

Socialist Outlook

Vol. 2. No. 4

APRIL, 1950

Price 2d.

The New Parliament

No Retreats! No Compromises!

says **ELLIS SMITH M.P.**

President of the Socialist Fellowship

THE General Election has shown a deep cleavage of public opinion in this country, and for all real Labour people the lesson to be drawn from all countries that have been in a similar situation is: there must be no retreat, there must be advance on the part of the Government now representing our party and the people. We must not make the Labour Party a modern Liberal Party. Under no circumstances should the Labour Party countenance the proposal for a Council of State. After two world wars we all know how we were treated by coalitions.

In my view, the immediate issues with which the Government are now confronted are production and trade, peace, food, the cost of living, houses, and—more to live for.

Production for What?

On production, no one can point a finger at the way that industry is responding to the needs of the country. What we need to ask ourselves is: *production for whom and for what?*

The people in industry are not prepared to go on slaving just to maintain the status quo.

Our industrial production results are the admiration of the whole world. They are 30 per cent. higher than pre-war. Output per man-hour is increasing, productive capacity is increasing, more horse-power per man is now at the disposal of industry, and is increasing every year. Yet our costs are too high and the fact of the matter is that, owing to Conservative mismanagement, *too many people are watching too few do the work.*

Overhead charges are far too high because of the high costs of pre-production materials, the rings round our materials and rings round everything that goes into a house. The people who are responsible for this are those who have sat on the Conservative benches for years and who have organised the trade associations for that purpose.

An Investigation Required

I want to ask the Government to carry out the promises that were made during the Election that an immediate investigation should be held into the high cost of British materials, and into the cost of living and distribution, in order that these costs can be reduced as soon as possible.

At the same time, a Government investigation should also be made into the financial holding companies, the sub-holding companies and the sub-sub-holding companies; the effect of interlocking directorships upon the Boards upon which many right honourable, and honourable Gentlemen opposite sit; into capital appreciation; the amount paid in debentures; *and the ingenuity of the new type of accountants who set out to hide rather than to reveal the true state of affairs.*

Profits

A survey of three decades of profits was made and it proved the upward trend

of profits for 30 years. The people of this country have been exploited more than in any other country in the world, and it is for that reason that they are increasingly supporting the party which was organised to fulfill their needs.

Profits increased more in proportion to industrial production but, in spite of these enormous profits, relatively little was put back into industry.

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ELLIS SMITH, M.P.

Salford Gives Socialist Lead

THE East Salford Divisional Labour Party, one of the six largest D.L.P.s. in the north-west, has reacted in a militant fashion to the Election results and given a fine socialist lead to the rank and file throughout the country.

At a specially convened meeting of the Divisional Party held on March 6th, the following resolution was carried UNANIMOUSLY.

East Salford Divisional Labour Party welcomes the decision of the Labour Party to continue in office. It is of the opinion that any compromise or tacit agreement with the Conservatives or Liberals will be disastrous for the Labour Movement.

We urge the Government to introduce a Socialist Budget aimed at:

1. *Maintaining the social services.*
2. *Restoring the building programme to pre-cut level.*
3. *Maintaining and if necessary increasing the subsidies on essentials to stabilise the cost of living.*

4. *Removing purchase tax on necessities.*
5. *Increasing the earned income allowance for income tax.*
6. *Increasing Old Age Pensions to meet the cost of living.*

The money to finance these measures could be found by:

1. *Increasing and tightening taxation of profits and unearned incomes.*
2. *Suspending compensation payments to the ex-owners of nationalised industries except where the total income falls below a reasonable minimum.*
3. *Reducing arms expenditure.*

Another resolution calling on the N.E.C. of the Labour Party to convene a National Conference at the earliest possible date, was also carried unanimously.

The East Salford Divisional Labour Party has a membership of more than 4,000. It returned a Labour Member to Parliament in the General Election with a majority of over 8,000.

Rank and file call for *More Socialism—not Less!*

WE have received a number of reports indicating how the Labour movement is facing up to the situation following the Election. They all express the determination of the ordinary rank and file member of the Party to press on with a full socialist policy.

From the **Tamworth Ward** of the **Mitcham Divisional Labour Party** we have been sent the following resolution:

"In view of the serious loss of seats by the Labour Party in the General Election, the Tamworth Ward suggest that Mitcham headquarters call on the Executive and the Parliamentary Labour Party to press with all speed a policy of public ownership. Also, to reduce the cost of living and help the export drive, further subsidies on the necessities of life are essential as well as lifting the burden of taxation from low to high income groups."

ELLIS SMITH *continued from page 1*

The buildings remained the same for generations, the machines remained the same, as did the organisation and the lighting, and year after year there was increased exploitation of the energy of the workers rather than money put back into industry to enable it to increase production by modernisation.

A Cost of Living Bonus

I assisted in the preparation and giving of evidence before the **Beveridge Committee**. I remember who was who, and what went on behind the scenes during the Coalition days. We had to urge publication of the **Beveridge Report**, and I believe that had we had a Conservative Government they would have done with the **Beveridge Report** what they did with the **Sankey Report**.

The benefits afterwards passed were the establishment of a minimum below which none should fall. *I believe there is now an unanswerable case for a cost-of-living bonus to be made retrospective to the passing of the Act.*

Housing

In my view, some mention should have been made in the Gracious Speech of the terrible position of housing.

Our people have slaved and worked for generations, have fought in two world wars, and they have never been adequately housed.

The Conservatives should hang their heads in shame at the way they have treated our people in housing for generations. The fact that the Tories now have the audacity to come forward at this stage and put down an Amendment to the Gracious Speech will be answered by the electors when they have a further opportunity.

Defence

An immediate cut of £100 million should be made in expenditure on the Armed Forces. While preparations are being made for other cuts in the Defence Services, this reasonable cut should be made *immediately*.

Unless they are made, there will later be crimes against the people by proposals being carried out to effect cutting the social services, the food subsidies, and our standard of living.

(This article is based on Ellis Smith's speech in the Debate on the King's Speech).

The **Camberwell Branch of the A.E.U.** has called on the **Camberwell Trades Council** to organise a conference of the local Labour movement to allow the rank and file to discuss the next steps.

