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SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

Socialist Outlook

WEEKLY

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 20, 1954

3d.

PROTESTS
AT BAN

(page 4)

SALUTE THE GERMAN WORKERS!

RAILWAYMEN RESTIVE

AFFAIRS on British Railways are once more coming to a crisis point. The trouble is the old one of the Transport Commission's failure to pay its workers decent wages. Railwaymen's feelings are just about at blowing-off point on the question.

Since January this year the Transport Commission and the three railway unions have been negotiating over the "wages structure." This is a new device for delaying giving increases in pay, thus saving the Tory management hundreds of millions of pounds. The N.U.R., A.S.L.E.F. and T.S.S.A. have each been pressing their own proposals with the net result so far of a firm offer of 2/6d. per week increase for the bottom rate man (such generosity), and about twice as much for the skilled grades.

WHY THE DISCONTENT

For Bill the porter, platelayer, or the bloke who does the hundred and one hum-drum jobs of railway work and who is generally called unskilled, the problem is how to get a wage big enough on which he can hope to live. Unfortunately for him there are no "unskilled" shops in which he can buy at "unskilled" prices and he is usually charged as much in rent as the top rate man. The N.U.R. is asking for a basic minimum of £6 15s. for him which would just about bring him above the Public Assistance line.

Tom the driver also has a big grouse. His basic wage of

by
P. Morris

£8 18s. 6d. when on top money is not low compared with that of many skilled craftsmen but there are rarely the extras which go with bonus work in a factory. The result is that loco men feel aggrieved. Despite numerous increases since the war, their wage—compared with the bottom rate—has relatively declined.

Moreover although large sums are paid out to drivers of air liners and race horses the engine driver gets little recognition for his undoubted skill and great responsibility. The N.U.R. is claiming £9 15s. for him and the A.S.L.E. & F. £9 5s.

Bill the porter and Tom the engineman have a common cause: to force the Transport Commission to pay more for their labour. But here is the rub—the two main unions have failed to unite in a struggle for this purpose. Some loco men are foolish enough to believe that the A.S.L.E. & F. can get preferential treatment for their grade alone, whilst the

N.U.R. has failed dismally to produce the necessary inspired leadership to forge unity.

BALL WAS DROPPED

Rank and file railwaymen now generally agree that the best opportunity for forcing a show-down was lost last Xmas when their strike threat was widely supported by the public and when the Tory Government was engaged in a wages battle on several fronts. The ball was dropped then and has been booted about all over the field since, with the Transport Commission forcing a draw.

Now, once again, the rank and file is becoming restive and strike threats are again being made. Mr. Baty is gloomy about the prospect of maintaining industrial peace and the national press debates the prospect of a major battle in transport.

All railwaymen have a right to a decent wage in accordance with their skill and responsibility. To get it unity of action is essential. The rank and file should demand that their leaders call a joint union conference to work out the basis of a common claim to be presented to the management as an ultimatum. The Transport Commission should be forced to stop paying shareholders out of railwaymen's pockets.

Unite British and German Labour

THE most important European event during 1954 is undoubtedly the great strike wave which now grips Western Germany. Nothing like it has been seen in those parts since the stormy movements of the twenties. It is great news for the British Labour Movement.

A member of the Ssh Labour Party



Psst!
Want to buy
YOU KNOW WHAT

This resurgence of militancy has considerable implications. Firstly, it is a conclusive demonstration of the enormous power of German Labour as a factor in the struggle for a socialist Europe. Secondly, it gives the lie to the capitalist propaganda which even penetrated the ranks of the Labour Party that "all Germans are the same." The heroic workers of Bavaria and Hamburg tell the world there are two Germanies—the Germany of big capital with its allied backers, and the Germany of Labour, with its teeming millions of poorly paid wage workers.

HITLER WENT: BANKERS REMAINED

Behind the strikes is a shameful story. The end of the war found the German workers living under indescribable conditions. They had a terrible deal. Under Hitler's iron heel they were jackbooted into concentration camps, industrial and military slavery. After the war they were starved back into industry under conditions imposed by allied occupation, where in one concern after another the "old gang" returned to the saddle.

The imperialist allies fought

the war against Hitler in order to make it safer still for the people responsible for him. As a DAILY HERALD correspondent recently remarked: "after the first war the Kaiser went and the Generals remained—after the second war Hitler went and the bankers remained."

British Labour must take its share of responsibility. Under the

By
G. Healy

influence of reactionary propaganda, influential circles in our movement criminally condemned our German brothers in the same way as the Nazis. A Labour Government, instead of helping them forward to socialism, spinelessly followed in the footsteps of Wall Street, refused to nationalise the industries of the Ruhr, helping to consolidate the régime of Dr. Adenauer. The way was thus paved for the grisly march back of Hitler's old backers from their rat holes to the plush and chromium of the board room.

For a number of years our German comrades were isolated and left to rot in this hermetically sealed flask of class treachery. Now, they have burst forth in a really magnificent way. And this is only the beginning. The successes already gained will lead to

greater strike movements in the near future.

GREAT OPPORTUNITY

This is a great opportunity for the Labour Party and the T.U.C. to forge an unbreakable unity with the socialist and trade union movement of Western Germany. Let the T.U.C. organise a national fund to relieve the hardship of the strikes. Let the Labour Members of Parliament demand the immediate withdrawal of the British occupation forces who help prop up the neo-Nazis of the Adenauer régime and act as a constant threat to militant German Labour.

On the continent of Europe the most powerful force is British and German Labour. Let us unite them and a great victory for socialism will have been achieved.

A Communist Party Outlawed

BY 305 votes to 2 the American House of Representatives approved this week a bill outlawing the Communist Party. The bill removes all legal rights from "Communist-dominated trade unions." The Communist Party will not be permitted to put up candidates for municipal, state or national elections, nor will it be allowed to petition government agencies or courts of law as a political party.

