

Tories Declare War On Wage Packets Lowest paid - First hit

An Editorial

TO justify his veto on the few miserable shillings awarded to distributive workers by the employer-dominated Wages Councils, Sir Walter Monckton claimed that he was only carrying out the wage restraint policy recently expounded for the Government by Mr. R. A. Butler. And indeed, that is the truth. 'Keep wages down' is now official Government policy.

But Monckton's veto is only a try-out. If he gets away with it every worker in the land will suffer. Direct wage cuts will follow. Meanwhile, every employer of labour has a Government instruction to turn down all claims for wage increases.

As claims affecting some nine million workers are already in the process of negotiation, Government policy as outlined by the Minister of Labour—is a virtual declaration of war on the organised working class.

The challenge will be met and defeated—provided we first destroy any lingering doubts which might exist—especially in the heads of certain trade union leaders—that wage restraint might be a good thing for the country and the working class. If we have such doubts, the fight against Mr. Butler and the Tory Government will be, at best, hesitant and half-hearted.

WAGES AND LIVING COSTS

The Tory case for wage restraint was fully expounded by Mr. Butler in his now famous Exeter speech. If wages increase, he said, it will only result in higher prices and the workers will be no better off. If 10,000,000 workers received £1 a week increase, the immediate result would be a rise in the cost of living by at least 2/4d. per head of the population. And this, for the six-and-a-half million people who must live on pensions of one kind or another, and for workers in "weak bargaining positions" like those in textiles, would be little short of catastrophic.

That was the Butler argument—and it is rotten to the very core. Prices are NOT desperately trying to keep up with wages but, as every working class housewife knows, it is wages which are vainly chasing prices. Jack Tanner, in presenting the engineering workers' case for a £2 a week increase, submitted irrefutable evidence to prove this.

Weekly earnings in the engineering industry increased between April 1947 and October 1951 by 26 per cent. The cost of living for the same period

rose by 34 per cent., and profits by the fantastic figure of—137 per cent.

WHO GETS THE SURPLUS?

This figure of profits is exceedingly interesting. According to the Government's own White Paper on the National Incomes, profits rose in 1951 from £3,188 million to £3,624 million—an INCREASE of £436 million.

Out of this increase alone, that £1 a week rise for 10,000,000 workers could be almost fully met. And if the employers would be content to scratch along on some £3,000 million or so, every worker in the land could receive a £1 rise in wages.

Today it has been estimated that the workers in Britain produce by their labours a surplus of more than £4 a week for the employer.

Continued page 4, col. 3

Thanks from Briggs

WE are proud to have received the following resolution from the Shop Stewards Committee of Briggs.

"This Shop Stewards Committee wishes to place on record its appreciation of the reporting of the Briggs dispute by the 'Daily Worker', the 'Socialist Outlook' and 'Reynolds News'. We note that at all times our statements were presented as we reported and in the spirit we intended."

"This publicity was in complete contradiction to the behaviour of the capitalist press whose distortions and estimations of the struggle were completely at variance with the facts. We are aware of the help we received from the publicity given by the above, mentioned papers and we are confident we will continue to receive truthful reporting on this and other issues in which we are involved."

DANGER! SINISTER MOVES ON THE COALITION FRONT

What is the 'Friends of U.S.A.'?

YOU may think that United States activities in foreign affairs are all for peace and democracy—you may also think that their troops and atom bomb bases in this country are purely for defence of the "British way of life" but, if you are a member of the Labour Party, you cannot possibly imagine that the rulers of America are socialists or that they have anything but the most hostile attitude towards socialism and all those organisations which preach it.

The United States of America—as they themselves have so often and so loudly proclaimed—is the strongest citadel of capitalist enterprise, the land where "reds" and "socialists" get very short shrift.

It is therefore absurd for anyone to imagine that our Labour Party will ever get any help from Wall Street millionaires to build socialism here in Britain. And from this undeniable fact it also follows that if any member of the Labour Party seeks a closer unity with the United States of America he must do so for reasons which cannot have the slightest connection with Labour's fight for a socialist society.

We make these very obvious points for one very important reason. It is this. Leading members of the Labour Party and the

Trades Union Congress General Council have recently become members of an organisation calling itself the "Friends of Atlantic Union."

WHO ARE THE FRIENDS?

The declared aim of the "Friends" is to establish "a comprehensive partnership" and "economic co-operation" between this country, the Commonwealth and the United States of America. The President of the organisation is Sir Hartley Shawcross and Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, Mr. Lincoln Evans (of the T.U.C.) and—this won't surprise you—Mr. Arthur Deakin, are all prominent members.

Just so that nobody gets the idea that the "Friends" are trying to build socialism, we hasten to add that the organisation, is "all-Party" and includes people like Lord Halifax (a former admirer of Nazi Germany) and Mr. Ralph Assheton, Tory M.P. and big City financier.

From the past and present activities of the Labour men mentioned above, it is not really surprising that they now find themselves in such company. After all, it was Shawcross who prosecuted the dockers at the Old Bailey, it was Gaitskell who first introduced the charges on the free Health Services, and it is Deakin and Evans who today advocate (with Mr. Butler) that the workers should exercise wage restraint.

WHO WANTS COALITION?

The really serious thing, however, is this. Who allowed these prominent leaders of our movement to enter into this open coalition with the Tory Party and American Big Business?

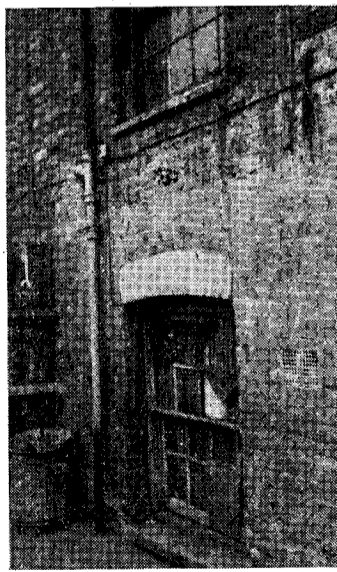
The N.E.C. is quick to proscribe the "Friends of the Soviet Union" (which is not a capitalist country) but has so far done nothing about the "Friends of the United States" (which is).