The **Camberwell Trades Council** has, we are pleased to report, agreed to do this.

The **Streatham Divisional Labour Party**, like **East Salford**, has called on the Executive of the Labour Party to organise immediately an **Emergency Conference of the Party** to discuss the next Election policy. This is a demand which the *Socialist Outlook* wholeheartedly supports.

The **Socialist Fellowship** in the **Manchester Area** is a growing and living force. Starting a few months ago with 39 members, it now has over a hundred, divided into 12 local groups on a divisional basis. All its members were very active in the General Election in their constituencies.

At an "open" meeting held just after the Election—on February 26th—about 30 to 40 comrades discussed the *Lessons of the Election* and the next steps for the Labour Movement in this critical situation. After a fine discussion it was generally agreed that the

attempted wooing of the middle class by playing down on Socialist policy had been disastrous and that a Socialist programme was more necessary than ever. The Labour Government should introduce a Socialist Budget aimed at safeguarding the interests of the workers and lower middle class at the expense of Big Business. If the Government were defeated in Parliament on such a Budget, or other Socialist measures, it could then fight the next Election on a genuine **WORKING CLASS SOCIALIST PROGRAMME**.

The Manchester Area Socialist Fellowship is planning a big Conference in Manchester on April 23rd with National Speakers, where the Lancashire Labour Movement will be able to hear and discuss the Fellowship's policy and aims.

In addition, monthly meetings are being held centrally on the first Sunday of the month. The Secretary, to whom any enquiries should be addressed, is **H. Ratner, 228 Gt. Clowes Street, Salford, 7.**

Send us your reports of similar socialist activity. They encourage the socialist wing of the Party everywhere.

The Budget can be Decisive

says **FRANK ALLAUN** (Withington D.L.P.)

IT all depends on the budget.

That is the issue on which Labour will make or break itself. Whether the government returns at the next election with a bigger majority or goes out will be determined by what we do in April.

Fortunately the initiative is in our hands—and not Churchill's. It is for Labour to decide on what issue the next election is fought. And if Labour shows right away that the Government is on the side of the people and not of the profiteers it will win hands down.

That is why Mr. Attlee was absolutely right to accept office and to reject a coalition.

The government can kill four birds with one stone by a budget in the people's interest. They will make it manifest that it puts justice first; continue the progress towards equality of income introduced by Hugh Dalton; win the whole of the working class and lower middle class; and put the Tories in the position of having to defend their real driving force—*Big Business*.

What the Budget can do

It can raise the personal income tax allowance from £110 to £200.

We should not on any account reduce the standard rate of tax which would help the rich rather than the poor. Socialists should work for a high income tax but no tax on the "little man." If we removed all income tax from 3½ million families in our first period of power, let us continue the movement in a big way now.

This would be the most popular step any government could take. But that is not all.

Purchase tax is still payable on certain articles which are essentials. From those particular items it should be removed entirely.

It goes without saying that the food subsidies must be maintained. Also the social

services. Any idea of charging "one shilling on the bottle" (which incidentally would not reduce abuse of the health scheme) should be quietly forgotten.

And the housing shortage—the greatest cause of tragedy in the Britain of 1950—should be tackled by restoring the building programme to 200,000 houses a year.

Finally, the government must do something quickly for the millions of families struggling along on under £5 a week. They would be unaffected by income tax relief. A Cabinet declaration that in dealing with the present crop of wage negotiations a £5 minimum should be regarded as little enough would transform the situation. This should accompany the budget as it cannot be part of it.

How are these reforms to be paid for?

(1) By a partial capital levy on all fortunes over a certain amount, (2) by an additional tax on distributed dividends, (3) by an increase in death duties, (4) by cuts in the fantastic sum of £750 millions a year we are spending on arms, and (5) by using some of the enormous budget surplus in Sir Stafford's hands.

On Feb. 7th, 1950, it was announced that, with eight weeks still to go to the end of the financial year, the total surplus of income over expenditure was already no less than **£504 millions**. Compare this with a surplus estimated by Sir Stafford last April at **£448 millions**, and with an estimate of an actual deficit by our opponents.

Part of this can be handed back to the people without causing inflation, because some of it would be put into savings by people who at the moment *cannot save a penny*.

The wishes of the rank and file expressed through resolutions and direct approaches to Labour M.Ps. can have a big influence. The future of Britain and socialism is at stake.

The Colonial Struggle

Seretse Khama: What are the Real Motives?

By YACOUB OSMAN (Sudan Umma Party Representative)

AT the outset let me make myself quite clear, at least in respect of one aspect of this case. I declare openly that I am not in favour of tribal rule in any shape or form. For one reason, tribal rule is a legacy of the remote past; and for another, it cannot cope efficiently with the modern machinery of administration. *But no one in Africa to-day is more fond of maintaining tribal rule at all costs than British Colonialism.*

Everywhere you go in Africa where the so-called progressive administration is introduced such reforms are entrusted to the chiefs and their kind, always in the face of fierce opposition from the enlightened elements. This is one reason why it sounds rather strange to read in the British Government statement that one of the reasons for banishing Seretse from his country is to facilitate the efforts for more representative administration of the tribe.

The Salient Facts

Seretse Khama is the undisputed heir to the throne of the **Bamangwato** tribe. He married an English woman when he was a student in this country. Afterwards he returned to his country to take up his position as chief, and to put an end to the Regency created until he attained his majority. And ever since Seretse's return, accompanied by his wife, *no disturbances have taken place.* In fact all indications pointed to the contrary. But suddenly, on March 8th, **Mr. Gordon-Walker, Minister for Commonwealth Relations** announced in the House of Commons that recognition of Seretse as Chief of the Bamangwatos must be withheld for at least five years; and that Seretse will be required to reside outside the Protectorate. *The Minister also announced that the findings of the Judicial Inquiry will not be published; nor will Seretse himself, who is directly involved,*

be allowed to know the contents of the judicial reports.