The new measure is one more example of the power of McCarthyism. Both Republicans and Democrats have no other solution to this American brand of fascism but to try to run faster in the same witch-hunting direction.

The MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, American correspondent commented on August 16: "In the closing days of the session both branches of Congress have in fact been in public competition to see which body could pass more bills aimed at the Communists."

Not only are the democratic rights of Communist Party members at stake. These measures are used against all militancy in the trade unions or in politics. McCarthyism, nourished by the witch-hunt; strengthened by the administration's anti-Communist drive, aims at the eventual smashing of the power and independence of American Labour. The way to fascism in America is being paved by the Eisenhower administration just as it was by the governments of the Weimer republic in the immediate pre-Hitler period.

British Labour must raise its voice against the latest attack on American civil rights—Pour telegrams and resolutions of protest into the American Embassy.

The resolution dealing with the Confederation Plan for Engineering which was moved by the representative...
● Continued on page 2

Engineering Leaders in Conference

A LONG with other representatives belonging to my union, I attended the Conference of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. In my opinion, it considered matters and arrived at conclusions which, if put into effect, should have not only implications for the engineering industry's domestic affairs, but have their effect on the international and trade union and political field also.

It is difficult to say which resolution would have the most important bearing on the future of industry. In view of its world wide application I am selecting a composite resolution on the question of the hydrogen bomb which was moved in a very able manner by Mr. W. Beard of the United Patternmakers' Association. Its ultimate objective was that there should be an end to the development of atomic and hydrogen bombs and the fullest research and investigation into the peaceful development of atomic energy for industrial and social needs.

The next matter of most im-

portance to the engineering industry in regard to the workers' angle was the question of wages. This had been given considerable attention by the President, Mr. Harry Brotherton, in his address, and out of all the resolutions in regard to same the following composite resolution was unanimously agreed to:

"This Annual Conference instructs the Executive Council to open negotiations immediately with the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation in order to establish a new wages structure for the industry based on the principles adopted as policy by the Confederation in 1949 and subsequently.

"Wage Scales must be suitably amended to provide for increases of a substantial character to all workers in the industry.

"Wage claims in the shipbuilding industry and other allied industries within the ambit of Confederation negotiations also to be formulated."

The main feature of this resolution was that whilst it deals with

the request to establish a new wage structure in the industry, it does not lose sight of the most important point of the present wages issue which, you will note, is suitably taken care of in the second paragraph.

Practically the whole of the

By
Jack Stanley

delegates were of the opinion that some immediate increase in wages was desirable, and they were most concerned as to whether the time factor in negotiating a new wage structure would put off for some considerable period a justifiable increase in the present wage scales. It was made clear that this was not the intention and that without any delay the task must be immediately tackled, otherwise there was the possibility of a serious situation arising. The resolution—ably moved by Brother Carron, of the Amalgamated Engineering Union—seconded by the Foundry

Workers, was carried unanimously.

Another resolution of importance was that on the question of international trade, in which I was personally interested in view of the fact that I was a member of the original Conference in International Trade which visited the East at the beginning of 1952, out of which was formed the British Council for the Promotion of International Trade which has had quite a considerable bearing on the present state of affairs and also the general improvement in this trade.

This composite resolution was very ably moved by Mr. Boyd of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, seconded by Mr. Jim Gardner of the Foundry Workers, and supported by, amongst others, Mr. James Matthews of the National Union of General & Municipal Workers, the resolution being carried unanimously.

The resolution dealing with the Confederation Plan for Engineering which was moved by the representative...
● Continued on page 2

WITHDRAW THE BAN ON SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

Protest Meeting—Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Road—THURS. AUG. 26

7.30 p.m.

ADMISSION 6d.

SPEAKERS:

- MICHAEL FOOT "Tribune"
- KINGSLEY MARTIN "New Statesman"
- ALLEN SKINNER "Peace News"
- JOHN HARRIS "Forward"
- MONICA PEARSON
- G. HEALY "Socialist Outlook"

Chairman: JACK STANLEY General Secretary, C.E.U.

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Circular Angers Labour Movement

THE reaction to the attempt of the N.E.C. to gag the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK has been strong and immediate. The rank and file of the Labour Movement have shown they are heartily sick of proscriptions and bans on the left while the party is deeply divided, leaders flout the wishes of the overwhelming majority in their attempts to tie the party behind the Tory foreign policy, and extreme right wingers like Hector McNeil make open attacks on sections of the party in the capitalist press.

There is a healthy solid opinion at the base of the party that if Labour is to work out a united socialist policy then the rights of rank and file criticism and contributions must be jealously guarded.

It is made clear by reports from all over the country that a wide section of the party will defend vigorously the rights of a free Labour press. They are determined to stamp out at the beginning a move which, if allowed to go unchecked, will eventually force out of existence every Labour journal not willing to still a critical voice and turn its pages over to a dull repetition of syndicated hand-outs from Transport House.

In a slashing attack in TRIBUNE, on what he called the "new tinpot Torquemadas," Michael Foot summed up the general reaction within the party. "I call this an outrage" he declared and threw the gauntlet down before Transport House.

"Well, I for one read SOCIALIST OUTLOOK and I propose to go on doing so. Neither Mr. Herbert Morrison nor Mr. Morgan Phillips nor anyone else is going to stop me. It so happens I don't agree with its views. But unlike the National Executive I don't fear its arguments. Bad arguments can be answered by better arguments. How long must it be before Morrison and Company understand that first principle of freedom?"

Michael Foot's defence is to be appreciated all the more since we have not pulled our punches in the past on issues where we felt Michael Foot or TRIBUNE was incorrect.

The NEW STATESMAN also protested against the N.E.C. gag, calling it "a dangerous and indefensible precedent, which closely affects the freedom of the press." The editors of LABOUR'S NORTHERN VOICE and FORWARD, as can be seen elsewhere in our columns, have added their voices to what is the response of almost the entire independent Labour Press.

