

Join the
**LABOUR
PARTY**
TODAY

Socialist Outlook

WEEKLY

No. 124

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

FRIDAY, APRIL 9, 1954

3d.

Help the Fight
**AGAINST
TORYISM
and WAR!**

WESTMINSTER LANDLORDS ON THE ATTACK

THE derequisitioning plans which threaten nearly 2,000 Westminster families, half of them in Pimlico, are "entirely in accord with Government policy".

The 100 per cent Tory City Council, in carrying out its plans, says that it has a number of considerations in mind including "landlords' hardship", a desire to hand back first properties with a high rateable value and a need to carry out derequisitioning "as soon as possible." Landlords are to be "encouraged" to take over the present tenants.

These facts were given by Tory Council leaders last week when a deputation from the Action Committee against derequisitioning, (set up by the Cities of London and Westminster Labour Party) went to the City Hall.

No alternative accommodation has been offered to the tenants of

Reported by
ANDREW KIRKBY

requisitioned properties who have already received preliminary notice to move out. None are on the housing waiting list for, the Tories say, "at the moment they are adequately housed".

Only when the tenants have been thrown out of their homes will the Tories be prepared even to consider putting them on the waiting list.

But where will these people live meanwhile? "They should be encouraged to help themselves," answered the Tory spokesman. (I don't think they had "squatting" in mind here!)

Mr. Peter Johnson, a barrister member of the Labour deputation, pointed out that the Council's policy was making the housing waiting list impossibly long.

TENANTS of requisitioned properties in Westminster should, if they have not already done so, get in touch with the Labour Party at 8 Gayfere Street, S.W.1. (off Smith Square).

An advice bureau is open at this address every Monday from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m.

Another member of the deputation, Mrs. Anita Kirkby, asked what the Council proposed to do where evictions would cause "extra hardship". "These difficulties would be met when they arose," answered the Tories.

Mr. Dennis Nisbet, Prospective Parliamentary Labour Candidate for the constituency and a member of the deputation, attacked the Council's "advice" to the requisitioned tenants to get out in to the suburbs and buy themselves houses. A working man, he said, could not afford to put down a 10 per cent deposit on a house, begin paying off the balance of the purchase price with interest and, on top of that, have the additional expense of fares up to town.

So far, 300 notices of increased rent, (with a rebate scheme based on a means test), have been served on the tenants of requisitioned properties in Westminster.

The deputation to the City Hall marked one of the first moves in the Labour Party campaign against derequisitioning. The Labour Action Committee says that "there should be no derequisitioning until everyone on the Housing List, including those in requisitioned premises, are housed."

The tenants affected are being canvassed to unite with the Labour movement to defend their homes against what is going to be a serious attack by the landlords.

Labour Must Oppose Hell Bomb Bases!

Churchill Admits Tory Bankruptcy

"IT is not enough to say that the horror of the hydrogen bomb is so self-evident that something is bound to be done about it. Nothing in our past justifies such a conclusion."

So wrote Aneurin Bevan in his article in the "Daily Mirror" of last Friday. And so also spoke Mr. Attlee in the subsequent Debate in the House of Commons.

The awesome nature of this bomb will not prevent it being used in the event of war.

The danger of atomic warfare comes from the leaders of the Western powers, and primarily from the present capitalist rulers of the United States of America. They have over the past five years bribed and bullied practically every capitalist nation in the world into a war alliance directed at all the non-capitalist countries. This alliance is called N.A.T.O.

We refuse to believe that the leaders of the Soviet Union have any desire at all to launch nuclear warfare on the world. Not only does their record speak against it, for they have on numerous occasions proposed the banning of the bomb, but much more important, the new social system of the Soviet Union does not require for its further development imperialist expansion and destruction.

The final proof—if proof is needed—that N.A.T.O. is an ag-

gressive coalition of capitalist states is to be found in the embarrassed refusal by Mr. Eden and Mr. Dulles of the Soviet Union's rent offer to join the alliance. If it was a "Russian manoeuvre" it was a very successful one, for it has shown that the American dominated N.A.T.O. is open only to those countries whose interests are served by attempting to overthrow the new social systems of Russia, China and the countries of Eastern Europe.

When you organise for war you naturally develop the war machine to its highest possible point. The hydrogen bomb is therefore only the logical end to the course which was set five years ago by those American imperialists who created the Atlantic Alliance. If we are to speak plainly, therefore, we must say that the best way to prevent nuclear warfare is to break away from this unholy Atlantic Alliance. Can it be done?

Of course it can. There is no reason at all why the British people should follow Mr. Churchill to perdition. There is no reason at all why British people should any longer tolerate the existence of atom bombs, air bases and American troops in this country. They are not here for our protection.

So long as Britain is part of N.A.T.O. the British people may be subjected at any time to almost inconceivable terror and destruction from the hydrogen bomb.

Now, more than ever before, the Labour Party must appeal to the people to put it back in office so that it may break clean from N.A.T.O. and open up serious negotiations with the Soviet Union for the peaceful unification of Europe.

Only the Labour Movement can do this. So far as the Tories are concerned, they are petrified (and petrified) before the problems of this changing world. Churchill refused to use any influence he might have with the Americans to stop the further production of the H. Bomb.

In a speech which vividly portrayed the utter bankruptcy of capitalist politicians, all that he could offer the British people was the following nightmare:

"To us in this overcrowded island and densely populated regions of Europe the new terror brings a certain element of equality in annihilation. Strange as it may seem it is to the universality of potential destruction that I feel we may look with hope and even with confidence."

Political bankruptcy can surely go no further!

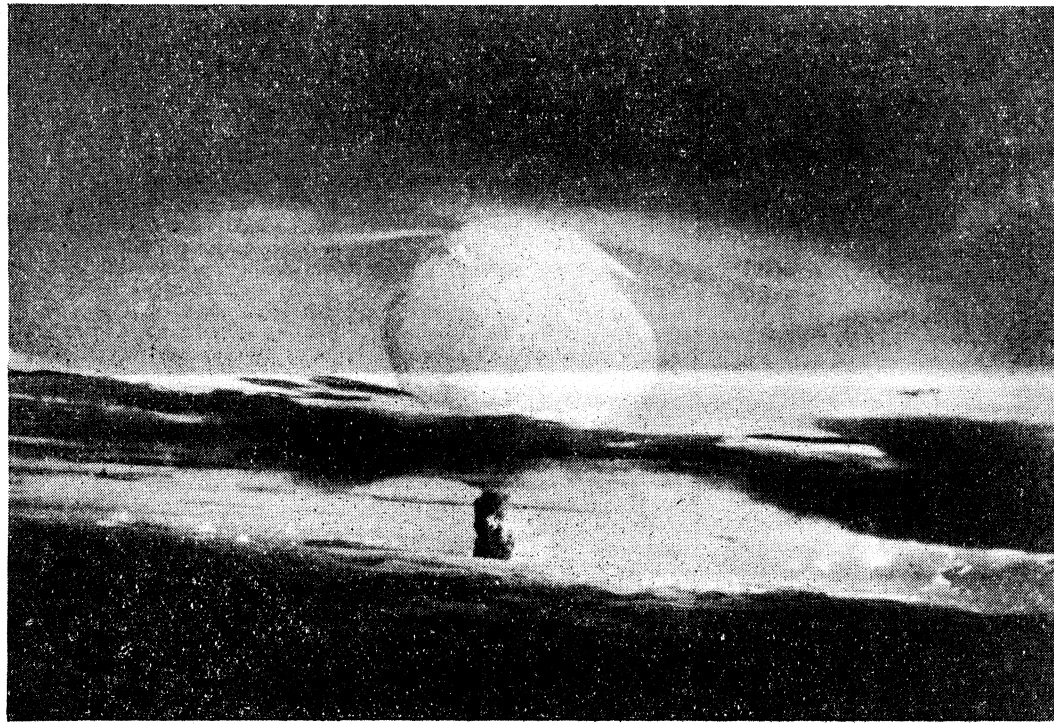
However, Churchill's oratory should not be taken too seriously, for in the same speech he gloated over the fact that the United States has ringed the U.S.S.R. with military bases and that from these bases the great land masses of Russia would be vulnerable to the diabolical effects of the hydrogen bombs.

