

Socialist Outlook

Vol. 4. No. 3

MARCH, 1952

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LABOUR MUST FORCE THE TORIES OUT

Outlook's Anti-Tory Rally Issues Call For Action

Reported by R. HOOD

DELEGATES representing 100,000 organised workers in the London area packed the Holborn Hall on Sunday, February 24th. The occasion was the "Socialist Outlook's" Conference called under the slogan . . . **Force the Tories Out!** It was the best tonic that Left-Wing Labour has had for many years.

The Resolution—reprinted on this page—had been previously circulated to the organisations. It was carried enthusiastically without a single vote in opposition. Only 4 delegates could be found to abstain from voting.

This does not mean the Conference was unanimous on every aspect of policy. Discussion was lively and expressed all the many shades of opinion within the Left.

The Conference was opened by **Alderman F. Brown**, of the Dagenham Labour Party, with a hard-hitting attack on the policy of the Tory Government. He instanced the "denationalisation by the back door" which was being carried out in the railway printing works, and warned that only a serious fight by Labour will prevent all the gains of 1945-50 being destroyed by this Tory Government.

John Lawrence, Editor of the *Socialist Outlook*, made the main speech of the Conference in moving the resolution. Rejecting the policy advocated by Arthur Deakin and Herbert Morrison of "letting the Tories exercise their constitutional right to attack the workers", he won the complete approval of the conference with a straight appeal to Labour to "use its entire political and industrial might in an immediate and organised counter-attack against the Tory cuts in living standards".

He stressed that such a fight must be undertaken by the Labour Party itself, and appealed to trade unionists to play a more active role in shaping Labour Party policy by bringing the militancy of the factories into the Party and thus strengthening its developing Left Wing.

That such an appeal could put new life into the Labour Movement was shown by the reactions of the delegates both in their applause . . . and later in the discussion from the floor.

Jack Stanley, the General Secretary of the Constructional Engineering Union, seconded the resolution for the *Socialist Outlook*. He described how the rearmament programme was rendering building workers unemployed at a time when the workers were in desperate need of houses. Once again the popularity of an appeal for a more Left policy revealed the anti-Tory and anti-war sentiments of the delegates.

THE DISCUSSION

The Chairman, **Mr. Tom Braddock**, M.P. for Mitcham, 1945-50, had already made it clear that the maximum time would be given over to the floor and, in fact, exactly half the time of conference was used for this purpose.

Eighteen delegates representing all sections of the Movement actually participated in discussion.

To give a full report is impossible in the space at our disposal, nevertheless special mention must be made of the appeal for working class "unity on the job" voiced by

What was voted

The following resolution was carried unanimously with only 4 abstentions.

"This Conference of the Labour Movement in the London Area calls upon the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party to organise the full political and industrial strength of the Movement in a campaign to bring down the present Tory Government.

"To do this successfully the Conference believes that the Labour Party must resist all attempts to worsen living standards; vigorously oppose all war preparations; declare itself in favour of immediate freedom for the colonial peoples—and thus place Labour in the forefront of the struggle against the Tories and for the socialist society."

GLASGOW SUPPORT

A letter carrying "the unanimous support and endorsement of the resolution" was read to the Conference from the Secretary of the Cambuslang Branch of the Constructional Engineering Union, which has 600 members.

Bro. O'Keefe, the Chairman of the Shop Stewards Committee of Ford's Motor Works, who spoke on behalf of 15,000 engineering workers.

His excellent speech showed clearly enough, as the delegate from another factory, Duplex, put it . . . "It will take more than Arthur Deakin to stop the workers taking action to defend themselves against Tory attacks."

Big ovations were given to **Mrs. Betty Mills** (Stoke Newington League of Youth) who declared that she was against all wars except a war on the Tories; to **Andrew Kirkby**, another League of Youth delegate, for reminding the Conference that those who were in the forefront of the fight against German and Japanese rearmament were . . . the German and Japanese workers; to **J. Sandy**,

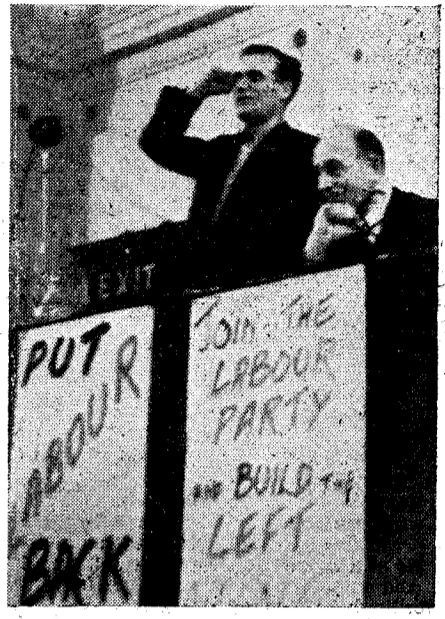
Our Conference Representation

435 credentials were issued to 150 organisations. Of these, 342 delegates actually attended the Conference, representing:

- 9 Constituency Labour Parties
- 18 Ward Labour Parties
- 11 Labour Leagues of Youth
- 6 Co-operative organisations
- 5 Trade Union District Committees
- 6 Trades Councils
- 73 Trade Union Branches
- 4 Factory Committees

the Chairman of the London Federation of U.S.D.A.W., for his moving appeal for solidarity with the oppressed colonial peoples; and to **Ronald Chamberlain**, ex-M.P. for Norwood and attending as a delegate from his Constituency Labour Party, for his forthright attack on the Tories and appeal for new and more socialist leadership for the Party.

Winding up the Conference, Tom Braddock announced that the Editorial Board would organise a National Conference in June for the purpose of establishing the *Socialist Outlook* with a large circulation inside the Movement as the paper which would fight, all the way, for the policy so enthusiastically endorsed by this magnificent Conference . . . a policy of forcing out the Tory Government and getting Labour back to power on a socialist and anti-war policy.



