

Socialist Outlook

Vol. 3. No. 8

AUGUST, 1951

2d.

STAY IN POWER! CHANGE THE POLICY!

Don't Give The Tories Another General Election

ONE of the most dangerous ideas at present circulating inside the Labour Movement is the suggestion that it would be in Labour's interests to hold an early General Election. Unless this irresponsible suggestion is vigorously opposed, all the progressive possibilities inherent in the recent evolution of a large section of the Party to the Left may well be nullified by the disaster of a Tory victory.

The task that confronts our Movement is to formulate an alternative policy to that sorry collection of Fabian ideas which has brought so much discredit to Labour and which is now fortunately being rejected by ever wider sections of the Movement. We should be failing in our duty to the thirteen-and-a-quarter million workers who voted Labour in 1950 if we now presented the Tories with an absolutely gratuitous opportunity to regain power.

There is no question of Labour being forced into an Election for, even from the purely constitutional point of view, we are not called upon to hold one until 1955. And why should we?

We have an absolute majority in Parliament secured by the biggest popular vote ever given to any political party in this country. A vote, moreover, which represents the support of the most decisive section of the population—the industrial and agricultural working class. That the bulk of this 13¼ million people have finished for good and ever with the Tories is shown conclusively in the amazing by-election record in which not a single seat has been lost during the six years of a Labour Government.

Editorial

The Tories will, of course, be pleased to have an election thrust into their laps. They have nothing to lose and everything to gain. But let them not complain if we don't grant them their wish. They made the rules for this parliamentary game and the rules say that an election is necessary only once in every five years. If they don't like it there is precious little they can do about it—unless, of course, they intend resorting to extra-parliamentary action like sabotage and, in that case, they can, and should, be promptly and forcibly suppressed.

However, our opposition to an early General Election is motivated by far weightier considerations than the simple fact that it is constitutionally unnecessary. We start from the socialist point of view that all hopes for overcoming the present crisis in our affairs centre in the political evolution of the Labour Party to the point where the working class—the only progressive class in this or any other country—can dictate policy to its leaders. That process has already commenced and a fundamental discussion on almost every aspect of the old policies is opening up inside the Movement.

If we could be certain that the discussion could be terminated within a couple of months by a complete victory for the Left Wing then a General Election might have some meaning. But even then there would still be the burden of the Government's past

A MINER'S "FRIEND"

"I have always been a friend of the miners." Mr. Churchill. (*Daily Telegraph* 23/7/51).

Yes, like those other friends of the miners—silicosis, pneumaconiosis, nystagma, fire-damp, black-damp, and mass unemployment.

record of failures to weight the scales against us. Time would still be needed in which to demonstrate that socialist methods were superior to the scarcely-concealed Toryism of the present Labour Government.

Therefore, since an Election within a few months would almost certainly have to be fought on substantially the same programme as that which has already lost us so much popular support, it is bad strategy from every point of view.

There have recently been a whole series of facts to prove that the Left Wing is growing inside the Party. If certain essential conditions are fulfilled, there is every reason to believe that within twelve months or so it can be completely victorious.

A FAVOURABLE SITUATION

The preliminary agenda for the October Conference provides plenty of evidence that the rank and file of the Party is anxious to adopt a policy which, instead of temporising and compromising with capitalist interests, attacks them boldly. The widespread support for Aneurin Bevan's stand against the attack on the Health Service, and the new note of militancy which is appearing in the conferences of important trade unions on such questions as profits and wages is further evidence of the direction in which the movement wants to travel. Proof that this evolution to the Left is a very real thing is provided by the recent "dividend freeze" of Mr. Gaitskell which, as everyone knows, was a concession to the Left.

Given that we have the sense to adopt a general strategy which enables this most welcome clarification to continue while at the same time the Tories are kept out in the wilderness, in short, given that we do not

(Continued on col. 3, page 4).

'Democracy' gains an ally

By L. GORDON

THE American alliance with Franco has given a rude shock to those who have tried to disguise America's war policy as the "defence of democracy".

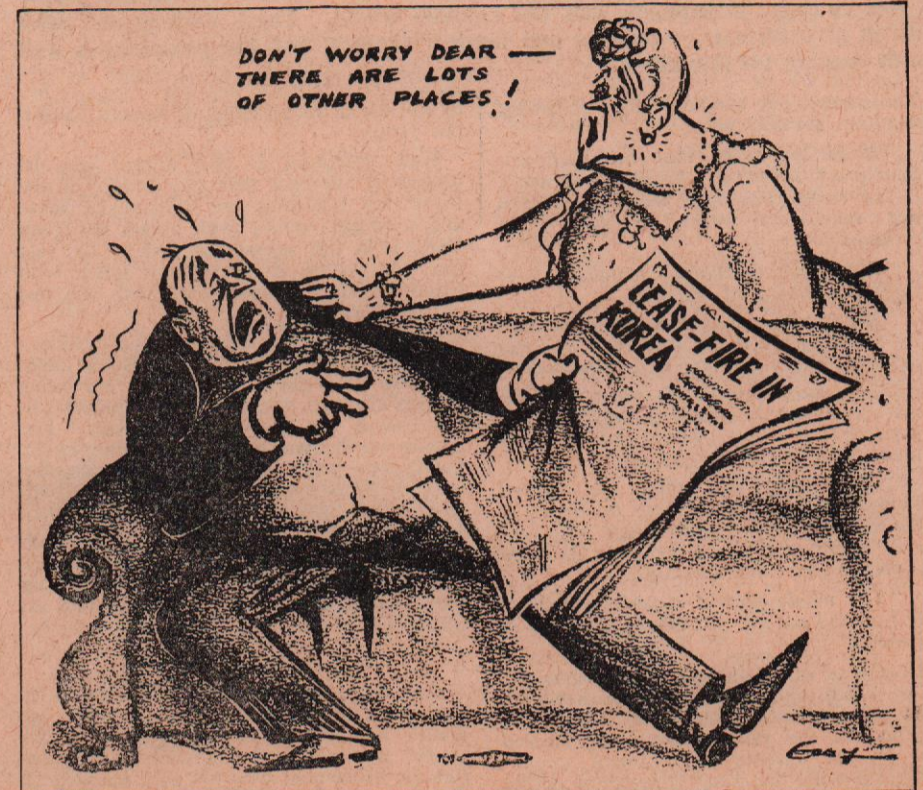
Everybody knows that Franco came to power by the bloody overthrow of the legally elected Spanish Government. Everybody knows that this was made possible only by the tanks, guns and bombers supplied to him by Hitler and Mussolini. Everybody knows that he has maintained himself in power only by means of a police terror—under which trade unions are illegal and the penalty for strikers is death.