But Harold Davies, Labour Member for Leek, has probably said the last word on the politics of the hydrogen bomb.

"If this House of Commons had had the right leadership today, we could have called the nations of the world together and halted the frenetic steps we are taking towards war and hysteria. If we do not do it, the people one day will."

The only question now is, will Labour lead the people?

JOHN LAWRENCE



This photo made at height of 12,000 feet and 50 miles from the burst, shows the cloud which formed after the detonation of a hydrogen bomb at Eniwetok atoll, in the Marshal Islands, in the autumn of 1952.

The Bomb and the Budget

LONDON Town was all agog when old John Gilpin's horse ran away with him, but that excitement would not be enough to outdo that in the Lobbies this week.

On Tuesday the Prime Minister told us of some of the strategic and political issues which are "so momentous and far-reaching" that we are only just beginning to realise the puerility of the old balance of power politics. Churchill was forced to admit that our knowledge of these American experiments are limited.

The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission kindly informed us too that another experiment was carried out in the Pacific on 26th March.

The House was told: "It has been suggested that we should endeavour to persuade the United States Government to abandon their series of experimental explosions of hydrogen bombs. We have no power to stop this. And I am sure that it would not be right or wise for us to ask that it should be stopped. When similar experiments were conducted by the Russians, I cannot remember that anyone suggested that such representations should be made to the Soviet Government."

There it is! The old trick of the Russian attitude. We can only answer for ourselves. At least Russia is banging about her own

★ The Week at Westminster ★

by Harold
Davies, M.P.



territory and after all the Pacific Ocean is not all Uncle Sam's!

Anyway, we have said that neither Russia nor the U.S.A. can go on with these experiments without weighing the consequences to all mankind.

Sir Winston was weak. He failed to give Britain the lead and in so doing he mis-read the temper of the House. Many of his own supporters registered dismay and dissatisfaction with the pusillanimous answer, and for almost forty-minutes efforts were made by Labour members to get a Debate, but a formula in accordance with the rules of the House could not there and then be found.

Nevertheless, despite the Government's reluctance we were promised, on the next day a Debate. Churchill will then (so he said) tell us the position this country occupies and the policy which we are adopting.

So, there you are! It is Budget week and cheek by jowl the Bomb and the Budget will dominate next week. We shall have the two big problems, namely how to live and the cost of it all.

"IS IT HEALTHY EVOLUTION?"

Speaking on May 11, 1953, these were the words and Churchill the

performer: "Above all, it would be a pity if the natural desire to reach a general settlement of international policy were to impede any spontaneous and healthy evolution which may be taking place in Russia... We all desire that the Russian people should take the high place in world affairs

which is their due without feeling anxiety about their own security."

This can now be tested. If the Government are really sincere then serious attention must be paid to the new Molotov note.

By Private Notice question Attlee tried to get a policy statement from Eden. The Russian note on page 6 says: "...the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation could in appropriate circumstances lose its aggressive character if all the Great Powers which took part in the anti-Hitlerite Coalition were to become participants in it."

Then Russia indicated that she is willing to consider participation in the North Atlantic Treaty. Would you call this "healthy evolution?" Would it help to reduce international tension and build up European Security? America, without consulting anyone seems to have pooh-poohed the whole idea.

As Herbert Morrison indicated: "It really is inconvenient for the United States Government to make a pronouncement forthwith before any consultation with the British Government and, it may be, with one or two other Governments. If there is not this consultation it is really impossible for us to have a united co-operative policy among the Western Powers."

OPERATION "REVIVAL"

Arthur Lewis assiduously follows up in Questions the revival of the Nazis in Germany. Approaches have been made to Russia on the subject of living conditions in Spandau prison where the Nazi prisoners are imprisoned.

There is no doubt that approaches have been made in writing to exalted persons in Britain by the wives of some of the Spandau prisoners. The Prime Minister agreed that Baroness von Neurath had written on behalf of her husband who is 84 years of age and ill.

BELSEN TOO WAS HARD

No one in this country wishes any inhumane treatment of an aged and suffering man, but as George Thomas rightly pointed out, Belsen too was very hard and inhumane.

We do not mind efforts to ease the suffering of the Spandau prisoners. The fact is that there is an underground movement of former Nazis linked with some of the Spandau prisoners. The old symbols and excuses are being revived.

Some of us have seen documents and letters pointing to this Movement. Adenauer too, knows of this. In a written reply to Lewis, the Foreign Secretary avoided the issue of whether in the new German army any former Nazi officers will be in a position of command. Well, what do you think Chums?

How the CHINESE view the Indo-China War

Peking, March 25th

THE military encirclement of China, the maintenance of American domination in Asia and the keeping up of tension in Asia and in the rest of the world are the aims of recent U.S. activity. It is this that is behind the recent work of U.S. Government officials and military men in busily setting up military bases surrounding China, concluding military pacts, forming military alliances and equipping puppet armies.

The Korean armistice signified the failure of U.S. imperialist schemes for invading China through aggression against Korea. It has resulted in a certain relaxation of international tension.

But U.S. ruling circles, unable to reconcile themselves to this defeat, have since the Korean armistice pressed ahead with their policy of hostility towards China.

The U.S. Government's strategy against China is no secret. It is discussed freely in the American press. The American journal *Newsweek* at the end of 1953 reported that U.S. Vice-President, Richard Nixon, after his tour of Asia and the Middle East suggested to the U.S. National Security Council the formation of a "military crescent" including Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Indo-China, Taiwan and Japan, in order to encircle China and the Soviet Union. This "military crescent" strategy, the journal reported, had the approval of the U.S. high authorities. And this is fully confirmed by what followed, which shows that

The U.S. Government is guided in all its actions by this very strategy.