Some of the reasons advanced by the Minister to justify his decision were of a contradictory nature. He said recognition of Seretse would endanger the unity of the tribe; and that disturbances might take place. But, in the same statement he admitted that in June, 1949, *a third meeting of the Tribal Assembly declared their acceptance of Seretse as their Chief notwithstanding his marriage.* For this reason, and for the fact that no disturbances took place since Seretse's return to his country, we are left to come to our own conclusions as to the real motives behind this case.

I submit without hesitation that the appeasement of the Union of South Africa and the neighbouring countries of Northern and Southern Rhodesia is the cardinal factor in this affair.

The marriage of Seretse Khama to a white woman defies the man-made "laws" of racial segregation upon which Dr. Malan and his associates base their rule. The Malanites stand for the divine right of exploitation of the unfortunate millions of Africans under their gangster-like domination. As for Rhodesia there too the racial theories and practices are taking shape after the fashion of the Union. It is appropriate also to mention the notorious Squatters Ordinance, whereby if an African leaves his work, in a European settlement, he is not only liable to criminal prosecution as a deserter, but the European settler holds his family as hostages until he surrenders. But those are not all the relevant facts in this issue.

The Minister's Record

It is to be remembered that **Mr. Gordon-Walker**, the present Minister who is directly responsible for the decision, is the same man who represented the British Government at

the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. *It was Mr. Gordon-Walker who, to the surprise of the whole world, endorsed South Africa's flouting the decision of the Trusteeship Committee.*

It was also **Mr. Gordon-Walker** who warned the Trusteeship Committee not to give too literal an interpretation of Articles 77 and 80 of the Charter! He in fact declared that if South Africa wanted to retain the ex-German colony she had a perfect right to do so. All these seemingly isolated fragments of acts fit well in the pattern of the greater design for the fulfilment of which the unfortunate decision was taken.

It is clear, therefore, that the motive for banishing Seretse from his native land was neither fear of disturbances, nor an excessive zeal for a better and more representative administration.

The reason is that Seretse and his tribe are treated as a means to justify an end—racial segregation.

Let me say in conclusion that Seretse's case will long be remembered by millions of people as the perfect case of might is right, because great issues of justice and common humanity have been brutally compromised. One can feel the hands of Dr. Malan everywhere in this ugly scene. It may be true that the Nationalist Government of South Africa has maintained silence throughout this drama. But was there any direct pressure on the part of the Union at the Trusteeship Council? There is no doubt that the long shadows of the Nationalist Government of Dr. Malan and the European settlers in Northern and Southern Rhodesia are being cast across Bechuanaland.

Meanwhile a tribal council more acceptable to the High Commissioner and the Union of South Africa will be constituted. And when the period of five years has elapsed, Seretse will find himself a stranger in a strange land. It is also true that British Colonialism is dead against enlightened rulers and enlightened movements. And Seretse is an enlightened man, who has shown independence of mind, both in the choice of his marriage and in the manner he has handled his case.

The Unfinished Election

By TOM BRADDOCK

LABOUR nearly lost the Election. It is interesting to note where the greatest alarm comes from. It is from the Conservative Press and from capitalist America. Labour is no longer there to carry the can, somebody has got to keep the freeze on wages and at the same time find men and armaments for killing Russians. Added to this, Europe and America itself are in a state of growing turmoil, only too soon to be repeated in this country. Our industrial workers are not going to be pleased at the prospect of capitalist conditions after the work and sacrifice of the past four years.

Look Out, Labour Party!

Since the war the workers of this country have co-operated to a remarkable extent with the Government, and with big and small-scale business, in a gigantic effort to overcome the losses of war and the neglect between the wars. They succeeded beyond all anticipation. All sections of the country, compared with any other period in the last 50 years, are in a state of vigorous activity.

In return, the workers have had from the Government—*demands for still harder work*

at continued frozen wages. From businessmen and the middle class—a long sustained and heavily financed campaign of lies and slander. All this has culminated, as a result of the Government's feeble policy, in leaving the country with no Government at all. In the world as it is to-day, a Government that has no power to act is useless.

Can Labour Recover?

Yes! Most certainly—but not with the present type of leadership, either in the Cabinet or in Transport House—although, as a matter of fact, Transport House is but a feeble reflection of a feeble Ernest Bevin.

There can be no recovery until we are prepared to take all power from capitalism at home and cut off all dependence on capitalism abroad.

The present Cabinet, by its cowardly policy of going to the country in February rather than bring in a **workers' budget** has condemned itself to bringing in a **Tory budget** and going to the country in the autumn. Alternatively, it could bring in a Socialist budget now and fight an Election at once. This method could succeed—if it was accom-

panied by a frank expression of regret at recent waverings and the retirement from the political scene of those chiefly responsible—Morrison, Attlee, Bevin and Cripps. Not that these are the only ones to blame, but they are all sick or tired, or both, and their going would be a token that the Labour Party had changed its tactics.

The Chief Lesson

There are enough people among the workers, men and women, to sway any election—but they will only support in sufficient numbers a government that gives them continued and actual improvements in their living conditions. They will not consent to stand by and see themselves and their families go short when they can see a living example of better conditions ten minutes walk away from where they live—particularly when the residents in those favoured parts tell them that their poor living conditions are the fault of the Government.

Labour will consolidate its power only when it is prepared to strip the exploiting class of its rent, interest, and profits, and place its own people in the seats of the self-appointed mighty.

I have said these things many times during the past four years, and in this paper. Perhaps now some of the clever politicians will take notice.

Editorial**The Election Analysed****The Way Forward in Britain**

THIRTEEN million working class votes won the Election for Labour. Living in the worst houses, doing the hardest work for the lowest wages, denied the right to control the wealth which they themselves produce, and undoubtedly dissatisfied with Labour's record, the workers nevertheless, refused to surrender to the class enemy the advantage of a Labour Government.

Against this class understanding the Communist Party and all the "independents" crashed disastrously. The hundred candidates of the Communist Party receiving only 98,000 votes in a total poll of over 28,000,000!