John Lawrence moves the Resolution
Tom Braddock in the Chair

BUILD LABOUR'S LEFT WING

By A. BENNETT

Bro. Bennett writes this article in his personal capacity. He is, however, the Secretary of Austin's Joint Shop Stewards' Committee which represents 17,000 workers, and is also a member of the Birmingham District Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

THE Tories have revealed their utter disregard for promises and have commenced a vicious attack on our living standards. Cuts in food, threatened unemployment due to the change-over from peace to war production, education slashes, and attacks on the social services. And, overshadowing all this, they are preparing with the American millionaires to launch an attack on China and start the Third World War.

Men and women on the shop floor welcome a militant shop steward and socialist. They detest hand-shaking and back-slapping policies. They want, and are ready, to join in the fight against these Tory attacks on our living standards.

Irony of irony, it was none other than the Tory Party which said, in its Election Manifesto, that production "is essentially a human problem." Such an assertion coming from these ruthless exploiters of both the colonial and British workers leaves one speechless.

Even if the Tories desired to "humanise" production, they would still be faced with the impossible because of the economics of their system of private enterprise. A system which regards the worker, not as a person having vital needs which his employer is required to observe and satisfy, but as a commodity to be bought and sold just like eggs and bacon, boots and shoes, soap and blacking are bought and sold. That is a fact—and every intelligent worker knows it is true. And that is why shop stewards, who

(continued col. 1, page 4)

leader) lies dead in Florida because he spoke out against the white supremacy ideas of the majority.

"And the Department of Justice is fitting out detention camps for people who have too freely opposed the political and economic ideas of the majority.

"Whether these people are Communists or not is beside the point. The camps may be intended for Communists today. They can be used for 'non-Communist liberals' and trade unionists tomorrow."

What Truman does today, Churchill will do tomorrow—if we let him, brothers!



Alderman Brown Addressing the Conference

AMERICAN T.U. LEADER FIGHTS U.S. CONCENTRATION CAMPS

THE United States Government has given orders for the preparation of concentration camps for "subversives". But not all Americans are Trumans. The Labour Movement is getting ready to resist.

Hugo Ernst, President of the Hotel Workers Union, writing in his union's journal, makes a powerful condemnation of this diabolical measure.

He starts by likening it to the measures of Hitler, and goes on . . .

"No matter what the criticism, Hitler had an easy formula for putting them out of the way—for silencing those who criticised: he simply labelled all of them 'subversives', guilty of 'un-German activity' and hauled them off to jail. When the jails were full, he put them away in concentration camps. And when the camps were full, he simply had his critics burned in the ovens of Belsen and Buchenwald.

"All this is important to us in American unions.

(And in British unions, too!—Editor)

"It is important to us because our unions, first and last, are in the business of criticising

and protesting. Every time we organise the unorganised, every time we negotiate a new contract, every time we go out on strike, every time we ask the Congress to vote more houses, or tighter price controls, or fair employment laws we are engaged in our fundamental mission of protest, or criticising things as they are and demanding with all our power that changes be made for the better.

"But criticism is getting dangerous in the U.S.A.

"More and more subjects are becoming forbidden, lest he who speak of them be listed by someone as 'subversive'.

(Shades of Arthur Deakin!—Editor)

"Only a couple of years ago it was safe to speak out for national health insurance—but now you're branded a radical when you sound off out loud on the subject.

"Lately the bosses are even saying in so many words that the union which fights to break the wage freeze so working people can escape the trap of inflation is playing footsie with the Reds!

SOUNDS CRAZY

"Sounds crazy, doesn't it, that you might get into trouble, maybe under the Smith Act one of these days, for advocating an end to frozen wages?"

"Yet Mr. Moore (the murdered Negro

LOCAL COUNCILS MUST BE ANTI-TORY STRONGHOLDS

By DAVID FINCH (Prospective Labour Candidate for the L.C.C.)

WITH Municipal Elections soon upon us, it is time to remind ourselves of the shocking record of the Tories in Local Government affairs.

Neglect of all the elementary social requirements of the working class in the interests of wealthy property-owners and landlords has been their guiding principle.

Just a brief glance at the history of the London County Council will prove this point right up to the hilt.

PROMISES GALORE

In 1919, as London's share of the "homes fit for heroes to live in", the Tory L.C.C. promised to build 29,000 houses in 5 years. **The figure they actually built was . . . 375!**

The 1931 cuts introduced by the National Government were, of course, wholeheartedly accepted by the Tory-controlled L.C.C. and, as a result . . . they built the magnificent number of **188 houses in the following 4 years!**

In 1904 the local authorities were instructed to clear a slum in Bethnal Green which housed 1,800 people. Ten years later, in 1914, a Government Inquiry was held. In 1915 the L.C.C. was told to clear the slum. In 1922 the work was actually begun and in 1930 it was finally rebuilt. **More than a quarter of a century to clear one small slum!** And these people have the audacity to criticise Labour's housing record.

THE TORY HERITAGE

The conditions which Labour inherited when they took over the L.C.C. in 1934 were as follows:—

375,989 persons—9.1% of the population were living in overcrowded conditions with, of course, the working class being the worst housed of the lot.

In **Shoreditch**, for example, the figure of overcrowding was 23.6%, and in **Bethnal Green** it was 21.7%. What this meant in terms of disease and death can be seen by comparing the infant mortality rates in Shoreditch and in the "middle-class" borough of Lewisham.

Shoreditch . . . **85 out of every thousand children died before the age of one.** In Lewisham . . . the figure was 49. Deaths from other diseases were roughly in the same proportion. The period was 1921-30.

Labour was faced with the bitter opposition of the landlords and others who had a "vested interest in slums and disease" All sorts of delaying tactics against us.