This episode, taken in conjunction with the recent spate of literature from high places explaining to us that the class struggle is finished and "old-fashioned", must pose to every Party Member this very serious question: are some of our leaders preparing to enter a coalition Government with the Tories?

The best way to find out is for every Labour Party in the country to demand that the N.E.C. takes disciplinary action against Sir Hartley Shawcross, Mr. Deakin and the others unless they forthwith sever all connections with that chief enemy of the British workers, the Tory Party.

Landlords Want Rents De-controlled

Tenants organise to resist



Padbury Court, Bethnal Green
Man, Wife and four children live
in this room

LORD SILKIN—one-time Labour M.P. for Peckham—has started a hue and cry for raising rents of both Council houses and private property. He has also questioned the policy of subsidies for Municipal housing schemes. ("How do you feel about paying your neighbour's rent?" he asks in a "News of the World" leading article.)

His demand for an "all-Party inquiry" has been eagerly taken up by the press and the property-owners associations. The hounds are now in full pursuit. Landlords—and especially slum landlords—who have been kept in some check by the Rent Restriction Acts are now baying for its removal. They have sniffed the scent of bigger

you'll believe anything! Here in Bethnal Green we know all about landlords. We live in one of the worst slum areas in London. To squeeze the last ounce of profit out of the unfortunate tenants, the landlords have so neglected their property that our "houses" are now a picture of the most abominable decay.

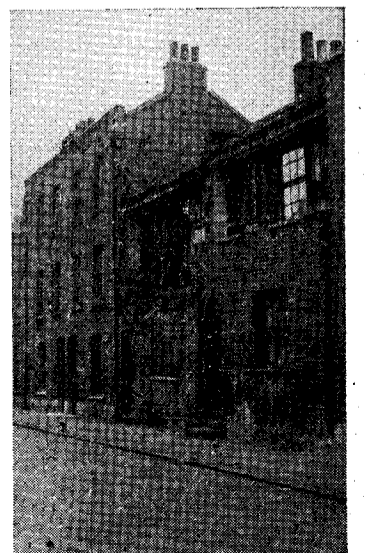
Take a look at the pictures on this page. They are quite typical. As one of our Labour Councillors recently declared: "Forty to forty-five per cent. of the property in Bethnal Green should be replaced to give the people a decent place to live in."

And that is what our Labour Council wants to do. Tear down these abominations and erect new council property. But do you think the landlords are willing to co-operate?

PROFITS FROM ILL-HEALTH

Even now they are challenging the right of the Bethnal Green Council to pull down two streets (Hassard Street and Airline Place) to make a site for Council flats. They have even engaged a lawyer (to our shame he is a Labour M.P.), to prove that this decayed property is good for another twenty-five years. And this, mind you, after the local Housing Inspector has stated in evidence that he had "inspected the premises and found them not only unfit for human habitation but dangerous to the health of the inhabitants."

In other cases, the local landlords, having sucked huge profits



Bacon Street, Bethnal Green
An example of the decayed property now being abandoned by the landlords. A family of four are compelled to exist in the upstairs "flat"

This is SERIOUS news

A week to go—and over £30 short

This month, due to holidays, the Fighting Fund will be very short of its target—unless YOU come to our aid.

As we go to press we have only just about managed to make up LAST month's deficit. This is SERIOUS. We can't start to consider a weekly until we get that £50 target EVERY MONTH.

And we can't struggle effectively for a socialist alternative to the Tories and their war plans WITH-

OUT a weekly. Our present fortnightly is "bursting at the seams". Every issue important contributions have to be omitted for lack of space.

To all our many friends and supporters we say... Please send a donation in at once. The future of the "Outlook" really does DEPEND ON YOU.

Send your donation to:—
Fighting Fund, Socialist Outlook,
177 Bermondsey St., London, S.E.1

By JIM WATTS
(Secretary, West Ward Tenants' Association, and E.C. Member of Bethnal Green Labour Party)

rents and bigger profits.

"We are broke", they say. "We don't get enough out of the tenants to do even essential repairs." Of course, they have only the most noble intentions. They don't want to make any more money out of rents—all they want is to be allowed to help solve the housing problem by being given enough rent to enable them to do some repairs. As Lord Silkin puts it... "It would surely be right to allow increases in rents, if only to enable the landlords to carry out necessary repairs."

If you believe that, brother,

(Continued on page 4, col. 1)

On the Industrial Front

Uneasy Truce at Dagenham

★ **BRIGGS Workers call bluff on 'negotiations'**

★ **FORDS Management show their true colours**

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE Briggs workers have halted their strike for 9d. an hour in its third week—in order to give the firm a final opportunity to negotiate a settlement.

A statement issued by the Shop Stewards Committee makes it quite clear "that in going back on this basis they are returning stronger and even more determined than when they came out. The duration of this negotiated return to work will depend on the satisfactory nature of the report back on the negotiations that are to take place".

Since the return to work, the Firm's statement that "they were not prepared to negotiate under duress" has been quickly shown to mean that they were not prepared to negotiate at all!

Talks took place within two days but, in the words of the Management, "no agreement could be reached". And no wonder! The Management were not prepared to consider the claim—repeating instead their previously rejected offer to abide by any decision reached in the negotiations between the Federated Employers and the Unions.

BRIGGS MANAGEMENT WANT IT BOTH WAYS

Thus faced with an unanswerable claim by their workers they hide behind the Employers Federation (of which they are not members) "in the full and confident hope" as Briggs Stewards express it, "that the National Claim will follow the fate of other claims that have been put forward". On other matters when it suits their purpose the Briggs Management always stand on their rights as a non-federated firm.

The workers fully understand this. The Stewards Committee in its latest statement say... "Having been informed by the T.U. Officials that the negotiating procedure has now been exhausted, Briggs management now realise that their workers recognise that there is only one course open to the Unions, the significance of which we are all aware". They point out that the management are now endeavouring to provoke the workers into taking action on side issues.