So the Press has tried to spread the story that the regime is to be "liberalised". But the *Daily Telegraph* of July 20th gives the game away.

"Some attempt," it says, "will certainly be made by the new team to meet, or at all events to go through the motions of meeting the oft repeated desire of the American Government and People for the 'liberalisation of the regime' . . ."

And as an example of such "motions" the new cabinet contains as Secretary for War the former Secretary of the Falangist Party who commanded the Spanish Blue Division on Hitler's Eastern Front!

The *Daily Telegraph* concludes that "It is



Mr. Malik's proposal for a cease fire in Korea caused a sharp set-back today in commodities which have had such a big rise since fighting started a year ago (*London Evening News*, 25/6/51).

THE 'CITY' PROTESTS TOO MUCH

ANGRY squeals from the City of London following Mr. Gaitskell's announcement of a proposed "dividend freeze" were a sure sign that this timid little measure was at least a step in the right direction. Tory leader Oliver Lyttleton was so upset by the "injustice" of the whole thing that he immediately issued a call to action—"Investors Unite!" You have nothing to lose, presumably, except . . . your unearned income. However, these gentlemen squeal very easily for the wound they have suffered is really only a very minor pin-prick.

The object of the "freeze" of dividends, as openly stated by the Chancellor himself, was to prepare the workers "psychologically" for the acceptance of a "freeze" on wages. This shows Mr. Gaitskell to be, among other things, a very bad psychologist. The trick

won't work for the simple reason that, by itself, a "dividend freeze" will neither check the rise in prices nor in any way curtail the personal spending power of the great bulk of Mr. Lyttleton's investors.

Profits will be quite untouched by this "draconian" measure. They will rise as before out of the fat pickings of the rearmament programme, and they will continue to

By "THE LEVELLER"

be the sole property of private individuals. The only difference being that a part of the profit which previously went to the shareholders will now be put to reserve.

As business is booming, share values will, after the first panic has died down, continue also to rise—perhaps even to greater heights than ever. Then the big shareholders can sell out and reap a rich harvest in what is known as "capital gains" which, be it noted, are tax-free.

TAX EVASION IS EASY

Furthermore, these owners of capital, because there is no control over their activities, are always in a position to employ a thousand different ways of hiding the real extent of their wealth both from the workers they employ as well as from the Treasury.

A typical example appeared in the *Daily Herald* of July 31st which reported that the directors of **Totalisators Ltd.** had paid themselves in fees the sum of £11,916 although the net profit of the concern was only £5,300! When you control profits it's easy to make up in directors' fees what might be temporarily "lost" in a dividend freeze.

OPEN THE BOOKS!

Yet it would be a simple matter for a Labour Government to expose this kind of trickery merely by bringing in a bill to make it compulsory for all the books and accounts of every firm to be open to the inspection of the workers on the job. Supplemented by another bill compelling the banks to publish, and display, the names of all their depositors together with the amounts held, this kind of workers' control would very soon reveal just who does the real spending and squandering of the country's resources.

And it would certainly prepare the workers "psychologically" not, it is true, for the acceptance of another wage-freeze, but for the enthusiastic acceptance of the socialist idea that all industry should be owned by the State and operated by the workers themselves in accordance with a socialist economic plan.

Made for Each Other



'One Way Only'

'Brilliant but . . . It's Not Socialist'

by TOM BRADDOCK

THIS long heralded and much discussed production is very like a rocket charged with all the material for a brilliant effect but with no charge to lift it off the ground. The greater part is taken up with a comprehensive summary of the world position as it affects the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., the people of this country, armaments, and the colonial world. These matters are dealt with in an informative, concise, and fearless manner, and the pamphlet is well worth reading for this alone.

To show its quality, the following quotations are selected:—

"It is our view that the vast war machinery to which the Western world is fast committing itself will obstruct and not open the paths to peace and freedom."

"Plans for extending Socialism have been put into cold storage."

"We are paying for rearmament first by lowering the living standards of wage earners, salary earners and pensioners."

"The truth is that all plans, projects and proposals . . . even if they were all carried into effect, would be woefully inadequate."

"We, hardly less than the United States, are prepared to vote hundreds of millions more for arms than we were ever ready to offer as the price to build a prosperous Commonwealth."

"The whole present American strategy is founded on the possession of bases in Britain."

Dozens of other quotations can be taken, all of which, and the pamphlet as a whole, show that its authors and its supporters are opposed to the policy now being carried out by the Labour Government in co-operation with the Tory Opposition in the House of Commons.

FEEBLE "SOLUTIONS"

We must assume that the writers of the pamphlet believe what they have published. But oh, how feeble are the proposals they make to deal with the catastrophic situation they themselves agree exist! And remember, since the pamphlet has been produced Mr. Herbert Morrison has announced, with approval, the admission of Fascist Greece and Turkey to the Atlantic Pact, and the Americans are going on with the arming of Germany and Japan and are now entering into a military alliance with General Franco. In face of this rapidly deteriorating world situation, what does *One Way Only* propose?

First, that we should reduce the amount of money to be spent on the armaments drive. They are not, however, against armaments. In fact, they support them—but not too quickly; they would be quite willing to endorse the American slogan "Guns and the whole cow" if it was possible. Not being possible, they ask, in effect, for HALF the armaments and HALF the cow.

They seem to be pretty confident that Russia will not attack. They therefore suggest that we should be ready to attack Russia, not in two years time, but in four years time. During that extra period we can eat our half cow!