It would be wrong, however, to conclude from this that the workers are unsympathetic to the *programme* of the C.P.—at least as it relates to home affairs—or that they voted to endorse the *programme* of the Labour Party. Demands for cuts in profits, for an end to the wage-freeze, for more houses, and for cuts in military expenditure, reflect very largely the feelings of the workers themselves. What defeated the Communist Party was the workers' recognition of the *class nature of the Election*. And the workers were absolutely right. In voting for the Labour Party and *against* the main enemy—Tories and Liberals—the working class has prevented a victory in Britain for the friends and allies of world reaction. And that is a tremendous achievement.

The Class Divisions

Completely repulsed in working class areas, the Tories could make their only serious gains in those suburban concentrations which surround most of our great cities. Here, however, they mobilised sufficient middle-class support to reduce Labour's parliamentary majority from 171 to . . . 6!

This even division of the parliamentary forces reflects the real changes in *class forces* which have been taking place in Britain during the past four years. From being sympathetic, or at least neutral, in 1945, a section of the middle class has now become militantly hostile. Why and how this took place is a problem which demands the most serious discussion in the Labour movement.

The Problem of the Middle Class

The working class, owning nothing but its wonderful ability to create wealth, can readily accept the idea of Socialism, that is, the idea of *common ownership of the great basic means of production*. That is, incidentally, the reason why it is the only truly progressive class in modern society. The possession of property in the means of production (however small), particularly when it is allied to prosperity, has always been a barrier to the acceptance of the idea of common ownership. That is why the middle class, insofar as it derives the whole, or even a portion, of its income from the possession of property, tends to support those parties which stand openly for the private ownership of the means of wealth production. They do this in the mistaken belief that it is the best way to protect their *own* little pieces of property—

garages, shops, farms and the like. Until the fact stares them in the face, they will not recognise that monopoly capitalism perpetuates itself at the expense of the small capitalist and middle-class property-owner.

But not all middle-class people are farmers and shop-keepers. Many of them are compelled to sell to an employer their ability to work and, in fact, this is the general rule among the so-called "urban middle class," teachers, civil servants, musicians, technicians, scientists, etc. Therefore, although it may not be very well understood in suburbia, the aim of the working class to create an economic system based upon the common ownership of the means of production *serves also the best interests of this section of the middle class*. It is not the least important task of the Labour Movement to demonstrate this truth, *in practice*.

The previous Labour Government had a wonderful opportunity to do this. Why it failed can easily be seen in the way it tackled the problems which agitate the middle class.

Labour and Taxation

To explain, for example, that taxation "pays for the social services" is all very well—but the fact is that taxation *could* have been reduced, *providing the Labour Government had had the courage and the socialist conviction to attack the wealth and the privileges of really Big Business*.

There is, to take only one example, no *socialist* reason why a Labour Government should spend £800,000,000 a year on the armed forces. This money is spent in defending the world interests of the City of London. It brings absolutely no benefit to the ordinary people of this country. If the Government had resolutely refused to finance the colonial war in Malaya, the defence of Imperial interests in the Middle East, the occupation of Germany and Greece, and the expensive and brutal military and police operations in the colonial world, it could, with the millions so saved, have reduced considerably the burden of taxation on the workers and the middle class.

Again, there is no *socialist* reason why the State should continue to carry the huge burden of the National Debt. The interest alone amounts to over **£500,000,000 a year**—and most of it goes to vested interests as a reward for their "patriotism" in lending money to the various governments which have fought their wars. Firmly guaranteeing *Post Office Accounts, Small Savings and the like*, it was absolutely possible for the Government to have suspended interest payments on the National Debt to the really big holders. The saving to the Exchequer would have been enormous—sufficient to have allowed substantial reductions in the tax on small incomes, or millions more for the building of houses and schools, or increasing the pitiful pensions of the old people.

These are but two of many examples which can be given to show that a really socialist, really *working class*, policy benefits the great majority of the nation. Action like this would have shown the wavering elements in the population that the Labour Party meant business, that its attacks were directed against

a small minority of very rich people, and that it was the true friend of the "middle class." In this way support for further advance towards the socialist planning of society could have been ensured.

However, the Government persisted in protecting the wealth of the big capitalists and was thus compelled to maintain heavy taxation of the workers and the middle class. In return, Big Business, ever ungrateful, has organised the resulting discontent and nearly brought down the Government! Even worse, by glorifying these policies with the name of "socialism," the leaders of the Party have discredited *real* socialism in the eyes of millions of people. The Tories, eager to exploit such a situation, have cried "*Socialism has failed!*" In truth, **socialism has never been tried!**

An Important Lesson

In voting Tory, the middle class has as yet no idea that it has thereby strengthened its own worst enemy—monopoly capitalism. Capitalism in decline can offer nothing to this section of the population, any more than it can to the workers. Therefore it is safe to predict still further swings of the middle

A Call for A

By ELIZABETH M. BRADDOCK

THE Election has brought more clearly into sight the class division in the country. In spite of the many advantages available to the middle class as a result of socialist legislation, they are still not satisfied with the better security they have. This attitude of the middle class should be a lesson to the Labour leaders. All the "wooing" has been in vain. The line of policy should alter. The Party should now decide to meet the ever-growing needs of the *productive workers*.

The King's Speech has been criticised not for what is in it, but for what is not. The massed attack of the Tories on housing is dangerous because, arising out of the appalling need for houses, the people in their desperation may be deluded into believing that the return of a Tory Government would bring more houses.

The recent housing debate shows how the Tories would exploit politically the very grave housing shortage. The Chancellor in his coming Budget should restore the cut in the capital estimate for housing and, if need be, restrict the purchase of petrol to meet the extra dollars needed to purchase soft woods.

Homes for our people must be a priority, with all the necessary energy and finance concentrated upon it.

Break the complacency in our own Party by Constituency Parties voicing the urgent need for a change in the housing policy.

What to do now

The stand of the Party on Iron and Steel gives heart to those who feared a weak position.

Editorial—continued

class. Whether it will shift again to Labour, or whether, as in pre-war Germany and Italy, it will fall prey to Fascism, will depend entirely on how successful the working class has been in the intervening period in forging a policy and a leadership which does not hesitate to mobilise the people for decisive attacks on monopoly capitalism.