Already they have provoked the Night Shift Press Shop into a

TRADE UNION LEADER SPEAKS OUT AGAINST THE WAR

TO a cheering N.U.R. eve-of-conference Rally, Jim Figgins, the Railwaymen's General Secretary, declared on July 6th:

"The war in Korea is not being fought for Freedom and Democracy but in the interests of American capital. Before America lies inevitable defeat..."

"... If we are going to be so stupid as to lay down our lives in a great war for interests that don't concern us, we are bigger fools than I think we are."

"... I was a conscientious objector in World War I and I blamed the Trade Union Leaders as a spineless lot because it was an imperialist war. But I will not have the same blame attached to me now. The next war will be a holocaust and I am going to stand out against it."

"Out of Korea come the British troops' and 'Out of Britain go the American Troops' were Jim Figgins' slogans. They are, in our opinion, slogans which deserve the wholehearted support of the Trade Union movement.

Does your T.U. Branch Take the Outlook?

2/3d. dozen

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Order from: Socialist Outlook,

down tools by "upsetting the status quo relating to an overtime rota" and incidents in other shops indicate that "procedure is being ignored and it is apparent that the management are endeavouring to precipitate action on the part of the workers"

"That action" the statement continues, "will come but not on any one of the minor issues on which they are trying to sidetrack the workers. We will not deviate one step from the real issue at stake—i.e., our wage claim of 9d. per hour—an issue on which the management well know the workers are united in their full strength.

"As far as we are concerned the fight is still on, and will be resumed in full, following the T.U. officials deliberations. In view of this and the hardship that has already occurred to our workers and which they are accepting as their part in the struggle, we are appealing to you to send us all the financial assistance you can."

"Send it to: S. Harraway, 26 Holly Road, Romford, Essex.

SINCE the Ford Workers ended their strike, the Management immediately opened an attack on the Union organisation in the shops, hoping no doubt, that in this way they would destroy in advance any possibility of action later when their wage claim would finish its long journey through procedure.

A leaflet issued by the Shop Stewards Committee sums up the situation in these words—"In flagrant breach of the terms for a resumption of work they have most severely restricted the activities of the Convenor... made the position of Assistant Convenor as good as redundant... and bound and gagged the Shop Stewards. The Stewards cannot function and keep their jobs."

In case you should think the Stewards are exaggerating, try these extracts from a notice issued to all Foremen by the Management: "... It is the Foreman, not the Shop Representative, who must raise these matters with the Department concerned on behalf of his employee. ... A shop

representative may, in no instance, leave his work in the course of his Trade Union duties without a signed authorisation. ... Leave of absence for a Shop Representative will not be given unless specific reasons are given for the request. Trade Union Business is an insufficient explanation and further detail is required from the Representative.

"If a Foreman has had discussions with a Shop Representative in accordance with the Agreement the Shop representative may only go above that level to the Superintendent having requested permission from the same Foreman and been granted it under the terms of the Procedure Agreement. In all cases the Foreman will accompany the Shop Representative to the Superintendent.

"... every Shop Representative will be asked on arrival (at Personnel Dept.)... to produce his written permission for the visit from his Foreman.

'NOT FIT FOR SING-SING'

"Leave of Absence to attend meetings will not be given unless Personnel Dept. have notified the Superintendent of the duly authorised meeting, its purpose, etc..."

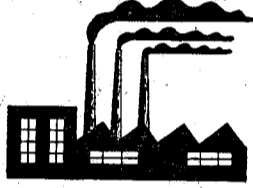
Don't you think the workers have every justification for calling this procedure agreement "not fit for the inmates of Sing-Sing"?

But they are determined that the Management shall not get away with this attack. They are closing ranks to fight back. Many workers remember only too well the "concentration camp" atmosphere of Fords before the war when there was no Union organisation—and they will not suffer a return to those conditions.

The Right to work:

'Don't be Split by the Factory Gate'

By BILL HUNTER (London Engineering Worker)



DURING the last war, one Tory gentleman—I forget his name—asked the plaintive question: "What are we going to do with the 'won't works' after the war?" Now that the "Right to Work" is becoming a popular slogan—particularly among engineering workers—I am sure that same Tory gentleman and his Big Business friends are anxiously asking, "What are we going to do with the 'will-works'?"

Last May a thousand workers at the N.W. London factory of S. Smith & Sons stopped work. The capitalist press described their strike as "astonishing", "without precedent" and "significant". Why? Because these engineering workers, faced with unemployment, refused to accept it and instead demanded to remain paid employees of the firm until either the management or the Ministry of Labour offered them suitable alternative employment.

"We are not responsible for the unemployment", said the workers, "and we don't intend to be the sufferers". Astonishing! cried all the capitalist press.

INFECTION SPREADS

And the idea is catching on fast. I have a copy of a lively Shop Stewards journal called the "Textile Machinery Worker" which gives grim facts to show that the textile slump is now beginning to hit the textile machinery industry. One factory has already been closed down.

What shall we do in the "event of our workers being confronted on some pleasant Friday afternoon with two weeks money and their cards?" ask two of Platt's Shop Stewards writing in their journal. And the reply comes swiftly—the same as Smith's workers did!

They are impressed by the Smith's strike and point out that a partial victory was won by the establishment of a four weeks guaranteed notice with a possibility of longer notice in certain cases.

Another thing which impresses these textile machinery workers is the example of Italy where, as an editorial in the same paper discloses, "the workers (after the war), have been able to force the

workers and keep them on the books for a considerable time until other work was found."

All this is something new in the British trade union movement. Before the war the trade union movement attempted to defend the "rights" of the unemployed and aided the political struggle for higher unemployment pay. But now the discussion among trade-unionists is on how to utilise the organised might in the factories as a barrier against unemployment right from the start—before the workers are split by the factory gates.

MOVE OVER, BOSS!