Nobody's House Organ

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is nobody's house organ. It believes it has its own independent contribution to make towards the working out of a socialist policy for the Labour Movement. It believes that a critical mind, and fearlessness in speaking out, are some of the most precious assets to be cultivated in Labour Party members. A party of sheep will never fulfil the tremendous task of changing the social order.

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK does not fear fierce argument; it gives and expects no quarter in the struggle of ideas and policies within the movement. It is not that which disrupts the party.

Those who use, not arguments, but the party machine to bludgeon opposition, to smother the critical voice, are guilty of disrupting the party, killing its spirit and creating apathy in its ranks.

Withdraw it

That the opposition to the edict has spread far beyond the supporters of SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is a tribute to the democratic traditions of the movement. That opposition has already checked an indiscriminate interpretation of the circular in particular areas where right wing Transport House supporters may have felt strong enough to use it for a purge of "rebels." For the circular defines the latest proscribed crime so vaguely as to leave local right wingers in the position of interpreting it according to what they can get away with.

A continuing and ever-growing opposition can compel the withdrawal of the circular. The next step is now up to Herbert Morrison and Transport House. In the interests of party democracy, in the interests of a free working out of policy, let them drop this outrageous gag at once.

Meanwhile, the protests must and will continue through the local Labour Parties, trade unions and Labour Press. We appeal to London Labour Party members to rally to the protest meeting on August 26.

It is not just the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK that is at stake, but the democracy of the party. Whether the party is to be a living vital socialist force or a monolithic structure governed by edict from above: that is the issue.

DEAKINISM: HERE IS A LESSON

FROM GERMANY

NOT only the British Labour Movement is expressing sympathy with the German workers now engaged in a stormy wages struggle. The MANCHESTER GUARDIAN in an editorial on August 16 declared: "... failure by the unions to push what they consider to be just claims would, at this juncture, be a serious blow to budding German democracy."

The ECONOMIST commented last week that the "main line of evidence" was in the German unions' favour.

A section of British employers and press see in the German strikes and wage demands a movement that can help British exports

By

K. Edwards

by creating difficulties for German industrialists. That is, of course, the real root of their sympathy and not any concern as to the conditions of German workers.

The employing class of Germany have done very well out of the recent boom. They have been able to coin large dividends and undercut British products on the world market for the simple reason that German workers lived on a lower standard and worked longer hours than their working class brothers in Britain.

British employers may rub their hands over the difficulties of their German counterparts today, but

what if British trade unionists began to draw some of the very real lessons flowing from the present developments in Germany?

The ECONOMIST talks of the "intransigence" of many German employers "so long spoilt by years of prohibited strikes and by the willing and diligent nature of their workers."

A great number of British trade unionists reading that will quickly remark: "Some of our trade union leaders if they have their way will 'spoil' the British employers in a similar manner."

Of course, the intransigence of the German employers does not arise because German workers are by nature more docile, more "willing and diligent" than British.

After the war German economy was shattered. The German workers were, for the most part, living in rubble and on the edge of starvation. They were faced also with the necessity of building up their organisations after a period of fascist terror.

UNIONS AGREED WITH MANAGERMENTS

Time was needed to re-establish confidence in their own independence and power. The employers regained confidence quickly, helped by the occupying administration. The worker who came from the depths of misery grasped eagerly at employment, while his leaders assiduously spread the illusion of what we know in Britain as "Deakinism."

The DAILY HERALD German

Correspondent on August 9 described the past attitude of the trade union leaders as follows:

"The unions agreed with the managements that big profits had to be poured back into industry to build up war ruined plants. Investments were considered more important than wage increases.

"The unions decided that full employment was more important than better pay, because wage increases might force some unproductive plants to close, thus turning men out of their jobs."

Up to now there has not been one major strike in Germany since the war. A state of affairs that would gladden the heart of many right wing trade union leaders could they achieve it here. In fact, there is a complete identity between the past policy of the German trade union leaders and that advocated by Deakin and Co.

Production first, wage increases afterwards; be patient and diligent, your reward will come later, is also a well-known theme of some British trade union leaders.

That British employers, who have also made hay, have not made it to the extent of their German counterparts has been solely due to the rank and file of the trade union movement in Britain. Unlike the German workers they ended the war with their trade union organisations strengthened and intact. There was no occupation to back their

employers and help them regain power.

Every effort to break down gains in organisation or conditions was resisted by this rank and file. The wage freeze was broken by their opposition. Deakinism was never able to wreak its full damage and line up the unions completely behind the employers' interests.

MAKING VOICE HEARD

The rank and file in Germany is now making its voice heard and breaking its organisations away from the employers with a spirit that can be an inspiration to British workers.

They have learned to the full where the policies of Deakinism lead. A weakening of the independence of the trade unions, conversely, strengthens the employers in their drive to operate their traditional policies. When the ECONOMIST says, as it did some time ago, "slap the railwaymen"; when the extreme right wing of Toryism calls for a showdown with the miners (RECORDER, July 31) then they are exhibiting that intransigence with which British employers would already have equalled German were it not for the constant threat of action from the rank and file. And under the pressure of increased competition for markets they will show the same fierce attitude as the German employers.

Militant trade unionists in Britain can learn from the experience of the German workers and their present spirit. Let us turn with greater determination to rout the leaders in our own trade union movements who seek to hog-tie us to the employers, and who advocate a policy of wage freeze and the suppression of industrial struggle.

CÓNFED. CONFERENCE

● Continued from page 1

sentative of the Foundry Workers, seconded by the Draughtsmen and supported by the A.E.U. and the United Patternmakers' Association amongst others.

Mention had been made in the Chairman's report about the statement made by Mr. Arthur Deakin at the Labour Party Conference which mentioned the plan as "... a mumbo jumbo of meaningless phrases and the greatest abortion ever conceived in the mind of man." Whilst to my mind little notice should be taken of statements of this description, especially when they emanate from a certain source, people who support these statements should not be surprised if they are answered in a similar or more pointed manner, so having had some experience of this sort of thing I am of the opinion we should not be too squeamish.

