. German Workers Shake Party Bosses Struggles Reaching New Heights

Berlin, July 10
THE workers' uprising in Eastern Germany has not been crushed by military intervention and the proclamation of the state of siege on June 17.

On July 8 and 9, the workers struck again in East Berlin and other important industrial centres of Eastern Germany. This new upsurge comes after a fortnight of stubborn workers' resistance against the wave of repression which set in on the aftermath of the big strike wave of June 16-19.

After the first moments of panic, the Eastern German government tried to react in a double manner. At one and the same time it made

important economic concessions to the workers, and arrested the most militant elements, who had led the fight in June.

The leaders of the Socialist Unity Party (S.E.D.) of Eastern Germany hoped in that way to regain the mass basis which, on their own admission they had lost, while preventing at the same time any new upsurge of workers' militancy.

CONCESSIONS MADE

The economic concessions they made to the working class were important enough. The increase in piece-work norms, which was the immediate cause of the June 16-19 strikes, was abolished. Big quantities of food and consumer

goods, put away in "state reserves" to feed the soldiers of the future Eastern German army, were rushed through to all important industrial centres, to be distributed among the civilian population. More than 100 million dollars earmarked for investment in heavy industry were transferred to the building of workers' lodgings; another 100

million dollars earmarked for military projects were transferred for investment in consumer goods industries. Free sale of building materials was immediately introduced in order to allow the workers to do the badly needed repair jobs on their lodgings themselves. The government promised to subordinate the development of heavy industry to the raising of the workers' standard of living—immediately!

WORKERS' CRITICISMS

The leaders of the Socialist Unity Party rushed out into the shops trying to induce the workers to invest some confidence in these promises of a "new course" of the party's policy. Prime Minister Grotewohl, addressing the workers of the electrical machinery factory of Oberschöneweide near Berlin, begged them to show "one fortnight's patience" with the government, to enable it to put its new line into practice! Everywhere the workers were asked to formulate their criticism freely, and the S.E.D. paper "Neues Deutschland" abundantly reported the workers' speeches and questions from many factories.

These speeches were a severe indictment of the bureaucratic policy and organisational methods of the Eastern Germany governmental party. They were a clear sign of the fact that the workers did not feel their strength to have been broken by the suppression of the uprising of June 17.

NEED MASS SUPPORT

Such a reaction of the workers can only surprise those who foolishly equate the bureaucratic government system in Eastern Germany or in Russia with some kind of "fascism". In reality, the Eastern German regime cannot exist without some kind of passive support or tolerance by large masses of workers. The ruling bureaucracy has no social power of its own. When it loses this passive support when the workers start to act in their own interests, the rulers are forced to try and regain a mass basis, even at the risk of increasing indirectly the workers' militancy.

Once the first wave of arrests and repressions had come to an end, all media of official propaganda tried to give the workers the impression that the government leaders were eager to placate the masses.

Agitators of the S.E.D. fixed everywhere banners with slogans such as: "The Government has granted us our demands—we start to work again". Such a pro-

paganda could have only one effect: to make the workers feel that all the concessions made by the rulers of the country were the result of their courageous struggles.

Once the working class learns that it can win big concessions by fighting, it will be easily induced to fight again and again, every time it is confronted with new problems and is advancing new demands.

This is precisely what has been happening since the end of June. The concessions made by the government strengthened the militancy of the workers to a much greater degree than the arrests of the strike leaders had weakened it. The S.E.D. bureaucrats found themselves faced with a growing, not a declining, opposition.

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

Already on June 24, "Neues Deutschland" reported that the general secretary of the S.E.D., Ulbricht, addressing the machine tool factory workers of Weissensee, was asked why their comrades had been arrested on June 17 and why they didn't have the right to strike. Ulbricht replied, in a brutal manner, that a workers' strike against a worker's state would be suicide for the working class. (This, of course, is contrary to the teachings of Lenin who had the workers' right to defend their living conditions against a workers state by means of strike, embodied in a special resolution of the Bolshevik Party).

But less than one week later, in the evening of July 1, the Eastern German press agency, A.D.N., released an interview with the

Continued on page 4

★ Star Letter ★ 'Democracy' in the Army

THE world-wide horror caused by the frame-up of the Rosenbergs even permeated into the usually passive ranks of British conscripts.

One of the lads in a unit here approached 15 of his compatriots and obtained 12 signatures for a petition urging clemency. It was dispatched to the U.S. consulate in Hamburg. The unit was subsequently visited by a representative of the army's Special Investigation Branch. He and the resident officer summoned several of the signatories into the office for a good "democratic grilling".

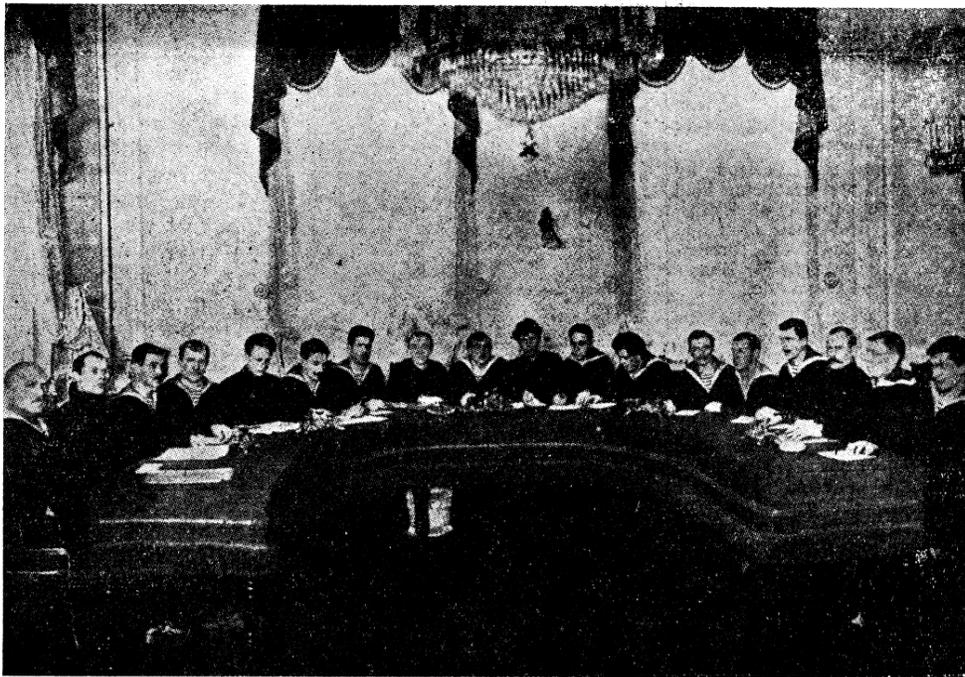
"I thought that it was the right thing to do" was one soldier's reply, when asked why he signed. Another was asked whether he was forced to sign! Nobody, I gather, was ordered to turn out his pockets to prove that his action had been paid for in roubles, but the level of witch hunting reached by the officers who participated in this disgraceful piece of McCarthyism was just about as low as that.