In effect the workers are now telling the employers:

"You have made your profit out of our labour and you have thereby extended your possessions, your factories and your machinery. We who have created all those things demand that you utilise that wealth to maintain us in work". "You say you can't keep us at work because there is no market for your goods?" "Very well, our unions have a plan for engineering. There are markets in Russia, in Eastern Europe, in China. You persuade your Tory friends to cut the burden of rearmament and they can create a market at home. By interest-free loans to the so-called backward countries, you can create a market abroad. If you and your Tory friends are not prepared to take measures to prevent our pauperisation then it's you and your Government that is redundant. Move over! Let those run the country who believe that society can be organised to give useful work to all."

JAPANESE WORKERS STAGE HUGE DEMONSTRATIONS FOR HIGHER WAGES

Japanese competition is now one of the favourite reasons given by the employers for imposing a wage freeze. If the wages of Japanese workers are low (and they are), it is not the fault of the Japanese workers.

Last month, 850,000 workers took part in a strike for higher wages. Two million others participated in protest meetings for the same reason. Other demands raised included—Trade with

700% Rise in Profits!

IN a personal letter to every Briggs worker, the Managing Director of Briggs has said that "In the course of negotiations on the claim... it was pointed out that the Motor Industry is going through a difficult period." The Unions have answered this one in advance—from Briggs own records.

For example: Gross profits have risen from £384,778 in 1944, to £1,959,059 in 1951. Net profits have risen from £105,969 in 1944 to £770,582 in 1951—an increase of 700 per cent!

Last year a bonus share was given for each share held and a dividend of 12½ per cent. on the old shares plus 12½ per cent. on the bonus shares was paid, making a dividend of 25 per cent. 17½ per cent. dividend was paid the previous year so that in two years the shareholders have received, for every £100 they held, £42 10s. dividends, and scrip bonus to the value of £100.

In other words, the Briggs workers have, by their efforts built and developed the Company to such an extent that

1. In seven years the shareholders have received in dividends more than three-quarters of their original investment.
2. All machinery and plant has not only been kept up-to-date, and worn out plant replaced, but
3. The equivalent of an entirely new factory fully equipped has been provided
4. A reserve of £5,000,000 has been built up.
5. In 1951, a profit equal to £4 18s. per worker per week was made.

The "difficult period" visualised by the Briggs Boss, is perhaps that the Briggs workers are showing they want a little of this profit for themselves.

The Right to a Living wage:

Organisation—the answer

The Tory Minister of Labour's recent attack on the decisions of a Wages Council is not only a challenge to the whole Trade Union movement, but it also highlights what has always been a weak spot in the armoury of the trade unions—the Wages Councils themselves.

There are 52 such Wages Councils in existence covering some 4,000,000 workers. This article has been specially written by a Trade Union representative on one of these Councils.

I AM not surprised that the Tories have struck first at the workers covered by a Wages Council. The very existence of these Councils is in itself a proof that the workers in those industries are poorly organised and in a bad position to hit back.

Trade Boards came into existence with the Trade Boards Act of 1919 and covered the worst organised and most sweated trades. The idea was to give the minimum protection to the most exploited workers who—usually because of the widely dispersed nature of their industries—had been unable by trade union organisation to compel the employers to give decent conditions of work. For example, although many thousands of workers are employed in the clothing and retail distribution trades, they are mostly found in small shops employing a dozen or less. Trade Boards therefore acted as anti-sweating bodies.

During the last war their functions were extended and, in 1945, the Wages Council Act was passed which greatly increased their numbers, widening their functions and changed their names to "Wages Councils".

Today they deal with hours, holidays, the guaranteed week, as well as wages. But because of the poor state of trade union organisation in these industries, the "Wages Councils" only lay down minimum rates and conditions. Thus wages and working conditions in the trades covered by Wages Councils always lag behind those in industry as a whole. It is important to understand that if we are to appreciate just how vicious was Sir Monkton's recent

action. The decisions he has vetoed were, in some cases, the proposals of the employers themselves. They had been adopted by the votes of the employers representatives plus the "independents" against the votes of the workers' side.

It is therefore impossible for the Minister or the employers to argue that these pitiful increases of about 7/- a week could not be afforded by the employers.

Tory policy is therefore, to worsen the standard of living of the lowest-paid workers first. Take a look at some of the wages prevailing in these industries covered by Wages Councils. The minimum rates for unskilled workers in the Retail Furnishing Trades (including the proposed increase that has now been vetoed!) would be £5 8s. 0d. for adult males and £3 14s. 6d. for adult women.

LAMBS FOR THE SLAUGHTER

The warm human sympathy of the Tories (remember Lord Woolton's election broadcast—"not only can we cope, we care")—is revealed as the cynical plea of the butcher to coax the lamb under the poleaxe.

The significance of the attack on these low-paid workers is dealt with elsewhere in this paper. But for those 4 million workers who are covered by the machinery of Wages Councils there is an added lesson: a new drive must now be made to ORGANISE these trades so that trade union collective bargaining, backed by the full industrial strength of the unions, can replace the present butcher-and-lamb set up. Only then will workers in sweated industries force decent conditions from reluctant employers.



Fabian Follies

"Karl Marx . . . seized on the blue books which contained the true history of the leaps and bounds of England's prosperity, and convicted private property of wholesale spoliations, murder and compulsory prostitution; of plagues, pestilence and famine; battle, murder and sudden death." Bernard Shaw. Fabian Essays 1889.

lubricant than war to the engine of social change."

On what balance, Mr. Crosland? Certainly beneficial to the armaments manufacturer, beneficial to those who want to halt the workers' struggle for freedom by the old method of war, but if he thinks there is any benefit for the working class let him ask the question of his constituents, in Gloucestershire South.

As to his last remark, is he telling us that the sooner World War Three starts the better, because out of the wreckage we can build our Social-Democratic State? Is this his line? If not, what does he mean?

Roy Jenkins, Margaret Cole, Austen Albu and Ian, Mikardo in

"NEW FABIAN ESSAYS"
Reviewed by
TOM BRADDOCK

effect sing Gilbert's song "On that subject, we'd better be dumb, be dumb". Possibly they had seen Crosland's contribution. Anyway, they are dumb in thousands of words.