The second bright suggestion is for a new cost-of-living index assisted by railway subsidies and a capital levy, and something is also said about distribution costs and a price freeze. These suggestions will be about as effective as a snowball in hell.

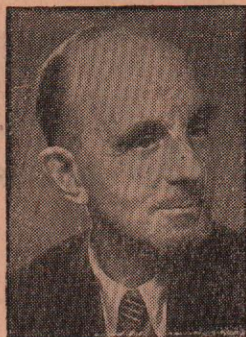
NO MENTION OF POWER

We have reached, says the Foreword of the pamphlet itself, "a climax where a few simple decisions determine the pattern of man's state for decades, if not for ever."

Why not apply these "simple decisions" to our present difficulties? Why not state clearly that if we as a people can distribute education to our children as a public service THERE IS NOTHING TO STOP US DOING THE SAME THING WITH BREAD, BOOTS AND HOUSES. Nothing, that is, except the stupidity of our leaders and the cowardice of those who try to hunt with the hounds and run with the hare.

It is obvious from this pamphlet that there is no support in the Parliamentary Labour Party for the application of such socialist methods. Seats are put before Socialism. It is also obvious that all of them, including Nye, Harold, and John, are very much afraid of the N.E.C.

In many cases this fear is not a personal one, but is founded on the knowledge that there is an ever-widening divergence of opinion in the Labour Party, and the fear is that this will lead to a split from which there will be no recovery. The N.E.C. are fully aware of this and will take every advantage of it. They know that at the next Annual Conference if they defeat Bevan and Co. it will not be on the merits of the case but because they will be able



'It's Us or the Shareholders'

Says Railwayman ERNEST JONES

THE Annual Report of the Transport Commission presents a £40 million deficit for 1950, but tells the staff, in a special free news sheet, that if each person working on British Transport had saved a shilling each working day, the Commission would have shown a profit.

They do not tell us how this saving was to be made. They do not say, of course, that if the share-holders had volunteered to forego their cut for 1950 then a surplus of £20 million would have been made. Obviously Lord Hurcomb does not believe in miracles.

The original cost of buying off the private owners was approximately £1,200 million. But it did not stop there. This money was not paid off but was simply turned into British Transport shares bearing an interest rate of 3%—a very safe investment, since it is guaranteed by act of Parliament. That was in 1948, Vestment Day.

Since then, £130 million have been paid out in interest, of which £40 million has been raised by various loans. Thus, so far, British Transport has cost us more than £1,330 million, and this after only three years.

In about 40 years the shares are due to be paid off, and by that time the socialising of British Transport will have cost the British Workers who created it, about £3,000 million, of which over £1,700 million is represented by interest.

These are staggering sums, and they show why the Railway Executive and other Transport managements have fought, during the last three years, every effort of transport workers to better their conditions and keep pace with bounding prices. They are determined that these vast sums shall be paid for by us, the men on the job.

That is the reason for Mr. Allen's bitter opposition to wage increases 12 months ago; the failure to give railwaymen pensions and sick pay; and now the call to work longer hours and to sacrifice our summer holidays. Yet there is a simple way to improve the conditions of the rank and file and provide money for urgent maintenance.

It is by suspending the payment of the £44 million yearly interest on Transport Stock. Our post-war credits have been suspended. Why not the shareholders' compensation?

The Transport Act does not provide for confiscation and, until it is altered by the will of the Labour Movement, there is no question of such drastic action. But the suspension of interest payments is another question.

The working man and small stockholder

need not be hit. The Government could very well offer to transfer all holdings in shares up to £500 into a Post Office Account, and in addition set up a committee to enquire into all hardship cases where the interest was the sole source of income of old and sick persons.

But we suspect that the main part of the shares are owned by parasitic money grabbers who are able-bodied enough to work but prefer to do otherwise. They don't care a hang whether nationalisation is a success or not so long as they are paid. We should demand that a list of owners of shares and the amounts they hold be published.

A start was made with a campaign against interest payments at the N.U.R. and T.G.W.U. conferences, with resolutions demanding a review of this financial burden on nationalised transport. This whisper must become a shout everywhere in the Labour Movement.

Workers' Control Brings Down Prices

By HARRY FINCH

LARGE catering firms are warning that an increase in canteen meal prices will soon become necessary. The stock reason given is "increase in the costs of all food items." Yet in Aston, Birmingham, there is a firm in which the canteen has recently REDUCED prices and given a meals service unparalleled in canteen history.

If you think that some big catering concern has had a change of heart and decided to help the workers instead of robbing them you are, of course, mistaken! This canteen is one run and controlled entirely by the workers of R. T. Shelley, the factory which makes the famous Norton Motor Cycles.

The workers staged a successful boycott of the canteen when it was run by the catering firm, Peter Merchant Ltd. and, as a result, Peter Merchant agreed to withdraw one month from the date of the lifting of the boycott.

When the month elapsed the canteen came into the workers' hands.

One of the first acts of the committee was to raise the wages of the canteen staff. In 4 months they received an average increase of 15s. per week each. Moreover because of the rapid increase in custom the staff numbers were doubled.

In spite of the fact that the canteen committee started with nothing except a £30 loan, 4 months working has produced a profit of £87, repayment of the £30 loan, and a handsome stock of food. This, be it noted, with the wages bill to the canteen staff being more than double that paid by Peter Merchant and despite increases in the wholesale prices of food.

No wonder Peter Merchant's refused to show their books to "prove" their contention that the canteen has been running at a loss.

But the balance sheet is not the only good item. The quality and quantity of food improved tremendously when Peter Merchant left. Shop stewards have consequently been relieved of taking up never-ending complaints on food. As a result of this balance sheet the price of puddings was reduced from 4d. to 3d., and cakes had been reduced by ½d. or 1d.

If food prices remain static more reductions will probably take place after the issue of the next balance sheet. If they continue to rise, R. T. Shelley workers will still pay the present prices long after workers at other firms have paid increases because of the dreadful losses (!!!) being suffered by the big catering firms!