When a situation exists in which soldiers sign humanitarian petitions in defiance of officers who seek to intimidate them into inaction, it is time for the Labour Party to seriously consider altering the class structure not only in industry but in the army as well.

Hamburg. A British Conscript.

The Fight For Workers Democracy

This is a picture of a Revolutionary Committee of Sailors taken in 1917. There are no bureaucrats here! To restore such workers democracy is the real aim of the movements now unloosed in Eastern Europe and Russia. See leading article on page 2.



A Union Giant in Conference

Southsea, July 13

SEVERAL hundred delegates representing 1,329,507 members of the Transport & General Workers' Union, today heard their Chairman, Edward Fryer, welcome the proposals of the Labour Party policy statement "Challenge to Britain" to re-nationalise the Road Transport and the Iron and Steel industries.

He was opening the 15th Biennial Conference, held this year in Southsea. He was critical of Tory policy for having caused increases in food prices and found it difficult to foresee the effect upon future wage claims.

"In my view," he went on, "our people are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that merely to increase wages to meet a rise in the cost of living does not solve anything if, as has been our experience, the increase is almost immediately wiped out by further rises in the price level."

Tory policy, he was certain, would have "repercussions by way of demands for higher wages", and the outlook ahead seemed to him to be one of "extreme difficulty".

He did not, however, make it clear exactly who would have the "extreme difficulty". Could he have meant the Trade Union leaders? They, it is certain, will have "extreme difficulty" if they try to hold back wage claims.

Delegates representing labourers and women have taken the floor, using the report of the Executive Council to voice their grievances.

Margaret Peerman, from Scotland, one of the few women delegates, pointed out that women in engineering were paid less than male labourers. She appealed to the conference to support them in their fight for equal pay.

Brother Heath, a labourer with the British Electricity Authority, voiced dissatisfaction with the large differential of 8½d. an hour between labourers and craftsmen.

Another delegate—a flour miller

—pointed to the same problem in his own industry where a "rollerman" gets £8 4s. but a labourer only £6 6s.

These are the lower paid

From
Fred Emmett

workers talking. The Trade Union leaders had better listen. For if demands such as these go unheeded, they—from the T.U.C. down—will certainly be in "extreme difficulties".

That other headache for T.U. officials — redundancy — was touched on by a dockyard worker, Bro. Hunt. He was concerned with the possible effects of a reduction in the arms programme. The "Brass hats", in his opinion, "were incapable of converting dockyards to civilian production". Judging from the reception of this statement by the conference, his opinion was widely shared.

Arthur Deakin, General Secretary, found, of course, an oppor-

tunity to dangle the "witch hunt" in front of conference. "There is no political discrimination in this Union", he said, "but we are not allowing the Communist Party to take part in shaping policy they are not prepared to carry out."

He was replying to Bro. Evans of 1/1609 Branch, who had protested that his branch resolution had not appeared on the Conference agenda. This resolution asked Conference to instruct Executive Council to recall the Rules Revision Conference in order that the rule excluding Communists from holding office could be reconsidered.

Bro. Evans, a member of the Labour Party, maintained that the Standing Order Committee had no right to rule this resolution out of order. The Conference, he maintained, should have had the opportunity to discuss it.

The platform was adamant and the resolution was not allowed. Thus ended the first day's session. A full report of the whole Conference will appear in our issue of July 24.

FREE TRADE UNIONS
AND BERLIN
See Editorial Page 2

Central African Federation

Attlee Doesn't Speak For Labour

WHERE does the Parliamentary Labour Party now stand on the issue of Central African Federation?

Is it bound by the Morecambe Conference decision that "there be no Federation in Central Africa without education, full consultation, and agreement of the population in those territories"? Or does it subscribe to Mr. Attlee's view that "if this becomes the law of the land it is the duty of all of us to make it work to the best of our ability"?

The question is raised anew because in "The Times British Colonies Review, Summer 1953" it is implied that Mr. Attlee's position is now, in effect, the real policy of the Labour Party.

"By this one sentence (Mr. Attlee's)," writes the "Times",

Says Tom Somers

"the political argument about Federation has been transformed in Britain. . . . at the back of everyone's mind during the coming debate will be the knowledge that the political battle in Britain on this question has already been won".

In other words, the parliamentary struggle against Federation is nothing else than a mock battle.

To emphasise this point, Lord Jowitt, Labour leader in the House of Lords, repeated Mr. Attlee's

assurances on July 6. He then went on to say:

"... under the circumstances the only thing we can usefully say is that we must use our influence to see this scheme is given every opportunity of working."

Lord Jowitt said that he would countenance nothing here or in Africa that would encourage passive resistance among Africans. It was, he said, dangerous and might degenerate easily into active resistance.

What fine advice for a so-called leader of the Labour Party to give to the peoples of Nyasaland and the Rhodesias who are having a form of government thrust upon them which they have made abundantly clear that they do not want!

They have no representation in the British Parliament—the body which passed the legislation setting up Federation. Their protestations, through their Chiefs and leaders went unheeded. White settler interests demand Federation and the Tory pals of the white settlers have seen that they get it.

No self-respecting people will accept a form of government which they have so emphatically rejected. With no representation in parliament they can show their opposition only through extra-parliamentary activities. The African National Congress in the three territories have decided on a campaign of passive resistance as the best means of preventing the hated Federation from becoming effective.

It is indeed likely that if this fails the Africans will turn to more violent methods of opposition. Lord Jowitt holds up his hands in pious horror at the thought. Would he also have advised the workers of Germany and Italy to accept Hitler and Mussolini because fascism had become "the law of the land" in these countries? Was he equally dismayed at the resistance movement in Nazi-occupied Europe during the war?

The people of the African colonies are also living under foreign occupation.

Their lands were seized by force of arms and are being held by the armed forces of British imperialism. It is their right and their duty to resist the foreign-made laws and to fight for liberation from imperialist rule.

And it is the duty of the Labour Movement to give full support to these liberatory struggles, not only because it is right but also because it is in Labour's direct interest to do so.

The class which is represented by the Tories draw a great deal of their wealth—the source of their power—from the exploitation of the colonial people. Every colony freed from imperialist rule is a blow struck at the capitalist class in this country.

The Hypocrisy of the Free Trade Unions

UNDERSTANDING the tremendous historical importance of recent events in Eastern Germany, it is not surprising that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—to which our T.U.C. is affiliated—should have devoted much of the time of its recent Stockholm meeting to this subject.

Two decisions were taken. First: to set up an international trade union committee to inquire into and investigate the charges of the East German Government that the uprising had been instigated and led by fascist agents sent in by the Western capitalist powers.