These six comrades have been at work for three years to arrive at the conclusions set out above. When the writing came to be done, although thirteen others had been on the job, John Strachey and Denis Healey were called in. The other original member of the team, Professor G. D. H. Cole, had dropped out "owing to a basic disagreement on policy". Nuff said.

The less said about Denis Healey's contribution the better.

He has obviously been put in to justify the Labour Government's policy. He tells us . . . "the future will bring a return to a world of many powers in which decisions are made by the methods of traditional power politics." Thank you so much Mr. Healey, thank you for nothing. We have had a bellyfull of power politics and a pretty mess it has brought us to. If that is all you have to offer we might just as well rely on Mr. Churchill, or Hitler, or Chiang Kai Shek or Syngman Rhee; they are the boys for power politics. The Labour Party did not come into existence to follow those traditions.

WISHFUL THINKING

Now for John Strachey. There is not much inspiration about his contribution; we don't get the lift we had from the 1889 essays. But he has, at least, some doubts about Mr. Crosland's "Statism". I hope the Fabian Society will print his (Strachey's) essay as a pamphlet. It could be got out for 3d. or 4d. and would be read. I think he is beginning to lean back to his pre-Keynesian days. As a sample of his line, note the following:

"No amount of American or anyone else's rearmament, no thousands of atom bombs . . . will save the West, unless it contrives to find a way of making its economic system work."

But on our own particular job he says . . . "our national mission is to carry through the peaceful social revolution which we have begun . . . we can lead the world by our example. . . . Sooner or later what is being accomplished here will be apparent to the world

BAN THIS DEADLY MUCK !

SCHOOL TEACHER'S OPINION OF AMERICAN "COMICS"

ALL children love "comics". As a path to new sensations and experiences, as an expression of all things a boy or girl would like to be or do, the "comic" fills the bill.

Nowadays the market supplies these picture papers for all ages from 2's to the 20-year-olds, and perhaps even later.

What is not perhaps so commonly known, or understood, is that these comics are more and more becoming vile forms of propaganda. When the first scare took place over the Russian Revolution, we saw Pip, Squeak and Wilfred and Communist Popfisks in derogatory cartoons in newspapers.

Since those days the propaganda comic has reached a very advanced stage. As I write, I have beside me one of these children's books called "Battle Stories". It is of

American origin, edited by "Agence Francais de Presse", and distributed by L. Miller & Son, 342-344 Hackney Road, London, and a more vicious, disgusting and partisan piece of writing couldn't be found. It is for the eyes of your children, and furthermore, it is for their "education".

Make no mistake about the latter. Children absorb whatever interests them, especially something with a blood and thunder motive.

VILE PROPAGANDA

This "comic" for so it can be cynically classed, sets out, from the first to the last page, to trade on the child's interest in action and, here is the vital point, to inculcate into that child a hatred, derision and violence against all nationalist forces in Korea and all peoples of the East who are classed as "Reds".

One or two excerpts from this "Fawcett Publication" will illustrate amply what I mean. "Hit 'em Flyboys (air crews) THATS zinging it into the Reds"; "You cross over the bodies of the only Reds that are good Reds" (dead ones).

All this which breeds hatred and contempt is crowned by a very decided slant that the American soldier is a nice, human creature who has just got to go on and "win yourself a war" while the Korean soldier is a 'red bird' with no decent sensibilities.

The second picture story deals with the man who becomes a "hero" because he learns as his sergeant tells him to. "If you've got to think, think about the Reds and how you're going to kill THEM!" (original emphasis). So he kills them when he's in an unthinking state of hot fury and so wins the "American Congressional Medal of Honor". The last story is perhaps the most vicious because the aim is to prove (1) Reds are chicken-hearted and stupid and, (2) having no reason to fight but that of fear of their own leaders, "Do we return for liquidation at the hands of Colonel Peng or do we surrender to Yank General?" Needless to say, these Chinese soldiers surrender to one man whom they have captured only by a fluke, and allow themselves to be taken to a P.O.W. compound.

Such disgusting material should be banned by all thinking, reasonable people, but children will always get such papers while they are in print. Therefore, the production of this dangerous muck should be made illegal, on the grounds that it encourages all the attitudes of mind which bring nearer the acceptance of World War Three and prepares your Children as future cannon fodder for war.

Nora Emmett

from MacArthur through Herbert Hoover to Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin! Their influence was felt in the nomination of Senator Richard Nixon of California for Vice-President who is known mainly for his record as a witch-hunter on the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee.

The foreign policy sections of the Republican platform express the imperialist impatience to stoke up the Cold War. They called for the maximum build-up of American military power, especially in the air. They want to get tougher than Truman in Asia. "We shall make it clear that we have no intention to sacrifice the East to gain time for the West", they say, and pledge to "end neglect of the Far East", presumably by giving General Eisenhower's Nomination more war-like moves against the Soviet Union. They demand an end to the "negative, futile, and criminal policy of containment", which foreshadows more aggressive acts against the Soviet Union by encouraging pro-capitalist revolts in Eastern Europe.

John Foster Dulles, who wrote this platform, also drafted the Japanese Peace Treaty and played a big part in the events leading up to the outbreak of the Korean War. He is first in line to become Republican Secretary of State.

Eisenhower, however, will not have an easy road to the White House. Despite his personal popularity, he must overcome the handicaps of his party and its platform.

FORGET Karl Marx and Bernard Shaw for a minute and turn to the "New Fabian Essays" of Crossman, Strachey, Crosland, Mikardo, Denis Healey and the rest. They tell us in the introduction that we "cannot ignore the rest of the world, as our forbears did in 1889." Denis Healey goes further and says the fact that "external factors would one day dominate British politics was never conceived by the founders of British Socialism." (my emphasis. T.B.)