The pressure exerted by world public opinion since the Korean armistice in favour of the further easing of tension in Asia forced the United States to agree in Berlin to the convening of the Geneva Conference. Everyone hopes that an atmosphere conducive to the improvements of international relations will be created prior to the conference with a view to enabling the Geneva Conference to achieve positive results. But ruling circles in the United States, greatly fearing such a favourable atmosphere, have been trying to get the diametrically opposite. Since the Berlin Conference, they have not only abandoned their activities for building a military crescent for aggression but rather intensified them.

In South Korea, the United States has concluded its so-called "Mutual Defence Pact" with Syngman Rhee, trying to make South Korea a permanent U.S. military base. It is now doing everything possible to keep Korea in a state of instability and to obstruct a solution to the Korean question. In violation of the armistice agreement it is smuggling reinforcing weapons and aeroplanes into South Korea and is building up four new army divisions for Syngman Rhee who is clamouring to be allowed to "march northward."

In Indo-China, which U.S. militarists regard as the centre of the "military crescent", the United States is going further in its intervention in the colonial war there, attempting to wrest for itself ruling control as well as the military command there. It is also arming the puppet forces and obstructing the achievement of peace in Indo-China by negotiation.

In Japan, the United States has signed the so-called "Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement" with the Yoshida Government, further tightening its control over Japan as its military base, and driving Japan to speed up rearmament. It has repeatedly announced its intention to occupy Okinawa permanently and is building permanent air bases there.

U.S. government officials and generals one after another have been visiting American occupied Taiwan. Military equipment has been flowing continuously from the U.S. to the remnant Kuomintang bandits there. The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State W. S. Robertson has said plainly that U.S. "basic strategy" is to use

Taiwan to maintain a constant military threat to China.

The United States is also expanding its military bases in the Philippines, hoping to turn these islands into the southern hub and the strategic supply centre of the network of American military bases for aggression in Asia.

Now the United States is trying to convert Thailand into a military bridgehead. Under the supervision of American advisers, Thailand is building military installations, strategic highways, and new air and naval bases, while Americans are busy training the Thai army.

Recently, the United States announced it will provide military "aid" to Pakistan. It is going to conduct negotiations with Pakistan for the building of air force bases there. Some American leaders have openly declared that the bases in Pakistan will be a "link" in the U.S. global air force "ring". Through the manoeuvres of the United States, Pakistan and Turkey will shortly conclude a military agreement.

American press reports show that these aggressive activities, such as the U.S.-Rhee agreement, the U.S.-Japan agreement, the U.S.-Pakistan agreement, the Turkey-Pakistan agreement and the U.S. opposition to the restoration of peace in Indo-China are all U.S. attempts, by extending its network of war bases in Asia, to build up an integrated military system in the Far and Middle East. They are, in other words, steps in the preparation of the "military crescent" to which Nixon referred.

Behind these aggressive activities, the aims are clear. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Walter S. Robertson, giving testimony at the U.S. House Appropriation Committee on January 26, said that the "substance" of U.S. policy is "to maintain for an indefinite period of years American dominance in the Far East" so as to keep China under the permanent menace of attack. Obviously, in working to build up its aggressive military crescent, the United States is, in effect, acting in direct hostility towards the People's Republic of China. It is, moreover, working to use this military ring to bind the people of all Asia in order to maintain indefinite American dominance in Asia.

GERMAN REARMAMENT:

This Party (and others) Want An Emergency Conference

Resolution carried at a meeting of the General Management Committee of the Exchange (Liverpool) Constituency Labour Party attended by forty-eight delegates and held on 5th March, 1954.

"This Constituency Labour Party reaffirms its vehement opposition to the decision of the Government to support the rearmament of Germany. We condemn those members of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the N.E.C. who have attempted to stampede the Labour Party into sustaining the Government on this issue on the grounds that the conditions of the Margate Conference have been fulfilled.

"As Socialists we reiterate our belief that the best prospects for peace in the world lie in the reunification of Germany and the withdrawal of all foreign armies by international agreement, thereby giving to the German working-class the opportunity to determine their own fate. We applaud the Socialists of Germany for their refusal to sup-

port German re-armament at the instigation of those who will learn nothing from the past.

"We urge upon the N.E.C. the vital necessity for the British Labour Party to meet in conference at the earliest possible moment in order that the party rank and file have the opportunity to resolve this most fundamental of all problems facing it and to this end we call for the summoning of an Emergency National Conference at Easter.

"Finally, pending the determination of Conference on this issue, this Constituency Party instructs its own Executive Committee to urgently consider ways and means by which our attitude to German Re-armament can be implemented with greatest effect."

Other Labour Parties whose General Committees have asked for a Special Conference on German Re-armament are Ipswich Trades and Labour Council, Carmarthen C.L.P. and Twickenham C.L.P.

Technicians in Conference

AT the forthcoming annual conference of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen to be held at Brighton during Easter the principal issue is likely to be that of wages. The Association is affiliated to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions but it conducts its own wage negotiations with the Engineering and Shipbuilding Employers' Federations.

As yet the Association has not reached a settlement on the wage claims which it submitted to the employers last year. The claims range from £1 per week for men at 21 years of age to 30/- per week at 25 years of age and over.

The Membership of the A.E.S.D. is now at the 50,000 mark—Britain's largest technicians' trade union. About 80 per cent. of all engineering and shipbuilding draughtsmen, estimators, planning engineers and tracers are members of the Association.

Another issue which is likely to cause lively discussion at the conference is the Association's claim for 3 weeks summer holiday. This claim was rejected last year by the engineering employers, but reports from the branches indicate that there is a very live interest among the membership in pressing the claim.

The Association's conference will be among the first this year to discuss German re-armament. Motions opposing German re-armament appear on the agenda.

A number of branches are also associated with proposals for reducing the period of military service and for extending trade with the East and with underdeveloped territories.

Four branches have tabled a motion expressing opposition to the Government's proposals for increased rents.

Socialist Outlook

59 FLEET STREET, E.C.4.

Editor: John Lawrence

What's Wrong With the Labour League of Youth?

asks G. H. Terry

Executive Member London Federation L.L.O.Y.

ONLY one branch in every fourteen has seen fit to submit a resolution for the Easter 1954 Conference of the Labour League of Youth. This does not mean that Labour's Youth is satisfied with things as they are at present, or that the L.O.Y. is not politically conscious. It means that the terms of reference of the conference are limited by the N.E.C. to the work and organisation of the League. Political resolutions are "out of order."

The L.O.Y. should be mustering the young people of Britain under Labour's banner. This can only be achieved by a clear and bold policy for Socialism that will incorporate an attraction for Youth.

Labour's appeal to the young people at the last election was only a slogan which read "ask your Dad." Presumably, it was Dad's duty to inform the young voter about the hard times the working class endured under the Tories before the last war. But how many young people take notice of what their elders tell them? Not many.

Labour's appeal to the Youth was not very successful as too many young people were "taken in" by the glib and dishonest promises of the Conservatives. Labour cannot regain power unless it reflects the opinions of Youth in its policy. It is therefore imperative that the scope of these Conferences be widened so that discussion of "National Policy as affecting Youth" (Battersea Branch) may take place.