Second: to ask the American Government to charge the Soviet Union before the United Nations General Assembly with the crime of suppressing freedom of organisation in East Germany.

With the first of these demands every honest trade unionist will wholeheartedly agree. It is the plain duty of the International Labour Movement to unmask those slanderers of the German working class who, delving into the employers' dustbin, have produced the classic argument that strikes are organised by "foreign spies, agents and criminal elements".

But the second decision is The Free Trade Unions have protested at the suppression in East Germany. That is good—but why don't they protest about the brutalities pictured below in Kenya?

another question altogether—one that is entirely antagonistic to the interests of international labour in general, and to the interests of the East German workers in particular.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is, we are told, an ardent defender of the democratic right of organisation for the workers.

Then why don't they demand that Churchill's Government be charged with suppressing the mass organisation of the people of Kenya, the Kenya African Union?

And, worst of all, these brutal regimes in **Malaya, Indo-China, Kenya, North Africa, Greece, Spain and Latin America ARE ALL SUPPORTED AND UPHELD BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.**

Yet it is to this Government that the Free Trade Unions appeal for judgment on the Government of East Germany!

The East German workers—as all reports show, and as our front page report from Berlin again underlines—did NOT strike in favour of free enterprise, did NOT strike for the "American Way of Life". On the contrary, they struck for a **United Socialist Germany.**

Why don't our Free Trade Unions charge the French Government also? They have murdered Ferhat Hachad, leading Tunisian trade unionist and a prominent member of this very same Confederation of Free Trade Unions! They have suppressed trade union rights in **Algeria, Madagascar, Indo-China and Morocco**—suppression which, again, has cost

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British-Asian Socialist Fellowship Formed

FOUR hundred delegates from Constituency Labour Parties from all parts of London and the Southern Region gave an enthusiastic welcome to the launching of the *British-Asian Socialist Fellowship* at the Beaver Hall, London, on July 11.

The mood of the delegates was a convincing demonstration of the strong sympathies with the struggles of the colonial peoples within the British Labour Movement.

Several representatives from Asian countries shared the platform with official Labour spokesmen, including Mr. Attlee, who was elected Hon. President of the new organisation.

The speech from the platform which brought the biggest applause, came from Mrs. P. G. Wee, of Malaya. She said that when the people of Malaya heard the news of the great Labour victory in July, 1945, a wave of hope surged through them. Now, surely freedom could not be far off. Again, when Labour recognised India's right to freedom, the people of Malaya thought it would be their turn next.

"Today," she said, bitterly, "eight years later, and still we have no elected legislature of our own."

It was a timely reminder of what the colonial people expect from the next Labour Government.

Harry Earnshaw, in the chair, made a desperate attempt to ensure that control of the Fellowship would remain firmly in the

hands of Transport House by proposing that a Headquarters official be appointed Secretary-Treasurer. The meeting firmly rejected this and proposed the appointment of an Asian comrade as Joint Secretary. This was agreed to, despite the reluctance of the platform.

Another pointer to the mood of the delegates was the failure of Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, former Secretary of Commonwealth Relations, to get elected to the committee. British and Asian delegates alike did not forget his responsibility for the action against Tseretse Khama or his support for Central African Federation. His "friendship" for the colonial people is obviously suspect.

'Outlook' Organises Day School on Asia and Africa

THE Day School organised by "Socialist Outlook" at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Saturday, July 18, will provide a good opportunity to brush up your knowledge of what is happening in Asia and Africa.

The speakers are well qualified to deal with their subjects. Doric de Souza is a well-known Ceylon Socialist and C. van Gelderen has only recently returned from a visit to South Africa.

There will be plenty of time for questions and discussions.

2.30-5.30 AFRICA
6.30-9.30 ASIA
Tickets obtainable at door. One session, 1s. Two sessions, 1s. 6d. Caxton Hall, Saturday, July 18

Revolutionary Tide Reaches USSR

BERIA, only a few days ago the powerful head of the Soviet Union's dreaded secret police, arrested! We can dismiss completely the official explanations which have been faithfully reproduced in the "Daily Worker". That the chief policeman in the U.S.S.R. should have been for years a "secret capitalist agent" is a story as fantastic as the now officially discredited charges against the nine Russian doctors accused of poisoning Zdanhov.

The beginnings of a true explanation of recent events in Russia and Eastern Europe is only reached at the point where the ruling group in the Soviet Union is seen for what it really is—an historically conditioned and privileged strata of bureaucrats, deriving its existence from a non-capitalist planned economy, fearing the counter-revolutionary attacks of capitalism yet fearing even more the smouldering hatred of the workers and farmers whom they have, over the years, politically dispossessed.

Up to quite recently this group

appeared all-powerful and irremovable. But, as is well-known, appearances are often deceptive. Beneath the surface the struggle of the under-privileged continued unabated. If now this struggle has broken through to the open there are a number of very concrete objective facts to explain it.

First is the knowledge in the minds of the Russian workers that the Soviet Union is no longer an isolated non-capitalist state surrounded by rampant and hostile imperialism. Today, from the Elbe to Peking, capitalism has been shattered—and everywhere else, except in the United States, it is on the defensive against either the assaults of the colonial peoples or the insistent demands of the European Socialist movements.

The revolution has swept up to the borders of Russia itself, freeing the Soviet workers from the age-old dread of capitalist intervention and thereby initiating a new stirring towards a restoration of that workers' democracy which was established for the first time in history by this same Russian working class way back in 1917.

Changes too have been occurring in Russia itself—changes which were already undermining the power of the party bosses and bureaucrats even while Stalin him-

self reigned supreme in the Kremlin.

Thanks to the tremendous industrial and technical achievements of a nationalised planned economy (despite bureaucratic excesses and abuses) the Soviet working class has grown both numerically and in technical skill. For the same economic reasons, material conditions of life have improved. The Soviet workers are now able to see

By John Lawrence

very clearly the contradiction between the possibilities of socialist planning and the ugly reality of social inequality. More and more the Soviet ruling group appears before the workers as an entirely unnecessary burden.

Final factor in restoring the confidence of the workers was the sudden death of Stalin. Deprived of his enormous authority, the Malenkov-Beria-Molotov triumvirate faced the aroused Soviet workers with something like panic.

