

T&GWU LEADERS PULL PUNCHES IN

TRANSPORT FIGHT

Prevail on Bevan to Cry off meeting

ARE the leaders of the Transport and General Workers Union serious in their declared opposition to the Tory de-nationalisation of road transport? Three times in the last few weeks officials of Mr. Deakin's union have tried to stop transport workers holding mass meetings against de-nationalisation.

They tried, but failed, to stop a meeting of 2,800 delegates in Leicester! They failed also to stop a similar meeting in Halifax where three Labour M.P.'s spoke. But in London, top Union Officials prevailed upon Mr. Bevan (and two other M.P.'s) to cry off a much-publicised meeting, thus effectively ruining what would surely have been a mass protest against the Tory transport grab.

Bro. Gardiner, spokesman for the men who organised the London meeting expressed the general feeling when he said: "I cannot explain the behaviour of our paid officials in destroying what would have been one of the heaviest blows struck, not only at the threat of denationalisation, but at the roots of the Tory government."

The press all carried reports alleging that the meeting was organised by communists. This was untrue. "None of us are Communists" said Bro. Sears, one of those responsible for organising the meeting. "Mr. Fields, Labour M.P. for North Paddington, knows us all personally and has vouched for that fact."

Three West London branches of the T. & G.W.U. called this meeting in response to a circular from

FROM OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

their own regional office which had urged that. . . "Throughout the region arrangements be made for special meetings for stewards and collectors, general meetings of members, and meetings for the public in a hall or in the open air." That is what was done.

WHY WAS IT STOPPED?

Because of a technical breach of the "constitution" insofar as the meeting had not been organised by paid officials? If that is true then some people at the top of this union do not seem to be very serious about arousing public opinion against denationalisation.

To make matters even worse, the meeting was publicly opposed by the union—despite the fact that 31 representatives from 15 local branches had unanimously urged that "nothing should be done by the officials of our union to jeopardise the meeting at the Hammersmith Town Hall . . ."

There is no doubt at all that Transport workers are prepared to fight denationalisation. They know the power of their Union and they want to see it used to fight the Tories. As one worker said at the 'banned' meeting. "If Deakin can pull Bevan out of our meeting, why can't he pull Churchill out of office?" Why, indeed!

One conclusion can certainly be drawn from this deplorable affair. Acting in this high-handed manner, in defiance of the wishes of their own energetic membership, the top officials of Mr. Deakin's union are a serious brake in the fight against denationalisation.

EDEN IN PALE PINK

The N.E.C. goes phrasemongering

THE Statement of Foreign Policy which the N.E.C. will submit to the October Conference of the Labour Party could—with only slight modifications—have very well been issued from the Tory Central Office.

In every essential, the statement gives its unqualified support to the policy at present being pursued by the Tory Foreign Secretary. It is uncritical of the re-armament programme, it supports the wars in Korea and Malaya, it blames Russia for the present world tension and, despite many fine phrases, makes not one proposal for granting freedom to the colonial peoples. No wonder that shrewd capitalist paper, the "Sunday Observer", could write (16/6/52):

"The Labour Party Statement of foreign policy is a worthy and responsible document. Obviously great care has been taken to smooth over controversial points . . . the keynote of the document is a broad continuity of the policies inaugurated by Mr. Ernest Bevin. As this continuity is also maintained by Mr. Eden, the basis for national unity in foreign affairs remains intact."

On German re-armament, it is true, the N.E.C. repeats its desire

for "elections first"—but, as this declaration has already been floated in the House of Commons by Mr. Attlee and as no action has been taken against him by the N.E.C. we cannot, until there is a radical change of leadership, take this German policy very seriously.

And in any case, no fundamental differences exist with the Tories even on this question. The N.E.C. is wholly in favour of a European Army "within which

An Editorial

German forces could serve"—but they insist—a great "Socialist" principle this—on the participation of American and Canadian troops also!

WAR AND PEACE

With bombs now dropping on the Chinese border, this is the question uppermost in everybody's mind. What does the N.E.C. have to say about it? On page 4 we read:

"If Britain and her allies maintain their efforts (to re-arm) they may soon expect to find the Soviet Union ready to negotiate a settlement. An international agreement

(Continued on page 4, col. 1)

German Workers Fight The War Plan

Call on Labour Party for Help

SINCE the middle of May, hundreds of thousands of workers in Western Germany have been involved in a wave of strikes and demonstrations spread over the whole Federal Republic and officially recognised by the German T.U.C.

The first wave of mass action came in January. It was a spontaneous protest movement of militant workers and trade unionists against re-armament

This movement was limited to South Germany (especially Bavaria and Hesse) and reached its high point in an emergency conference of the Bavarian trade unions in Munich. Speaking in

the name of 800,000 trade unionists, the delegates unanimously voted a resolution against re-armament.

Faced with this revolt of the rank-and-file, the trade union leadership hastily retreated from its position of support for the war

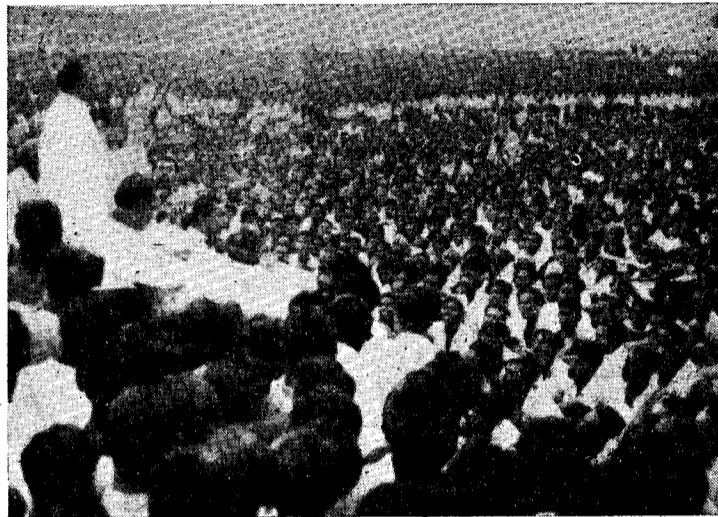
By W. Sprenger, German Trade Unionist

drive. A new issue appeared, around which the German T.U.C. hoped to head-off the anti-war movement.