Factory workers who read "Socialist Outlook" might be interested in some of our typical menus:—

Roast Pork, new potatoes, vegetables, stuffing, gravy—11d.
Fish, chips, peas—11d.
Chips, egg, beans—11d.
Tea with sugar—1½d. half-a-pint.
Beans and 2 slices buttered toast—5d.
Ham or bacon sandwiches (2 rounds)—6d.

can be advanced."

Don't forget. These are not the views only of constituency Labour Parties but now of the elected leaders of powerful trade unions as well.

I suspect they will not be accepted without a struggle. That is where the rank and file must come in. Only with strong backing will the proposals be implemented.

The main excuse for shelving the plans will be that the nationalised industries must be consolidated before public ownership is extended. I'm all for consolidation, particularly in a more socialist direction. But I fail to see why consolidation and extension can't take place at the same time. To cry "halt" is to admit failure.

to call for a united front of Labour against the Tories.

How dishonest is this appeal can be judged by the fact that the leaders of the Party are operating an armaments drive and a foreign policy with which the Tory Party is in full agreement, and by the fact that Mr. Attlee is in constant touch with Churchill and, through him, with the rest of the Tories.

The reason for these secret Attlee—Churchill talks and consultations is clear. A series of plans and decisions are being carried through which are too horrible to lay before the Labour Movement. The details are known only to the inner circle, the higher ranks of the Civil Service, the military leaders of America, Great Britain and France, and, soon, to General Franco.

These plans have been long prepared. The official utterances in press and radio are only important as a means of deceiving the peoples of the world—no matter on which side of the Iron Curtain they may be.

CONCLUSION

One Way Only is important because it has made it clear that any protest, no matter how feeble, is grasped at by the larger section of the Trade Union and Labour Movement who are in disagreement with the present policy of the Government. It is important also because its reception by the *Daily Herald* and the capitalist press shows that these organs of opinion are fully aware of the revolt that is brewing inside the Labour Movement and are prepared to take every step to stamp down and discredit a pamphlet which, though inadequate in its remedies, does nevertheless make the dangers of our present position clear beyond all possibility of contradiction.

The sort of solutions with which I myself am associated are well known to readers of the *Socialist Outlook* and are once again put forward in the Editorials of this issue of the paper.

ENGINEERS PLAN BIG TAKE-OVER

'Time has come' say Union chiefs

By Frank Allaun

IS it good enough for Labour to leave four-fifths of Britain's industry in the hands of private employers? "Definitely not" say some of our most important unions.

First came the plan for nationalising all building firms with more than twenty operatives, and with drastically limited compensation, put forward by the leaders of 19 building unions.

And now the 37 metal trade unions representing 3,000,000 workers, have completed their proposals for the future of engineering—this country's biggest industry.

Instead of dithering over what steps Labour should take now, it has completed its 1945 programme, they have for two years been making a careful study of their own trades.

To some effect! If ever the injunction "Get on with the job of bringing about socialism" was given to a government it has been given by the **Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.**

In a brilliantly executed piece of work they recommend—whatever Mr. Deakin has to say on the subject—nothing less than the public ownership of such important sections of engineering as:—

aircraft, machine tools, coal mining machinery, locomotive manufacture and the heavy motor combine; also the whole of the shipbuilding, ship repair, marine engineering and shipping industries.

Now Mr. Deakin's argument—that extension of nationalisation would lead to a "whacking" defeat at the polls—is shared by others in the movement and needs consideration.

It is a bad mistake: the electorate are much more concerned about the rise in the cost of living than about further nationalisation. (And nationalisation with lower compensation could cut living costs.)

Supposing Labour decided to take over Imperial Chemical Industries (as I hope it

will), who would worry? Lord McGowan, who received £60,000 (!) a year salary, his successor, the shareholders and the Conservative Press Lords.

As they will finance and vote and work for a Tory victory, regardless of the steps Labour takes or fails to take, I doubt whether we should lose a single vote on this issue.

If a Labour government is not to extend the sphere of public ownership we might as well pack it in and call it a day. We want a Labour government not to administer capitalism but to transform it.

Our job is: (1) to go ahead; (2) to make nationalisation more successful; and (3) to expose and rebut the day by day anti-nationalisation propaganda of the newspapers.

If we run away we deserve to fail.

And if there are readers who say "Ah, but nationalisation isn't socialism" I can only reply "No, but it's a big step in the right direction." You may have nationalisation without socialism, but you certainly can't have socialism without nationalisation. Despite criticisms of State ownership—and please don't rely on the press for your evidence—it is still ten times preferable to private capitalist enterprise.

For other sections of engineering the Confederation advocates various forms of public control. Their plans are outlined in a 42-page report which has now been sent to the T.U.C. General Council for examination.

The report opens with the statement: "A planned economy is the surest guarantee of full employment, stability at home and peaceful relations with other countries."

After referring to the T.U.C. Post-War Reconstruction Report of 1944 the publication continues: "Nothing on the scale envisaged by the T.U.C. or by ourselves in relation to the engineering industry has in fact been put into operation. The time has now been reached when more concrete proposals for the extension of public control



A.E.U. Goes Left

'Let's keep it that way'

Says **NORMAN DINNING** who received nearly 5,000 votes in the recent A.E.U. Presidential Elections

CONCERN over rising prices and exorbitant profits was the keynote of the National Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union which met last June. This is the policy-making body of the Union and it decided to go ahead with a further wage claim of £1 a week minimum increase for engineers. Furthermore, the National Committee backed the claim with a decision that they should be recalled within three months to discuss further action in the event of the employers' refusal.

This new note of militancy sounded by the National Committee (it also decided to press the Government to institute a comprehensive price control and insisted on trade union representation on the committee which is now examining retail prices) has been warmly welcomed by the rank and file members of the union. A welcome which is in sharp contrast to the panic revealed in capitalist circles.

NO "PLOTS"

The *Sunday Observer*, in an article entitled "Communist Threat To Rearmament", noted with apprehension that "nearly 3,000,000 workers in the shipbuilding, engineering, and allied trades are likely to be involved between now and the autumn in one of the biggest wage movements of recent years". It went on to suggest—as all the capitalist press is doing—that this movement to maintain real wages in face of the rising living costs is really only a "communist plot".