Measures designed to give them some semblance of popularity were rapidly introduced: an amnesty for millions of prisoners

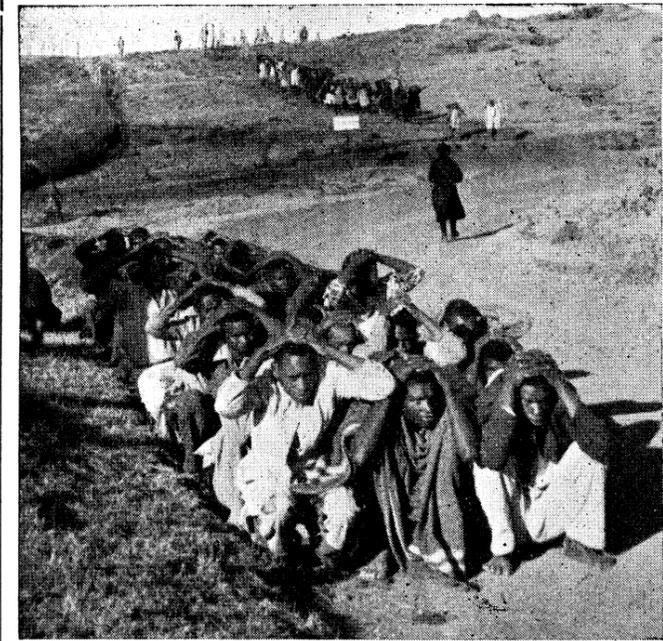
in the concentration camps; the astonishing admission that nine doctors had been framed and "confessions" extracted from them by "illegal police methods"; a playing-down of the leader cult which under Stalin had dominated all Soviet intellectual life; and finally, sweeping price reductions to raise the still very low living standards of the ordinary Soviet people.

These and other measures taken since Stalin's death—and which incidentally reveal the true nature of the police dictatorship—can only whet the appetites of the Soviet workers and lead on to an even more dramatic loosening of the bureaucratic dictatorship.

Nobody should imagine, however, that Malenkov has suddenly repented his whole past. A panicky bureaucrat is not at all the same thing as a revolutionary socialist! The terror is still there—but, at least for the time being, the party bosses are constrained to use it with a certain circumspection.

The so-called "liberalisation" of the regime must be understood as the reflex action of a privileged ruling group confronted with an aroused working class yearning for the restoration of Soviet democracy and hating like hell the police rule of Stalin-Beria.

And now indeed, Beria too has



at least one thousand times as many lives as in Eastern Germany.

Why don't they demand that the Greek Government, which has destroyed the free trade union movement and imprisoned and killed thousands of trade unionists, also be charged before the United Nations? And why isn't Franco, and the military dictatorships of Venezuela, Peru and Ecuador also charged? These dictatorships have completely suppressed the free trade union movements in their countries and imprisoned hundreds of trade unionists.

And, worst of all, these brutal regimes in **Malaya, Indo-China, Kenya, North Africa, Greece, Spain and Latin America ARE ALL SUPPORTED AND UPHELD BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.**

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The East German workers—as all reports show, and as our front page report from Berlin again underlines—did NOT strike in favour of free enterprise, did NOT strike for the "American Way of Life". On the contrary, they struck for a **United Socialist Germany.**

But that isn't the aim of the Western capitalist politicians. Speaking to the Chamber of Commerce of Coblenz, the West German Under Secretary of Pan-German Affairs, Mr. Thiedeck, told an enthusiastic audience of industrialists that the foremost task for the achievement of German unity was . . . "the abolition of the planned state economy in the Soviet Zone and its integration into the free market economy of Western Germany".

The aim of these Western politicians like Adenauer, Churchill and Eisenhower is to exploit the heroism of the East German workers in the hope that they can ultimately grab back for themselves the State property which has been taken from them.

It is a plan of robbery concocted by robbers—and the East German workers don't like it one little bit. No more than we in Britain like Churchill's plan to grab back the nationalised transport and steel industries.

The leadership of the German Social Democratic Party has already vigorously denounced these plans in an official publication — "Volkswirtschaft - sozialdemokratischer Presedient"—dated June 25.

The "Socialist Outlook"—together with hundreds of thousands of trade unionists everywhere—is completely opposed to the suppression of the East German workers demonstrations. We have called publicly for trade union aid to our fellow workers now in jail in East Germany.

But we have also denounced, in almost every issue of our paper, the brutal suppressions being carried out by our "own" Tory Government and by the Government of the United States.

The disgraceful silence of the I.C.F.T.U. on the crimes of the Western Government reveals them as hypocrites who are only interested in shamefully exploiting the heroic struggles of the East German workers in order to make propaganda for imperialism in the cold war.

Greek Terror Continues

THE conservative newspaper "Kathimerini", organ of the government in Athens, announces in its issue of June 18 that I. M. Koutoulis, President of the Municipal Council of Nikaas (a workers' district near Athens) has been sent for trial.

He is charged under Social Security Law 509. His crime? On October 28, 1925 (anniversary of Greece's entry into World War II), he said that the honour of the resistance against the invaders belongs to the Greek people and not to the King and the government then in power.

According to "Kathimerini", Mr. Koutoulis faces a penalty of life imprisonment.

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From The Ranks Three Good Resolutions

London Federation of Trades Councils on July 10 passed the following resolution by 20 votes to seven.

"This Federation protests to the T.U.C. at the action of members of the General Council in accepting appointments to the board set up to administer the denationalised steel industry and we request the T.U.C. to disassociate itself from their action and to declare that membership of such bodies is incompatible with membership of the General Council of the T.U.C."

The meeting also decided to give support to the M.S.A. strikers and called on all affiliated Trades Councils to do the same. The Federation is distributing collecting sheets in support of the strike funds.

It should be made clear that the London Federation of Trades Councils is the official organisation affiliated to the T.U.C.

The Litherland Labour Party League of Youth recently debated the subject: "Is the Coronation Really Necessary?" and the majority of speakers were of the opinion that it wasn't and neither was the monarchy. In the vote at the conclusion of the meeting, the majority voted against participation in the Coronation celebrations.

Newcastle City Labour Party is submitting a resolution to the

Labour Party Conference the effect of which is to alter "Challenge to Britain" along the lines of the Engineering Unions' Plan which was analysed in the last issue of "Socialist Outlook" by Norman Dinning. The resolution reads:

"This conference again expresses the great need for the planned development of the whole of our industrial economy.

"It believes that only on the basis of such economic planning, in which the most important industries are under social ownership, will it be possible to improve industrial efficiency, increase productivity, and so obtain improved living standards.

"The conference therefore instructs the National Executive to include in the programme of the next Labour Government:

1. Nationalisation of the aircraft industry, coal mining machinery, marine engineering, and the heavy vehicles industry.

2. Public ownership of the production of builders' and domestic castings, and metal fittings.

3. The setting up of development councils for the radio industry, locomotive and wagon manufacture, the motor car industry, textile machinery, and machine tools.

4. Consideration to be given to some form of public control over any founding industry not covered by the previous proposals and also public control of the production of agricultural machinery.

5. To ensure that the heavy electrical engineering industry is fully at the nation's service, the Monopolies Commission should investigate the supply of heavy electrical equipment. A board of control should be set up or the main firms nationalised."

NEXT WEEK

The early struggles of the "Daily Herald" by Frank Allaun

The Mystique of Monarchy

A Review

"Much that passes muster is a relic of a bygone age, surviving, like the monarch, only because it is erroneously supposed to do no harm."—Bertram Russell in "Mysticism and Logic".