Sidcup North and Central calls for greater co-ordination between young Trade Unionists and the L.O.Y. This would place the League in a strong industrial position and deserves the support of Conference. My Branch, Hither Green, wants closer ties with the British Federation of Young Co-operators.

Four resolutions condemn the failure of the N.E.C. to implement the decisions of last year's Conference. Norwood's resolution deplores the failure of the N.E.C. to carry our Conference decisions and suggests that all resolutions passed at conference should be "Communicated to Labour Party Annual Conference and thereon implemented immediately."

The latest circular from Transport House to the L.O.Y. extends the date for nomination of dele-

gates from the 17th March to the 3rd April. In the circular Mr. Ken Peay, the Labour Party National Youth Officer, writes "up till early to-day (23rd March), only one League branch in every four had appointed a delegate to attend Conference... If Conference is to be a success, it is vital that it be really representative of the League." Mr. Peay is only partially right, for the success of conference depends not only on the number of delegates present but also that the resolutions that are passed ARE IMPLEMENTED.

It is not hard to understand why only one in every four branches has troubled to send a delegate when we realise the L.O.Y. is bubbling over with enthusiasm but is stifled by the terms of reference of the Conference and the refusal of the N.E.C. to carry out the resolutions that have been DEMOCRATICALLY AND CONSTITUTIONALLY carried.

P.P.P.'s Solidarity with the P.U.P.

THE P.P.P. has sent a telegram of solidarity to the People's United Party of British Honduras and issued a press statement:—

"It is clear that the attack on the People's United Party of British Honduras has been launched because this Party stands for the end of colonial rule and not because of any connections with neighbouring Guatemala. This recent attack is part of the campaign to prevent any people in the West Indies from ruling themselves either now or in the future... It is clear that another fiasco like British Guiana is to come soon—the only difference being that in the case of British Honduras Lyttelton is preparing the world by slander before instead of after the rape of democracy.

"In British Guiana the electorate voted P.P.P. with their eyes wide open. In British Honduras, it is clear that the people will vote P.U.P. if given a chance. The present malicious propaganda can also be used as an electioneering weapon against the P.U.P. In the first instance, the election results were cancelled with the aid of gunboats and the curtailment of civil liberties. In Honduras, rather than allowing the electorate to vote democratically, some plot or the other will have to be hatched.

Either Socialism or Barbarism

★ The Challenge of the Horror Bomb ★

PROFESSOR OLIPHANT, the Australian scientist, has declared that the hydrogen bomb could not set up a chain reaction and destroy the earth. He gave us this assurance soon after the explosion in mid-Pacific on March 1st.

His assurance is small comfort to a humanity facing the prospect of atomic war in which the bombs dropped will have a danger radius of 450 miles. Such a war might not destroy the earth, but it would mean a wholesale destruction of the earth's peoples.

Science has other horror weapons to go with the H. bomb. The latest plaything for militarists is a nerve gas. Seven tons of bombs containing this "G-gas" could kill every living thing within a hundred square miles. It is odourless, colourless and invisible.

Clear notice is being served that we are on the brink of the annihilation of civilisation if the powers of science continue to be used to further the aims of capitalism.

The potentialities of atomic energy offer great possibilities for the advancement of humanity. But... not under capitalism, driven inexorably forward to war. Immediately after the last hydrogen bomb explosion, the chairman

of the American Atomic Energy Commission declared his commission would soon turn to the peaceful development of atomic energy. He made it plain, however, that first and foremost came the development of atomic science for "defence." Obviously his statement was meant as a bromide for the disquiet aroused by the explosion of March 1st. For the very nature of American and any other Big Business stands in the way of a peaceful development of atomic energy. To switch over atomic energy to peace-time uses means a collision with those vested interests whose profits would suffer by the provision of cheap energy. Chaotic, unplanned "private enterprise" can never provide the planned development necessary for its peaceful usage. It can only unite to provide such planning when it has common interests in the preparation for war.

Fear of the horror war weapons has engendered among sections of the Labour Movement a hope that the governments of the world can be forced to ban the atomic and hydrogen bomb and enter into disarmament agreements. History has shown the complete futility of believing that this type of international agreement—even if they were possible at the present time—can guarantee peace.

It would be foolish, to say the

least, to believe we are going to abolish the atom and hydrogen bomb by appealing to Wall Street—or Churchill for that matter. Capitalist economies would face collapse if they were switched completely back to peace-time production, or if there was any real degree of disarmament.

Further, we cannot delude our-

By
Bill Hunter

selves, or others, that the very scope and horror of the new weapons will cause the rulers of the capitalist powers to draw back. The shock expressed all over the world after the explosion on March 1st did not prevent the explosion of another bomb on March 26th. Now, there is to be in April the explosion of a third bomb—three times as powerful as the one which spewed forth its poison a month ago. And the other Western Powers, albeit a little unhappy at the secretiveness of the American Government are forced to drag behind it. Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons that he thought it was doing a "great

disservice to the free world if we sought in any way to impede the progress of our American Allies in building up their overwhelming strength..." Mr. Ogata, Vice-Premier of Japan—a country which, more than any other, has experienced the effects of atomic explosions—declared to the Japanese Parliament that Japan did not intend to ask the United States to stop the tests.

The war that is being prepared is not one in which atomic weapons will play a subsidiary part. It is an atomic war. The General Staffs are making their plans on this basis. U.S. strategy is being pivoted on atomic weapons. The recent British Government White Paper on Defence states clearly that at the beginning of the next war there will be a relatively short period of intense atomic attacks inflicting great damage and destruction. The economies of both sides will be so shattered that they would then settle down to "broken-backed" warfare. So that the military leaders are not being deterred by the prospect of atomic destruction; their plans are laid on the basis that it will occur and that millions of people and a great proportion of industry is expendable.

It is clear that the struggle against atomic destruction must

be a struggle against war itself. There is only one way to fight the H. bomb. That is by intensifying the struggle against capitalism and its war preparations.

According to the press Mr. Attlee declared to a recent Parliamentary Labour Party meeting discussing the H. bomb that the business of statesmanship at a moment like this was to try to secure a national front and set aside the considerations of normal party political warfare. On the contrary! The business of socialists at a time like this is to intensify the struggle for socialism—which means intensifying party political warfare. The horror of the H. bomb explosions at Bikini must spur us on to greater efforts in the fight against the Tory war policy, against the war alliances, against unplanned chaotic capitalism which is threatening civilisation; and for a common front of the world's workers and colonial peoples against imperialism and the wars it engenders.

March 1st, 1954, was the day when accumulated science and technique produced the world's biggest man made explosion and, in a blinding flash, a mushroom of smoke and a cloud of radio-active dust, posed once again sharply before humanity the basic problem of our time; either Socialism or Barbarism.

John Lawrence and the Struggle Against German Rearmament

By G. Healy
(Editorial Board Member)

IT is necessary to get some facts straight regarding John Lawrence's article "Jennie Lee Starts Something," before going into its political purport.