It was pointed out that the Plan was a step in the right direction and if we were sincere in our Socialistic ideas of state ownership and control in general, then obviously these ideas had to be put forward even if they needed altering and amending to suit existing circumstances. The resolution was carried unanimously.

In conclusion, the President's address was in my opinion one of the best I had ever heard, especially in regard to our own industry, but it also covered a wide field, including international affairs, and the effect they were likely to have on the workers' standard of living.

Altogether, a very successful Conference and one, when its decisions become effective, that should have a great bearing on the future of the engineering industry in particular and the working class in general.

E.T.U. Protest

The Brixton branch of the E.T.U. has asked the E.C. of the union to protest to the N.E.C. at the ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK and to ask the N.E.C. to cancel its circular.

Clement Attlee on Party Democracy

By

K. G. Brown

THE proscribing of the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is a warning to all those elements in the Labour Party who are critical of certain aspects of Party policy. The warning says, simply: "Look out! Thought police at work!" From now on all criticism must be stifled ... or else!

Some of our present leaders have not always been so sensitive to criticism. Indeed, they welcomed it! Some of them—dare we say it?—were not adverse to criticising themselves, in the days before they reached their present exalted position.

Here is Mr. Attlee, looking back at the history of the Labour Party in 1937:

"During all those years there has never been a time when there were not questionings in the ranks and suggestions of breakaway movements. There has never been a lack of criticism of the policy and achieve-

Fighting Fund

Didn't your blood boil, readers, when you saw Morgan Phillips' circular? But how many of you reacted at once by putting your hand in your pocket and unloading that loose change on the Fighting Fund?

A good many did, judging from the figures below. But this campaign is going to be a heavy one, comrades, and THE NEED IS STILL FOR MORE. Make this resolution: turn out your pockets when you go to bed tonight and send that loose change—yes, all of it—to the OUTLOOK first thing in the morning.

Our thanks to: West London readers, £6 3s. 6d.; Birmingham readers, £2 13s. 6d.; Platts workers, £2 10s. 3d.; Leeds readers, £2; Norwood readers, £1 19s. 6d.; East Salford readers, £1 15s. 9d.; Islington readers, £1 7s. 9d.; Edinburgh readers, £1 4s. 6d.; Nottingham readers, £1; J. F. L. O., £1; P. J. S., £1; Ashton-under-Lyne readers, 18s. 6d.; West Salford readers, 18s. 6d.; A. R., 10s.; A. W. S., 10s.; R. J. D., 6s.; Sunderland readers, 6s.; J. E. L., 5s.; D. E. P., 3s. 6d.; H. J., 6d.

Total to date: £26 12s. 9d.

catholicity, its tolerance, its welcoming of all shades of political and even revolutionary thought, provided that its chief object, the unifying of the workers' political power, was not damaged or hindered thereby." (Quoted with approval by Attlee. *Ibid.*—our emphasis).

In that section of his book which deals with the Constitution of the Labour Party, Mr. Attlee writes:

"The machinery of the Labour Party provides for the ventilation of grievances and for the alteration of policy or tactics in accordance with the will of the members. Criticisms can be made openly and replies made to them..."

If it is true then that it is "its catholicity" and "its tolerance"

Before leaving Moscow, Mr. Attlee explained to Soviet leaders the different conceptions of freedom in East and West.

"In the East," he told the Russians, "the word means freedom from having to make a choice. In the West it means freedom to make a choice"—provided you do not choose SOCIALIST OUTLOOK.

That is the voice of a leader of a party which prides itself on its internal democracy. The sentiments expressed by Mr. Attlee above are far removed from the witch-hunt atmosphere which today pervades Transport House and is making our Party an object of contempt for all liberal-minded persons. Indeed, Mr. Attlee warned against this very possibility when he wrote:

"... It (a party) may discuss its own internal condition to such an extent that it disgusts all those with whom it comes in contact."

The witch-hunters may well take note of this timely warning. This conception of the Labour Party was well expressed by Mr. Wardle, in his presidential address to the 1911 Conference of the Party:

"From the very first, the ties which bound the Party together were of the loosest possible kind. It has steadily and, in my opinion, wisely, refused to be bound by any programme, to subscribe to any dogma, or to lay down any creed. Its strength has been its

Driven from Home by Squalor

LEARIE CONSTANTINE is one of the best-known cricketers of all times. His feats in the field have been acclaimed time and again.

But Learie Constantine is a Negro from the West Indies. His grandfather and grandmother were the children of slaves born into slavery. During the 25 years he has lived among us he has never been allowed to forget that he was black. Many will remember when he was refused accommodation at a well-known Bloomsbury hotel for no other reason than that his skin was the wrong colour.

BITTER LESSONS

Now he has summed up the bitter lessons he has learned in a book* which is an indictment of our social system.

In all walks of life he came up against ignorant racial prejudice. Some of his most painful experiences of colour segregation he suffered at the hands of people who call themselves Christians.

"A Negro who helped serve at the altar of a Roman Catholic Church... was told by the priest that he need not help the following Sunday, as it had been decided to use young people instead.

"But when he attended the church he found that all the other men—white men—were still helping at the altar. It was his colour, not his age that had offended the minister of God."

Of Dr. David, late Bishop of Liverpool, he writes. "... a kindly man, he rigidly supported colour segregation—all he appeared to want was to keep the coloured people sufficiently fed, clothed and housed—but definitely 'in their place'."

Small wonder that Learie Constantine no longer calls himself a Christian!

WHY THEY COME

From time to time the capitalist press launches an attack on the West Indians who come to this country seeking work and who, because of colour prejudice, are compelled to seek National Assistance. This usually amounts to 35/- a week.

"And this," writes Constantine, "is much more than hard work would earn them in their own country."

He describes the conditions in the Caribbean.