THE above quotation is not contained in Professor Black's book* but it well sums up conclusions a reader is bound to come to if he reads the book and thinks while he reads.

Not that the author attempts to force any view on the reader. It is a cool review of the Monarchy, quite impersonal, fair in every way to the individual monarch but stating quite clearly every reason given for the support of the institution and examining these reasons in the light of known facts and common sense.

Perhaps the result of his examination can best be summed up in Professor Black's own words: "Men have no inborn needs to bow down to anything or anybody; if they bow, it is because they have so learned."

The very character of matters dealt with in this book has imposed a limitation on its author. He deals with all the advertised reasons for maintaining a monarchy. There is, however, one reason not advertised, i.e., it is a very paying proposition for a great number of people who surround, trade on and profit out of the institution.

This is a powerful factor helping to bolster up the survival from a bygone age, possibly stronger and more active than many of the others so effectively exploded by Professor Black in his excellent and timely book.

T.B.

*"The Mystique of Modern Monarchy" by Professor Percy Black (Watts & Co., 8s. 6d.)

Socialist Outlook

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

Labour's History

No. 10. Churchill and The Miners—1910

The Tonypandy 'Incident'

"WHAT is Tonypandy famous for?" The majority of people if asked that question would probably answer, "Because Tommy Farr was born there".

Now, although Tonypandy can be justifiably proud of its pugilistic son, I am sure that Tommy himself would be the first to admit that this Rhondda Valley mining town has other claims to fame besides being his birthplace.

The year 1910 is reputed to be the year in which Tommy was born. During the same year the miners of this Welsh town were taking part in what has become known in working-class history as the "Tonypandy Incident".

By Price Jones

About 70 miners working on a new coal-face at the Ely pit of the Naval Colliery Company had a dispute with the owners, the Cambrian Collieries Ltd. The Company offered 1s. 9d. per ton, but the miners, claiming that this was a particularly hard and difficult seam asked for 2s. 6d. per ton.

The two sides haggled for quite a time, eventually the owners tiring of this and determined to force the issue decided on a lock-out. But they didn't only lock out the 70 men involved in the dispute. They locked out the whole 800 men employed at the Ely Colliery. By this method they hoped to bring the 70 men to heel.

The South Wales Miners Federation replied by calling out the whole 12,000 men working for the Cambrian Combine in order "to teach that particular company that tyrannical action over certain men to influence others was not a paying policy". On November 1, 1910, the strike started.

Strikes also started in the Ogmore Valley and in the Aberdare Valley, where miners were also agitating for the settling of many grievances over abnormal places. Early in November, 12,000 miners were idle in the Rhondda Valley and 11,000 in the Aberdare Valley.

By Christmas about 30,000 were either locked out or on strike.

The owners intended to run the pits by bringing in blackleg labour. The miners knew that the Trade Disputes Act of 1906 had given them back the right of "peaceful picketing". It was inevitable that out of these two opposing points of view trouble should arise.

Captain Lindsey, Chief Constable of Glamorgan, after talks with the local magistrates (some of whom happened to be shareholders or directors in colliery firms) strengthened his already strong forces by bringing in extra police from South Wales and Bristol.

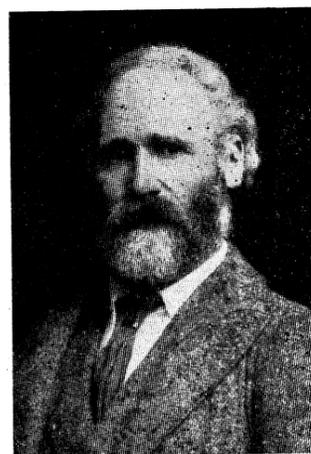
The miners discovered that the owners intended bringing in blacklegs from the Glamorgan Colliery at Llwynypia. On Monday night, November 7, a number of strikers surrounded the pit and entangled with the police who were dug in on the colliery premises. Tempers rose, especially in Tonypandy, just a mile or so from Llwynypia, when extra police were rushed into the valley.

Between the hours of midnight and 1 a.m. on the morning of the 8th, skirmishes started which resulted in the smashing of some windows. The police dispersed the miners by making free use of their truncheons. The Chief Constable of Glamorgan contacted Chester, Shrewsbury and Salisbury Plain to ask for troops, then he sent an urgent personal telephone message to Winston Churchill, who was then Home Secretary.

Up to then the Tonypandy incident had been of purely local importance, but now it became of national importance and led to questions and debates in Parliament, War Office discussions and Home Office conferences.

Mr. W. Abraham, Chairman of the South Wales Miners Federation, met the Home Secretary on Tuesday, November 8. Churchill (later to be termed the "Hero of Sidney Street" and now the self-styled friend of Trade Unionism) promised to do everything in his power to prevent the use of troops.

What he actually did was to confuse the matter in the public mind by countermanding for a few



James Keir Hardie

Labour's first Member of Parliament and Socialist pioneer. He defended the Welsh miners against Churchill's troops in 1910.

hours the troop movements, by holding up infantry at Swindon station and diverting cavalry forces to Cardiff and despatching 500 Metropolitan policemen to augment the 600 already under the orders of the Chief Constable of Glamorgan.

On the next day a special conference of the Miners Federation of Great Britain said: "This Conference... whilst regretting the disturbances which have occurred, considers the civil forces sufficient to deal with such disturbances and will strongly deprecate the introduction of the military for such a purpose, and if the military have been sent into the districts affected, asks the Home Secretary at once to recall them". (Wednesday, November 9, 1910).

Churchill ignored this and with his usual sense of the melodramatic appointed General Macready to command both civil and military forces if they were called upon to "quell disorder".

General Macready, in his memoirs, expresses his surprise that the coal-owners more or less regarded him as being under their orders and says he was very careful to dispel their illusion on this point.

Like all his class, however, he was biased against the strike-leaders and described them as being "indifferent workmen and generally without any stake in the locality". But he did say, "In justice to the strike committee in the Rhondda Valley, I must say that when they gave their word to me to carry out any undertaking it was scrupulously adhered to, a line of conduct which the employers might well have imitated". He goes on to say that he noted an "inclination on the part of the colliery-managers to send in highly coloured and alarmist reports on

account of which police and troops might have been needlessly rushed about the country".

Macready was able to report after not many days that the position had considerably cleared up. But there were daily questions and two debates in Parliament. Keir Hardie condemned the use of the military, saying: "The military have been called out in connection with this dispute, not only without any grave necessity, but without any necessity at all. There has not been any kind of disorder or disturbance with which the police force was not amply capable of dealing. If you take what is regarded as the very worst case of all, the Tonypandy window smashing case, the number of men never exceeded 100—local opinion is practically unanimous in saying that had there been three or four or half a dozen policemen on duty on the streets when the window smashing commenced, the whole of the disorder might have been stopped.