The reactionary law on shop stewards, which is being passed, at present by the Bonn Parliament,

Ceylon Opposition M.P.'s declare. . .

THIS ELECTION WAS RIGGED!



Dr. N. M. Perera, leader of the Ceylon Socialist Party, addressing the huge crowd—multitude is perhaps a better word—which gathered at Colombo's Galle Face field to demand an inquiry into the running of the recent General Election in Ceylon. The meeting—organised jointly by the Socialist, Communist and Freedom Parties—was the biggest in the history of Ceylon.

THE British Press was recently full of detailed accounts of the 'victory' of Mr. Dudley Senanayake's United National Party in the Ceylon General Election. What a triumph for democracy! they all exclaimed. See how the Ceylon people have spurned the totalitarians!

What the press very carefully hid however, was the fact that all Ceylon's Opposition parties have publicly denounced the General Election as a calculated fraud!

Nor did the press lords deem it necessary to inform their readers that the Ceylonese people are so incensed at this fraud that huge meetings have vigorously demanded action against the U.N.P. Government—including even a boycott of Parliament.

"I am prepared to wager any bet that if there was a free election the U.N.P. would not get even five seats of their present 54," declared Dr. M. N. Perera, M.P., leader of the Ceylon Socialist Party when addressing the huge meeting pictured above. He continued:

"In Mr. Senanayake's (the pre-

sent premier) own constituency the figures of the other candidates were given before the count!"

Dr. Perera charged the U.N.P. Government with using every device to win power: mass impersonation, free distribution of money, and the replacement of ballot boxes. All this became possible, he said, "because Ceylon is now a colony of America. . . If the Government does not grant our demand for an inquiry into the election, then it will have to face the consequences. The workers and peasants are organised and prepared to fight this fascist rule."

CHALLENGE TO CAPITALISTS

Mr. C. Suntharalingham, M.P., of the Freedom Party, said that the 1952 elections were a farce "from the compiling of electoral registers to the counting of ballot papers." He challenged the U.N.P. M.P.'s to come forward and face the electorate again.

Communist M.P. Pieter Keuneman declared that 250,000 Indian voters in Ceylon had been disfranchised, and more than three times this number of young Ceylonese had not been allowed to vote.

All these serious allegations were made openly by members of the Ceylon Parliament before huge and enthusiastic audiences of workers and peasants. Yet not a word of it has appeared in the British press.

Are the allegations of electoral rigging true? Judge for yourselves.

If all those hundreds of thousands who have thundered their applause at these opposition meetings voted against the U.N.P. (and it is safe to assume that they did) then their votes alone should have ensured Senanayake's defeat. . . yet he won by a big majority!

YOUTH the future of LABOUR

A new pamphlet that every young socialist should read
Written by members of the
Labour League of Youth

Price 4d. 5½d. post free

Send now for copies to :-
Audrey Wise,
22, Bulwer St., London, W.12

The official T.U.C. speakers tried to head-off working class opposition to Re-armament. Over
(Continued on page 4, col. 3)

Korea is a rehearsal for World War 3

American journalist reveals the facts

ON the second anniversary of the Korean war it is appropriate that a book* by an American journalist, I. F. Stone, which completely exposes the United Nations "police action," should make its appearance.

Based solely on United States and United Nations documents and on respected British and American newspaper sources, Stone's book shatters the myth that the Korean war began as a defensive action against "communist expansion." It completely justifies the stand taken by the "Socialist Outlook" in June, 1950, when the paper declared that North Korea were the victims, not the aggressors.

WHO BENEFITS?

To find the criminal it is only necessary to ask—who benefited from the crime? I. F. Stone answers our question thus:—

"The outbreak of the war solved many political problems on the anti-Communist side . . . Within two days it gave Chiang-Kai-Shek protection against an invasion from the mainland. It shelved the question of a general peace treaty for Japan and put off the withdrawal of occupation troops and the abandonment of American bases there.

"The moment chosen did seem an unusually poor one from the standpoint of the North. The preceding Monday

* "The Hidden Story of the Korean War" by I. F. Stone. Turnstile Press, 21/-.

AMERICAN FASCISM?

THE immigration bill which has been passed by both houses of the American Congress puts quota limits on immigration from foreign countries that are exactly in accord with Hitler's propaganda ideology about foreign races.

The Bill contains fantastic clauses discriminating against people of Asian descent, South and Eastern Europeans, Negroes and Jews. It even sets up a special inferior status for any person "attributable by as much as one-half of his ancestry" to "Asiatic races."

Senator Wood of Idaho, justifying the Bill had this to say: "It seems that the question of racial origin—though I am not a follower of Hitler—there is something to it. I believe that possibly statistics would show that the Western European races have made the best citizens of America."

This is pure Hitlerite racial theory. Change the words "Western European races" to "Aryan races" and "America" to "Germany" and we are back in the brutal ignorance of Hitler's Third Reich!

BY BILL HUNTER

the new legislature had just convened in Seoul with an overwhelming anti-Rhee majority. Why attack a government which might soon be transformed from within into a new regime willing to negotiate unification?" (page 65).

Why indeed! Much more likely that the attack should come from the forces who feared unification.

WORLD WAR PLANS

Discussing the origins of the war, Stone writes:

"There is no stranger coincidence in this story of strange coincidences than the fact that the British, Australian and American military authorities should have held top level conferences in the Pacific area just before the Korean fighting broke out. If there had indeed been a decision to risk a civil war in Korea, such conferences were a necessary measure of foresight."