They fought in the Courts, and they appealed to their friends in the Chamberlain Government . . . nevertheless, despite these obstacles, Labour achieved a certain measure of success in clearing up some of the mess left by the Tories.

In fifteen years (1919-34) the Tory Council had re-housed 17,144 slum dwellers. **In FIVE YEARS (1934-39) the LABOUR Council re-housed 82,999.**

However—and this is something for us all to remember today—our housing drive was brought to a full stop by the re-armament programme which commenced in 1938.

SINCE THE WAR

58,000 dwellings have been provided by the Labour L.C.C. since the end of the war, and some 78,000 dwellings have been

REMEMBER Colonel Blimp

Since joining the *Daily Herald* the cartoons of Low have become more and more pro-war and anti-Russian. This deplorable tendency is in marked contrast to his brilliant and biting captions against the warmongers of the thirties. Here is a selection:

July 1932—Gad sir, Yeates-Brown is right. Wars are necessary—otherwise how can heroes defend their countries?

February, 1933—Gad sir, Lord Bunk is right. The Government are going over the edge of an abyss and the nation must march solidly behind them.

October, 1933—Gad sir, Lord Beaverbrook is right. The only way to ensure peace is to give everybody plenty of arms and let them fight it out.

February, 1934—Gad sir, Harry Preston is right. What the country needs is less economics and more Royal romances.

August, 1934—Gad sir, Lord Blither is right. Bayonets bring the best out of a man—and it stays out.

May, 1935—Gad sir, Lord Blather is right. Be prepared with plenty of armaments and then there will be Peace—just as there was last time.

repaired. But this is certainly not enough.

More could be built if the steel and labour now being used for re-armament was made available for housing.

It certainly won't be made available by the present Tory Government which is now hell-bent on war.

150 elementary schools urgently required re-conditioning or re-building when Labour took over London in 1934. The record shows that Labour did build 30 elementary schools, 7 central schools, and 5 secondary schools. 150 schools were reconditioned.

Apart from this, however, Labour has increased scholarships, improved grants, and increased the number of free places in secondary schools from 37% in 1930 to 53% in 1938.

THE BIG BOSS ORDERS

The return of a Tory Government to Westminster has a definite and detrimental effect on all local authorities.

Private enterprise may now build up to half the allocation of houses in England and Wales whereas, under Labour it was 1 in 5. **As a result, the Tory-dominated Glasgow City Council has already decided to sell 622 houses originally built for letting.**

The Government's recommended cut of 5% in Education has resulted in Tory Coun-

cils cutting nursery schools, the number of part-time teachers, furniture, upkeep of buildings, fuel, light and heating.

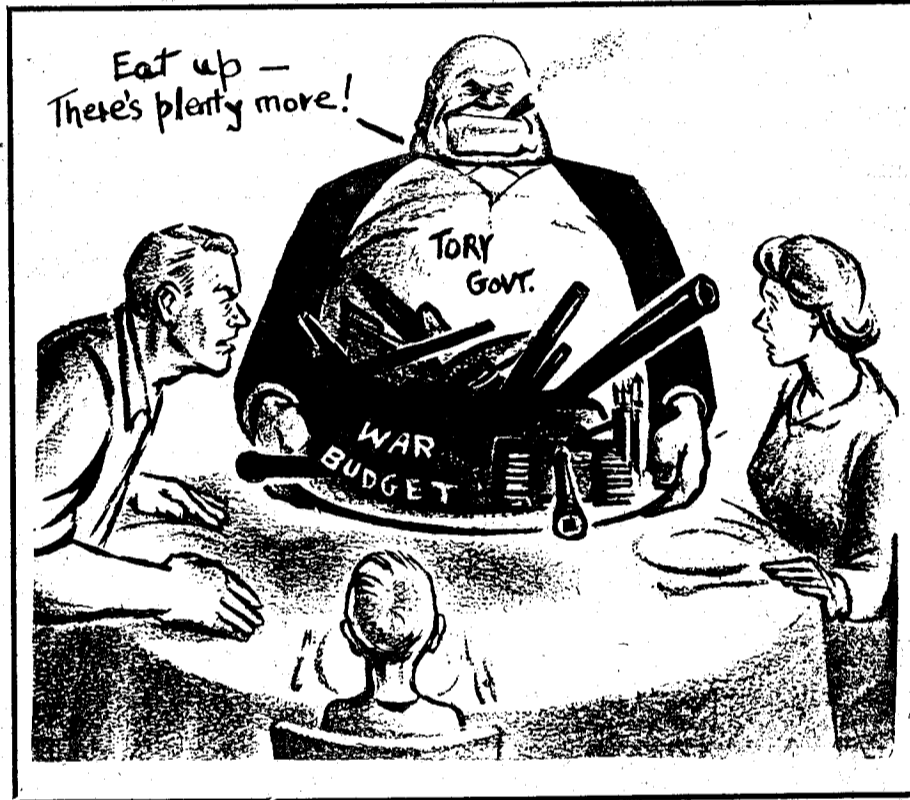
As always with the Tories, it is to be working-class children who will suffer. The children of the rich will continue in comfort at the public schools and universities.

There will almost certainly be an increase of up to 10/- per week in the rent of new council houses resulting from the Tory Government's raising of the interest rates from 3% to 4% on all money borrowed by local authorities. This will mean higher rates to cover the increased cost of maintaining the various social services.

THE LESSON

The Tories are the enemies of working people everywhere. They got back to Parliament on a minority of votes. If we roll up a sweeping victory for Labour at the forthcoming local elections it will still further underline the fact that *Toryism has no popular support.*

Labour Councils can—if they place the interests of the working class before war and re-armament—become a rallying ground in the fight to force Mr. Churchill's Government of war and privation . . . **right out of office!**



TORIES 'FORECAST' £2 A WEEK FOR HOSPITAL BED

By C. VAN GELDEREN (Secretary, Richmond Branch, Confederation of Health Service Employees).