Labour and Democracy

There seems, unfortunately, little hope that the present Government will give such a bold lead to the working class. Although they have been put back in office by the anti-capitalist votes of over 3 million workers, they have already declared for a policy of "safety first." Proposals to nationalise water, sugar, cement and insurance have not been brought forward, and the Government have agreed not to introduce "controversial" legislation in this Parliament. They do this on the grounds that the 15 million votes cast for the two capitalist parties—Tory and Liberal—make it "undemocratic" for Labour to proceed with the application of even the modest programme on which it was elected. Since "non-controversial" legislation is legislation which the Tories can accept, this means that the Government have, in effect, agreed to govern in accordance with Tory wishes.

Does anyone believe that Mr. Churchill, finding himself in a similar position, with

13 million votes and a Tory majority of six, would kindly agree to govern only in accordance with the wishes of the Labour movement! Clearly all this talk of "democracy" and the "will of the people" has been designed to frighten our leaders into betraying the 13 million workers who put them in office and, it must be said, *the trick has so far been highly successful!*

True, the Government has resisted the impertinent Tory demand that the nationalisation of Iron and Steel—which was passed by the last Parliament!—should also be dropped. However, this display of resoluteness does not really amount to very much when it is remembered that the Government clearly intends to hold another election before the *Iron and Steel Act comes into operation.*

The Government's Duty

Labour's huge vote—the largest ever received by any political party in Britain—was a firm instruction to the Labour Government to get on with the job of constructing a socialist society. Moreover, it was an instruction which came from the decisive section of the people—the miners, farm workers, railwaymen, engineers, steel workers, dockers, and all those who do the productive work of society.

In the election results the forces of the capitalists and the middle class on the one side, and the forces of the workers on the other, are more or less equal. But in real life, the importance of the workers in the economy of Britain is enormous, and cannot be compared with the motley array of Tory supporters. *No government can rule against the wishes of these 13 million working people.*

The Government's duty is to act in accordance with the wishes of those who elected them. If we allow our leaders to carry on as they are doing now it will make a Tory victory certain in the very near future.

Left Wing Needed

What is now urgently required is the creation of a really powerful movement capable of putting the Party back on to the socialist road. The instability of the present political situation, the threatening economic crisis, the dangerous swing of the middle class, and the refusal of our leaders to face up to their socialist responsibilities, all point to the urgent necessity of a Left Wing in the Labour Party. Why should the working class allow their great labour movement to be dominated and undermined by a handful of middle class politicians who are divorced from the real life and aspirations of the working class? Why indeed!

The *Socialist Outlook* and the *Socialist Fellowship* have pointed the way. We urge rank and file workers to create in all the organisations to which they belong—Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Wards and Divisional Parties—a movement which will insist on the application of real socialist policies. *A movement which is convinced that only by real socialist planning of the economy can the working class achieve its emancipation. A movement which will not countenance any agreements with our enemies, the capitalist class.*

Such a socialist movement can and will be built. It requires the co-operation of all those who have the best interests of the movement at heart. In this respect we must ask—where will the Communist Party stand in relation to such a movement? Will they support it, oppose it, or try to ignore it?

The post-election statements of the C.P. leaders show that they have learned very

little from their defeat. They have not only affirmed the correctness of their foolish intervention, but have also declared their intention of repeating the performance at the next election. This can only mean that they have decided to turn their backs on the Labour Party. That is, of course, entirely their own affair. But surely the hard-working rank and file of the Communist Party will think twice before following their leaders into still further political isolation.

Conclusion

The election has proved the complete unreality of Fabianism. Those who have in the past so arrogantly rejected the workers' demands for bold measures against capitalism on the grounds that they "would antagonise the middle class" have been utterly confounded by the events. For the middle class, despite the sweet words addressed to it by Herbert Morrison, has voted against Labour. Private enterprise has, not unnaturally, refused to co-operate in its own extinction. It has instead, organised an army of discontented middle class people to trample underfoot the beautiful theories of class harmony so beloved of our Fabian leaders.

What shall now take the place of this discredited theory? Upon the answer to this question literally depends the fate of the British people. If, as we firmly believe, the Labour Movement will mobilise its powerful forces to compel the adoption of a real socialist policy—one which recognises the class struggle in society and bases itself on it—then we shall continue our march forward. There is no other way.

OURSELVES

We regret that we were unable to produce a March issue of the Socialist Outlook. We have no paid staff and all our contributors were heavily engaged in the Election. Furthermore, we should have had to go to press before the result of the Election was known. We are sure our readers will understand these difficulties of a workers' paper.

SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

(London Area)

Conference on

LABOUR AND THE FUTURE

Sunday, April 30th, Holborn Hall
commencing at 2 p.m.

Speakers will include:

Dr. S. W. Jeger, M.P. (Holborn and St. Pancras)

Fenner Brockway, M.P. (Eton and Slough)

Tom Braddock (ex-M.P. for Mitcham)

Ron Chamberlain (ex-M.P. for Norwood)

John Lawrence (Editor, *Socialist Outlook*)

Chairman: **Karl Westwood**
(Labour candidate for Richmond)

See that your organisation appoints its delegates

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ction

M.P.



would be taken. Those who will be delegates to Regional Conferences of the Party must stand firm, and vigorously express the feeling of the rank and file members of the Party. An attack on those who would mark time must be prepared for the next National Conference.

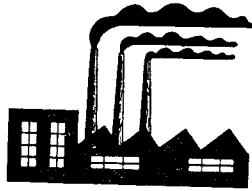
Now, more than ever before, must the rank and file of the Party make their needs and desires felt—for on them depends the progress of our Party.

The responsibility of preserving and forwarding the policy on which the Party fought its way to power is the anxious concern of us all. The criticisms which are being made at local party meetings must be relayed to the National Executive—so that they in turn can acquaint the Government of the national agitation.

Those of us privileged to be members of Parliament must also take our share by making it apparent to the Government that the electorate which we represent want to see vigorous and courageous planning to meet the national need.

A Plan for Engineering

By NORMAN DINNINGS
(A.E.U. member of Tottenham Labour Party)



THE workers in the Royal Ordnance Factories are faced with ever-increasing unemployment. Yet our programme—*Labour Believes in Britain*—says “For private and public enterprise to compete fairly with each other can be good for both.”