Irresistibly the conclusion flows out of this book that the Korean

war began and developed as a rehearsal for World War Three: as a conspiracy by war-mongering militarists in the "free world" to whip their peoples into a frenzied preparation for war against China and the Soviet Union. Implicated in that plot were not only General MacArthur—one of the chief instigators, it is true—but also Truman and the American Government and all the U.N. powers who gave "quick and quiet acquiescence" to the "strategy of the fait accompli on the American side."

Throughout the two years of the Korean war, the U.N. Command has conducted it with one eye always on its role as a preparation for the Third World War. Even military withdrawals and offensives have taken place in line with this consideration.

Stone uncovers the fact that the "home by Christmas" offensive of MacArthur was originally scheduled for November 15th but later postponed to November 24th. The dates are instructive. Originally the representatives of



Communist China were to arrive at Lake Success on November 15th. Their arrival, too, was postponed to the 24th."

Thus the offensive was deliberately timed to disrupt the peace talks.

THE SOLDIERS KNEW

Behind the big withdrawal of December 1950 and January 1951 was the aim of panicking the peoples of the United Nations into greater support of the anti-communist drive. Stone's exposure of the motives behind this withdrawal endorse the conclusions drawn on the spot by Bill Tyler, before he was killed. In his "Letters from Korea," under a dateline of January 31st, 1951, he wrote:

"In my opinion the Americans are fighting a political rather than a strategic war. . . One is led to the opinion that either the Americans are the world's worst fighters or that they deliberately retreated well south of the 38th Parallel in order that they could get the U.N. political committee to label the Chinese as aggressors and take action against them, which manoeuvre may succeed with dire results for mankind."

Bill Tyler was correct. The retreat was deliberate, and dictated by world politics.

The leaders of the United Nations fear peace in Korea. "An (American) Administration whose whole programme depended on an ever greater injection of alarms, feared the consequences of peace, the 'let-down' which would follow" (page 274). Because of this fear of peace the truce talks have been dragged out and constantly disrupted. The Koje incidents, although not dealt with in this book, fit into his pattern. "Voluntary repatriation" and its consequences have become another device to avoid peace in Korea.

The conspiracy of militarists and imperialists has meant the utter destruction of Korea. No member of the Labour Party can read Stone's indictment without becoming disgusted and angry that the Party is not campaigning for an end to this murder of a nation. But those who, along with the Socialist Outlook, have opposed the war from the beginning will receive from this book added strength in their struggle against this war of extinction of a proud people fighting for their freedom and independence.

The Trial of Freedom Persia v Imperialism

FREEDOM is on trial at the World Court—the freedom of poor nations of the 'free world' to become socialist.

Persia has sinned.

This is a much wider claim than the first. In poor countries nearly everything of value, even native farmlands, may be owned by foreign traders and moneylenders. This extension of the claim makes socialism doubly impossible in poor lands.

To clinch the matter, Britain has launched a third claim. Nationalisation of foreign property is unlawful unless provision for compensation is effective, adequate and prompt. Persia could have paid (and did offer) adequate compensation from future sales of oil, but this was not enough. How much less than enough will be any offers that can be made by poorer states faced with buying back their whole country for cash?

If Britain wins her case, socialism for poor countries will be declared effectively unlawful. The present case is an introduction only, since Persia has claimed that the Court has no right to judge for two reasons. (1) Persia never gave it any right, and (2) nationalisation is a domestic matter.

If Persia wins the preliminary trial on the first point, the main trial cannot be held. If she wins it on the second count, the trial will be over and freedom will be set free. But if she loses it, a second trial will take place. Freedom will again be in the dock, and Britain will be demanding the death sentence.

H. E. Castens

Britain is claiming that this freedom does not, in effect, exist. She is claiming on three grounds that the Persian law nationalising her oil industry is unlawful. The Tories are prosecuting but Labour prepared the brief.

The first ground is that a Persian Prince, acting under great and skilfully applied pressure, signed away Persia's rights over her own oil for the best part of a century. Britain claims that the Persian people must now leave this oil in foreign hands until this concession expires many years hence. A large part of the poor countries of the world have had concessions of that sort torn out of their princelings in the past, and even today great pressure is being put on popular governments to follow the princelings' example. The assets covered by concessions are almost always key assets, without ownership of which socialism is impossible.

But Britain does not restrict her claim to assets owned under concessions. Her second contention is that nationalisation is unlawful if aimed primarily in effect at foreigners. Because most, if not all, Persian oil was foreign owned,

THE CHOICE BEFORE SOUTH AFRICA

'Explosion inevitable'—and why

SOUTH AFRICA is a land of 8,000,000 Africans, 900,000 coloured and 2,300,000 Afrikaners and Whites. Here democracy is trampled underfoot, constitutions are violated, whole communities are disfranchised, and militant trade-unionists are imprisoned by the dictatorship of a few whites and Dr. Malan.

All this and more is described, vividly and in detail, by Solly Sachs in his book "Choice before South Africa". The author is South Africa's most prominent T.U. leader—General Secretary of the Garment Workers' Union—now jailed by Malan under the "Suppression of Communism" Act.

Malan's government, in four years has disfranchised the entire Indian community, substantially disfranchised the coloureds, and,

* Turnstile Press, 15/-.

by means of the notorious Group Areas Act, now threatens 300,000 Indians with expatriation to India.

The penalty for "spreading communism" is ten years hard labour. Enforcing these measures the police killed 104 and wounded 248 Africans between 1948 and 1951. In addition, 149,388 Africans were prosecuted under the "Pass" Laws in 1950 alone. As Sachs observes, "The Nationalist Government has destroyed all safety valves—an explosion is inevitable." His book shows why that is so.

THE MINES

"Gold mining has dominated South African economic, political and social life for over fifty years." The Companies are mostly English owned. In 1947, they declared total dividends of £12,700,000.

Out of 470,000 employees on the mines, 421,000 are Africans! The African mine worker is treated like an animal. He is not allowed to do a skilled job. His

average wage is two shillings per shift. He lives in a "compound" (a sort of concentration camp without gas chambers) and to leave it he needs a special pass. His bed consists of a cement slab covered with straw, while an occasional war dance and native beer constitute his "social amenities". He cannot bring his wife or children into the compound; he can-

BOOK REVIEW BY M. BANDA

not sell his labour freely, for a "breach of contract" is treated as a criminal offence.