NO measure introduced by the Labour Government affected working class families so intimately as the National Health Service.

Incomplete as the Service was, and with all its insufficiencies, it nevertheless marked a big step forward. For the first time, millions of workers and their families could get medical attention before disease could take hold of them and ravage their health. With the spectre of dentists' bills removed, teeth could be attended to before dental decay set in. Eyes received expert attention before deterioration went too far.

Now all this is gone! One of the first acts of the Tory Government was to utterly destroy the National Health Service.

We have taken a step back, not to 1945 but to 1912, before Lloyd George introduced the first National Insurance Act.

Before Labour came to power, it was possible for all insured workers to get free medical attention and prescriptions. Through the friendly societies, they could get substantial financial assistance to meet dentists' bills and toward the cost of spectacles.

Now NO ONE can get such free service except in the case of proved hardship. The Means Test has been substituted for social justice.

These measures are but a foretaste of what is to come. The *Health Service Journal* for January-February, states:—

Among the confident forecasts for the April Budget it is regarded as certain that if administrative difficulties are overcome there will be a series of Health Service charges.

Principal charge is expected to be a "board and lodging" bill to be pre-

sented to hospital patients who are in a position to meet it. The figure mentioned is between 30s. and £2 a week.

Already the economy axe is working havoc with the hospital services. Diet, dressings, drugs—all are being drastically cut, with serious results to the patients' health.

There is undoubtedly room for economies in the Health Service. Administrative expenses could be reduced without seriously affecting the efficiency of the service. Doctors and dentists could be placed on a fixed salaried basis, instead of the present "per capita" basis. Above all, hospital management committees and regional hospital boards should be drawn from the elected representatives of hospital staffs (including nursing and domestic staff), and representatives of "consumer interests" (to be nominated by trades councils, co-operatives, etc.). Regional executive committees, which control the activities of doctors and dentists, under the scheme, would similarly be drawn from the trade union and co-operative movement.

This last-named reform would be a safeguard against those doctors and dentists who have deliberately sabotaged the Health Service; who have added millions of pounds to the cost by prescribing costly branded medicines, where one made up by the local chemist would have done just as well.

A Health Service, organised on these lines, would place the interests of the patients first. The health of the people would receive priority over the demands of "economy". It must become part of Labour's programme to fight the Tories.

Does Your Library Take The 'Outlook'?

Teachers of the World. New bi-monthly journal, giving news of teachers' activities in all lands. No. 1 now available, contains articles on fight for academic freedom in the United States, the control of American education by the big trusts, the fight of the Japanese teachers for a democratic educational system, a unique article on how the Shanghai teachers carried on underground work during the Chiang Kai-Shek regime, etc., etc. Price 1/-, annual subscription 6/-. From W.F.T.U. Publications Ltd., 6 Chichester Chambers, Chichester Rents, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.

FLEET STREET WAKES UP

By FRANK ALLAUN

"The law of personal libel punishes a pressman who pricks persons with pins.

"But there is no law to punish him should he attempt to provoke millions of people to prick each other with bayonets".

H. M. Richardson, former general secretary of the *National Union of Journalists*, speaking 20 years ago.

I AM happy to report that in face of the growing Conservative and war-minded propaganda of many newspapers, journalists are beginning to resist.

At two recent conferences I attended in London not one man or woman was heard to say "There's no hope. We can't do anything about it."

On the contrary, rank and file pressmen—and top flight writers too—showed themselves alive to their responsibilities and determined to shoulder them.

The annual general meeting of the *Society of Socialist Journalists* met under the chairmanship of Francis Williams, former editor of the *Daily Herald*. It was a stimulating and profitable gathering.

OUT OF A JOB

The members were very conscious of the recent swing to the Right and to reaction of hitherto progressive papers. If they had not been they would have been reminded of it by the presence of several famous London journalists now out of a job because of the stand they have taken for their principles.

Attention was also drawn to the disappearance of 50 independent weekly papers which were driven out last year by rising costs. There are growing fears that absorption by the combines is their only alternative.

The meeting passed unanimously a resolution moved by J. P. W. Mallalieu, M.P. It expressed concern over the newspaper proprietors' policy of "go slow" in setting up a Press Council as recommended by the Royal Commission on the Press nearly three years ago. (Such a Council would report on the doings and misdoings of the newspapers.)

NO MORE DELAY

This sidetracking, the motion continued, indicated an unwillingness to implement this recommendation—one that was in the interests both of the public and the newspaper industry.

The resolution urged: (1) an enquiry into the intentions of the Conservative government towards setting up a Press Council (which many believe to be extremely doubtful); (2) a request to the Parliamentary Labour Party to raise the matter in the House; and (3) an early statement of its views by the Parliamentary L.P.

"We should ask" declared Mallalieu, "that Mr. Churchill receives us on this question. We must see that the . . . don't get away with it."

During the same week-end I attended a meeting of the Fleet Street Forum in the famous Cock Tavern.

Members of the Forum are asked to sign a declaration form which notes the drift to war and the special responsibility of journalists to try to arrest it.

"It is possible and necessary for journalists to take effective measures in their day to day work to ensure that the facts reach the public in the right perspective", it continues.

In association with professional organisations it would "support any journalist who refuses to be party to any misrepresentation of facts or emphasis."

As the founders include such journalists as Hannen Swaffer, Richie Calder, Ted Castle, James Cameron and "Vicky", not even the most boggy-minded of gentlemen can smear it as a Communist-controlled organisation.

Recognising the valuable work the Forum is doing another group of journalists—the *Pacifist Journalists Group*—has merged with it. Among its members were B. J. Boothroyd, former Editor of *Peace News*, Frank Edmead of *The Manchester Guardian* and Bernard Canter, editor, *The Friend*.