He writes: "The fight against war recently took a big step forward when three British M.P.s—Jennie Lee, Hugh Delargy and William Warbey—participated in an anti-German Re-armament Conference dominated by representative socialists and communists from all the main West European countries." (My emphasis).

The French weekly *Observateur d'Aujourd'hui*, edited by Claude Bourdet, which is not unfriendly to the Communists and supports the movement against E.D.C. along with a large section of socialist parliamentarians and intellectuals, writes of this Conference in its issue of 25th March: It notes that there was a private meeting of the Seine (Paris) Federation of the Socialist Party, at which Jennie Lee and others spoke; naturally there was no question of Communists being there. Obviously, this is not what Lawrence had reference to. There was, however, a public conference called specifically for the purpose indicated by Lawrence. Here is how Bourdet's paper describes it:

"On March 20-21st there was held at the Palais d'Orsay, on the invitation of Edmond Michelet and of a certain number of French parliamentarians and personalities of all political nuances, a conference uniting opponents of the E.D.C. (European Defence Community) representing all shades of opinion from the six countries affected and from Great Britain..."

"As a number of French parliamentarians of the Right and of the Centre emphasised in a protest against a derogatory article appearing in a British Sunday newspaper of ultra-Conservative tendency, the communists (at the conference) were few."

"The only notable communist personalities were Teracini, Casanova and Villon. It is necessary to underscore the extraordinary change in French and European politics implied, on the one hand, by the communists acceptance of this minor role... and, on the other, the rather easy acceptance of the communists and their close political allies by non Communist and even anti-Communist majority."

To provide a picture of the type of capitalist politician who really dominated this conference I can do no better than quote the signatures to the protest letter mentioned in the quotation above. This letter appeared in Tribune, March 26th, 1954.

Edouard Daladier, Albert Forcinial, deputies, Radical Party; Pierre Lebon, Jacques Soustelle, deputies, U.R.A.S.; Edmond Michelet, Jacques Debu-Bridel, Michel de Pontbriand, Henry Torrès, senators, R.P.F.; Louis Vallon, deputy, Rene Capitant, former Minister (Left wing independents); Henri Bouret, deputy M.R.P.; Andre Denis, deputy (Young Republic); Charles Reibel, former Minister (independent); Emile Kahn, President of the League for

the Rights of Man (Socialist); Professors Bernard Lavergne and Edmond Vermell; and Jacques Kayser, journalist.

It can be seen therefore, that this was something quite different from a conference "dominated by socialists and communists," as claimed by Lawrence. Was it, however, "dominated" perhaps by "anti-communist" socialists? Wrong again. Aside from the Belgian socialist senator, Henri Rollin, and the British socialists already mentioned, the following are the outstanding personalities mentioned: Edouard Daladier, the hero of the Munich deal with Hitler, who followed this achievement in 1939 with the anti-Communist and anti-trade union legislation; Jacques Soustelle, the organiser of the movement headed by General de Gaulle, whose neo-Fascist character it is hardly necessary to dwell upon; and similar

figures. Edmond Michelet who called the conference is also another prominent De Gaullist. Eduard Herriott accepted the position of Presidency.

The resolution adopted by the conference denounces the E.D.C. as war-mongering and anti-democratic. It breathes not a word about socialism, it says not a word against capitalism. It does not even say a word against the Wall Street sponsors of the E.D.C. It counterposes as a solution East-West trade (which even Churchill and some U.S. politicians do not oppose any more) and "collective security" and "disarmament on the basis of the United Nations charter."

Daladier and his ilk are old hands at this kind of "pacifism" which serves the specific interests of their own capitalist class and the general purpose of beclouding the great issues of war and peace for the workers. They showed it between the wars.

Participation in this kind of

Tom Braddock Resigns From Editorial Board

It is with great regret that the Editor feels it necessary to publish the following correspondence between himself and Comrade Tom Braddock.

Orchard House,
14 Great Smith Street,
London, S.W.1.
5th April, 1954
Mr. John Lawrence,
Editor
Socialist Outlook,
59 Fleet Street,
E.C.4.
Dear Lawrence,

I regard the vote taken on Comrade Goldberg's resolution at the meeting on Saturday last, 3rd April, as a vote of No Confidence by the Management Committee in myself as a member of the Editorial Board.

I therefore herewith resign from that Board.

I am sending copies of this letter to my co-members, i.e. Mr. Jack Stanley and Mr. T. G. Healy, and to Mr. Tom Mercer, Secretary of the Labour Publishing Society.

You will appreciate how much I regret this. I do not think I have missed more than two meetings of the Editorial Board in five and a half years. Up to three months ago you will remember that although there had been difficulties we had always been able to compose these and to work together in a most amicable way. I also need not remind you of all people that during this latter period the meetings have been conducted in a manner which I consider insulting to yourself and calculated to make your post as Editor almost untenable. Might I put on record my great appreciation of you as Editor and to make clear my full and complete approval and support of all your writings and actions as Editor of the paper.

My main purpose in this re-

signation is to bring home to the shareholders and readers of Socialist Outlook the alarming situation which has developed on the Editorial Board and to hope that my action will focus attention on this at the Annual General Meeting which I confidently hope will bring the paper back to the clear well-established line it has had over all these years.

Fraternally yours,
Tom Braddock

59 Fleet Street,
London, E.C.4.
6th April, 1954

Mr. T. Braddock,
14, Gt. Smith Street,
London, S.W.1.

Dear Tom,
Speaking for myself, I cannot say that your letter came as a surprise to me, because, as you know, I too have been seriously disturbed at the situation which has developed over the past few months. I assure you that I have every sympathy with you in this matter.

However, I am confident that the shareholders at the Annual General Meeting of the Society on May 15th will ensure that the "Socialist Outlook" is not diverted from the course which has up to now brought such great success, and thus will enable you to resume your invaluable co-operation with me on the Editorial Board.

Thank you for your kind words regarding myself as Editor and for your expression of political solidarity, which means a lot to me.

Yours fraternally,
John Lawrence

Coal Compensation

SHOULD the compensation paid to former coal-mine owners continue to be paid by the N.C.B. as at present or should it become a charge on the State?

At a conference of the Lancs. N.U.M. held last Saturday (3/4/54) it was decided to urge that this payment of compensation should be a charge against the Exchequer and not against the mining industry. This resolution will be passed on to the National Conference of the N.U.M.

Protest Against These Arrests

ON receiving the news of the arrest of both Cheddi and Janet Jagan, the Socialist Outlook immediately sent the following cables:—

The Colonial Office,
London.

On behalf of thousands of Labour Party members, readers of the "Socialist Outlook", we strongly protest at your provocative action in arresting Cheddi and Janet Jagan. We demand the restoration of the Constitution and the removal of British troops as the only way to peace in British Guiana.

Editorial Board
Socialist Outlook

Cheddi and Janet Jagan,
Central Police Court
Georgetown, British Guiana.

Have protested to Colonial Office at your arrest. Will do everything possible to oppose this latest anti-democratic activity. Good Luck and Socialist Greetings.