Why do the Africans leave their land to work in the mines? the readers might ask.

The answer is to be found in the Natives Land Act passed in 1913 by the United Party which prohibits the natives from acquiring land outside certain areas. This, together with the drastic taxes imposed by the government have wrecked the primitive economy of the tribes and driven them off the land—into the mines.

Despite the terror of the mining companies and the hostility of the English and Boer miners, the African Mine Workers' Union in 1946 led a heroic strike which

was only crushed after ten workers had been killed and hundreds injured.

LAND AND PROPERTY

"About three-quarters of the non-European and about one-quarter of the European population in South Africa live on the land. The native people on the land live in absolute poverty. "Virtually the entire native population is undernourished and, during the months preceding reaping, many people starve."

" . . . In the Umtata district, out of more than 2,000 children only 4 per cent. eat meat and 5 per cent. vegetables. More than 80 per cent. of all school children do not receive more than one meal a day and then it consists exclusively of maize. The scourge of pellagra is prevalent." There is only one doctor for 20,000 natives in this region.

Commenting on the land hunger, the author says that the total area of land set aside for native occupation does not amount to more than 12.4 per cent. of the total area of the Union!

From all the facts in this valuable book it seems almost certain that South Africa will take the road of the Chinese workers and peasants in solving the joint pro-

Malan and Churchill are allies

MALAN'S policy of 'Apartheid' and Churchill's policy of 'Federation' were bitterly criticised and condemned by African speakers at a well attended meeting organised by the 'Democracy for South Africa Committee' at Caxton Hall, on Wednesday, June 18th.

The African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, and the Franchise Action Council (a coloured organisation) had decided unanimously to launch a nationwide "passive resistance" movement against Malan's pernicious laws. Ten thousand people had already volunteered for this campaign.

M. D. Naidou, a Natal-Indian Trade Union Leader and the Secretary of the Committee, analysed the Native Laws Amendment Act which compelled African women to carry passes, and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act which made whipping—of Africans only!—compulsory for certain crimes. It was to resist such humiliation that the Africans and Indians had organised themselves. The aims and methods of the Torch Commando, he said were unrealistic. There opposition to Malan was limited by their desire to stay within the framework of the Constitution. Moreover they had refused to co-

The 'Democracy for South Africa Committee' is prepared to send speakers to Trade Union and Labour Party meetings. Application should be made to M. D. Naidou, 31a Thayer St., London, W.1.

operate with the Africans and Indians.

It was quite possible, Mr. Naidou warned, that Malan would resort to repression and massacre. Africans were prepared for that. However, stern criticism and threat of sanctions from the British people could avert such a disaster.

Dr. H. Banda, from Nyasaland, declared that the recent action of the British Commonwealth and Colonial Offices showed that the Fascist contagion was spreading from Pretoria to Whitehall. Federation of Nyasaland with Northern and Southern Rhodesia was not, he claimed, an isolated question. It was Malan who inspired this idea and encouraged the white settlers to import his segregation and cheap labour policies into the British Protectorates.

The pattern of racial domination in South Rhodesia was very similar to that in South Africa. Colour Bar was not recognised in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. If Federation was achieved then Huggins, like Malan in the South, would become dictator of Central Africa; and 165,000 Whites would dominate 6,000,000 Africans.

The proposed parliament for Federated Central Africa would consist of 35 members—26 representing the white settlers and only 9 representing the Africans. And even of this 9, only 4 were to be Africans. The guarantees of Huggins and Salisbury "are not worth the paper they are written on" he said, "we would rather go into concentration camps than accept these proposals."

"We oppose Federation" declared Dr. Banda "not from ignorance but from full knowledge of the white settlers' motives and objects in setting up an independent Dominion."

blems of cruel land hunger and violent exploitation. Until the Bantu peasants are masters of the land there can be no peace in Africa. However it must be admitted that the author does not draw this conclusion, and this in my opinion, constitutes the weakness of his book. Nevertheless, no socialist can afford to be without this documented evidence of the bestiality of the white man's regime in South Africa.

We now appear Fridays
FORTNIGHTLY

NEXT ISSUE
FRIDAY JULY, 11th

Labour's Youth Demands Your Support

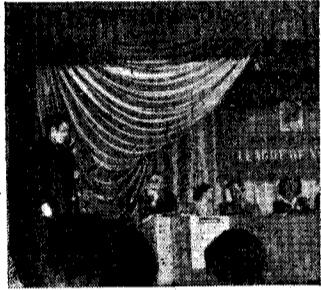
Filey Conference reported by John Lawrence

THE frivolous atmosphere of Butlin's holiday camp at Filey is no place to hold a two-day Labour League of Youth Conference. The time and the place of the Conference had been fixed, not by the youth, but by the N.E.C. of the Labour Party—a fact which was strongly resented by every member of the League, including the National Consultative Committee

A resolution of protest carried unanimously, resulted in an assurance being given by Morgan Phillips that a more serious venue would be found for the next conference.

The first alarming sign was the decline in branches and members as shown in the official report. Branches have fallen from 820 in 1950 to 665 in 1952. Why is this?

According to most of the speakers, it is because the League has been refused the opportunity to discuss and formulate a policy with which to recruit new members. There is a unanimous feeling about this—and a resolution was carried with acclamation calling for a National Member-



Ken Driver, Edmonton delegate, addressing the Youth Conference.

ship Campaign organised by the N.C.C. based on a socialist programme for Youth.

DANGER SIGNS

Here however, a peculiar incident occurred. The Membership resolution had omitted any mention of the necessity to fight for the removal of the present Tory Government. An amendment from Streatham League sought to put this right, but, to my amazement, the movers of the original resolution resisted the amendment! They argued that "it was unimportant," the really important thing was not the type of government but the "socialist programme." The amendment was finally defeated 66 votes against 72 with some 40 abstentions.