Every sensible person knows, of course, that the decisions of the A.E.U. are not the result of a "communist plot". Votes cast for Communist Party candidates in recent union elections were not all, or even in their majority, votes for the Communist Party as such.

More often than not they were a simple protest against the lack of concern so far shown by the leadership in the face of declining wages due to rising costs.

The decision of the National Committee was a recognition of the membership's determination to protect wages from the effects of high prices. It also reflected the disgust inspired by the illusory 11/- award of the Arbitration Tribunal, an award which, like the wonderful tree in the fairy story, everybody had heard about but nobody had ever seen.

There has been a great change in union feeling since the days when a ballot rejected strike action in favour of arbitration, and the change is due solely to the sharp rise in the cost of living. If a ballot were taken now, there is little doubt that it would decisively reject arbitration as a means of securing wage increases.

And this changed attitude is discernible in almost every Trade Union. Even Mr. Williamson of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, who recently attacked the A.E.U.'s "militant trade unionism" as "bringing nothing but trouble" to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, was forced under pressure of his members to withdraw his Executive's resolution on living costs in favour of a slightly more militant one. Was this also a "communist plot"?

LABOUR AND THE UNIONS

No, indeed, these latest radical decisions of our Union do not mean that the A.E.U. has been taken over by the Communist Party. On the contrary, more than ever do the majority of the membership want to see a change in the policy of the **Labour Party** so that it will aid, and not hinder, the trade unionist's fight to maintain and improve living and working conditions.

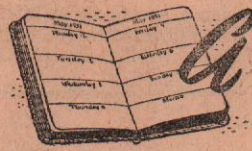
It is for this reason that I welcomed, as I think did most left-wingers, Jack Tanner's declaration of support for Aneurin Bevan. It is a good thing that our leadership is beginning to take a stand with the Left Wing of the Labour Party, even though it may have been taken under pressure from below and even though it is only a beginning. What is now necessary is the conscious organisation of the full power of the Union into this struggle.

That will have an enormous effect in changing Labour Party policy for it can mean, at long last, the use of the Union's block vote in the interests of the left wing and socialism.

In the "Great Debate" between the consolidators and those who want to extend nationalisation our Union has also struck a

heavy blow at the Morrisonites by producing a plan for the nationalisation of all the main sections of the engineering industry. No wonder the incredible Mr. Deakin rushed forward to declare himself against any further nationalisation! No wonder Mr. Williamson speaks of "nothing but trouble" from the A.E.U. in the Confederation!

But all socialists in the Unions and in the Labour Party can draw inspiration from the Union's stand on this most important question. The A.E.U.'s initiatory address expresses the hope that we may live to see the day when the unity of the workers will end the capitalist system. Unless that hope is to remain a pious sentiment, a mere collection of words in the front of the branch minute book, we must fight to get our Union to participate, *from top to bottom*, in the shaping of Labour Party policy. In that way shall we aid in transforming the Labour Party into an instrument for furthering the political aspirations of trade unionists.



A Worker's Diary

by Harry Shindler

HUMBUG UNLIMITED

THE other day I came across a copy of *Punch* dated December 25th, 1918 and this is what I read . . .

"A great work lies before us if we are to make our country worthy of the men who fought and died for her (but) that the principles of justice and honour will triumph . . . I have no doubt."

Just how "justice" and "honour" triumphed are described in a recent book by a Japanese doctor who experienced Nagasaki. He relates this conversation with a young Japanese girl . . .

"As I watched, two things which looked like great, big hideous lizards crawled slowly, making croaking groaning sounds. I was paralysed with horror for minutes. Then the light got a little better and could see they were human beings—skinned alive by fire or heat."

Then I read in the *Herald* (1/7/51) that General Eisenhower preached a sermon in St. Paul's in honour of the American dead. He said . . . "We and all who shall live in

freedom . . . etc., etc."

How many human "lizards" will it take to keep Eisenhower and his ilk living in freedom?

WERE YOU THERE?

IF you want to see "justice", "honour", and "freedom" celebrating their "triumph" you want to pal up with Mrs. Randall-Plunkett. She gave a ball the other night to her daughter Victoria—and built a brand-new night club for the occasion! There were 400 guests (all believers in "justice and honour", no doubt) and they consumed **360 bottles of champagne and hundreds of bottles of Chianti.**

At 4 o'clock **IN THE MORNING** they all had breakfast of bacon and eggs, kedgerree (whatever that is) and coffee. Then there was more dancing and more champagne. The place was stacked out with debutantes and Guards officers . . . and the cost of this little do was £1,300. You can read all about it, like I did, in the *London Evening Standard* of June 29th, 1951.

Was it to preserve this kind of thing that human beings in Nagasaki were turned into "great hideous lizards" . . . ?

HANKEY PANKEY

At last we know what causes strikes! It's all due to eating white bread which contains agene. This was announced by Lord Hankey (I wonder is he a friend of Mrs. Randall-Plunkett?) in a debate in the House of Lords. He said—