"They often live in squalor. Opportunities of bettering themselves are very few. The future is no more rosy than the present. There is no unemployment pay or free health service for them, little free education and all the frustrations of a partially—enslaved people."

To these people, even a miserable 35/- a week seems like paradise.

Even the threat of imprisonment does not stop them from stowing away. "Why should it? The food and accommodation are far better than some of them get at home."

What an indictment of the conditions in Britain's colonies!

As Learie Constantine writes: "Only one thing can stop these fortune-hunters from invading Britain... Decent living conditions in their homelands."

L.V.G.

* "Colour Bar," by Learie Constantine, M.B.E. (Stanley Paul, 12/6d.).

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The News of Battle Is on the Air

THE glorification of the bloody history of capitalism is unceasing. The latest opportunity to condition the peoples' minds to its continuation has been provided by the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Blenheim.

The B.B.C. (Battle-Boosting Corporation) has found "the drama of Blenheim" to be also the means of advancing the Churchillian reputation for "glorious victory."

The inference is easily drawn: the country need not fear the hazards of war whilst it is ruled by those in whose descent such traditions of triumph are represented.

GIFT OF A "GRATEFUL NATION"

The radio feature opened with a description of Blenheim Palace, "given by Queen Anne and a grateful nation" to John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, commander of the victorious army.

The commentators toured "the magnificent state apartments," revealed that the hall is 67 feet high, the library 180 feet long and with two marble fireplaces. They described "the finest tapestries in England," the statue of Queen Anne, the mementoes of battle, and then, with winning contrast, the "small, simple room in which one of the most distinguished members of this great family" (Winston, no less) was born.

They told of his dinky baby's vest, fifteen inches long, nine inches wide and his three long, thick, red curls of hair. Just think of it!

From this room, which "abounds with memory," there was then a reading of the Prime Minister's "biography of his great ancestor."

The biography is characteristically colourful. "Everywhere the armies reeled... corpses lying in ranks upon the battlefield," etc., etc. And why this "ghastly slaughter"? "For life and honour," "for Parliament and Empire," and to "prevent Louis XIV of France establishing dictatorship in Europe."

The War of Spanish Succession, of which the Battle of Blenheim was an incident, did indeed assure Parliament's ascendancy whilst it

confirmed this Parliament and the monarchy as the tools of the landed and commercial aristocracy.

But, though Louis XIV was unable to restore James II to the throne of England, he did place his grandson on the throne of Spain.

It was this that the war was supposedly fought to prevent; yet, ultimately, the British Parliament accepted the situation when it had gained its more important ends—commercial and colonial supremacy.

At the end of the war, the King of France recognised the dominion of the Hudson Bay Company in Canada: Spain was forced to cede Gibraltar and to open its South American colonies to British traders. The most treasured prize of the Parliamentary democrats was the right to import slaves to the American plantations.

AN ALLIANCE CEMENTED

Meanwhile, the alliance of the Protestant royalty and of the capitalist class was cemented by the establishment of the National Debt and the Bank of England. Debt-holders drawing a regular eight per cent. had a very real interest in preventing the return of the Stuart kings who would repudiate the debt and the merchant-bankers used the backing of the state to make profits by lending more money than they owned.

The rest of the country played an important part too. In the absence of an income tax to give even a semblance of fairness, the

taxes on imported goods paid the interest on the debt. From this beginning we are today burdened with a debt of £24,000 millions for our "glorious" wars—5/- of every pound of tax.

A DESPOT

The designs of the British ruling class did not, of course, absolve Louis XIV from the crime of seeking European domination. He was undoubtedly a despot. Under his rule, says Dr. Fisher, "a stern censorship muzzled the press," "no organised protests were permitted to impair the peace of the ruler," "whatever was critical of the monarchy or suspect to the Church was rigorously suppressed." But OUTLOOK readers especially will hardly consider this defect peculiar to the Sun-King.

Indeed, they might suspect that one day he will figure as a spiritual father of the Labour Party in some official history issued by the starlet princelings of Transport House.

Yes, Blenheim can teach a moral today. When, as Churchill wrote of the victory message borne to Queen Anne, "the news of battle is in the air," be sure to ask, "Whose battle?"

Despite all apparent changes, the Churchills of today represent the same class as did the Churchills of 250 years ago. The working class and the Labour movement must not allow anybody, outside or inside its ranks, to plunge it into atomic war for an alien cause, that of its class enemies.

SCARBOROUGH CONFERENCE

Colonial Peoples will be Watching

WHEN the Labour Party meets in annual conference at Scarborough at the end of September, not only the eyes of the British working class will be upon it. All over the colonial world anxious attention will be paid to the decisions reached, especially as they express the intentions of the next Labour Government towards the colonial peoples.

When the Labour Government abandoned the imperial role in India and Burma after the war, it

by

Conference Delegate

won the applause of colonial people everywhere. It seemed to be only a matter of time before all the British colonies would achieve their freedom.

Alas! Since then the Labour Party has dissipated a great deal of that goodwill. It is today hard to convince a worker from the colonies that there is any essential difference between Labour and Tory policy toward the colonies. As the TIMES put it some time ago, there is a tendency toward a bi-partisan policy in colonial as in foreign policy. A whole series of events tends to confirm this.

It was the Labour Government which commenced the policy of using armed violence against the freedom movement in Malaya. Malayan rubber and tin were earning lots of dollars—and dollars became more precious than principles. A Labour Minister for Commonwealth Relations sent Tseretse Khama into exile, thus setting the precedent for his Tory successor to act likewise with the Kabaka of Buganda.

In opposition, the Labour leadership has continued the sorry record of giving support to the Tories in perpetuating colonial enslavement. Thus we had Mr. Attlee's astonishing post facto statement on Central African Federation; the Parliamentary Labour Party's equivocation over British Guiana; its week-kneed criticism of Lyttelton's action in Uganda and in Kenya.