These are significant statements—especially when taken in conjunction with the view of all the essayists (except perhaps John Strachey)—that the objectives set out in 1889 have been largely achieved! You would therefore expect that our "new Fabians" would treat us to some plain speaking on the all-important "external factors"—that is, on foreign affairs. Just as the old Fabians concentrated on the job in hand—putting down private property from the position it had horribly abused. They have no such unity of purpose. They "recognise" the importance of foreign policy and then largely ignore it. In the most pretentious language which would make Robert Blatchford turn in his grave, they proceed to write miles of words about everything under the sun except foreign affairs.

THEY ARE SATISFIED

What little they do say on the subject merely reveals the utter shallowness of their ideas. It nowhere occurs to them that Shaw's summing up of Marx's indictment of capitalism (quoted above) applies with equal force to the WHOLE WORLD OF TODAY. Just look at Korea to see all the horrors of capitalism described by Shaw. But all this slides right over our smooth and complacent M.P.'s, our "new Fabians". What they say on foreign affairs can be fairly summed up in one sentence: they are quite satisfied with things as they are.

Take Crossman for example. He writes: "We must not overlook the fact that the increased pressure of the cold war (providing it can be restrained within limits) can create material conditions for the enlargement of freedom." "The task of a socialist foreign policy is to exercise these restraints on the policy of the Atlantic Powers. We must first accept the Cold War as the central fact of twentieth century politics (just as the class war was the central fact of nineteenth century politics)".

But Mr. Crossman, what is a Cold War for, but to exert pressure, and it is not all that cold in Korea. Therefore, having decided on that way of enlarging freedom, how can it be restrained?

Note also Mr. Crossman's programme; we must accept it for the twentieth century, i.e., for another fifty years! I suppose it has never entered Crossman's mind that the class war and the cold war both, spring from the same cause, i.e., the ownership of private property and its use for the exploitation of the world's workers. He has apparently never realised that capitalist methods still dominate the world stage.

THEY APOLOGISE FOR WAR

Now for our other 'cross' (we have to bear 'em)—Mr. Crosland. He is more than satisfied; he tells us . . . "the effects of rearmament will . . . be on balance beneficial" and "Peace, alas, is a less good

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EISENHOWER GETS WALL ST BACKING

A REPORT FROM AMERICA

GENERAL EISENHOWER'S nomination as Republican candidate for U.S. president is not good news for the British people, even though the Tories and the "Times" are pleased. Imagine Lord Alexander being put forward for Prime Minister!

Eisenhower has been built up as a genial, homespun "man of the people" who prefers peace although his profession is waging war. But this professional soldier was the choice of the central section of American Big Business and High Finance, which groomed him to take over the presidency.

The two leading capitalist papers in New York, the "Times" and "Herald-Tribune", supported him from the first. On his side were the House of Morgan, the Mellons, and General Motors. Paul Hoffman, head of the Ford Foundation, was one of his chief managers.

In the July 5 "Nation", Barrow Lyons, for 14 years economist for the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, named some of Eisenhower's Big Business backers. On his list are Henry Ford II; General Lucius Clay, Chairman, Continental Can Company; Winthrop Aldrich, Chairman, Chase National Bank, N.Y.; Thomas I. Parkinson, President, Equitable Life Insurance; Philip D. Reed, Chairman, General Electric Co.; Henry Collier, Executive, Standard Oil of California and Chairman of American-Arabian Oil Co.

These and other magnates representing the banking, insurance, oil, steel, rubber, food, glass, paper and auto monopolies supported his candidacy.

Why was the Big Money on Eisenhower? First, the General is needed to direct the next steps in the plans of the U.S. imperialists to conquer and dominate the world by armed force. They hope he can unify the nation behind the war programme. Second, his views are extremely conservative. Eisenhower champions "free enterprise" which means unrestricted

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OVERTHROW of said GOV'T
by FORCE & VIOLENCE!

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PATRICK HENRY
GEO. WASHINGTON
TOM JEFFERSON
TOM PAINE**

by
ORDER OF
His MAJESTY
KING GEORGE III
JULY 4, 1776

A Lesson From American History

ON July 4th 1776, the American people finally ended their status as a colony of Britain.

Today, other British colonies—Malaya, Egypt, Gold Coast, Nigeria, the West Indies (not to speak of Ireland!)—want to follow the example of America and establish their national independence. In almost the same language used by George the Third, Mr. Churchill condemns these people as "seditious traitors" and sends his troops to crush them if he can.

All that is to be expected—but what of the present-day descendants of George Washington? Do they applaud the fact that other countries are following their ancestors' inspiring example of 1776?

They don't. Instead they actively collaborate with the descendants of those who fought Washington and Jefferson in a joint effort to crush every manifestation of national independence.

The lesson from American history is this: the traditions of freedom and national independence established by men like George Washington have been abandoned by their modern capitalist descendants. They are preserved only by the colonial peoples and by that section of the American and British working classes which stands for the right of all peoples to freedom and national independence.

robbery by the monopolists.

He refused to abolish discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces under his command. He is unfriendly to the trade unions, and has said nothing against the drive upon civil liberties in the United States.

The nomination of General Eisenhower by one faction and

the use of General MacArthur as keynote spokesman of the pro-Taft forces demonstrated how powerful the Brass Hats have become in the U.S. Never before have military men played so prominent a part in the country's politics.

What vicious reactionaries paraded through the Convention

Readers Forum

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

PEACE

John McLaren, in his letter in your last issue, is correct in stressing that the real fight for peace involves sustained propaganda among the common people against the capitalist system. However, as a Socialist one is entitled to ask what forms this propaganda should take.

Peace and the capitalist system are mutually exclusive; but the fight for peace as a central issue, one which springs from the natural desires of the masses, can so strengthen the working class and its allies in all countries that the capitalist class will be the less able to wage war on a vast international plane. It is therefore within the power of the common people throughout the world to weaken the forces of international capital and to prevent them from bringing about world-wide catastrophe.

This does not mean that capitalism will die a peaceful death, that the bourgeoisie will commit suicide, but it does mean that its death agonies can be comparatively but effectively localised.