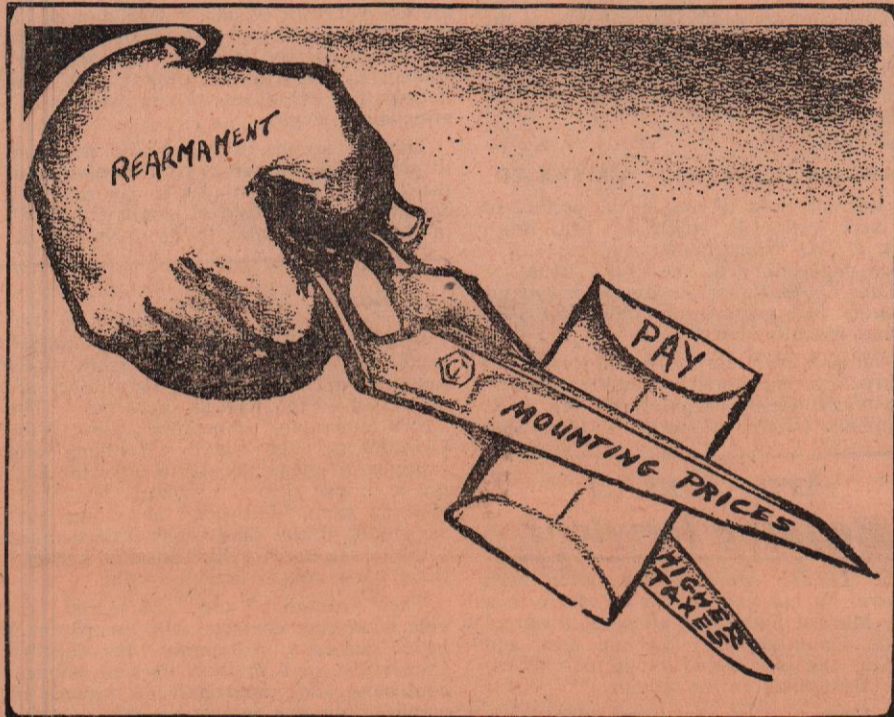
"I have long felt that this question of agene might be connected with these sudden strikes, unofficial strikes and unrest, cropping up amongst those poorer sections of the population who are great consumers of bread."

No white bread in future, brothers—kedgerree and Chianti will cure us of strikes!

DEAKIN RIDES AGAIN!

TALKING of strikes, have you heard that Arthur D. is supporting a wage increase for transport workers? It's true—but there's a catch in it, of course.

He says the increase can only be got by **INCREASING FARES.** He even threatened to withdraw the T. & G.W.U. from all Trades Councils if those bodies persist in opposing the fares increases. Of course, it never occurred to this big bold militant T.U. leader that transport workers could get a wage increase by **DECREASING THE COMPENSATION PAID TO THE EX-SHAREHOLDER.**



Over £2 million in Dock Labour Board's 'Kitty'

But No Pensions for Old Dockers

by Steve Brandon

We are indebted to the Merseyside dockers' paper, "Portworkers' Clarion," for permission to reprint this article, with added explanatory material by the author, for readers of the "Socialist Outlook."*

THE Fourth Annual Report of the National Dock Labour Board (for the year 1950-51) makes remarkable reading. Despite the charges of malingering and absenteeism launched upon us by the gutter press, the certified statement of the Board as presented to the Minister of Labour shows that voluntary absenteeism was only 1½%.

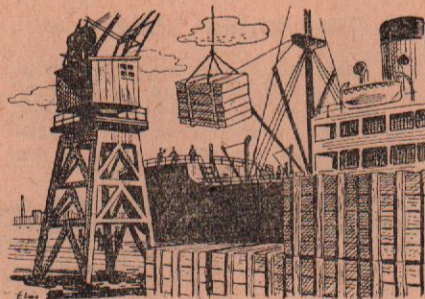
In other words, out of every 100 hours' working time, only 1½ hours were lost through voluntary absenteeism.

The number of men on the "live register", that is, men constantly engaged in the industry, was shown to be 69,222. The average weekly wage for the whole of the year was only £8 12s. 10d.; the highest average at any one period was only £8 18s. 3d.

It must be remembered also that to draw this wage the docker must work extra hours in overtime, and deprive himself of the limited recreation which is possible on the normal flat rate of £5 15s. 6d. When "blessed" with enforced leisure, when laid-off, the guaranteed rate granted to a docker is only £4 8s. 0d.

PRESS LIES EXPOSED

The figures given thus fully expose the calumnies and exaggerations of the press about our fabulous wages and high rate of absenteeism on the docks. The N.D.L.B. as at present constituted could hardly be less sympathetic to dockers, yet the truth must out in its report; and the truth is that for an occupation as tough as docking the low absenteeism figure must be as near a record as possible.



We would be very interested to see comparable figures for absenteeism among shipping company directors, especially during Royal Ascot week or the nice golfing weather we have had recently.

EMPLOYERS' "DIVVY"

With regard to the £ s. d. aspect of the report, you will no doubt be pleased to hear that the levy paid by the shipping companies for daily workers has been reduced from 15% to 13½%. It is from this levy that is derived the fund for the guaranteed wage paid when a docker is laid off, and the very fact that it is possible to reduce the levy indicates how little the fund has been drawn upon. The improved financial position of the Board is, therefore, due to the high working record of the rank-and-file dockers.

The saving to the employers is approximately £8,500 per week, based on last year's wage bill, which is a nice little present from the Board to the impoverished shipping magnates.

NEED FOR PENSIONS SCHEME

We submit that this action of the Board is wrong. The levy should have been increased and a fund formed to implement one of the salient points of the Dockers' Charter, namely the provision of a Pensions

Scheme for aged and infirm dockers and the casualties of dock-land.

There is ample scope for such a scheme to be started and the need is urgent. There are many old veterans tied to work who should be living in comfortable retirement after a life on the docks.

Now let us take a look at the "kitty." The Management Fund of the Board, after making a grant of £109,604 to the General Reserve Fund and £150,000 to the Welfare Fund, and paying its expenses for the year, shows a healthy balance of £692,000. The General Reserve Fund has a balance to carry forward of £1,254,000. £234,000 has been put aside for new buildings, call stands, pay boxes, etc., so, all in all, there is well over £2 millions in the kitty. Quite an ample reserve to start the nucleus of a Pensions Scheme.

WHO REDUCED THE LEVY?

We should like to know by whose authority the levy was reduced. Did the union officials on the Board consent and, if so, why did not the union circularise its members and obtain the consent of the rank and file to this reduction?

Summing up the Report we find:—

1. Dockers' wages are much lower than the estimates given in the capitalist press.
2. The working record of the dockers is excellent.
3. The need for socialist papers to reply to the lies and distortions of Fleet Street is urgent.

Neither the Union nor the N.D.L.B. has attempted to present the true facts about dockland to the press but have been content to row in with Arthur Deakin and his satellites who receive the freedom of the press to vilify us whenever they wish to do so.