I do not, of course, believe for one moment that the League is indifferent to the existence of a Tory Government. What has happened, in my opinion, is this. The leaders of the Labour Party are frightened of the socialist aspirations of youth. They regard them as a threat rather than an asset. Consequently they have limited and restricted all the efforts of the League to work out its own contribution to the mass fight against capitalism. With this result.

Some members have fallen away disgusted. Few recruits can be made. And those remaining have become "ultra-revolutionary," cheering every attack on "leaders," desperately demanding "socialist" solutions, although, I suspect, with little confidence in

getting them.

In this kind of atmosphere, it is not surprising that a somewhat exotic brand of 'pure' socialism has developed in which the construction of "socialist" programmes tends to take the place of a mass fight against Toryism.

The league, it seems to me, through no fault of its own, is very much in danger of turning inwards on itself, of splitting hairs about "programmes," and is failing to ally itself with work-

The columns of "Socialist Outlook" are always open to those members of the League of Youth who want to shake up the adult party into a recognition of the value of a lively and responsible youth section. Send in your views to the Editor.

ing class Youth at present engaged in a very real fight to resist the ill-effects of a return to Toryism.

YOUTH HAS THE ANSWER

It was good, therefore, to hear the speech of a young engineering worker, Norman Wintrop of East Salford, who urged the League to get closer to young trade unionists and instanced how the Manchester Leagues had recently entered the fight of the engineering apprentices.

I think this idea should be taken even further. A number of big unions have "Young Workers' Committees." As the adult section of the unions are affiliated to the adult Labour Party, so, in my opinion, the youth sections of the unions should be affiliated to the Labour League of Youth and joined with them in a fight to better youth conditions of work and strengthen the opposition to the Tory Government.

The applause for Norman Wintrop and for the N.C.C. reported Ken Kendall, who, in a very good speech, urged every Leaguer to "get a union card," indicates that such a practical policy would get great support within the League itself. Will it get similar support in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions? It must.

DON'T WANT 'BLIMPS'

Some really serious contributions were made on the "study reports" on Youth and Education, Youth and Employment, and Youth and Recreation. Bob

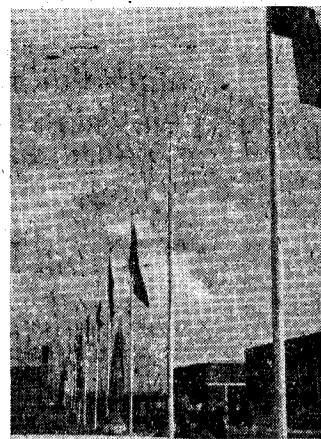
Pennington (N.E. Leeds) for example, on education, pointed out that the report had omitted the question of education for youth in the forces. A grave omission indeed—since the bulk of youth spend the best two years of their lives there!

He explained that education was left in the hands of the Colonel Blimps with their anti-soviet, anti-colonial and anti-working class bias, and demanded that the N.C.C. and the Trade Unions should have the right to conduct educational work among the armed forces. His speech was very well received by the delegates—many of whom had first-hand experience of army "education."

Greta Karpin (West Salford), spoke with some real feeling on the subject of Youth and Employment, for the youth in her area were already hard hit. She demanded, amid great applause, that those who were being kicked out of work through the profit-making desires of the employers, and through no fault of the youth, should be paid full wages when unemployed.

The speeches of many delegates revealed that the L.L.O.Y. has a large proportion of office workers and shop assistants in its ranks who are well aware of the shocking working conditions that exist in this field. Here, surely, is a chance for some fruitful collaboration between the unions concerned (U.S.D.A.W. and the

The Flags of All Nations (bar one) fly over the Filey Rally.



Who pinched the Stars and Stripes?

Well, it wasn't Morgan Phillips anyway.

C.A.W.U.) and the League of Youth.

SOCIALIST YOUTH

As an illustration of the League's burning desire for more socialist policies, the Conference carried, by an overwhelming majority, a demand for the League's withdrawal from the "European Youth Campaign"—that glorious hotch-potch, financed by American interests, and composed of Tories, Liberals, religious bodies, boy scouts and girl guides, a junior edition, in fact,

Continued page 4, col.

What Makes Labour Converts?

ASKS FRANK ALLAUN

PRO-SOCIALIST votes are won on the doorstep. We have been told this a thousand times. But are they? Does canvassing really do much good (beyond locating Labour votes so you can pull them out—if you've time—in the last hours of voting day)?

As one who has done as much canvassing as most I 'hae me doots' as to the value of canvassing. Usually the canvasser has no time to do more than enquire if the occupant is For, Against or Doubtful

This is not, of course, to deny the importance of political argument in the workshop, office, canteen, union or pub, or of doorstep membership campaigns.

Then what does make converts to the Labour cause? It is the adoption and public declaration of a courageous radical, socialist programme by the Labour Party.

In 1945 we promised (and put into effect), great new social services and public ownership of six major industries. These measures, we said, were the foundations of a new social order. We won a

majority of nearly 200 seats in the house though there was less canvassing than usual.

In 1950 we offered little and in 1951 nothing. As a result our majority was wiped out. Watering down our socialist policy LOSES votes.

It is largely what the Labour leadership does in the House that influences and educates the voter. And that in turn mostly depends on what the local Parties and trade unions have pressed for.

In other words, I am suggesting to the rank and file that they pay far more attention to working out a programme for the next Labour Government, to political discussion at all meetings—not just routine business; and to forwarding resolutions to the National Executive or Annual Conference.

Such activity is more important than any amount of canvassing. For an efficient party machine is no substitute for a socialist policy. Indeed without a good policy you won't get a good machine.

Speaking my mind

by TOM BRADDOCK

On... Leaders and Leadership

IT seems that some hard thinking will have to be done by members of the Labour Party. From leadership to rank and file, the Party appears to be rapidly reversing the measures taken to meet problems that developed when it held a majority of seats in the House of Commons and when its party leaders formed the government of the country.