No wonder the people in the

colonies no longer look upon the Labour Party as an ally and a champion and seek elsewhere for support. It has been brought forcibly home to them that British imperialism will give up its colonial privileges only where the national movement is strong enough to force it to quit. This was true of India and Burma; it is also true of the Gold Coast. Only overwhelming force and much sacrifice of life could have held these countries in colonial subjection.

The Labour Movement in this country needs the friendship of the colonial people as much as they need the friendship and support of the Labour Movement. The greatest thing that is happening today is the rising of the colonial people and the victorious advance of the colonial revolution in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. It is transforming the face of the earth and altering all the old relations of forces.

Is the Labour Party going to stand by these forces of social advance in the backward areas of the world and help them to achieve their political and economic emancipation or is it going to continue the disastrous policy of "bi-partisanship" in colonial policy? This is the question

American Newsletter EMPLOYERS CUT WAGES

New York, August 12

BANKING their hope of success on the combined effect of the witch-hunt and the present "recession," U.S. employers are trying to open a direct wage-cutting, union-busting drive. The latest effort in this direction is being made by the Studebaker Corporation, one of the country's major auto manufacturers.

In a letter sent on August 7 to each of the workers at its South Bend, Indiana, plant, Studebaker threatened to end its union contract, close down the plant and throw 11,000 out of jobs, unless the union—the United Auto Workers—C.I.O., agreed to a wage cut of from 15 per cent to 20 per cent.

Also included in the demand were proposals for seniority changes allowing the company to assign jobs at its discretion, tightened disciplinary clauses, elimination of premium holiday pay, and reduced shift differential pay.

RECOMMEND ACCEPTANCE

In an act of shameful capitulation to the company, the International and local union leadership recommended to the workers that they accept the proposal. They claimed it necessary "in order to improve the competitive position of Studebaker, which will create more jobs for Studebaker workers

in the future." They said the hourly rate at Studebaker is 30 cents. higher than that paid by the auto industry's Big Three—General Motors, Ford and Chrysler.

Despite the pressure of the union officials the workers first of all at a heated membership meeting voted three to two to reject the proposition.

The attitude of the workers, who have been living on a shortened work week that is bringing them an average wage of £35, was expressed by one worker who said bitterly, "We just can't afford a cut. Sure, we want to see this plant running full speed again, but why take it out of our hides? Why not raise the wages at Ford and General Motors?"

Studebaker's action came on the heels of the same move by other auto companies who have also enjoyed support for their demands from the cowardly union leadership, which fears a showdown fight with the bosses on this or any other issue.

In April of this year, the workers of the Kaiser-Wyllis plant in Toledo, Ohio, were forced to accept a similar proposal. Their jobs were then "stabilised" by shutting the plant down for the summer.

Pressed Metals of America, an auto parts manufacturer in Marysville, Michigan, has made the same demand on the union, accompanied by the same threat of shutting down. By its own admission in sound financial condition, the company arrogantly declared, "What we want is that the workers take a pay cut and the union give us a contract that will permit us to streamline so that we can compete with other companies."

BOOSTING PROFITS

The demand of these auto barons for the "right to streamline" simply means the right to introduce new automatic production methods without any provision for the employment of the workers replaced, and the speeding up of workers remaining on the job while slashing their wages to boost profits even further.

This harsh fact makes completely ludicrous the argument of Walter Reuther and the U.A.W. leadership that it is necessary to grant the companies some "relief" to save the workers' jobs. This relief, so graciously granted the corporations out of the pockets and sweat of the production workers will be used for the very purpose of eliminating their jobs.

After notification by the company that it was cancelling its contract in two months and planning to shut down the plant, the workers reluctantly reversed their original stand. They voted to accede to the demand of the company and the union leadership.

The outcome was hailed by the chairman of Studebaker's as "a distinct triumph for responsible labour leadership."

and shops closed, no buses or taxis ran and cinemas did not open.



IN NORWAY a five months long strike at a paper mill near Fredrikstad has now ended. The strike began when the chairman of the local trade union branch refused to work overtime.

Four hundred workers were involved. The strike was declared illegal by Norway's Labour Court. The workers returned to work with the exception of their branch chairman. By a vote of 223 to 96 they agreed to appoint him the union's paid treasurer.

GENERAL MARK CLARK has been testifying before the American Senate Internal Security subcommittee. He declared on August 11 that, although he had been the commander of United

Nations forces in Korea he "had not much respect" for the United Nations.

He told the sub-committee that the United States should "break diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and its satellites."

SYNGMAN RHEE, on August 12, urged the United States to "take the right action at the right time." He made clear what action he meant when he declared "to fight today is much better than to wait until tomorrow."

IN CYPRUS, a twenty-four-hour general strike called in protest against the new anti-sedition laws paralysed the country. Factories

THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF DEFENCE, Charles E. Wilson, stated on August 10 that the United States would step-up military aid to Japan and other Far Eastern countries to "head off further Communist aggression."

THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT is asking for economic aid from the United States to stave off a threatened economic collapse next year. The Japanese Ambassador to the United States declared last week that because Japan needs coking coal and iron ore, which she used to get from China but now must import from Europe and the United States at high cost, her trade balance will still be unfavourable despite economies in the purchase of non-essentials.

Too Many Bans, Smears and Purges

From Northern Voice

THIS decision to ban the OUTLOOK is wrong. It is stupid. It is discouraging to the whole Labour movement.

While LABOUR'S NORTHERN VOICE may not see eye to eye with the OUTLOOK on many issues, we are backing you in urging Transport House to withdraw its ban.

There are too many bans, proscriptions, smears, and purges nowadays. Ours is a democratic movement. If controversy and opposition within the Party are to be crushed all life and progress will be crushed with them.

Once you start on the outlawing game you may start with the OUTLOOK and finish with TRIBUNE, FORWARD, LABOUR'S VOICE and even REYNOLDS and the DAILY HERALD.