John Lawrence
Editor,
Socialist Outlook

Fighting Fund

The following donations are gratefully acknowledged:—

Jack Pennington, 20/-; Bethnal Green readers, 30/-; Wolverhampton readers, 10/-; Councillor J. Woodward, Wolverhampton, 2/6d.; F. Turner, Wallasey, 5/3d.; Enfield Engineers, 107/6d.; Hackney readers, 75/-; Norwood readers, 5/-; Cheam reader, 2/6d.; B. Eldridge, 10/-; West London readers, 128/9; J. S. Grose, Reading, 5/6d.; Leeds readers, 60/-; R. J. Johnston, Altrincham, 4/-; St. Pancras readers, 1/3d.; Platts Buster, 46/-; Platts workers, 20/6d.; Leicester Socialists, 40/-; Birmingham readers, 57/6d.; R. T. Shelley readers, 23/-; Given at L.L.P. meeting, 9d.; K. Counsell, Liverpool, 21/-; London Printer, 80/-; E.N.V. Workers, 30/-; Nottingham readers, 20/-.

Total £40. 6s. 0d.

What is Socialist Reporting?

I was a little surprised to read Paul Newton's letter in last week's issue. He agrees that my report on the London Labour Party Conference on the Rents Bill was "factually correct." He complains, however, that it failed in not drawing attention to Bevan's refusal to yield to the pressure from the rank and file for a full scale, immediate and militant attack on the Tories and their Rent Bill.

I did not write, and it was not my intention to write, a whole essay on this "refusal" of Bevan's. I merely reported Bevan's speech and in contradistinction to it I reported some of the speeches made by the many militant delegates who called on the Party leadership to lead an all-out fight now. I then left "Socialist Outlook" readers to draw their own conclusions. Comrade Newton had drawn his conclusions even before the Conference. So much for the letter.

An interesting question of socialist journalism has been raised by Comrade Newton. In my view it is not necessary, in a paper such as the "Socialist Outlook," to end every article with a great peroration dotting all the "i"s and crossing all the "t"s of a Complete Socialist Policy on the subject under discussion.

There are occasions when you can leave your readers to draw their own conclusions from the facts you put before them. In fact, and I suspect Comrade Newton would agree on reflection, a person who thinks a question through to a socialist answer is more likely to be convinced that the answer is correct than a person who has "the lot" thrust down his throat at every opportunity.

Finally, my report was only one of many articles which the "Socialist Outlook" has published on the Rents Bill. It did not attempt to be the last word on the question.

London, S.W.1. John Brown

organise and co-ordinate all activities against the Bill.

A programme of meetings and delivery of handbills among the tenants has been arranged. It is this kind of work that will lead to the defeat of the Landlord and his Tory friends.

thing is what John Lawrence finds "wholly progressive". And it is only by concealing the real character of the conference and its participants that he can say: "The whole of capitalist Europe is in favour" of E.D.C. with only the workers opposed. Here, he misrepresents this issue as a pure and simple issue of class struggle. By this token, it is to be supposed, the latest recruit to the worker's side of the struggle is Marshall Juin—the butcher of French North Africa—who has just been cashiered from all his posts by the Laniel government for his public opposition to E.D.C.

Is anything more really needed to show how retreat from the principled socialist position of the Outlook against all capitalist rearmament; how muddying the waters by curtsies to anti-German chauvinism, leads Lawrence into the political swamp? Can his verbiage about "the international plan of European Labour" be considered as anything else but a shameful cover for the hideous facts of class collaboration he conceals about this conference?

I do not know where this is leading Lawrence—he will soon enough show that himself. The "Socialist Outlook" does not retreat from our principles: We remain as before for the withdrawal of all troops from Germany and for the free unification of Germany and the free determination of its fate by the German people — we can have no doubt that it will opt for a Socialist Germany. We remain as before convinced that this is the only road to a Socialist Europe within which a Socialist Britain as well as a Socialist France will find easy integration.

Yorkshire Petitions On Rents

By
Cllr. Lance Lake

THE first stage of the campaign against the Rent Bill in Yorkshire was completed on Tuesday, March 23rd when 25 representatives of various Trade Unions and Labour Parties arrived at the House of Commons to present a petition containing more than 20,000 signatures protesting against the Bill. The whole affair was organised by the Yorkshire Federation of Trades Councils.

It was the culmination of much enthusiasm and many meetings in Sheffield, Leeds, Bradford, and elsewhere, where the workers are rapidly waking up to the pernicious nature of the Bill. One of the delegates had been sent by his fellow-workers in a Leeds engineering factory who had signed the petition and subscribed the money for his journey.

This delegate and most of the others were keenly disappointed with the outcome of their visit to Westminster. Concrete results were negligible. Direct contact was made with only a handful of

Labour M.P.s. The 25 delegates induced the colossal total of two Tory M.P.s to talk to them. The minority that bothered to reply were "too busy" to see them.

The matter being debated in the House at that moment was the proposal to increase Judges' salaries.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that the trip was without value. If as a result of their experiences these 25 delegates can teach their various organisations to discard incorrect tactics and substitute a real struggle against the Rent Bill, the trip will have been of some use. They have now learnt that to make further progress they must march, not in the streets of the West End, but in the streets of their own industrial cities. The obvious next step is to build up a mass resistance movement amongst the tenants themselves.

This cannot be done in one afternoon, nor is it so easy as the mere obtaining of signatures on a petition. In Leeds the Labour Party and Trades Council have formed a Resistance Committee to

How Shall We Fight The Rent Bill?

By Councillor John Goffe

LAST week Councillor David Finch of Norwood criticised my proposals for developing the campaign against the Housing (Rents and Repairs) Bill on the grounds that it did not go far enough. I stated that we wished "to prevent increases without repairs becoming operative" and this he claimed "gives the impression that rent increases after repairs are carried out are in order."

This is the crux of the question. It is just because there is no guarantee that repairs will in fact be carried out, or if the prescribed sum is once spent that any further maintenance will be done that there is so much opposition to the Bill.

If Labour's policy of handing over all rented dwellings to local authorities without paying crippling compensation was carried out,

the property put into good repair and maintained in that condition, would there be any basis for a rent strike in the event that Lambeth Council, for example, asked the tenants to make a contribution to this work in the form of increased rents or rates? The question answers itself. What is being opposed is these proposals, and we do not have to ask every participant in the campaign against the Bill whether in totally different circumstances they would be opposed to any rent increase before we condescend to join hands and fight the Bill.

In the case of this Bill which is a vicious piece of class legislation, the first job is to arouse the tenants who will be affected to an understanding of what is contained in the Bill and its probable effects on them. This is no simple task.

When the scheme was first mooted many people in the Labour Party said that while it was not a good Bill we should nevertheless try to amend it and make its

better parts work because it was tackling a national scandal, the increasing amount of older property deteriorating into slums owing to landlords neglect. As the result of the campaign waged against the Bill by the more alert section of the Labour movement this attitude has been completely banished from the Party.