"But the whole of the police at this time, with the exception of a few, were at the colliery guarding the owners property. Their (the military) continued presence in South Wales gives the impression that the Government is taking sides with the employers and is sending those men into the colliery field to help to intimidate and overawe the strikers, and thereby making success more difficult for them."

Keir Hardie and others then go on to tell of the completely unneeded use of force by the police when dispersing the strikers. Hardie said: "There was no resistance, but the police, in the most indiscriminate fashion commenced to bludgeon the people right and left".

Among his many examples I quote just one. "The first case I enquired into was that of a man up in years who had gone to gather coal from the old pit heap for his fire. He was bringing the coal home in a handcart, and when he reached the canal-bank the police charged him, tipped his little handcart into the canal, and knocked him in after it".

A demand for an enquiry into the police actions was made. Churchill used his gift of double-talk, praised "the many virtues of the mining population of South Wales", but was "not convinced by the picture which the Hon. Member for Merthyr Tydfil (Keir Hardie) drew". He refused to order any enquiry to be made. Is it any wonder that the very name of Churchill still brings an unsavoury odour to the nostrils of the people of South Wales, even after so many years have passed.

There were other disturbances in Tonypandy and Penycraig on November 1 when strikers attempted to stop the bringing in of blacklegs, who were given police protection. But after this the miners prepared themselves for another of those long, hard struggles which have been such a feature of trade unionism in the coalfields of Great Britain.

O'Brien Spills The Beans

THE Labour Movement is getting ready for Margate. At this early date the political trend seems unmistakable—an even greater swing towards the left than at Morecambe.

As is usual in such deep going discussions, the tendencies involved cannot evade revealing their true political face. We are indebted in particular to Mr. O'Brien, Chairman of the T.U.C., for some outspoken comments on right-wing policy. Speaking as fraternal delegate to the recent N.U.M. conference at Hastings, he said...

"Democracy means we have to operate under a Conservative Government and accept Conservative rule legitimately and constitutionally applied in the same way that the Tories and Tory industrialists and financiers had to accept Socialist rule under the two Governments returned after the war..."

"We are not going to let private industry go to rack and ruin and wait until a Socialist Government is returned.

"What trade union has a chance of obtaining wage increases from an organisation that is bankrupt? What businessman wants to take over a bankrupt concern?"

It is not very difficult to understand what O'Brien is driving at. Accept Tory rule, he says, make Capitalism work—raise production so that the boss gets more profit and then perhaps we, as unions, will get a few concessions for our members. We find it difficult to believe that even the Fabian Society would characterise Mr. O'Brien and his friends as Socialists after these statements.

The right wing of the trade union movement are absolutely against fundamental changes in Capitalist Britain, and to justify

this position they resort to a falsehood: did not the Tory industrialists accept the rule of the Labour Government?

Of course they did; profits were never so high as during those times, why should they kick? Con-

By Phillip Williams

trast this with the steady deterioration of the living standards of the workers under Tory rule. O'Brien's "democracy" amounts to greater profits for the employers and worse conditions for the workers. Happily, he speaks for only a few right-wing trade union bosses and their knighted brethren.

Morecambe was a shock to the "big boys" of the T.U.C. so they are getting ready for Margate. Speaking about the Labour Party, O'Brien went on to say:

"I have the impression from some of the people who have a go at the trade union leaders from time to time that they believe that the function of the T.U.C. and the Trade Union Movement should be some kind of glorified industrial committee of the Labour Party. We cannot have that.

"The British Trade Union Movement created the Labour Party and if the child thinks it is going to devour the father, then the child must be told 'Nothing doing'.

"The Trade Union Movement, whatever party is in power, must remain free, unfettered and independent to proceed with its own work of protecting the workers in every industry."

Again, in plain language, O'Brien tells the Labour Party to mind its own business. They are going to work with the Tories and don't give a damn what the Labour Party decides at Margate. "Democ-

racy and constitutionalism" is just the thing under the Tories, but it is something to be chucked overboard when it comes to accepting Party decisions democratically arrived at.

It was also revealed at the N.U.M. conference that the right wing have decided to nominate Morrison for Party treasurer against Arthur Greenwood. This is undoubtedly the fruits of a well organised right-wing faction working behind the backs of the Party and the N.E.C. Their aim is to restore Morrison to the N.E.C.

Continued on page 4

Ever Been to Tonbridge Castle?

A FINE old structure, well preserved and built (around the year 1200), of sandstone quarried some 6½ miles away from Tonbridge; complete with dungeon, internal well and parts of the original moat still in existence. The walls at the base are 8½ feet thick, tapering to 4½ feet at top. It took 20 years to build.

It doesn't need much imagination to realise that very few of the original workers ever lived to see the completion of this bastion of wealth and privilege, on a diet of peas, bread and meal with, perhaps, meat on feast days or when a horse dropped dead. Add to this, the lack of medical science and doctors; flu and measles, diphtheria, and even the common cold could all reach epidemic proportions and wipe out whole families.

There was also the gruelling labour of hauling 4 or 5 hundred-weight blocks of sandstone 6½ miles, probably on a handcart,

down a dirt road (men have always been cheaper than horses or machines) to be hacked into shape by a primitive tool and then piled on top of each other 100 feet or more. Casualties, of course, occurred (industrial injuries?) and a broken limb resulted in being permanently crippled and of becoming a burden on the rest of the family.

None of this leads to longevity and life probably averaged 25 years. So we can assume that the stonemason who laid the foundation was not among the joyous multitude which attended the opening celebration.

Traditional records would have us believe that this was a happy community with fair maidens dancing on the village green, roses round the door and everyone's cup full to the brim. But what was the dungeon for with the rings in the walls for fastening the chained prisoners? And the secret listening hole that led to the sentry on listening duty (there were stool-pigeons even in those days)?

Perhaps the workman who asked for more bread or an hour or two off per week was the inmate of

this dark, damp, evil-smelling cellar. (Agitator?) Or, maybe, the strip of land he held was coveted by someone with influence. Well, whatever the reason, the chances of his coming out as healthy as he went in were very remote.

On leaving the castle I was struck by the thought of how far we had travelled along the road, away from the "good old days," but was forcibly brought back to earth by my companion's remarks: "You know, the Kikuyus have really got a case."

Bill Punt

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A Reader Makes a Prophecy

WHILE prominent Socialists justify their adulation of the monarchy may I be permitted the following few words of prophecy.

For those who live by working the pageantry of the Coronation marks the end of the fat years and the beginning of the lean. Austerity will be a thing of the past. The new word will be the old word—poverty.

As the Rent Restrictions Acts are dismantled the slum landlord will emerge from obscurity.

The past spectacle of trade unions chasing prices was similar to watching greyhounds chasing the hare: they could never quite catch up. In future they'll be lucky if they get out of the trap!