In the state-owned Royal Ordnance Factories we have a reasonably close analogy to “public enterprise.” Indeed, Minister of Supply, Wilnot, speaking to Trade Union representatives, once described them as an “experiment in applied socialism.” Despite this definition, however, the workers in the R.O.Fs. have continually had to battle against rising unemployment.

Beginning with vague ideas of “consumer goods production” the workers, through their shop stewards and higher officials, have again and again, because of redundancy of personnel, raised the question of “more work.” But they have had to be content to see armament work carried out by private industry while the managements of R.O.Fs. have submitted tenders for “civil” work in attempts, which are becoming more and more futile, to maintain their “target” strength of fully employed personnel. Futile, because the sellers’ market is at an end. Even while shortages existed, “state” factories received rather meagre share of Government contracts, and then always on the basis of *competitive* tenders.

Fair Competition ?

Before deciding whether such competition “can be good for both” it is necessary to question whether they “compete fairly.”

Workers’ representatives at R.O.Fs. have been repeatedly told that the main function of these factories is as “war potential,” and this must be preserved. The T.U. officials, appreciating this, have narrowed down the problem of redundancy to alternative uses of factory space and equipment, e.g., production of household utensils, refrigerators, gas cookers, electrical appliances and production of

capital machinery for the nationalised industries.

They point out, however, that the preservation of “war potential” places a burden of overheads upon the “state” factories, which prevents the submission of competitive tenders. In addition, the preservation of “war potential” prevents, even if capital were available, the re-equipment of factories to a condition of “competing fairly” with private industry.

Trade Union Attitude

Perhaps, however, the most alarming aspect of this whole situation is the attitude of the T.U. officials towards a Government statement which says (1) with the end of the sellers’ market, private industry can supply the goods, (2) the export drive is paramount and the nationalised industries must buy capital equipment in the cheapest market, and (3) the drive and enthusiasm in the R.O.Fs. is not what it should be.

Confronted with this, the T.U. officials take a step backward. Originally claiming “planned” participation in consumer goods production and supply of capital equipment to nationalised industries, they now demand the continuance of that situation which has already proved so disastrous for R.O.F. workers. Pointing out that the Government, “after research and planning,” have handed household equipment contracts to private industry instead of to “state” factories, they demand *renewed but more vigorous competition with private industry. Like the Government, they start with “planning” and finish up with “competition.”*!

Nor do they recognise the meagre forces at their disposal to win this dubious position. These forces are limited to those workers within the “state” factories. The other engineering workers are working for the private competitors, thus they are not only excluded

from the programme, they are forced into *opposition*, because when contracts are scarce, the success of one section means unemployment for the other.

The Solution

On page 10 of *Labour Believes in Britain*, under “Economic Planning,” is the statement: “The Government must accept responsibility for economic planning for the nation as a whole. Only by planning can we maintain full employment and achieve victory in the battle of the balance of payments.”

Here, then, is the solution. An engineering plan for the nation as a whole. A plan that will embrace every engineering plant necessary to maximum efficiency of the industry.

Planning demands detailed knowledge of available productive capacity in order that required commodities (consumer or capital) may be allocated to the most suitable plant. The equipment requirements of the nationalised industries would be secured through such a plan.

Industrialisation of hitherto backward countries of Europe (e.g., Yugoslavia) and of the colonies, provides an opportunity for long term full employment of British engineering workers.

No problems of diversion of materials would arise since supplies are an essential part of “planning.” Would this reduce prices and increase productivity ?

An essential factor in price reduction is the elimination of profits, which means that we cannot afford, at this stage, merely to change the *name* of these profits. It will be essential, therefore, to *suspend payments of “compensation.”*

The Plan will also require the control of managements of the former owners—we cannot take a chance of their 100 per cent co-operation. It *must* be 100 per cent., and, to this end, committees of workers in each plant must have full knowledge of their own plants’ target within the “plan,” and access to all cost-of-production records. Such a step will be the first towards the ultimate socialisation of industry.

In such a situation, not only would wage-increases be possible, but the “drive and enthusiasm” of the workers, whether in former R.O.Fs. or in those newly nationalised, would reach heights undreamed of by the government.

A Trade Unionist reflects on the Election

By JACK STANLEY (General Secretary, Constructional Engineering Union)

WELL! the election is over. The result, a striking example of how those frustrated most by their friends, when faced by the common enemy, in this case Toryism, sink all differences and remain solid and true to their class. What would the Labour Party do without the real trade unionist; that is the rank and file member of the union ?

He is grateful for the repeal of the Trades Disputes Act of 1927, National Insurance, Health Services and full employment, but he resents being exploited by a Labour Government for the benefit of the profiteer.

What are the lessons the politician has to learn from this election ? I mean the Labour Party politician.

First, not to make rash promises until you are reasonably sure of fulfilment. Second, not to sacrifice principles to expediency. Third, to never forget there is still a class struggle between the “Haves” and the “Have nots,” and the same people who kept the working class in chains for generations have not, despite their protestations at election times, altered their opinion of these same working classes. This last point is the most important, yet many Labour Party candidates endeavoured

to hide the fact and, if it was mentioned, apologised for it.

As a trade unionist, I am firmly convinced that the throwing overboard of a true and full socialist programme, the freezing of wages, the freeing of profits, the pandering to the Tories on foreign policy, and the vacillation of certain members of the Government, was responsible for a certain amount of apathy amongst the workers, and left them no answer to the so-called “floating voters” and waverers, when door-to-door debates took place.

Rash promises that housing would be tackled as a war-time emergency and the cost added to the National Debt, were not kept, and despite the Labour Government’s achievements you could not convince homeless young couples that everything possible had been done.

The cuts in the building programme was an unanswerable argument, especially when you were convinced it was unnecessary.

The actions of Trade Union leaders in supporting the policy of wage freezing, whilst finding excuses for putting forward and supporting their own members’ claims, held the movement up to ridicule and gave a weapon to the non-unionist and employers, which will be used for years, to our detriment.

These leaders have not only been of disservice to the Trade Unionists, but to the Movement as a whole, and the actions now being taken prove my contention that, had the rank and file been consulted in the first instance, the result would have been different.