As the Press Lords turn on the heat, the Press boys are waking up. The pen may yet prove to be mightier than the sword. I reckon we have about two years left in which to avert the holocaust.

RESIST THE CUTS!

AN EDITORIAL

WHETHER or not the working class should take industrial action to defend its living standards from the attacks of this Tory Government is not a question that can be seriously debated in the Labour Movement. **Such action is inevitable.**

In the sort of situation created by the present Government you can no more confine the struggle to Parliamentary debates than you can force a free man to chain himself to a hornet's nest.

Workers are responsible people. They are responsible to their families and to their class. They will not stand idly by while a Government which came to power on a political fraud destroys all the achievements of the working class.

They will not allow the old people to be once again subjected to the indignities of a means test, the children deprived of a decent education, and the sick forced to go without medical care and attention so that the war plans of this rich man's Government shall be fulfilled.

In the inevitable struggle which faces it the Labour Movement cannot be concerned about fine points in the constitution. The health and well being of the working class is more important than any constitution that was ever written.

In any case, we know that Churchill has no mandate for the evil things he is doing.

We know that he and his minions *denied* they would create unemployment, *denied* they would attack the Health Services, *denied* they would introduce privilege into the housing queues, *denied* they would speed up the war drive, and *denied* they would strengthen the bonds that tie us to American Big Business.

Yet all these things they have done—and with a speed which leaves no doubt that they fully intended doing them even as their denials were echoing across hundreds of election meeting places.

That this fraudulent Government of brokers, bankers and noble lords should dare commence such an onslaught on working class living standards is absolutely intolerable. It is this which is creating working class anger and a working class will to resist.

Already 40,000 Welsh miners have banned Saturday working and their action has been endorsed by the Area Council of the Derbyshire miners. A responsible body of locomotive firemen have called on the General Council of the T.U.C. to organise a General Strike in opposition to the proposed Butler cuts. Finally, the *Socialist Outlook* has organised a conference, representing more than 100,000 London workers, which carried enthusiastically the resolution which you can read on page one of this paper.

There are, therefore, solid grounds for believing that the recent statement denouncing industrial action issued by that august (but somewhat remote) body, the National Council of Labour, was *entirely unrepresentative of the views of Labour workers.*

Their appeal to leave the struggle to our parliamentary representatives is patently ridiculous—and it is none the less so for having received the support of Aneurin Bevan.

In a statement which has been eagerly reported by the press, he has said that "*it would be a profound mistake for the trade union masses of this country by direct industrial action to try to influence the course of parliamentary procedure.*"

Why would it be a mistake? The Parliamentary Labour Party has done its best, it has opposed the cuts, forced a division . . . and lost. Not because Labour is weak, but because its real strength is not reflected in its parliamentary representation.

If, nevertheless, a certain hesitancy about introducing all the cuts can now be detected in the Government's plans, it is due not to the debating skill of Labour M.P.s . . .

but to the mass protests which have swept the country during the past few weeks.

Had the National Council of Labour lent its full weight to this protest, organised it and led it, then it is highly possible that the "course of parliamentary procedure" would have been still more "influenced" and the Government might even have fallen.

The National Council of Labour's case is so weak—so patently weak—that they have, to bolster it up, resorted to the lowest form of red-baiting. They have thus given the Tory Government (which doesn't for one moment believe these blood-curdling tales of "international plots") the go-ahead signal to use state repression against all who resist its diabolical plans for the reduction of the workers' living standards.

A serious threat to Labour unity is being created—not by the Welsh miners—but by those leaders who are refusing

to mobilise the whole strength of Labour behind the workers' absolutely justified resistance to the Tory cuts.

By using the most despicable red-baiting propaganda they are setting worker against worker and dividing the Movement. In this dangerous situation only one course is open to responsible members of the Party. **We must demand that the statement of the National Council be withdrawn.** There is only one way for the Movement to adopt a policy which will carry the full authority of Labour . . . let the workers decide!

Let the National Executive Committee organise, in every Labour Party and in every Trade Union Branch, a vote on this straight-forward motion:—

"This organisation considers that industrial action is justified to resist the Government's attacks on working-class living standards."

The workers will stand by a decision of the Movement made in this democratic way. Will the N.E.C. do the same?

Meanwhile, to strengthen those in the Party who are fighting for a policy of supporting the action of the Welsh miners, every trade unionist should join the Labour Party as an individual, see that his branch sends its full quota of delegates to local parties, and insist that the Labour Party—the mass party of the workers—gives leadership in the fight against the Tories.

This is the only way to see that the industrial and political wings of the movement are united in a powerful movement to . . . **force the Tories to resign!**

WELSH MINERS GIVE A LEAD

HOWELL D. WILLIAMS (Secretary Rhigos Lodge National Union of Mineworkers) states the case of the miners who have banned Saturday work in protest at the cuts being introduced by the Tories.

THE stopping of Saturday work in the South Wales coalfield is causing no little worry to all those who are anxious that the working class should offer no resistance to the cuts now being made in its standard of living.

Until this Saturday ban, nearly every colliery in South Wales worked a Saturday morning shift. In reply to the irresponsible press' campaigns about the "pampered miners", let me say at once that many miners welcomed Saturday work as a chance to earn some badly-needed extra money. But, quite apart from economic necessity, Saturday working expressed the miner's readiness to help in the rehabilitation of the country's economy.

But this loyalty to Labour has been shamefully exploited. Coal output has consistently increased year after year—but this effort of the miners has brought no improvement in the country's prospects.

DANGER—LIARS AT WORK

To-day, all the appeals for greater production are being renewed—but no Tory Government spokesman, or Right Wing Trade Union leader, dares to tell the miners that the coal shortage is caused by the ever-growing demands of the re-armament programme.