Overtime will be regarded by employers as normal working time. No reduction in the wage-packet will show. Real wages will fall as subsidies disappear. It will be a case of "Gently Bentley": there'll be no Geddes axe.

Spontaneous combustion within the Trade Union and Labour Movement will begin burning out the dead wood.

Skirmishes on the outer edge of the British economic system are taking place. The colonial workers (thugs, bandits, reds, communists, etc.) are being sorted out, their trade unions dissolved, and their leaders thrown into jail.

The coloured worker "pacified", those that live by owning will move in for bigger game. What they cannot buy they'll "pacify".

The world battle of Capital versus Labour is closing in on Britain. The days of negotiated peace are over.

Thomas W. Douglas.

Sunderland.

RUSSIA

Continued from page 2

The capitalist press would have us believe that all these momentous events the other side of the iron curtain amount only to a personal struggle for power. The "Daily Workers" says it is all the work of "foreign spies". Both in their own way have the same object in view—to teach the British workers that it is **nothing to do with them!** What a lie!

Just think what it will mean for the British workers if the movement for Soviet democracy is successful and the planned socialist economy of Russia and Eastern Europe becomes re-joined to a democratic political superstructure.

Cleansed of all its present repulsive features, the Soviet Union will once again become for the workers of the world a pole of attraction absolutely irresistible. With the dead hand of "party bossism" removed from socialist planning, with intellectual life freed from the ossification of leader-worship, the Soviet Union allied to the rest of the non-capitalist world would be almost unassailable.

Furthermore, deprived of their main propaganda weapon with which to confuse the workers—the existence of the dictatorship in Russia—the Churchill-Eisenhower axis would meet insoluble difficulties in trying to mobilise working class forces behind its disgusting war plans.

Therefore, this much is clear. In fighting for workers' democracy the workers behind the iron curtain are acting in the best interests of the Soviet Union. They are its best defenders because they are using working class methods from which no capitalist politicians can possibly profit.

We must help them and, by so doing, help ourselves. What shall we do?

Apart from explaining the true meaning of these events—which really amount to the beginning of

Our readers write

The Fighting Fund

We have pleasure in sending you an extra 15s. for the Fighting Fund this month. I have just been paid my half-yearly delegate's fee for attending the Trades Council on behalf of my union branch and think it will help the new Target of £100.

Any fees I receive for District Committee attendances, or for reporting to other branches, always go to the Fighting Fund. My wife also gives the 6s. 6d. she receives for being money steward at union meetings.

May we appeal to other active trade unionists who receive such fees to donate them to the "Socialist Outlook"—the paper that fights for the workers' cause.

Two Birmingham Readers.

BERLIN

Continued from page 1

Minister of Justice, Fechner, in which it stated "The right to strike is constitutionally guaranteed. Members of strike committees will not be punished for their activities as strike leaders".

This enormous concession—at least verbal concession!—on behalf of the ruling bureaucrats immediately posed the question of the release of those many hundreds of workers who, all over Eastern Germany, had been arrested for their role as strike leaders in June.

Many reports of factory meetings published by "Neues Deutschland" admitted that the workers asked for such a release. When the government showed itself again too slow in its reaction, the workers struck.

On July 7, a sit-down strike and a slow-down action was started simultaneously by the very same workers who had initiated the June 17 movement in Berlin: the building workers of the Stalin-Allee, the steel workers of Henningsdorf, the workers of the electrical tools plant Treptow (formerly A.E.G.), the metal factory Bergmann-Borsig, the cable factory Köpenick, etc.

Under many different forms the Eastern German workers will continue their fight for the liberation of their imprisoned comrades, which is but one aspect of their general struggle for workers' democracy.

the second Russian Revolution—the task of British Labour is simple: to intensify the fight against our own enemies, the British Tories. There is absolutely no contradiction between our fight against Churchill and the Russian workers' fight against Malenkov and Co.

So away with all this pitiful bleating to Churchill for a "Four Power Pact"! What is required is a determined support for the independent actions of the working class of Europe already well under way.

No support for the war plans of Churchill-Eisenhower!

For a Socialist United Germany!

For the immediate freedom of all colonial peoples!

For a new and Socialist Labour Government!

These are the slogans by means of which we can play our part in helping our Russian brothers. International working class solidarity is practical politics. It is the only way out of this capitalist nightmare.

Aneurin Bevan

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Better Without Him!

The Rosenbergs are executed after an extended legal farce and on evidence which reeks of Senator McCarthy. Syngman Rhee lets his prisoners loose under the eyes of the United States Army. Now, to cap all this, Winston Churchill is indisposed and the Bermuda talks are postponed.

I should invite the sad fate of the "Daily Mirror" if I dared to suggest that Our Winnie had developed cold feet and taken to his couch at the awful thought of impending peace. Let me rather hazard the suggestion that tender consideration for the stability of the Stock Exchanges is prompting Western politicians to "go-slow" where Malenkov's peace-drive is concerned.

It is surely the task of all politically alert workers to insist in no uncertain fashion that every opportunity of easing international tension be grasped. This can be done as well—some would say much better—without Churchill than with him!

Winchester. John Cleary-Baker.

O'BRIEN

Continued from page 3

although the Constituency Parties threw him off last year.

If we take such an action together with the speech of O'Brien we are entitled to ask: "Are the right wing of the Unions preparing to split from the L.P.? What does all this talk about 'independence' mean? Independence from whom and what? It is perfectly clear from O'Brien's speech that he does not mean independence from the Tories, so therefore it must be the Labour Party.

Labour's left wing has a growing support in the trade unions and will defeat such a move. The backbone of our fight is policy. If we falter and weaken in our determination to re-arm the Party with a Socialist policy, then the right wing will surely be strengthened. If on the other hand, we march forward to this policy at Margate, we shall gain considerably support from the unions which these right wing gentry claim to represent.

O'Brien and Co. may spout as much as they like, but their rank-and-file have yet to speak. Still, the movement will do well to be on the alert against O'Brien's threats.

The Week at Westminster

by Harold Davies, M.P.

HANDLING WORDS NOT MEN

It is always the mistake of functionaries that when they are handling words they think that they are handling men. Let us take the example from Question Time this week. Gerald Nabarro, the Conservative Member for Kidderminster, conducted a rear-guard action against the Chancellor over the retirement of Sir Edwin Plowden, the Chief Planning Officer. Gerald wanted an assurance that no one would be appointed to Plowden's office.

After all why should the Tories want to plan the road to chaos? We are moving along nicely, thank you. The rich are growing rich and the poor poorer.

Don't believe me, turn to the financial columns of the "Manchester Guardian".

"Rise in Bankruptcies", they say. "The general removal of controls and restrictions throughout industry may have also worked against some of the smaller traders. In many cases he simply has not the resources to weather the storm."

The highest number of receiving orders ever issued since the war have now been issued in the first six months of 1953. These were the "little men" that the Tories were going to protect, the backbone of dear old England. Remember!