The fight against capitalism and the fight for peace are not mutually opposed. On the contrary, the fight for peace is simply a continuation of the fight against capitalism, as pursued through the initiative of the masses. To be blind to this is to squander the invaluable mass initiative which can undoubtedly serve to mobilise the forces which will finally overthrow capitalism everywhere.

Leeds. R. H. Sedler.

INDUSTRIAL ACTION

Brother Figgins has rightly condemned in forthright terms the Tory war policy. He has also declared the N.U.R.'s opposition to Churchill's bandit raid on nationalised transport and stated, at the Union's recent Scarborough Conference, that "this Transport Act must be fought relentlessly"—"not only politically but also industrially". It was good to read his speech but—it is not yet official N.U.R. policy.

The President of the N.U.R., Bro. Franklin, maintains silence on industrial action. In his speech to the N.U.R. Conference he pointed to the likelihood of an attack on railwaymen's wages as a result of the severance of road transport from rail and he said

Do you want to know what rank and file Dockers think about the

Dock Labour Board?
The Tory Government?
Mr. Arthur Deakin?

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"We must fight against such a philosophy with great determination". Bro. Franklin did not say how to fight but he gives us three slogans—"unity, liberty, and charity". This doesn't help much.

Now, to add to the confusion, we have the Editor of the "Railway Review", semi-official paper of the N.U.R., opposing industrial action. He has recently outlined his ideas in a series of illogical articles called "Logic of the Times". Industrial action, he says, will help the Tories by giving them something tangible to fight and by antagonising the middle class.

Of course, if we run away from Toryism there will never be anything to fight at! As for the middle class, nothing impresses them more than a show of strength and nothing frightens them more than weakness, which the election results of 1945 and 1951 surely prove.

The Editor of "Railway Review" argues that the workers are not ready for the struggle. They need "invigorating" (presumably by a slump) when "economic conditions will implant in the workers the will to resist". But the workers have the will now. It is the leaders who need waking up.

But, says the Editor of the "Railway Review", the real leaders of the working class will have nothing to do with industrial action, education is the thing. It depends where you want to lead the workers and in what you want to educate them. For the fight against Toryism it is no use following leaders up a blind alley or, like Mr. Deakin, climbing on the Butler bandwagon. What must be taught is a strategy that will combine all the weapons in the workers' arsenal—the fight in Parliament, propaganda and demonstrations, backed up by the workers' industrial strength, and the threat to cease to work for Churchill's plans of war and ruin.

Nottingham. Ernest Jones.

LAND AND LANDLORDS

May I at this late date "speak my mind" on the subject of land and landlords? Tom Braddock's interesting and able article (June 13), demonstrates the iniquity of the present system of land tenure in this country. By implication he condemns also the fraudulent Town and Country Planning Act. When it was introduced with such ballyhoo in 1947, many Socialists, myself included, thought the age-old land question solved at last. Despite the widespread evidence that it hampers, prevents and penalises socially desirable development, and promises £300 million of the taxpayers' money to the landlords, many still labour under this illusion. Tom Braddock shatters that illusion.

I cross swords with your contributor's last two paragraphs. Mass "No Rents" campaigns have been conducted successfully in the world's history, but the individual who refuses to pay rent merely martyrs himself to no purpose—he is evicted and the system con-

War On Wages (from page 1)

What is so unreasonable about asking for a couple of pound of it back?

But of course, Mr. Butler—like all good Tories—considers it highly unreasonable to attack profits. That is why, to him, it is the most natural thing in the world that the employers should attempt to recover from the consumer, in the form of higher prices, any cut in profits caused by higher wages.

WHY DO PRICES RISE?

Assuming that 10,000,000 of us get that £1 a week increase. That means £10,000,000 a week more in the pockets of the workers and, since there are hundreds of things we want to spend it on, the extra wages will result in a greatly increased demand for all sorts of useful things like clothes, shoes, food, furniture, books, homes, and holidays. And that in turn, would—under normal circumstances—lead to a greater production of these things and a consequent increased employment in those industries catering for goods like textiles and furniture.

But we all know this doesn't happen. Not because of some mysterious act of God, but because there is a deliberate, man-made restriction on the production of such useful things.

Mr. Butler knows all about that. For it was he who cut down the

tinues. Even if all tenants stood firm the community as a whole would be no better off. Erst-while tenants occupying the most valuable sites in town and city centres would have a tremendous advantage over those in suburban and rural districts, and an absolute advantage over the millions who would remain landless. Landlordism—even under completely new (and more numerous) management—would be as predatory and oppressive as it is today.

I suggest that the first, simple and obvious solution is to collect from all who hold land the full improved value of their sites—the "economic rent"—and to use it for the common good by abolishing taxes on the work of men's hands. What about it Tom Braddock?

London, N.W.2. P. R. Stubbings.

LABOUR AND THE U.S.A.

Surely the time has come for Labour Party rank and file to make clear their attitude to the U.S.A.

The American Government is crazy against Communism and is quite ready to destroy the workers of their own country and of this country in order that the American conceptions of "Democracy" may prevail.

But we must remember that the American Working Class do not want another World War any more than we do. It is only the capitalist class who need another World War to ensure the continued life of their system which is crumbling around them.

If you do not believe this you should read some of the statements made recently by members of the U.S.A. Military Staff in various parts of the world.

D. S. Tilbe,
Chairman, Twickenham L.O.Y.

shortage, is it such a burden for the Government to carry? Is it any worse, for example, than the burden of £500,000,000 for armaments?

I have no doubt that the whole Labour Movement will be now formulating plans to meet the threat to our standard of living contained in the proposals to end subsidies and "modify" the Rents Restriction Acts. Here in Bethnal Green we are determined to fight against it—whatever pleading is done on behalf of the poor landlords. Knowing just what sort of people we have to deal with, we have formed ourselves into the West Ward Tenants' Association to fight both them and their Tory Government. For this reason we are seeking the support of the local trades unions, trades councils, and local labour parties.

Already we have a letter of support from the members and officers of the West Ward Labour Party and we have received some able assistance from Labour Councilor, Ted Winslow.