Lincoln's often-quoted phrase about "fooling the people" is as true as ever. Few miners now believe that Soviet Russia threatens the well-being of the working class in Western Europe. And what miner can believe that dihard Tories are concerned about the alleged enslavement of the Russian workers.

The Tories never lost any sleep over the proven fact that British capitalists thrived well on the backs of the savagely-oppressed colonial workers inside the British Empire.

It is now being insinuated that the campaign in South Wales in defence of working

class living standards is "designed by sinister disrupters in the interests of a Foreign Power." But remember, brothers, that there never was a movement opposed to capitalism which has not been branded as "foreign agents".

It is also said that "chaos" is being precipitated through the organisation of strikes so that a condition favourable to a Russian invasion can be created.

The perpetrators of this sin evidently forget that France and Italy—countries much nearer to Russia than is Britain—have had strikes so gigantic as to make the biggest strike in Britain look like a college rag. **Yet no Red Army marched into France and Italy.**

WHAT IS THE TRUTH

No miner wants to see his son die in Malaya or Korea so that America and Britain can rule Asia. Nor does he want to produce coal for armaments to be used in crushing the struggle for freedom.

The miners are beginning to realise that the Butler cuts are only a mild prelude to more severe slashes in living standards. That is why the behaviour of the General Council of the T.U.C. is being watched with such apprehension. Miners have already resisted the Council's declaration of "amicable working" with the Tory Government. And general hostility has been aroused in the rank-and-file by the Council's endorsement of compulsory direction of labour, and its suggestion that income tax should increase, whilst making a feeble protest against reduction in the food subsidies.

If the elected representatives of the miners endorse the policy of the T.U.C. chiefs there will be trouble in the N.U.M.

The events in South Wales are a warning as well as an inspiration. Labour and Communist workers are leading the fight for the extension of the Saturday ban—not only against the Butler cuts, but to remedy many other things which are causing unrest in the

SCOTCH THIS RUMOUR

DURING the past few weeks rumours have been circulating in a number of Constituency Labour Parties to the effect that the *Socialist Outlook* is "proscribed". We don't know whether these rumours are officially inspired, but we do know that they are . . . just rumours. The *Socialist Outlook* is NOT "proscribed".

The rumour-mongers are basing their case on the proscription of the Socialist Fellowship, claiming that the *Outlook* was the official organ of that body. This again is NOT TRUE.

Socialist Outlook certainly gave publicity to the aims of the *Socialist Fellowship* and opposed its proscription—but it was quite independent from it, having been founded in December, 1948, many months before **Ellis Smith** issued his call for the *Socialist Fellowship*.

The finances and editorial management of the *Outlook* had no connection with the *Socialist Fellowship*—as the certified Auditor's reports published each year will testify. Furthermore, the official Report of the 50th Annual Conference of the Labour Party admitted that the *Socialist Outlook* was "not the official organ of the *Socialist Fellowship* . . ." That should be clear enough—whatever is now being rumoured.

We must remind those in our Party who would like to see the *Outlook* banned that there is not yet in this country a "dangerous thoughts" Act containing a list of publications which must not be read!

***Socialist Outlook* is a legally produced paper—and any member of the Party can read, or refuse to read it, as he or she sees fit.**

It is also being hinted that action will be taken against Labour Party members who write for the *Outlook*. We can hardly believe the N.E.C. is contemplating such action. But if they are—**what will be the position of that considerable body of journalists who write in the capitalist press, in many cases against their conviction since it is their livelihood?**

The *Socialist Outlook* circulates widely inside the Labour Movement. It no more comes under the proscription powers of the N.E.C. than does the *Tribune* or the *New Statesman*.

coalfield. *The abolition of workmen's bus fares which has aroused deep anger; the multiplication of local colliery disputes; the shortage of urgently required mining equipment; the wages position; and the no less important question of the plight of our injured and sick workmen who are the forgotten army.*

All these issues, directly due to the grave political situation, are being intensified and made more difficult to solve by purely local action.

The old pioneers used to prophesy the destruction of capitalism by workers whose lives had grown intolerable as the system grew older and more bankrupt. Let us fulfil this prophesy by defeating the Butler cuts, removing this Tory Government, and establishing a Government which will pursue a real Socialist policy.



Churchill - Truman Axis

"Break away from it" - says Tom Braddock

appeasement of capitalism never pays and we now see that our close association with U.S. money has put the workers of this country and of Western Europe in greater danger of war and starvation than ever before.

First, we are so tied up to the American plan to fight Communism, and we are so necessary to the Americans in carrying on that fight, that any sign of attempted withdrawal might precipitate that which we are seeking to avoid. The American military chiefs might say it is now or never and plunge us into war before we had time to disentangle ourselves from their dangerous plans.

NOW IS THE TIME

At the moment, however, we could act. The Presidential elections will occupy America for the rest of this year, Atlantic Pact plans are going very slowly and capitalist armies are heavily engaged in Korea, Indo-China, Malaya, Egypt and French North Africa. South Africa needs all its forces to hold down their native populations and Australia has to keep herself ready to resist a Japanese attack.

as capitalism is concerned, all these wars are in the wrong places, against the wrong peoples and at the wrong time. China and the U.S.S.R. are the right people from their point of view.

WE CANNOT WAIT

Even if we are able to continue this uneasy waiting period the prospects of starvation grow rapidly nearer. The possibility of obtaining sufficient raw materials and food supplies is becoming more and more difficult. This will lead to further and drastic falls in our living standards, unemployment, civil strife, and general disorganisation of our internal economy. We shall lose the confidence of the rest of the world, and the deep resentment we are at present building up among the colonial peoples will cut us off from any assistance from them.

IT IS NOT TOO LATE

It is idle to pretend that our position is not extremely dangerous. Before we consider the way out let us have a clear understanding of what the dangers really are.

The dangers are war and starvation. There is a close connection between these two catastrophes; we can only escape the



tively, if we take steps to avoid starvation we shall automatically exclude the possibility of war.