It is worth remembering that Comrade Zilliacus' valuable services and experience were lost temporarily to the Party by his expatriation.

So good luck to your protest meeting.

Frank Allaun,
Editor, Labour's Northern Voice

Afraid of Truth

Back home we have a saying: "Truth floats like oil." That is why Mr. Morgan Phillips and Co. are out to proscribe SOCIALIST OUTLOOK.

We are in for a hell of a fight to preserve our rights to read what we like, from whomever we like, whenever we like.

Birmingham Negro worker

Thought Police

While I can seldom find myself in agreement with the often unusual policies expressed in your journal, I must tell you that the new proscription by the E.C. is in my view a scandalous thing.

We are coming now to the state of the 'thought-police' imagined by George Orwell. I hope the Labour Party membership will reject the proscription, because although I think the Party would manage very well without some of you, this blanket proscription is monstrous.

London, S.W.2. G. C. Smith

Suppressing Opposition

Why should the N.E.C. take such a decision now? If they had any doubts as to the sincerity of the OUTLOOK supporters to further the aims of socialism, surely it could have been left to the Scarborough delegates to decide. After all the so-called disrupting influence has been present a few years now and a few more weeks could have made little or no difference!

The number of important decisions which are taken by the N.E.C. between Conference and which are opposed to Conference decisions are increasing year by year and every effort is made to suppress any opposition to these decisions. A glaring example of this is the decision to support German rearmament.

The Regional Conferences are

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a mockery. No opposition is allowed from the platform and very little from the floor. The Conferences have been refused the right to take a vote on the question and no resolutions can be moved by the delegates.

All members of the Labour Party must ensure that this proscription is withdrawn. They must fight to defeat the N.E.C.'s undemocratic action. Show the N.E.C. that Constituency Parties are not just electoral machines but the policy-making bodies of the Labour Party.

Edinburgh reader

N.E.C. Makes An Outlook Reader

The recent edict of the N.E.C. outlawing SOCIALIST OUTLOOK must have been drafted by people who have no belief whatsoever in the efficacy of democratic debate. It behoves all Party Members to fight the intolerance which is spreading through the Labour Movement.

I never thought that I should see the day when a British Newspaper had to suppress the names of people writing to the Editor for fear of reprisals against those persons.

This in the land of Magna Carta and Habeas Corpus. Perhaps, however, these two legal safeguards now only apply to refugee Polish bandits!

Apparently, the holding of shares in your paper is now incompatible with membership of the Labour Party. Many Labour Party members hold shares in private capitalist industries; many more (including myself) have accounts with capitalist banks.

The Boards of Directors of industrial and banking concerns are full of people who are the bitter enemies of the Labour Movement and are the controlling factor in the Conservative Party. The Capitalist Press attacks the Labour Party every day of the week; this

Readers Forum

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

does not deter many Labour M.P.s from receiving payment for writing in those organs.

Are the DAILY MAIL, DAILY EXPRESS and the others now to be added to the Transport House banned list? Are Party Members holding any shares or having a banking account, other than in or with the Co-op., to be expelled?

I do not particularly like your paper. However, as an individual member of the Labour Party I am not going to allow petty-minded dictators within the confines of Transport House to lay down the law as to what I shall, or shall not, read. From now on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK will be on my breakfast table every Friday morning.
Downham John E. Dale

Guilty

I consider my democratic rights so important that I have enclosed a 5/- P.O. as a donation to the Fighting Fund of the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK: and if it is a crime, I am guilty.

Salford H. Brown

Panic on the N.E.C.?

It is rather with regret and astonishment that I read of the undemocratic action of the N.E.C. in proscribing the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK.

One rather feels that those who have infiltrated from the other side of the fence or who have become reactionary either through age or social position become rather panicky when they see some earnest socialists striving for

a way to the Utopia of our dreams and ideals.

Although I personally have not taken a great part in working for the paper I can assure you that I will do everything within my power to increase the circulation of this paper in our locality now that, as we might say, war has been declared.

Bacup Bert Clegg

Reasons for Apathy

One of the main reasons for the apathy and frustration of a large number of members of the Labour Party is due to the bureaucratic attitude of the Right-Wing leaders at Transport House and the regular announcements of proscriptions and the outlawing of various working class organisations and literature.

I appeal to all members of the Labour Movement who believe in democracy and freedom of speech to fight to repeal the latest decision to outlaw the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, a paper which expresses the views of a large number of the rank and file.

Ormskirk Walter J. Brown

What Democracy Is This?

Since 1948 the OUTLOOK has offered a sane pronouncement on all matters affecting the welfare of the working class and has never been frightened to speak out when

socialist policies have not been carried out by our "leaders."

It is now a case of "you can have your own opinions but if you dare to write about them, then out of the Party you must go." The N.E.C. are aiming to gain complete and utter autonomy.

They take decisions which are contrary to the principles of socialism which are laid down in the national and local constitutions of the Party, then, without considering the wishes of those they represent, uphold their own decisions with the block vote. WHAT KIND OF DEMOCRACY IS THIS?

All those in the Party who believe in socialism and the fundamental rights of freedom of expression must rally to the aid of the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK and reject the proscription of the N.E.C.

Kent reader

Members Shocked

Every member of our Local Labour Party I have yet met since the decision of the N.E.C. to proscribe SOCIALIST OUTLOOK has been shocked.

The action is unbelievably illiberal and can only remind us of the burning of the books in Fascist Germany. How dare the N.E.C. dictate to us as to what we shall read? I take it—and several of our members who are postal subscribers take it—that even purchase and certainly a regular order for SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is an act of 'support' for which members of the Party may be expelled.

If this is so, then the Party will be without its active local members who, with many years of membership to their credit, carry out the hard everyday work of keeping the Constituency Parties together.

Does not the N.E.C. realise that the Socialist movement in general and the Labour Party in particular were built up by those who in their day would have been proscribed if the present mad McCarthy witch-hunting had taken place then?