All the active members of the

A Discussion Article

Labour Party are today participating in the struggle against the Bill. The next stage is to bring the 6½ million tenants, who are usually only concerned with "politics" at election time, to protest to such an extent that the government is forced to drop the Bill. This part of the campaign has only just begun and is meet-

ing with passive resistance on the part of some entrenched office holders in the party. The job of the "Socialist Outlook," Councillors, and Labour Party members, is to carry on the propaganda and prepare the tenants to resist any increase in the first place by normal means. One of the most effective of these is the serving of "certificates of disrepair" by the hundred thousand on landlords and the resulting complete blockage of the county courts as took place recently in Ulster.

This however, does not satisfy Councillor Finch. He writes "It is entirely inadequate... almost certain to be ineffective... What is really needed is a mass campaign... against the Bill encouraging the setting up of tenants committees prepared to resist rent increases... That is the only way to defeat this Bill." (emphasis in the original).

Ourselves and 'World News'

Our readers will remember that the Communist Party paper, "World News," recently published an article on Socialist Outlook. We sent a reply to "World News" and requested they publish it. The following is their answer.

31st March, 1954.

John Lawrence,
Editor,
"SOCIALIST OUTLOOK",
59, Fleet Street,
London, E.C.4.

Dear Sir,

I write to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 23rd March, together with article enclosed.

My Editorial Board has decided against publication of your article.

Yours faithfully,
Bert Baker,
Editor.

Postscript.

We thank all those readers who have written in to express their solidarity with Socialist Outlook in this affair. The letter on the subject published last week is fairly typical of this general viewpoint.

"WHOM THE GODS WOULD DESTROY..."

"President Eisenhower was 'shocked and surprised' by the H-Bomb explosion at Bikini... These few words... are an admission that something went wrong with the man-made Fires of Hell... Radio-activity from the recent explosion was recorded 1,000 miles away and we are promised even bigger explosions..." Daily Mail leader: "The Fires of Hell". 26/3/54.

Atomic blasts were not enough
To put all "Reds" to flight,
And Hell-Fire H-Bombs were devised
To show our Christian Might.

* * *
But Scientists cannot control
Their vengeful, deadly rays:
There is no Safety Zone from Hate
The Western Powers praise.

* * *
Their Maleficent Rays pollute
The air all Races breathe:
The foul pollution we have spread,
Science cannot retrieve.

* * *
The Beauty of the Universe:
Children, flowers and trees,
With all Mankind may be destroyed
By Bigger Blasts than these.
Percy Allott

Our Readers Write . . .

The Bombs

At the Monthly meeting of the Eastbourne Branch of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, the following resolution was unanimously adopted and forwarded to our Local M.P. Sir Charles Taylor, The Foreign Secretary, The American Embassy, our own Union N.E.C. and to Local and National Newspapers.

"That this Branch is appalled at the reports of the recent Hydrogen-Bomb Test, and believes this weapon to be unpredictable in its effects, and inconceivably destructive, and literally a menace to the World.

"This Branch therefore appeals to you to exert your influence to promote discussion between the Major Powers for the purpose of entirely banning the production and use of horror weapons, and to use the resources for peaceful purposes.

"We believe that in this humanitarian aim you will be assured of the most sincere and widespread support."

Yours fraternally,
R. K. LELLIOT

I Make No Apologies

Paul Daulnay declares that my article "Sell-out in Indo-China?" is based on a forgery from "Le Monde". My article was a general analysis of the diplomatic manoeuvres taking place round the question of Indo-China and was based primarily on the report which appeared in the "Statesman and Nation." I am glad that Daulnay has neither challenged nor denied this report.

The theme of Chen Yun's speech, according to the New China News Agency Bulletin, was the greatness of Stalin who was "convinced of the possibility of the co-existence of socialism and capitalism." Moreover, he fought "imperialist agents" inside the U.S.S.R.. These agents were "Trotskyite, Bukharinite and Zinovievite elements... who stepped forward with their distortions of Marxism-Leninism."

"The peace policy was a very important part of Stalin's life work... Precisely because of the carrying out of this policy, the Soviet Union secured 20 years of peace from 1921-1941, which was an indispensable external condition for the completion of socialist construction". (My emphasis).

'Take-over' Bids

Chen hailed the Geneva conference and the agreement on the "disarmament question" as being "of great significance to the relaxation of world tension, especially to the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and other Asian issues"... The agreement is a new victory attained by the Soviet Union. "Finally in referring to Stalin and the colonial revolution he stated, quoting Stalin, "Great popular revolutions never achieve final victory in the first round of battles." That was the gist of Chen Yun's speech.

Daulnay dismisses all this as being of "no particular significance." Why? Because "the relationship of forces" will prevent Chen Yung—and presumably Molotov too—from "cynically betraying the Viet Namees". This conception leads to the pragmatic conclusion that the diplomacy—secret or otherwise—of the Stalinists is correct because the "relationship of forces" prevents them from doing anything else. Therefore we are justified in supporting their diplomatic deals.

However, if the "relationship of forces" is in China's favour why doesn't she invade Formosa and drive the U.N. interventionists out of Korea instead of going to Geneva to settle these questions "peacefully"? And what will Geneva secure? Peace in Indo-China? I do not think so. The "peaceful settlement" (i.e. diplomatic) of the Indo-Chinese question can be obtained on only two conditions; the recognition of China and the lifting of the trade embargo in return for a policy of non-intervention by Peking in Indo-China. It is only from this standpoint that we can understand Churchill's desire to recognise China, Molotov's sinister assurances to Bidault, the absence of the Viet Minh from Geneva and lastly the vicious attacks made by Chen Yun on the ideas of Trotsky.

Geneva is a trap. Only the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the French Expeditionary Corps and the American military mission will prevent Indo-China from being turned into another Korea.

M. Banda

Is the "SOCIALIST OUTLOOK" in your Local Library?

'Take-over' Bids

THERE is nothing very much new in the 'take over' bid. Yet there has been a great deal of publicity given to these attempts to gain control of company boards. For example, the "Daily Mail" recently instanced the following:—

Mellor Bromley: two months ahead of time announce an increase in final dividends from 27 to 46 per cent. and in addition give shareholders a share-for-share capital bonus. The take over bid had been 15/- a share. But the dividend boost did not raise the price of the shares above 14/-.

Binns, Sunderland: Binns last year boosted dividends from 25 per cent. to 187 per cent. and

made a 25 per cent. free share bonus. The bidder—Fraser—still took over.

Sears, Northampton: Dividend raised from 22 per cent. to 62 per cent. Once again, the bidder—Charles Clore—took over.

I.O.M. Steam Packet: Dividend increase: 12 to 17 per cent., plus 300 per cent. free share bonus.

Result: Michael Jay, the bidder, failed.

That is a sample. The publicity is partly due to the spectacular nature of certain recent bids—the Savoy Hotel, etc. But there seems also to be an instinctive knowledge by press commentators that by publicising these bids they can to some extent discredit the policy of making capitalism work while leaving control in the hands of the Stock Exchange.

In short, 'dividend limitation' and allied policies no longer work and are no longer very rational. To really control, Labour must take more drastic action. That is our only reply to this attempt to show how 'unworkable' are our policies for building order out of chaos. Our lesson should be: Retreat is fatal: On towards real control! No backsliding in our election programmes!