For instance, the party is now refusing to continue the armaments programme it started; it is no longer willing to agree to the arming of Western Germany; it is of the opinion that the peace treaty signed with Japan was a mistake; it believes that some working agreement is possible with China and the U.S.S.R.; it stands for equal pay for men and women for equal work.

This is the position up to now, and presently it is going to side, without any reservations, with the peoples of Asia and Africa in their struggle with the white oppressors, to demand the withdrawal of all American troops from this country, and for industrial action to rid us of the dangerous and incompetent Churchill government.

Readers of the "Socialist Outlook" will know that all this comes as no surprise to those who have been responsible for its policy since its start. We have never believed that it would be possible for our movement to continue to forget its principles and still to live as a revolutionary organisation.

We therefore welcome, and take a modest satisfaction in, the change that is occurring, but it must be said that the manner of the change causes us some uneasiness—it has all been so quick and so easy and nobody seems to care.

The view seems to be quite cynically adopted that all the mistaken views which our governmental leaders presented us with and asked us to support were quite all right so long as we formed the government, but that they can be quite naturally and properly thrown over now that we are in opposition. There seem

to be no regrets, no fears that what we have done may have even more serious consequences than those we are only too well aware of now, and most of all, apparently, no precautions are being taken to ensure that, if presented with power again by the electorate, we will do anything to prevent our leaders returning to the easy ways of conforming to things as they are and throwing over their opposition frame of mind just as easily as they adopted it.

At first thought an effective safeguard would appear to be the election of a new leadership; a removal from the National Executive of all the old duds would, after a little difficulty, helped by some drastic action in the selection of parliamentary candidates, persuade the parliamentary Labour Party to select a new front bench.

This type of action, although necessary, will only be effective if it comes as a result of a real understanding among the rank and file of what has taken place in the party during its first term of power as a government. Without this, any new leadership will be at the mercy of the influences that wrought such damage to our 1945 government. They must have behind them, in the country and in the Parliamentary Labour Party, a membership alert and determined to use politics and parliament not as a game of "ins-and-outs" but as a revolutionary machine, to be ruthlessly and effectively used for the destruction of capitalism in our midst.

Although we pride ourselves on our 700 years or more of bourgeois democracy this has made us no more fit to live with capitalists in our midst than it would be for the Russians and the Chinese to try to do the same.

The first step to the establishment of freedom and democracy in this country is to break completely the power of capitalism. We have got to turn the Labour Party into an instrument capable of carrying through this task with the utmost rapidity.

IDLE THOUGHTS ON THE IDLE RICH

Some Ascot Reflections

by "THE LEVELLER"

INDIGNATION is a good thing in a Socialist. Indeed it is hard to imagine anyone being a Socialist without it. And yet it seems to me there is not enough of it about.

This thought occurred to me when I was reading the accounts of Royal Ascot in the papers this week. The rich of this country appear very sure of themselves. The wave of indignation which swept the Labour Government in, may have chilled their spines a little, but it evidently didn't really shake them, either morally or financially.

Otherwise, how explain this staggering (not to say vulgar) flaunting of their wealth right under our noses. I could quote you whole paragraphs of description of the fine materials that were worn at this race meeting, the money that was spent—the food that was eaten—but you know that. Does it make you mad enough, that is the point, to just shrug it off as part of the natural order of things and do, then sit down and think about it comrade, for something wrong with the world?

Somehow wonder what they do with these gilded lilies. I know there is a population which does not work—mans the sewers, digs the canals—they presumably

know we exist—they don't care how of course until there is a strike and a cessation of any of these vital activities.

Old fashioned class-war stuff, you may say (though not many readers of the "Outlook" we trust) but is it? These, comrades, are the lords and ladies of the land. Truly, the land is theirs and the fullness thereof, in more ways than one. They live in a life-long state of physical well-being which it is hard for a worker to comprehend.

WE DIE FIRST

The figures for expectation of life tell the story. Unskilled workers come first, dying around fifty, miners and other heavy manual workers do not have a much higher expectation of life. These exquisite specimens who paraded at Ascot can fairly confidently expect to live to eighty, and very often ninety. Read the obituary columns in the "Telegraph" and the "Times" and see for yourself. And on the average they die peacefully in bed—not crushed beneath a fall of coal or gassed in a sewer.

I grant you that things are better than they used to be. The worst excesses of the Industrial Revolution are gone. But you still have the unskilled worker robbed of forty years (half a life time) that is if he has been lucky

enough to get that far without being slaughtered in one of the wars to defend Ascot and the Ascotees.

Capitalism, even in a "good" period, such as we have had since the war exacts a terrific toll from the working population. Men and women are prematurely aged, needlessly diseased by the way they have to live. And in old age they are often allowed to die, ever so slowly from malnutrition—so slowly that the process has become quite respectable.

Yes, there is plenty of scope for indignation in 1952 comrades. It is not old-fashioned, obsolete—it didn't go out with the Socialist pioneers. For us the struggle, for them the spoils, is still very largely true.

DO SOMETHING!

So when next you read of the doings of the idle rich—of their indignation, don't take it out on kicking the furniture—go along to your Labour Party and make it felt there. Get out and make new readers for the "Outlook".

Remember, this article would not be necessary—the "Outlook" itself wouldn't be necessary—if something of the habits of mind of these parasites had not penetrated our own movement. You all know our leaders from public schools, with country houses. Do they feel fighting mad about Ascot? We hardly think so. But we do—and perhaps there lies the whole of the difference between us.

Readers Forum

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

WAKE UP, BROTHERS!

I recently attended a local D.L.P. meeting as delegate from my Trade Union branch.

One of the items on the agenda was a discussion on the Labour Party pamphlet "Problems of Foreign Policy". We finally agreed that delegates report back to their Branches, asking them to formulate resolutions and send them on to the D.L.P. for consideration.

I duly reported back. Imagine my amazement when the idea was put forward that we as workers could not know anything about Foreign Policy and that it was ridiculous to ask us to. We should leave those things to our leaders, who we elect to carry out such things. This was put in the form of a motion and was easily carried.