Amesbury reader

A Better Chance In Life

"YOU'LL have a better chance in life than ever I had, my lass." So said my grandmother to my mother, so said my mother to me and so have I often thought of my children's chances. But I pause and wonder. A better chance?

"A Thousand Families in Newcastle", a book based on a survey conducted by the Department of Child Health at Durham University, reveals that one of the greatest contributory causes of ill-health in infancy and childhood is bad housing—just as it was in grandma's day.

However zealous a mother may be, the chances of her children developing respiratory diseases, catching infection, etc., are the hazards which constantly face her in the ill equipped, overcrowded houses in the overpopulated area in which so many working class families are still forced to live.

YEARS OF STRUGGLE

"Nineteen - fifty - three was another year of struggle to keep the dental service in being," reports the School Medical Officer of Derbyshire. Of a total school population of 109,099 as many as 82,000 had no dental inspection at all at school during the year.

Notts. County Education authority reveal that of 1,170 children whose eyes were tested, 566 needed glasses as a direct result of poor lighting in schools. The attitude of the Ministry is that if

From FORWARD

OFTEN in the past I have disagreed strongly with opinions expressed in the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. But I feel that the action of the National Executive Committee in virtually proscribing your paper makes such considerations irrelevant.

The National Executive has issued a challenge not just to SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, but to the entire Socialist Press. In attempting to justify their activities by attacking the political views of some of your contributors they have demonstrated that the issue is simply whether Socialist Editors will retain control over their own newspapers or hand it over to Transport House.

The attitude of mind shown by the N.E.C. is alarming. Their intolerance of views which do not coincide with their own, their obvious intent to stifle the free expression of views in a left-wing newspaper, and their attempt to prevent Socialists from even considering the arguments presented in your newspaper indicate not only a basic insecurity on their part, but almost total rejection of the rights of a Free Press in a democracy.

JOHN HARRIS,
Editor,
FORWARD

Gaitskell v Bevan

I have been asked to let you know of the feelings of the members of this Branch on the question of "Gaitskell versus Bevan."

In our opinion, and we know in the opinion of many more engineers, the choice of Mr. Gaitskell is a wrong one.

The choice of a "Man from a University" as against one from the shop floor is alien to our way of thinking and we cannot express too strongly our disapproval of the nomination to the Treasurer-ship of the Labour Party of Mr. Gaitskell.

The members of this branch support Mr. Bevan wholeheartedly all the way.

E. H. Morrin, Branch Secretary,
Bennetts End A.E.U.

CASSIA THIS WEEK TELLS

The Tale of a Hermit

IN the wilderness which surrounds Covent Garden there once dwelt a hermit who was considered by some to be blessed with prophetic powers. For days he would sit in a vast cavern of glass pondering over the problems which confronted the people and from time to time would make a speech or write a book.

In the year 1947 he took up his pen and produced a lengthy screed which he called "Look-ink Ahead," thus demonstrating the faculties he possessed for unfolding the mysteries of the future. This book was lauded by his followers—known as See Peers—who proclaimed it to be their golden treasury for the promised land.

As the years passed this hermit received visitations in his dreams from the far-off land of Muscovy—visitations which caused him to cast aside many of the predictions made in his book. His followers were untroubled by this—for many of them failed to notice any change, and those who did heralded it as a sign of the hermit's greatness.

One statement in the hermit's book, however, remained inviolable; this was the one which boiled down to **There can be no real Left movement inside the Party of Labour that excludes the See Peers from participation in it.** To challenge this meant immediate exclusion from the circle of the chosen few.

The justification of this article of faith created a problem for the followers of the hermit; for there was evidence that a Left movement did exist inside the Party of Labour but at the same time it excluded those whom the hermit had said were

See Peers. The hermit was adamant on this point.

These people, he said, were not a Left movement at all—they were Trotters. And to firmly establish this fact he instructed his scribes to record articles to this effect in the provincial journal called WORLD NEWS, which was circulated to his

People, Places and Politics will be resumed next week.

followers each week in order that they might keep themselves informed in his prognostications.

Upon reading these words the followers proceeded to burn much incense in order to protect themselves from the evil which the hermit had seen in his great wisdom.

It eventually came to pass that one, Morro the Fox, who sat on the High Councils of the Party of Labour—having been installed there by devious means—decided that for once the hermit was right. This was very strange for usually he and the hermit managed to preserve an appearance of bitter opposition.

In spite of the strangeness of the situation the member of the High Council succeeded in convincing others on the Council that these people whom the hermit had called Trotters should be silenced.

Thereupon the High Council issued a writ which instructed its minions in the Lower Councils to exclude from the Brotherhood of the Party of Labour any who supported the weekly gazette known as SOCIALIST OUTLAW.

This decision provoked much

anger, many took up their pens to denounce such evil actions and diverse peoples within the Brotherhood called an assembly to resist this interference with freedom of Ranks and Files.

The friends of the hermit were thus beset by a great problem. If they defended the freedom of Ranks and Files they would be aiding those whom the hermit had cursed as Trotters. If they supported the Right of the High Council they would be allying themselves with those whom they had often sworn to destroy.

This caused them to beat their brows and rend their garments and to turn anxious eyes to their daily newsheet—known as the WORKERS' DAILY—in order to learn what the intimate disciples of the hermit would have them do.

After diligent searching the followers of the hermit saw, tucked away between the reports of a robbery and a forthcoming marriage of a comedian, eleven words which revealed that the Trotters' newspaper had been proscribed by the Party of Labour. Nothing more nor less, but to some followers of the hermit it was a clear indication of where their duty rested.

With monolithic unanimity they climbed to the very high fence upon which they habitually sat and chanted to themselves over and over again: "**There can be no real Left movement inside the Party of Labour that excludes the See Peers from participation in it.**"

And there they sit till this day with large callouses forming on that part of their anatomy which has had long and painful contact with the very high fence.