*Obtainable from: Dan Brandon, 55, Briardale Road, Birkenhead, Cheshire.

Does your T.U. Branch take the 'Socialist Outlook'?

Readers Forum

TOM BRADDOCK - Trespasser on the 'British Road'?

After reading, in *Socialist Outlook*, Mr. Tom Braddock's opinion of the "British Road to Socialism" it causes me no surprise that the *Labour Monthly* never sacrificed any of its articles in favour of Mr. Braddock's.

In his opening remarks he advises all militant Socialists who want to be heard, to remain in the Labour Party and asserts that any who join the Communist Party will be suspect and rightly so.

Could I remind Mr. Braddock that in recent years and months Mr. Platts Mills, Pritt, L. Hutchinson, L. Solley and many more lesser lights have been expelled from the Labour Party for wanting to be heard saying that they stood for the Socialist Programme on which they were elected.

In the light of these facts, and with the present set-up in the Labour Leadership, to my way of thinking the so-called Left Wingers who have been allowed to remain in the Labour Party are suspect to all militant Socialists and rightly so.

It is a well known fact that the "Keep Left" Group of Labour M.P.'s under that Great Rebel Crossman are periodically led up the hill and just as promptly led down it again after accomplishing just nothing, and I am convinced that had these rebels had anything in their make-up connected with Socialism they would have been out on their ears a long time ago.

The technique of taking sentences out of their context, lumping them together to form an Aunt Sally so that it could be knocked down again is an old one and that is all Braddock has done with the B.R.T.S. He criticises it because it has no basis for revolutionary action and states that what is needed is a programme for immediate action.

Well, if this big Red Revolutionary Mr. Braddock has such a programme he has been keeping it a well-hidden secret because I can never remember reading or hearing of it, and I am certain he never outlined it in Parliament when he was an M.P.

He also states that Socialist and Capitalist countries cannot co-exist. Well, I am just a factory worker but it is obvious to me that a Capitalist country or its Government will only co-exist with a Socialist Government if the pressure of the workers in that Capitalist country is strong enough to make it, whilst the workers themselves from this experience of their own strength will eventually emancipate themselves from Capitalism. To me, the only alternative to this is war, or having Socialism enforced on us by the intervention of the Socialist countries themselves, and I bet that if that happened Mr. Braddock would soon be screaming about Soviet Imperialism.

He concluded by saying that the B.R.T.S. indicates that the Communist Party is muddle-minded and that its programme is quite useless as it will only lead us back to where we are. I do not wish to argue about this except to say that, if this is the case, the whole machinery of Capitalist propaganda is getting quite hysterical for nothing, but I suspect that they see in the C.P. a far greater threat to Capitalism than they have yet seen in Mr. Braddock or his friends.

Fulham. W. Long.

APPRECIATING the inability of the United Nations Organisation to establish world peace, and recognising the futility of hoping to establish any understanding with the forces of capitalism on any basis which would not endanger the Labour Movement, **Birkenhead Trades Council and Labour Party** has terminated its affiliation to the United Nations Association.

This decision was first taken in March, challenged recently by a section of the Council, the decision was re-affirmed at the July meeting after a full discussion.

A.R.

Subscription to "Socialist Outlook"

Enclosed please find P.O. for 3s. for

12 issues starting with.....

Name

Address

Date

"Socialist Outlook,"

177, Bermondsey St., London, S.E.1

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

Tom Braddock writes:

Mr. Long must remember that two wrongs do not make a right. The mere expulsion of Mills, Pritt, etc., does not justify the Communist attempt to split the Labour Movement. Why was Ziliacus not mentioned?

As to Aunt Sallys, Mr. Long does not deny that my quotations are taken from his pamphlet or that they are a fair sample of its contents; could I do better than let it speak for itself?

As to a Socialist Programme, Mr. Long can buy for 3d. "From Labour to Socialism". If he had put his address on his letter I would have sent him a copy.

Why does Mr. Long talk about being only a factory worker? What is wrong with being a factory worker? His following words are difficult to understand. If he means that no Socialist is entitled to help the workers of any country but his own I agree that this can be deduced from his own pamphlet but I do not agree with that. Socialism is an international creed and it is the duty of Socialists to help one another the world over.

As to Mr. Long's final paragraph, the capitalist press of course advertises any movement that is likely to split the Labour Party; this is bound to happen, but it must not therefore be thought that capitalist opposition is automatically a certificate of Socialist merit. Neither does a correct Socialist outlook justify the splitting of the Labour Party.

Mr. Long sounds like a good Socialist, he should get back to where he can do most good, in the Labour Party.

* * *

'LABOUR MONTHLY' CRITICISED

I was surprised to read in the preface to the very instructive article by Tom Braddock ("Left Wing Labour and the C.P.") which appeared in the July issue of *Socialist Outlook* that the Editor of *Labour Monthly* had refused its publication after having specially requested it.

I am now even more surprised to read, in an article commemorating the 30th anniversary of the *Labour Monthly* by Mr. J. R. Campbell (*Daily Worker*, 3/7/51), that

Are You a Regular Reader?

"The *Labour Monthly* has never been narrow. It has known how to adhere to a firm Marxist line while allowing advanced Trade Unionists, Left Labour men and women, and progressive intellectuals to express themselves in its columns."

If I am to take Mr. Campbell's words seriously then I am bound to infer that Tom Braddock is neither a "Left Labour man" nor a "progressive intellectual", but stands in some undefined political category all by himself! Mr. Dutt's action in rejecting Tom Braddock's article reminds me of the angry American farmer who didn't give a damn what colour his barn was painted so long as it was painted white!

London. M. Banda.

* * *

The Rising Scale

Your "Editorial" of July number is about one of the best I have read in any publication. As one of the millions of workers, and operating as a shop steward, your subject "Hitch Wages to Cost of Living" is one we are learning about the hard way.

Wage negotiations are protracted and are only carried out following an increase in the cost of living. The big Unions in their loyalty to the N.E.C. of the Labour Party, and also to the General Council of the T.U.C., will not permit of any action that will embarrass Mr. Attlee and his Cabinet. The result is the manufacturers get off to a flying start, the wages of the workers lose their purchasing power, and the worker still is faced with paying out of his dwindling wages a high rate of Income Tax.