When Trade Union leaders become politicians, they are apt to forget their upbringing and play safe. Trade Union progress was not made that way and, in my opinion, never will. “You will obtain nothing from the employers that you are not strong enough to demand.”

The old game of “divide and conquer” is still popular, and when I hear talk about a new spirit in Industry, it leaves me stone cold. The same spirit from the employers’ side is still apparent, but full employment makes it convenient for them to hide it, and the attitude of certain leaders assists in cloaking the real design.

Had the Tories been successful, that same spirit would have been uncorked, as it was in 1921 and onward, and, drunk with success, the venom would appear.

I, as one leader of a Trade Union, have no illusions of what will happen under a Tory Government—fifty years’ experience wants some eradicating. The leopard doesn’t easily change its spots. Our job now is to get back on the “Right road to Socialism” and this means keeping Left, and right on to the end of that road.



A New Reader writes . . .

I was sold a copy of the *Socialist Outlook* at a meeting recently and I have decided I must know more about this movement.

I am an active member of my Trade Union and local Labour Party and, like the contributors to *Socialist Outlook*, I feel that our present Government are only scratching at the surface of capitalism. I would like to assist in inducing them to dig deeper into the roots of this system which brings slumps and wars with ever increasing rapidity—and to eradicate it forever.

I would also like to make this an opportunity to congratulate **Ronald Chamberlain** on his most excellent expositions of the distribution of profits of certain companies and, although I realise the possibilities are remote, I would like to see his articles published in the National Press with a wider circulation.

Once again, I must congratulate all concerned in the compilation of the *Socialist Outlook*.

BERMONDSEY. W. Punt.

* * *

Which Flag?

After speaking at an Election meeting at the Hulme Hall, Port Sunlight, in support of Sir Frank Soskice, Sir Stafford Cripps was asked: "Do you agree with the *Socialist Outlook* that the working class derives its inspiration more from the *Red Flag* than from *God Save the King*?" Sir Stafford replied: "I don't think either of them is a very good idea."

What does he want? *Onward Christian Soldiers*?

BIRKENHEAD. Alf Rose.

* * *

Communists and the S.L.F.

I am surprised that you should allow such misstatements in your paper as that contained in the article by the Chairman of the University of London Association of Labour Students in your last issue. He says that "confusion is caused to people outside student politics by the existence of a Student 'Labour' Federation (the S.L.F.)—a body entirely Communist in control and policy."

The Student Labour Federation, whose President I have been for ten years, has been since pre-war days the main force uniting Socialists in the Student movement. It was set up for the purpose of bringing together in one united organisation members of the Labour and Communist parties, as well as non-party socialists. But the unfortunate fact is that the Labour Party student leaders have always been hostile to the S.L.F. The S.L.F. has made repeated attempts to improve relations with the Labour Party organisation in the hope of achieving unity, particularly since the setting up of the National Association of Labour Student Organisations; but these have been without success at the top level, though many student members of the Labour Party are also members of S.L.F. and work with the latter in united activities locally.

LONDON. D. N. Pritt.

★ Correspondence should be as brief as possible and addressed to The Editor, 3 Trafalgar Avenue, London, S.E.15.

Who Controls the S.L.F.?

I read your January issue with great interest, but there is one statement which I cannot let pass unchallenged. The article by Bernard Crick contains the assertion that the Student Labour Federation is "a body entirely Communist in policy and control." As a member and delegate to its recent conference, I must disagree.

There were four delegates to the conference from Oxford, two were Communists, I am a member of the Labour Party, and the other delegate tells me he is joining this term. Although some of the resolutions passed were put forward by communists, others were passed against their opposition. The conference itself was not composed entirely of communists—many non-communists were elected to the Executive.

The whole tone of the conference was our fight against Toryism. Admittedly we added that we would fight it, not only in the Conservative policy, but wherever it is reflected in the Labour Party as well. But this charge could be levelled against many of the writers in *Socialist Outlook*.

Incidentally, I bought *Socialist Outlook* off the literature stall of the Socialist Club. I have yet to see it displayed at the Oxford Labour Club.

LINCOLN COLLEGE, G. F. Smith.
OXFORD.

* * *

Editor's Note:

There is no "mis-statement," as D. N. Pritt alleges. Bernard Crick's views on the S.L.F. are his own, and he has a right to express them. They do not, however, necessarily coincide with the views of the Editorial Board of *Socialist Outlook*.

HUNGER AND SURPLUS

The Press recently reported that the U.S. Government is buying and storing surplus food to such an extent that "caves and even aerodrome hangars" are being used as store-houses. According to the *News Chronicle* (6.3.50) the "U.S. Government now owns more than £1,400 millions worth of produce, ranging from butter to dried beans, turkeys to turpentine, potatoes and peanuts to corn and cotton. It is costing the taxpayers £9,000 to store and for losses by deterioration."

The report goes on to say that the American Government is acquiring the surplus in order "to keep up prices and assure prosperity to the farmers whenever abundant crops threaten to depress prices . . ."

In the same paper there also appeared an article by **Lord Boyd Orr** in which he says that "the peoples of Asia have long borne poverty with resignation as something inevitable" but that they "have now come to believe that, if they take control of their own affairs, and establish a new order, they will be able to abolish hunger."

How right they are!
Boyd Orr concludes that "the problem of hunger . . . and surpluses should cancel each other out in a sane world." But he does not, apparently, support the conclusions drawn by the hungry peoples of Asia! Yet that is clearly the only way out—and I am confident the peoples of the world will take it.

The "scientist" **Huxley** is recently reported to have said that to solve the question of hunger we must have less babies! How, may we ask, will less babies solve the problem of how to get the "surplus" food out of the American "caves and aerodromes" into the hungry bellies of the living babies of Asia?

No! The only way it can be done is by the method of our Asiatic brothers—"taking control of our own affairs." When the workers control America and the world, they will not see Chinese babies starve—for then the problem of profits will be no more.

London. MRS. HILDA LANE.