By mass action of this kind the workers of Glasgow got the Rent Restriction Act placed on the Statute Book; by similar action we intend to keep it there.

imports of food and raw materials and allowed the prices of these things to rise by reducing the subsidies. It was he also who restricted the credit to industries supplying useful goods, and it was his close colleague, Sir Walter Monckton, who introduced an order "guiding" labour out of the consumer industries and into . . . armaments.

The destruction of Mr. Butler's case is not very difficult but—for a lot of people—the conclusions which follow from this exercise in simple economics are extremely difficult to swallow.

The first and most obvious one—that wage increases can be fully met out of profits—is generally

NEXT ISSUE

To enable our workers, both Printing & Editorial to have a much needed Holiday, the next issue of "Socialist Outlook" will not appear till :-
Friday, August 22nd.

accepted in the Labour movement. But the second and equally obvious conclusion—that prices will not rise if there is a greater production of useful goods at the expense of the present ruinous arms programme—well—that's where all the hesitations begin.

The "Daily Herald", for example, has so far made no attempt to answer Mr. Butler's arguments.

We suspect they are frightened of the conclusions they are bound to draw.

WAGES AND COMPETITION

But to return to Mr. Butler . . . who is waiting triumphantly to tell us that we have forgotten all about exports.

In his own words, exports are so important that "the economic, military, and political power of the country, the whole of our social achievements and our domestic standard of life" depend on them.

Then he gets to the point—"since other countries pay about the same price for raw materials as we do, wage rates are now the decisive element in our export prices". As competition for the world market is increasing . . . "any considerable rise in wages would result in the loss of many export markets" and that, he concluded, would mean more cuts in imports and eventually—mass unemployment.

You know, if we are to believe Mr. Butler, there is no more stupid and unpatriotic person than a worker who asks for a bit more wages. For look what it will mean . . . reducing old-age pensioners to complete penury, undermining our own standard of life, turning Britain into a third-rate power, and finally, mass unemployment. But we aren't very worried, because we don't believe a word of what Mr. Butler says—and this is why.

Competition in the world market is increasing? Excuse us, Mr. B; competition for SOME of the world market is increasing. That's

an important difference.

There are vast areas of the world like Soviet Russia, China and the countries of Eastern Europe where there is no competition at all. A deliberate, man-made—American man-made—embargo has been imposed on trade with those countries.

The British Government—even if it wanted to (which it doesn't)—is not allowed to sell to the Soviet Union, or China, thousands of things which British workers can make and Russian and Chinese workers need.

And this trade restriction applies to ALL the countries who are recipients of American "aid". Japan, for example, cannot sell in her traditional Chinese market. Consequently, there is a violently increased competition for a deliberately restricted world market.

WE'VE HEARD IT BEFORE

To compete on this market, says Mr. Butler, we must forgo all wage increases. And what if we do? Two can play at that game—and will.

First we freeze our wages to undercut Japanese goods. Then the Japanese cut their wages to undersell our goods. Then we cut ours . . . then the Japs again . . . then . . . but this is where we came in. This is 1930 all over again!

And, as in the hungry thirties, this policy gives rise to more and more problems and doesn't solve (for the workers) a single one. For who is going to buy all the goods which the workers of Britain, Japan, Germany, France, etc. will be so feverishly producing?

They can't go to Russia or China, and the peoples of Africa and the other great colonial territories are far too poor to buy anything except the merest fraction of the total world production. As for ourselves, under Mr. Butler's wage "restraint" policy, we should soon be in the position of our unfortunate fellow workers in Japan. Where then will it all go?

Well, in the old days—the "good old days"—they used to deliberately destroy it, burn it or let it rot. If they don't propose to do that today it is only because they have found a better use for it . . . they turn it into guns! But that—amounts to the same thing, for you can't eat guns, and tanks are a very poor substitute for houses.

PREPARING FOR BATTLE

Once more the answer to Butler's case for wage restraint has led us directly to one simple conclusion . . . to get more wages, to avoid cut-throat competition leading to war, to achieve a full life for working people and to stop the present monstrous squandering of human labour it is necessary to CUT THE ARMS PROGRAMME.

The Tories themselves—by placing the wage packet right in the centre of the political stage—have given the Labour Party a wonderful opportunity to lead millions of angry trade unionists (and even non-trade unionists) in a struggle, not only for higher wages, but for real political power.

In our opinion, as Labour Party members, the task now is to support in every way possible, the fight for higher wages. At the same time, by conducting a mass exposure of the aims of the Government in this struggle, the Labour Party can develop the battle of the wage packet into a battle against both Toryism and War.

★ HOUSING (from page 1)

out of their property by neglecting repairs, and now finding themselves, as a result, in the possession of a rapidly decaying asset are carefully calculating when and how to relinquish it as a liability to the local council. Greed in the past meant a minimum of repairs at all.

In some cases, landlords are getting out of it altogether, quietly packing their tents like Arabs in the night, abandoning their property and throwing an added burden on to the local council and . . . leaving the tenants to live in utter misery!

ENFORCE THE LAW

Unlike Lord Silkin, we don't feel any pity for these landlord creatures. We have yet to hear of any of them applying for a bed in the workhouse. They are responsible for repairs under the law. If they won't do them the Council must—and then sue the landlord for the costs. Raise the rents indeed! If landlords won't do the essential repairs—or pay the Council to do them—they

must be shoved in the jail!

We know that this will probably increase the financial burdens of the local authorities. We think, therefore, that there should be subsidies, not only for building new houses, but for repairing the old.

Lord Silkin, however, wants to reduce subsidies. He tells us that to build 250,000 houses will require a subsidy of £10,000,000 a year for sixty years. He is horrified. "We might go on in that way", he says, "until the subsidy reached the sum of £200,000,000 a year"! Very true, my lord, but what you don't, or won't, understand is that such a subsidy would result in the building of five million new houses!

Since that would go a long way to solving the horrible housing

LABOUR PARTY ANNUAL CONFERENCE

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