Nevertheless, since the defeat of the Labour Government at the last election there has appeared in our Movement a much more critical attitude towards British foreign policy. Since this policy is no longer verbally defended by their own leaders, but instead, by the Tories, the opposition is much more freely and frankly expressed and is rapidly growing in intensity.

Furthermore, the one great desire voiced from every quarter by ordinary people is that there shall be no war.

WHAT'S TO BE DONE ?

That is why I say it is not too late. I believe that if the Labour Movement

MR. ATTLEE is too modest; he forgets that he was Prime Minister in 1945 and for that reason we were in a better position than we are now under Mr. Churchill.

Mr. Attlee took the easy way in 1945. Instead of sending Mr. Dalton, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, to America to raise his big voice in protest against the treachery of the Americans, he preferred to send Lord Keynes and Treasury officials to arrange the loan with strings attached.

This was just as certainly a step to war

Readers Forum

Bread and Circuses

The calculated hysteria of the press and radio following the recent death of George VI make one wonder what exactly is the role of the monarchy in present-day Britain. The propaganda barrage and the pomp and circumstance of the funeral had, in my opinion, two objects. First to buttress the monarchy as an institution in the eyes of the British people. Second, to show visiting foreign dignitaries that Britain is not yet quite down-and-out—in the imperial sense, that is.

The Tories seized the opportunity to appeal for class peace, pleading that we are "one people united under the crown," and their efforts in this direction were undoubtedly assisted by the attitude of some of our own leaders.

This conception of the monarchy as a benevolent and dignified symbol, above all class strife, will not do. The British Imperial Crown still stands, as in the past, for imperial domination, that is, the holding by force of arms territories to which we have no other right.

What democrat, for example, could agree to be regarded as the RULER of Northern Ireland!

The monarchy has always been used to cloak acts of bloody aggression against foreign peoples—to lend "dignity" to the proceedings, as it were.

The awe with which the leaders of the Labour Party regard the monarchy is not a healthy sign. Let them devote their energies to getting a rise for old-age pensioners instead of mocking their want by joining in the Royal Circus.

J. Alexander. Peckham.

Very Much to the Point

Until the Labour Party decides to adopt a socialist policy instead of the present shamble, and to select Parliamentary candidates on their merits instead of their social standards, more discomfort and unrest are bound to fall upon and burden the working class.

O. Brady. Liverpool.

POOR LADY BUCKINGHAM

Lady Buckingham doesn't like Australia. There aren't enough servants there!

"Do you know," she says, "hostesses have to cook the dinner".

"It's too ridiculous. It should be so easy to train and develop a servant class for Australia from the starving millions in Europe." (Daily Express 25/2/52).

BENNETT (from page 1)

were in the vanguard in rallying workers in the General Election under the banner of socialism, will now be in the vanguard of the fight against this Tory Government.

BAD ADVICE

But for this fight we must reject out of hand certain dangerous statements of union leaders like **Tewson** and **Deakin** who advise "amicable working" with the Tory Government. The Tories are as much our enemies AFTER the Election as BEFORE.

If Messrs. Tewson and Deakin have developed cold feet now that the Tories are back, shop stewards and the mass of the workers who voted Labour have no intention of following them on this rotten road of compromise.

Instead, we will take the words of these union leaders (uttered in the Election) to heart. We intend to organise the greatest fight ever to FORCE THE TORIES TO RESIGN.

We intend to use all our strength to return a Labour Government based on a socialist programme. But to make this fight effective, and to ensure that the Labour Party adopts a policy of direct attack on this mad capitalist system which is galloping to war, EVERY TRADE UNIONIST MUST JOIN THE LABOUR PARTY AND RALLY TO THE LEFT WING.

"THE PEACEMAKERS"

This is our Creed—All Men are One
Who love the human race:
The seeds of war we must uproot
And all mankind embrace.

Dynamic waves of peace and love
Transmute all base alloy:
The universal flood of hate
Cannot our Faith destroy.

Nature cannot delay our plans
To succour every race—
We harness Science to our will,
And conquer Time and Space.

Mountains we move—and arid plains
Yield up their golden store:
The desert blossoms as the rose,
Where nothing grew before.

New Life we cultivate for All:
The Fares of Hate destroy;
And in a world released from Fear,
The Arts of Peace enjoy.

Percy Allott.

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

Good Advice from Canada

I would like to continue receiving your excellent little paper. I have been a member of the Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth Federation ever since its founding in 1933. Since then the C.C.F. has followed practically the same road as the British Labour Party. Hence I find the *Socialist Outlook* of great value to me in our C.C.F. meetings.

The class struggle was officially ignored and denied at the last national C.C.F. Convention in July 1950 at Vancouver. This is, I firmly believe, the very basis of a Party endeavouring to bring a Socialist society into being, and any Party calling itself "Socialist" which does not firmly base its program upon the class struggle is betraying the true interests of the working class, no matter how well-meaning its leadership is.

There is no doubt that we are living in the epoch of capitalism's death agony and great struggles lie ahead of the working class, for nobody will help the worker but the worker himself.

D. Carr. Ontario.

BRITAIN IN AFRICA

In Central Africa white men favour Federation. Africans fear it.

It was not till after 1890 that British troops invaded Southern Rhodesia, destroyed the African governments there, and set up a white trading company to rule.

Thereafter white men pushed in and, restrained only by the Company's interests, took whatever seemed good to them. They soon found even the Company's restraints irksome, set up a movement for self-government, and in 1923 attained it.

THE LAW-MAKERS

Reserving little but the often needed but never used right to veto anti-African laws, and dedicating less than a quarter of the land (of moderate to poor quality) for the use of the million Africans, Britain gave the power of government to the 35,000 white intruders.

They used that power quickly in their own interests. In 1930 they passed the *Land Apportionment Act*.