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Labour League of Youth Page

Autonomy for the League

How it will Work

By BERT PENFOLD (*Wandsworth Central L.L.O.Y.*)

IN the January issue of *Advance* (League of Youth Journal) Mr. A. L. Williams, the Labour Party National Youth Officer, examines the 5-point programme for L.O.Y. autonomy which was first put forward by rank and file members at the Filey Rally and which received, as he says, "vociferous support."

It is gratifying to see Comrade Williams giving a measure of support to these demands, but it is clear that some further elaboration is needed.

Mr. Williams says: "There is, of course, no objection in principle to an annual conference of the League. The main problem is the representative character of any conference and the best way of ensuring a truly democratic expression of opinion."

It is good that comrade Williams admits our demand for an Annual Conference is reasonable, and that there can be no objection in principle. In view of his statement, I hope we have heard the last of suggestions that we were "trouble-makers" for bringing them forward.

Conference Representation

But Comrade Williams goes on to say: "no suggestions have been made about the basis of representation. For instance, is each branch to only have one delegate? If such were to be the case, a branch with six members would have the same representation as a branch with two hundred."

We can readily discuss such questions as these—now that we appeared to have established the principle that the League of Youth should have a Conference of its own.

Delegates to the Labour Party Conference, Comrade Williams, are elected on the basis of one delegate to 5,000 members or part thereof. The L.O.Y. conference would require a similar arrangement, but based, of course, on smaller numbers—say one delegate to 50 members or part thereof. It is true that delegates would, within limits, represent differing numbers; but this applies equally to

the L.P. conference and indeed to most conferences in our Movement.

The next point which Comrade Williams makes is:

"It is uncertain, too, if a national delegate conference would really be representative of more than a small minority of all the branches. Even regional conferences are not always fully representative."

We agree that all Leagues do not send delegates to the present regional conferences. We maintain, however, that the reason for this lies in the fact that these regional meetings have no power to act on anything but the weakest of suggestions, and Leagues consequently ask themselves "is it worth going?" Give us an Annual Conference, subject only to the ruling of the Party Annual Conference, and the Leagues will support it to the full.

Our own Executive

When once the principle is established, we can proceed to discuss the manner of its election. In this, Comrade Williams and I agree that a form of representation based on regions would be the most representative. However, it is necessary to correct him when he infers that members of the present National Consultative Committee are elected at regional conferences of delegates from League branches. **This does not happen.** In London, for example, the delegate conference of London leagues does not elect the two representatives for London. They are appointed by the Youth Advisory Committee.

I think the purpose of this distortion on the part of Comrade Williams is to distract attention from the essence of our demand, which is for an elected National Executive Committee and not a National Consultative Committee.

Representation at Party Conference

"This," says Comrade Williams, "is already covered by the Labour Party Constitution, which provides for the League Chairman and one other delegate to attend."

Votes at 18!

By ANDREW KIRKBY (*Vice-Chairman, Twickenham League of Youth*)

IT always strikes me as a bit ironical that youngsters of the Royal family should "come of age" at 18, and that we, the workers, reach that stage only when we are 21. Mind you, coming of age for them means inheriting a lot of feudal pomp and privilege, a number of adequate homes for all seasons of the Society year, and a considerable bank balance subscribed from the workers' wages.

Young workers on the other hand, have probably learned considerably more about life by the time they are 18, yet they are denied, not feudal privileges it is true, but—the fundamental right to vote!

The constitutional lawyers say that only citizens (*subjects* to them—an apt word) who are a "sui juris" can be allowed the privilege of a vote. Persons under 21 are legally minors and so are incapable of enjoying the legal rights and duties of an adult.

There is, however, a very practical reason why all the capitalists are against votes at 18. Working class youth is the most exploited section of society, suffering bad apprenticeship conditions, conscription, housing shortages, and restricted educational facilities. If they had a vote they would be unlikely to vote for the continuation of these conditions. **The legalistic quibbles amount in fact to the defence of the right of the capitalist to safely exploit the young worker.**

We in the *Labour League of Youth* must raise the demand for votes at 18. It is imperative that this should be included in any Youth Programme. We must show that "age equality" is as essential as "sex equality." If we are old enough to fight in imperialist wars—we are old enough to vote! Let us demand our rights. The vote at 18 can be a fundamental victory on the long road to Socialism.

Given this, then, does it not follow that the League itself, through its Annual Conference, should elect its OWN Chairman and its other delegate, who would then be in a position to speak and vote in accordance with decisions reached by the League of Youth in Conference, instead of as at present, people appointed to attend who in fact represent nothing.

Youth on the N.E.C.

We are again in agreement with Comrade Williams that appointment to the N.E.C. is a bad thing in principle. It is just for this reason that we want the election of a member of the L.O.Y. for the N.E.C. from the Annual Conference of the L.O.Y. He says that the "L.O.Y. members would not be responsible to the L.P. Conference." Any such suggestion that the L.O.Y. intends to ignore L.P. Conference decisions is not the kind of talk that will endear the speaker to young people, when there have been so many things done by the Labour Government that have not received the sanction of the Party Conference.

Control of "Advance"

"This," says Comrade Williams, "is a very reasonable demand." Then the quicker it is put into practice, the better.

Sales of *Advance* are so low at the moment that the paper is a financial burden on the Party—even at 3d. a copy. Let the League really control its own paper and then watch the sales go up!

We are Loyal to the Party

Finally, as Comrade Williams says, "there is not a great deal dividing those who are agitating for these proposals and those who do not seem so enthusiastic . . . The National Executive of the Party are as anxious as anybody to secure the maximum of autonomy for the League compatible with its existence as a section of the Labour Party."

That, Comrade Williams, is what we want too. Nothing more and nothing less. We think that when you go on to say "there are some, obviously only a small minority, who see in these proposals a means of creating an independent League of Youth" you are doing a bit of sidetracking. **We know of no such people, not even a small minority. We repudiate emphatically this suggestion.**

The strongest supporters of these demands are, in fact, also the most active in the Wards and the Divisional Parties. Election work has been shouldered cheerfully, and done well and successfully. Examine how many Ward and Party secretaries are Leaguers—how many are Party agents and candidates, and you will then be able to see whether or not the L.O.Y. members are able to shoulder responsibility in the Party.

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