But the Chancellor brushes over all this with a spantiel like gravity. We were told that Sir Bernard Gilbert, as Deputy-Chief of the Treasury, will perform the duties hitherto performed by Sir Edwin Plowden.

Then he added: "The duties of Sir Bernard Gilbert will be some-

The Spanish Civil War

I. The Workers Arm Themselves

The 1930's were years of black despair for the international labour movement. In Britain, the renegades McDonald, Thomas and Snowden brought down the Labour Government and entered the "National Government" which immediately set about the task of slashing the workers' standard of living. Hitler came to power in Germany and Dolfuss in Austria. Mussolini invaded Abyssinia and subjugated the last remaining independent country in Africa.

Everywhere the workers, betrayed and deserted by their leaders, were in retreat.

Then came the Civil War in Spain and for two-and-a-half years the workers of the world were uplifted by the spirited stand against the Fascist hordes... only to be cast down again by the final defeat.

* * *

In Madrid a "People's Front" Government was in power—a coalition of capitalist parties, supported by the Communists, Socialists and Trade Unions. It came to power in February, 1936 and despite promises made by the Socialist and Communist leaders during the campaign, did nothing to alleviate the grievous economic conditions of the Spanish workers and peasants.

One of the first acts of Premier Azana was to give an interview to the correspondent of the "Paris Soir", in which he declared: "I wish to govern according to the law. No dangerous innovations! We want peace and order; we are moderates."

The peasants in the Spanish villages could not understand what was happening. "They had put this Government in power precisely because they had been hoping for dangerous innovations; the dangerous innovation of being able to send their children to school, the dangerous innovation of having land distributed among them, of taking possession of or leasing the land they had tilled." (Koestler "Spanish Testament").

As the Government did nothing, the peasants went into action on their own account. Starting in Andalusia and Estramadura, then in other provinces, spontaneous mass occupations of the large estates were carried out. Now the People's Front Government did act. Eight hundred Assault

July 17 marks the 17th anniversary of the outbreak of the Civil War in Spain. This article is written as a tribute to the brave workers and peasants of Spain and to the heroes of the International Brigade who for two-and-a-half years fought the fascist enemy, ill-armed and badly led. We salute the memory of those who fell in the battle and remember the many thousands who are still languishing in Franco's filthy gaols and pledge to do all in our power to avenge them.

This first part of the article deals with the days immediately following the fascist revolt and describes how the workers armed themselves and halted the enemy in his tracks. It shows how the workers and peasants of Spain instinctively recognised that this was not simply a battle between fascism and democracy but a life-and-death struggle between the old order dominated by capitalists and landlords, and the new, socialist world wherein the worker and peasant would for the first time be truly masters of their own destiny.

Guards, together with the hated Civil Guard, were despatched to Caseres and Badajoz, but the peasants refused to budge. The troops had to be withdrawn and, faced with a fait accompli, the Government hastily passed legislation legalising the land seizures.

In the cities, too, the workers, impatient of the "moderation" of "their" government, were on the move. Starting with a general strike in Madrid on April 17, 1936, a great strike wave swept over the country. Nearly a million were on strike on June 10, a half million on June 20, a million on June 24, over a million during the first days of July.

Although the strikers often put forward political demands, primarily they were fighting for better wages and conditions.

Backward Spanish capitalism was quite unable to solve the problems which confronted it. Its manufactured goods could not compete on the world market with its more powerful rivals; to establish an internal market required the creation of a prosperous, landed peasantry—but that meant dividing the land. This solution did not appeal to the capitalist, who was frequently also a great landowner or else had strong family ties with the landed proprietors.

The only way out was to destroy the trade unions, which were endangering profits and to crush the insurgent peasantry.

Spanish capitalism had lost confidence in the ability of the democratic republic to accomplish these tasks. So it turned to General

Franco and his military associates.

There had been plenty of warnings that a rising was impending, but the Azana Government did nothing about it except to issue reassuring statements. Franco struck on the morning of July 17th, but it was not till the following day that the government even divulged the news and then only to say that they had the situation well in hand. After the rebels had seized Seville, Navarre and Saragossa, Azana's Government issued a statement "... to confirm the absolute tranquility of the whole Peninsula!"

Not a step was taken to arm the workers and to prepare them for the civil war which was now inevitable. Even at this late hour, the People's Front Government did nothing to meet the national demands of the people of Morocco—with the result that Franco was able to use the Moor mercenaries on the side of reaction. Its failure to win over the colonial people as allies is surely history's greatest condemnation of the People's Front regime.

* * *

Once again the workers acted without waiting for "their" government. First in Barcelona, in the heart of industrial Catalonia, they seized what arms they could, appealed to the soldiers to come over to their side and defeated the fascists. Within a few days, all Catalonia was theirs. In Madrid, Toledo, Valencia and Malaga, the workers made short work of the Fascists. Refused arms by the government, they seized the arsenals.

Everywhere workers' militias were set up and militia committees created to arm the workers and to drill them. In many parts of Spain, but especially in Catalonia, effective governmental power was in the hands of the workers' organisations. Armed workers' committees displaced the customs officers at the frontiers. A Union Card was better than a passport for entering the country.

Committees of the two trade union organisations, the UGT and CNT took over control of industry and speeded up production for war needs. A UGT-CNT Committee took charge of all transport. Soon factory delegations were going abroad to arrange for exports and imports.

In the countryside, the peasants drove out the remaining landlords and in many places spontaneously organised themselves into collectives. Peasant Committees undertook the task of feeding the militias and the cities.

Everywhere there was a feeling of a new world in birth, a world without capitalists and landlords, a world wherein the worker and peasant would enjoy the full fruits of his labour.

Next week we will analyse the events of the Civil War and attempt an explanation for the Fascist victory.

C. Van Gelderen

respect is, in general, more widespread in the medium sized and smaller firms. Of the 140,000 manufacturing establishments in this country 82,000 employ not more than 10 men, few of whom have had the training which is necessary if full advantage is to be taken of scientific and technical progress."

This Report appeals for an increase in the volume of investment, and in its recommendations says that it is an essential condition of our survival that the number of trained scientists and technologists in industry be greatly increased. For our economic existence it is necessary to put more emphasis on new methods and new products which depend upon scientific and engineering skills.

They appeal for an improvement in the existing controls so that projects which may be much more important for the future of our economy than some of those immediately apparent, may be encouraged.

LIVING DANGEROUSLY

Perhaps this is what makes the Ten Angels swear but anyway this is what the Report quoted above has to say: "The national economy since the war has been dominated by the twin shortages of steel and power, by the urgent need to redress an adverse trade balance, and by the demands of rearmament."

Because it was easy on the "seller's market" to sell abroad our traditional exports, latest developments in science and technology were ignored. We shall find it difficult to live by our industry unless we change the pattern of our production.