Under it some more land has been allotted to Africans. Some, mostly fly-ridden and useless, is forest or still unallotted. But the Act's main object was to carve out a white man's state, and it achieved this by the provisions that legalised the theft of over half (51%) of the country (including most of the best land) and reserved it for European ownership.

LAWS FOR LABOUR

Having made laws for their land, they also made laws for their labour. When an African, in search of work, goes into this newly white country, he must carry his registration book with details of past work and wages. In towns he must also get a local permit to seek work, and must live in the huts provided in the native quarter.

He is restricted by legal, administrative and social devices mainly to unskilled work and wages, and even in this cannot form a legally recognised Trade Union.

If he gets work he can be criminally prosecuted for being absent without leave. If he loses work, he loses his

B'ham Firemen Win Support

By BILL BROWN (Fireman and Trade Unionist)

THE Public Protest Meeting in support of Birmingham's victimised firemen held at the Delicia Stadium on Sunday, 3rd February, had a most impressive platform of speakers.

Bob Shorthouse, President Birmingham Trades Council, opened up by saying that the Trades Council had been responsible for convening the meeting with the full support of the Birmingham Borough Labour Party. He felt that after hearing the facts of the case people present would be more determined than ever to support their Firemen.

A resolution was read which, if accepted, would be sent to the full City Council meeting on the following Tuesday. This resolution requested the repayment of all fines imposed and the expunging of charges from the Firemen's personal records.

Dave Campbell, Area Organiser C.E.U., followed with a fiery, straight-to-the-point speech, deploring the action of the Chief Officer and the Fire Brigade Committee during the dispute. He laid great stress on the fact that Mr. Coleman had drastically reduced the fire cover of the City in order

to threaten and intimidate the Firemen.

John Horner, General Secretary of the Fire Brigade Union, gave a report of what had taken place in the country as a whole. How savage had been the attack. Firemen evicted from stations by the Police, forced to walk back from fires in full kit were amongst other incidents which resulted.

The resolution was passed with only two against.

It is very interesting to note that one of these was my own Tory Divisional Officer, and the other was **T. John**, Tory Councillor on the Fire Brigade Committee. These men allege to represent our interests.

Councillor J. Balmer, President Birmingham Borough Labour Party, then pledged the full support of the Borough Labour Party in the fight against "Trade Union Victimization". What a difference between Joe Balmer and T. John!

Birmingham Firemen will, I am sure, wish to join me in thanking all concerned for the valuable support given to us in our struggle for freedom against these dihard Tories.

PENNIES NOW for the FORTNIGHTLY IN MAY

By London Bus Driver—BILL PUNT

THE "Socialist Outlook" is assisting in our fight for a classless society. It should have a wider circulation and be published more often.

None of these things are possible unless our paper is subsidised—either indirectly by business firms buying advertising space, or directly via a Fighting Fund.

The chances of revenue from adverts are very remote. Those who live well under the present society will hardly subsidise a paper that advocates their eviction from "Tom Tiddler's ground." So a good Fighting Fund means everything to us.

If 7,200 readers (and we have more than that) gave ONE PENNY per month, that would make £30—which is only a little under the sum wanted each month to guarantee the production of a fortnightly.

Write to us—and we'll give you a Fighting Fund card on which to collect these pennies (and pounds too!).

Comrades, this is your paper. Whether it lives or dies, becomes a weekly or goes out of existence, will depend on your support. So roll in your pennies!

Take an extra copy. You will find no difficulty in selling it—and that will double our sales. Then we are on the way to a weekly—a weekly paper fighting the Tories with real socialist weapons!

Here is my slogan for all Outlook readers: "One Penny and One Extra Copy."

FIGHTING FUND

We gratefully acknowledge the following donations received:—

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TOM BRADDOCK (from page 3)

act with resolution they can lead the country to safety. The process will be difficult; we have been led like sheep for the past six years or more and the false shepherds, including the Labour ones, are not going to take kindly to revolt. Let me therefore suggest an effective course of action well in keeping with our way of life and our democratic traditions.

FIRST. Every constituency Labour Party, every Trade Union branch and every Co-operative Guild should pass a resolution condemning the present foreign policy of this Tory Government, and declaring its willingness to co-operate with the peoples and Governments of the Soviet Union and China. These resolutions should be sent to Transport House and, for record, to the *Socialist Outlook*.

SECOND. Every constituency Labour Party should call upon its local Labour Member of Parliament, or its prospective parliamentary candidate, to signify agreement or otherwise with the resolution. If agreement is not forthcoming, fresh candidates who agree should be selected for the next general election.

THIRD. Every constituency Labour Party should write to each member of the National Executive of the Party asking if they agree or not with the resolution. If there is no clear statement of agreement they should not again be supported for re-election to the N.E.C.

Why should we make such a clear approach for Chinese and Russian friend-

ship? The main reason is that Churchill is now the Prime Minister and he is known by the Russians to be their unrelenting enemy.

Following the first world war, it was he who took the main responsibility for sending British troops and supplies in an attempt to defeat the Bolshevik revolution.

During the later stages of the second world war, Churchill was secretly manoeuvring against Russia and, after his defeat in the election of 1945 he went to America in 1946 and, in his Fulton speech, raised the banner of a crusade against Communism in all forms, and Russian in particular.

It is the knowledge of these things, and the undeniable co-operation of Labour and Tory on foreign policy during the lifetime of the Labour Government, that has led to the difficulties we have to face, both with Russia and China.

BREAK WITH THE CAPITALISTS

The British Labour Movement must be prepared to cut itself free of this sinister alliance with its political opponents. The above resolution would go some way towards that end, and so some way towards the possibility of maintaining peace and co-operation among the anti-capitalist forces of the world.

If you think it can be done, write and tell the *Socialist Outlook* that you agree. If we get general support we will take further steps to assist.