I hope that this dangerous and apathetic attitude is not representative of the T.U. Movement as a whole.

Unless the rank-and-file workers understand these problems and their Socialist answer, we shall never get leaders who are really militant Socialist in their outlook.

Manchester. Price Jones

THOMSON'S HEROES

One of our readers here in Leeds writes short stories. She submitted one of these to D. C. Thomson's, before the strike. The hero was a shop steward. The story was rejected.

Bob Pennington. Leeds.

MONARCHY AND EMIGRATION

Now that the era of Emperors and Czars, Kings, Sultans and Maharajahs has practically ended, and for the greater benefit of mankind, is not the time overdue for Britain's electorate to decide whether we are to keep in step with humanity? Are we to remain tied to the old monarchical system that has always placed private privilege and aristocratic prerogative first and foremost?

Now that the world is changing ever faster towards popular rule Britain's freedom to trade with ALL countries (and not only those vetted by the U.S.A.) is of paramount importance—but to attain this we cannot remain a reactionary survival in a popular world.

Mr. Churchill calls for emigration in vast numbers. But British people are not to be pushed about the world to make deserts bloom in Australia and give cheap 'poor white' labour for Mr. Churchill's aristocratic friends in Kenya or Malaya and surplus labour for his U.S.A. kinsmen in Canada.

With peace and socialist direction Britain can support her full population comfortably as one of the hubs of the industrial world—but not under the present Tory Monarchical auspices with its unelected House of Lords dominating everything. The House of Lords and all new hereditary titles must be abolished—and Mr. Attlee and his schoolfriends must be replaced by fearless Socialist leaders.

H. Fielden. Southport.

Defend Wages from Tory Attacks

Facts against the wage-freeze

IN the last year, the Trades Unions of this country have been unable to maintain the living standards of their members in the face of the soaring cost of living.

In spite of the fact that the working class produced more wealth than ever before, and the level of exports had risen by November 1951 to 179 per cent. of the 1947 figure, wages weakened in purchasing power.

From June 1947, to October 1951, the index of weekly wage rates rose from 100 to 122; the

mainly the result of the world rearmament drive and stockpiling, they have been directly accentuated in the last seven months by the inflationary policy of the Tory Government.

The Tories, whose promises deluded many into thinking that they would stop the rise in the cost of living, once in office proceeded immediately to redistribute the national income in favour of the rich, and industrial profits, already high, have reached all-time records.

According to the Financial

EXPLOITATION

After meeting all charges and putting aside £22,000,000 for depreciation, the Royal-Dutch Shell oil combine made profits in 1951 amounting to — £249,493,000! Which was £59,000,000 up on the previous year.

There are 250,000 workers employed by this giant combine. That means that the employers made no less than £1,000 per year—or £20 per week—out of every worker employed!

The next time anyone talks about wage-restraint, just refer him to these figures, brothers.

By S. Goldberg

Official Cost of Living Index, admitted by Government spokesmen to be entirely inadequate and unrepresentative rose to 129 from the 1947 datum, a fall of at least 6 per cent. in the standard of living of the working class.

The sharpest rise however has occurred in the last twelve months. Between April and October 1951, men's earnings rose by 3.6 per cent., food prices by 9.1 per cent., and all retail prices by 6 per cent.; while, if we include the period since the Tories were returned to power, retail prices over the year (March 1952), rocketed to 11.8 per cent. whilst wage rates only advanced by 9.4 per cent.

TORY RESPONSIBILITY

If these sharp increases in the prices of consumer goods are

GERMANY

(Continued from page 1)

and over again they repeated: "We are politically neutral. Our action has nothing to do with politics. We denounce the 'communist' agitators who want to turn our demonstrations into demonstrations against the government," etc.

But the German workers are not satisfied with these arguments. They know that the same Adenauer government which passes the law on the shop stewards also prepares re-armament. The same government which threatens to attack the unions tries to prevent new elections from being held on the re-armament issue.

BRING ADENAUER DOWN!

That is the central slogan which today inspires German trade unionists and millions of workers who vote for the German Social-Democratic Party which has demanded new elections to decide the re-armament issue.

The British workers can assist their German fellow workers in this fight, by calling on the British Labour Movement to implement that part of the decisions of the Executive of the Labour Party which calls for the immediate holding of new elections in Western Germany on the re-armament issue.

The Labour Party must declare openly, in Parliament, that the next Labour Government will not recognise the reactionary Bonn Treaty which Schumacher, leader of the German Social-Democracy, has announced he will fight 'tooth and nail.'

Such a declaration, supported by similar resolutions from the whole British Labour movement, would be a powerful support for the German socialists who are fighting today the most decisive battle against war on the European continent.

'War in Months' — Jim Figgins

War is only months away—not years, warned Jim Figgins, Railwaymen's General Secretary, last week in Newport. "I am convinced," he said "that we are on the brink of one of the greatest catastrophes the world has seen."

Jim Figgins may well be right and socialists must feel compelled to put every ounce of energy into preventing this catastrophe.

One thing you can do right now. Help the "Socialist Outlook", which is fighting the threat of war with all its strength. To continue this fight, and increase our anti-war influence we must have £50 every month in our fighting fund. Send your contribution right now. Don't wait till tomorrow — If Figgins is right, EVERY DAY COUNTS.

Times index the aggregate profits of 3,787 companies showed an increase of over 30 per cent. in January 1952, compared with the previous year's figures.

Higher fares and food prices, the prospect of a rise in rents as a result of the increase in the Bank Rate, these are the tangible results of Tory rule on the working class pocket. The imposition of charges for the National Health service, adds to the burdens now being heaped upon lower paid workers and pensioners.

UNION RESPONSIBILITY

Today, when the Tory Government have completely renounced their pledges to stabilise the cost of living, it is an illusion to expect the Trades Unions to accept a policy of Wage restraint.