If Labour attempts to trim its policy to satisfy these efforts to decry our policies, we are doomed.

R. Hood.

MUCH LESS THAN GOOD...

"If, as the Tories say, the main purpose of the Bill is to maintain houses in good repair, it is remarkable that there is no provision in it to compel landlords to carry out repairs. Why is the definition of "good repair" qualified by the words "having regard to the age, character and locality of the premises?" Obviously, this is intended to excuse a state of repair less than good," said Mr. Cecil H. Genese, Chairman of the Hendon North Co-operative Party and a member of the Society of Labour Lawyers.

Complacency Among Labour's Generals . . .

New Recruits Not Wanted

AN energetic group of party members in Worcester-shire recently gained a thousand new recruits. Good work. Labour was in a minority in the constituency and the need to fight was apparent.

I wish that the same spirit could be shown in all those areas where Labour has a majority, for in some of them there is a tendency to complacency.

Six months ago I innocently suggested that our Ward Committee initiate a campaign for new recruits, especially among young people. Nothing wrong in that, you say? So I thought. But wait a minute...

The Ward Committee, give them their due, received the suggestion favourably, but decided to refer it to the local Trades Council and Labour Party. The Ward usually returned its three councillors unopposed, but other Wards in the town were not so fortunate. There was a Labour majority on the Council, but it had not always been so. Even since the War, there was a time when they were in a minority. But several of the other Wards were apathetic, and

Labour had lost one seat at the last election.

I waited patiently for developments. Eventually I heard that the matter had been referred to the Divisional Party. That seemed all right... perhaps it was thought that the matter warranted attention at a higher level. Good!

Then I received news that when the suggestion had been discussed by the local Party it had been regarded in some quarters as a "plot"; it was also alleged to be "subversive"; a few councillors regarded it as a personal slight. Some people were said to

be highly indignant about the whole thing. Did you ever hear such tripe?

I never understood where the "personal slight" came in. There was no suggestion of criticising anyone.

The Divisional Party eventually decided to refer it back to the local Party, who in turn returned it "with their compliments" to the Ward Committee. It had gone the complete circle, but no one wanted it. It was an orphan child.

Some of the observations that had been made throughout this time were very extraordinary—or so they seemed to me. One view was that as our M.P. enjoyed a substantial majority, there was "no point" behind the idea. Because Labour had a majority on the Council, a similar view was expressed at that level. Our own Ward Committee, naturally enough, were disinclined to act on their own when they had three "safe" seats and other Wards were not so happily placed. It was pointed out from another quarter that an effort to recruit new members had been made before, some years previously, but the effort had "fallen through."

Last week the local Tory Party announced that they were starting a recruitment campaign, and they that emphasis would be on... the young people of the town... I thought this might stir our people into action. But no, the news of the Tory effort was greeted with scorn. "Nothing will come of it, you'll see" I was told. "With the sort of majority our M.P. has, the Tories haven't a dog's chance." Oh no?

Frankly, I am bewildered. I cannot see the logic of these arguments when used as reasons why we need not bother about new members. Is there no need to increase the majority still further? In any case, is it not desirable to maintain the interest of those who did vote Labour? What guarantee is there that they are all Socialists? Or even that they have the slightest interest in Labour policies? I believe that there is a great deal of work to be done in this connection EVEN WITH A LABOUR GOVERNMENT, let alone when they are in opposition.

The other day a young fellow approached me and asked some questions about the Party. I encouraged him to become a member. Did I do wrong? Should I have told him that new recruits are not wanted, or that nobody was really bothered whether he joined us or the Tories?

Somehow I do not think that this would have been the right attitude. But it seems to be the one adopted by some people. Even if 90 per cent. of the country were Socialists, I believe that there would still be work to do among the remaining 10 per cent. The view of some others seems to be that 51 per cent. is the goal.

Will somebody tell me where I am wrong?

By
Marion Liffey

The Empire of Kemsley

★ Spotlight on the Press ★

This is one of a series of articles on press profits currently being published in "The Journalist", the paper of the National Union of Journalists

Net tangible assets were shown on the balance sheet at December 31, 1952, as just under £18 million. A year before, when the Daily Graphic was still running from the Kemsley stable, balance sheet assets topped £19,300,000.

Shareholdings total £9,250,000 on paper, of which £6,750,000 is in preference shares and £2,500,000 in ordinary shares. (Preference shares have a prior claim on profits, but dividends paid on them are limited to fixed percentages).

HALF IN FAMILY

The Royal Commission on the Press reported: "The number of

ordinary shares held by Lord Kemsley and his family approaches 50 per cent."

That gives them a nominal holding, in ordinary shares alone, approaching £1½ million. But the current Stock Exchange value of these shares would be around £2 million.

Their real worth is higher still. The Stock Exchange price is a reflection of the expected dividends, so that where a firm pursues a restrained dividend policy, carrying profits forward rather than sharing them out, the Stock Exchange price tends to be depressed.

It is this gap, between the Stock Exchange price of the shares and their actual value in terms of the company's assets, which attracts "take over" bids.

TRADING PROFITS

If a syndicate can buy sufficient shares at Stock Exchange prices, it can, in effect, buy the undertaking on the cheap. This is also why it sometimes pays existing owners to hand over substantial sums to speculators not to buy shares.

Kemsley's trading profits in 1952 were £1,852,000. After allowing

for depreciation and auditors' fees, and for small items of income other than trading returns, they showed a net profit of £1,629,000, or more than £30,000 a week.

Roughly half the net profit—£824,000—went in taxes. After paying the directors, the preference shareholders and various other fixed charges, the company had £302,000 (tax paid) for the ordinary shareholders, or the equivalent of a 22½ per cent. gross dividend.

In fact, they declared 10 per cent. and carried the bulk of the profits forward.

FAMILY'S DIVIDEND

The dividend allotted the Kemsley family on its ordinary shares, on the basis of the Press Commission's estimate, would be in the neighbourhood of £125,000 before payment of income tax. The actual sum received, tax deducted at source, would be roughly £65,000.

Viscount Kemsley is editor-in-chief of the Sunday Times (a position at one time occupied by Lord Camrose) and chairman of the board of directors of Kemsley Newspapers.

Viscountess Kemsley is also on the board. Their eldest son is vice-chairman; two other sons are members.

There are 14 directors in all. Directors' emoluments in 1952 were £112,728.—R.P.

READ
Britain's only T.U. Weekly Newspaper

The Railway Review

FEARLESS. FACTUAL.
STIMULATING
and packed with information.

Price 3d.
Obtainable from any newsagent or bookstall.

New Readers

Take Out a Special Subscription

9 'Outlooks' For 2/-

Buy a subscription for yourself - and for your friend(s)

Please send "Socialist Outlook" for to the name and address below. I enclose P.O.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Normal Subscription Rates: 1 year, 19s. 6d.; 6 months, 9s. 9d., 12 issues, 4s. 6d.

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK,
59 FLEET STREET, E.C.4.