Each Chancellor of the Exchequer conveniently forgets that every £1 rise in wages is all too often for a £2 rise in the cost of living, and then they make it worse by collecting a few shillings out of that £1 in Income Tax.

I couldn't agree more with your comments on the Old-Age Pensioner. I have for a long time put forward the view that the system of paying a fixed sum in a world of rising prices is outrageous and I hope the "Socialist Outlook" will give the greatest possible publicity to the scheme of tying the Old-Age Pension to a Cost-of-Living Sliding Scale.

D. Burgess Flixton.

WANTED

"Unfurnished flat or rooms (London) urgently needed by two young readers. Any offers or news of vacancies please write or phone. A. Kirkby, 76 Brooke Road N.16. AMH 6219."

Editorial

(Continued from page 1)

stand for any talk of an early General Election, there is every reason to believe that the Left wing will triumph in a shorter time than most people would have dared hope a few months ago.

There are, it is true, some people who call themselves "left" but who imagine that a Tory victory would actually favour the socialist wing of the Labour Party, for, you see, in no time at all the workers would see that Toryism was no different to "Right Wing Labourism" and soon we should have another Labour Government—but this time led by our self-appointed "Left-Wing" leaders.

People who think like this should not presume to lead a working class movement for they obviously have not the foggiest idea of the bitter nature of the struggle between capital and labour. If ever the Tories get back to full and unbridled power they will probably never again allow us an election—and certainly not because we want one. At best we shall get some kind of rigged affair similar to the farcical elections recently held in France and Italy. At worst the Labour Movement itself will be suppressed.

In any case, there will be a long period of suffering for our people and certainly all the achievements of the Labour Government will be abolished. Naturally, the workers will resist—Arthur Horner was quite right about that—but that would only mean that the stage was being set for . . . civil war.

Is that what the advocates of an early election favour—civil war? In any case, we are not in favour of such a development. If it comes we'll do our best to see it through to victory for the workers. But we don't want it and we'll try to prevent it by combating the stupidities of the Movement's armchair strategists.

Three things are, in our opinion, necessary to ensure the further political evolution of the Labour Party so that it can save this country from war and economic ruin. All of them are realisable if the movement de-

Some Like Us . . .

With its present policy the "Outlook" need not fear competition from older journals which in one way or another are associated with Labour activities. The "New Statesman," sometimes critical of the Government, but usually wobbling and cautious of giving offence to officialdom, is not a serious rival it is seldom bought by working men; "Forward" also faces both ways and, in any case, meets little demand south of the Border; the "Socialist Leader" (I.L.P.) has only a limited appeal.

The "Outlook's" tone and matter provide a striking contrast with the papers I have named. It cannot be labelled Communist, and, in these days of political confusion and uncertainty, I regard its emphasis on the progressive side of trade unionism as of the utmost importance.

Liverpool. James Mooney.

* * *

. . . Others Don't

I would like to express my disapproval of your making "Socialist Outlook" a weekly paper.

The Labour Movement has already a sufficient number of good weekly and monthly issues together with local bulletins and news sheets without having to read your criticism of the Party and Labour Government and being subjected to misinformation. One no longer can differentiate between the presentation of news which appears in your monthly and that of the "Daily Worker" or "Soviet News."

Though it is good to criticise, your paper, it appears aims to disrupt the movement rather than strengthen it.

I would suggest that money spent on a weekly such as you propose is a waste and could be better used for the Labour Party Election Fund.

Lewes. Ernest Pollak.

"Letters From Korea"

I have just read Lance-Corporal Tyler's tragic letters in the "Socialist Outlook." I think they form the most moving article I have ever read. These letters by a man who paid the highest price of all should rouse us to take his anti-war message to every member of the Labour movement. Please send me 200 copies quickly.

Manchester. Frank Allaun.

Bill Tyler



Have YOU read these letters?

Order from Socialist Outlook 7½d. post free

mands them with all the energy of which it is capable.

1. A guarantee from the October Conference that there will be no election unless and until the workers themselves demand it.
2. Full democracy inside the Party to enable the present vital discussion to be conducted without fear of reprisals, bans, proscriptions and splits.
3. Discipline from top to bottom so that, whatever decisions are arrived at, the Movement can be assured that the leaders will carry them out.

"COMRADES"

To Comrades in the Trade Union and Labour Movement who are being victimised for their loyalty to Trade Union and Socialist principles and for advocating World Peace.

"Comrade"—there is no nobler word
To thrill the brain and heart:
To free the wage-slave from its chains,
And faith and hope impart.

"Comrade"—in poverty's grim fight
We neither flinch nor fear,
And prison walls cannot confine
The truth we hold so dear.

"Comrade"—we strive to free mankind
That racial wars may cease:
We hail the Brotherhood of Man,
The dawn of lasting peace.

"Comrade"—the cohorts of the slain
March with us in our fight:
Proudly we raise the crimson flag
That heralds freedom's light.

Percy Allott.

THE FIGHTING FUND

The following donations are gratefully acknowledged:—

J. Head	...	8	4
J. Lightfoot	...	2	6
D. Finch	...	2	8
W. Punt	...	7	0
J. Ride	...	8	0
K. Lamptey	...	5	0
A. Brown	...	3	0
J. Morgan	...	2	0
Sparks	...	6	0
Deptford Socialist	...	2	0
L. Gordon	...	6	0
Barney	...	2	6
Frank Allaun	...	10	0

£14 13 0

To Ensure A Weekly Outlook We Need 5,000 Subscribers Paid In Advance!

SPECIAL ORDER FORM FOR THE WEEKLY OUTLOOK

When the *Socialist Outlook* becomes a weekly, please send it by post for 26 weeks to

Name

Address

Name

Address

for which is enclosed the sum of (6/6 per person) to cover cost and postage, on the understanding that if a weekly is not produced by September 30th this sum will be refunded in full.

Post to: "Socialist Outlook," 177, Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1