Until the trades unions have put into office a Government which sets about planning in the interest of the producers, the chief task of the unions is to safeguard the standard of living against price increases. Today, that means a serious fight for immediate wage increases and the protection of these increases by means of "sliding scale" agreements which ensure, on a strictly guaranteed minimum, automatic wages rises for every rise in the cost-of-living.

I will return to this question of the "sliding scale" in the next issue.

Bombers or Bedroom-Suites?

Asks Jack Moss

(CHAIRMAN, LONDON FURNITURE TRADES SHOP STEWARDS COUNCIL)

RE-ARMAMENT is putting the livelihood of furniture workers in jeopardy. Ours is an industry of peace. "Guns or Butter" means for us "Bombers before Bedroom-suites."

The industry enjoyed comparative full employment until about the middle of 1950 when the first post-war slump of any magnitude affected the industry. Unemployment is now with us again—3,000 unemployed and 25,000 on short time is no over-estimation.

Furniture workers greatly fear a return to the disastrous years between the wars when 8 per cent. were permanently unemployed and 20 to 25 per cent. out of work during slump periods.

Employers have not been slow to take advantage of the present situation. In many cases wages have been reduced by manipulation of bonus times, or by failure to pay the cost-of-living award when it became due under the terms of our agreement.

REASONS FOR THE CRISIS

The immediate cause is the same as that affecting all other consumer industries—the inability of working people to satisfy their needs because of the increase in the cost of living. Restrictions on building houses, hospitals and schools also hits our industry.

Of the 350,000 young people who marry every year, only 250,000 can hope for a house of

their own. Therefore one third of these newly-married couples, even if they have the money, have nowhere to put the furniture they would otherwise purchase. Credit restriction on hire purchase, which constitutes about 80 per cent. of all furniture trade transacted will still further curtail any prospect of improving the employment situation.

BLIND STUPIDITY!

With this bleak prospect the employers see no way out except by reducing the wages and cutting labour costs—at the same time clamouring for increased production.

Depriving us of our purchasing power must inevitably create short-time and redundancy in still more industries! There can be no lasting cure for the ills of this or any other useful industry until peace and the needs of the people are placed before profits and war.

Unlike the pre-war days we are well organised. Our National Labour Agreement is acknowledged as one of the finest in any industry and the supplementary 'cost of living agreement' which provides for a penny an hour increase for every three points rise in the Index of Retail Prices—all items—is regarded as the nearest to reality that exists.

The slogan "clear out the Tories" is a vital one for furniture workers today—and we shall fight.

N.E.C. Statement

Continued from page 1

to dis-arm will then, we hope, be achieved." (How wonderful is that "we hope"?)

Again, Mr. Churchill could have written all that and, indeed, HE HAS—in every Tory Manifesto issued since the "cold war" began! Now, echoing Churchill, the N.E.C. ask us to believe that all this feverish re-armament, this scouring the earth for raw materials to feed the war machine, this wholesale conscription of youth and this cruel sacrifice of working people's living standards is simply designed to . . . secure a peaceful settlement with Russia!

Do they really expect grown-up people in the Labour Movement to believe that the United States of America (with whom, incidentally, the N.E.C. thinks "co-operation is vital") is stationing troops and building atom-bomb bases in every country of the so-called "free world" (including our own!) is re-arming the German fascist Generals, shooting down anti-war demonstrators in Japan, hounding into prison anti-war fighters in America, financing every reactionary blackguard from General Franco down to Chiang-Kai-Shek for the noble purpose of . . . ensuring "world peace" and "social justice"!

INEXCUSABLE AND CRIMINAL

Such naive beliefs might be excused in a young person whose knowledge of world affairs was derived solely from the microscopic space allotted to such things in the "Daily Mirror" or the "Daily Sketch"—but from the Executive Committee of the strongest Labour Movement in Europe (one fairly bristling with

ex-Cabinet Ministers of all sorts) it is absolutely inexcusable.

Either they believe these fairy tales—in which case they are fit only to organise school-girls' picnics—or they don't—in which case they are guilty of deceiving the workers as to the real situation and that is an action which, with the war clouds gathering throughout the world, can only be described as criminal.

PHRASEMONGERING

This is a feature of the document. We have space only for one example. On page 6 we are informed that the Labour Party "recognises that the peoples of Asia are engaged in a historic revolution against foreign exploitation and domestic poverty."

Now Malaya is in Asia and it is a country which is certainly fighting "foreign exploitation". All its valuable resources in tin and rubber are owned by foreign companies in the City of London who, to protect their property, have called in the flame-throwing, head-hunting army of General Templer. As for poverty . . . the average wage of a Malayan is less than 2/5d. per day!

But instead of "recognising" Malaya's historic struggle, the N.E.C. declares, in the language of any Tory General, "terrorism in Malaya must be stamped out"! That is the real position of the N.E.C. and all the fine talk about "historic revolutions" is just so much unprincipled phrasemongering.

There is only one thing for the October Conference to do with this N.E.C. Statement . . . throw it out! It is neither socialist nor does it in any way represent the views of a majority of rank and file Party members. It must be replaced by a Foreign Policy based on socialist principles. In our next issue, we shall make our contribution to such a policy document.

YOUTH from page 3

of the Strasbourg Assembly.

In many vigorous speeches, the N.E.C. was given to understand that its Youth Section does not believe working class interests can be served by collaboration with the American State Department or with the infant prodigies of Mr. Churchill.

The Labour League of Youth can become a powerful movement—if the adult section will have confidence in its young people, give it some serious help, and, above all, recognise that its bubbling socialist energy is something to be treasured—not something to be repressed on every possible occasion.

Your own copy sent to you each fortnight by post

Fill in this form now

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Please send a copy of the "Socialist Outlook" by post each issue

for . . . issues to:—

Name

Address

for which I enclose postal order value £ . s. d.

Send to "SOCIALIST OUTLOOK" 177, Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1.

Rates:— 3 months (6 issues) 2/3
6 months (12 issues) 4/6
12 months (25 issues) 9/-