

Socialist Outlook

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We Can't afford the Rich

By TOM BRADDOCK, M.P.

WE went left in 1945. Churchill and Co. were not only defeated, they were powerless as well. This came after 40 years of agitation by the rank and file of the Labour Party for one great purpose, "To obtain for the workers by hand and brain the full fruits of their labour." During this period the leaders of the Party had been sitting in Parliament, they had been found safe seats; we had supposed that with the help of the National Executive Committee of the Party they had been planning and preparing for power. Then they were given that power, and what happened? They went right, they lost their nerve and were afraid, they accepted the official view, they rushed round, not to their own people but to the defeated Tories. Look at the disgraceful episode of Lord Milverton. It was the opponents of Socialism who were given control, it was the House of Lords and the Tory Party who were placated. The workers were told to work harder.

Is There an Alternative?

Not so long as the Cabinet, backed by the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Tory Party in the House of Commons, continues to drag this country at the heels of the U.S.A. The party system provides no check on a situation of this sort. We are in fact operating a coalition, but with a Labour Cabinet taking all the responsibility.

The Cabinet

The first appeal is therefore to the Cabinet. Let them trust the workers and the Labour Party, let them clearly state that they entered into association with the U.S.A. with the best of intentions, to get what advantage they could from Yankee dollars, to change over from war to peace with the least possible suffering to our people. A case can be made, and, after all, most of us supported them in 1945. They will get the sympathetic understanding of all the people who matter. Let them then say, we have gone as far as possible on this road, there is to be no further reliance on U.S.A. dollars; we will trade and exchange with any country in the world on the basis of goods for goods. Credit will be accepted and given, but it must be on the basis of materials and not on dollars or any other currency.

We will produce in this country only those goods and materials required to meet the needs of the workers of this and other countries. Instead of manufacturing armaments we will make, and if need be, give to the backward

countries agricultural and other machinery, fertilisers, books, prefabricated houses, and all things needed to produce a higher standard of living and a demand for our goods and services. The production of luxury goods for dollars will cease, we will no longer cater for spiv tourists, we will exchange visits with workers of all countries. We will terminate all treaties demanding the setting up of military alliances and the keeping up of great armed forces; we will reduce our forces to a hundred thousand or so, and in these forces abolish the commissioned ranks altogether.

We will eliminate from the higher control of our nationalised services and industries all who had any part in such control under capitalist conditions or who have had no previous experience in such industries or services.

Such a course of action will rally the people of this country to the support of the Labour Party; we will get, with such a programme, an even bigger majority than in 1945.

The Workers

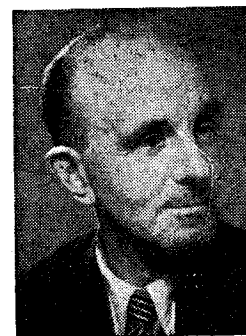
The workers will remember that the Labour Government has shown since 1945 an ability, when exercised, to plan and organise unsurpassed by any other governing body in the world, and under more difficult conditions. We have come through the immediate post-war years with a greater record of success than any other country in the world. We have, inside our own country, laid the foundations for a successful development of our Co-operative Commonwealth.

An appeal made by the Cabinet to our people on the lines suggested above would make possible the continuation of our Socialist plans. Under such conditions we need not fear the return of a Tory or Coalition Government. We can live, work and enjoy life, confident in the knowledge that once again, as in the war years, we are leading the world in its struggle for freedom and peace.

The Tories

To them we must say, stop this sabotage, this decrying of your own country, recognise that your system is finished. In return we will give you a peaceful change-over into our new Socialist economy, but it must be clearly understood that the time and possibility of living on rent, interest and profit is finished. The swank hotels, the town and country houses, the expensive cars the

best seats everywhere are no more for you. There are no more preserves or privileges for the royal, the aristocrat, the county or leisured classes: there will be instead work for all!



The Way Out

This, comrades, is the only way. It is, I think, what *Socialist Outlook* stands for. There is no alternative. We shall of course miss the House of Lords and the presence of our county families in the front seats everywhere. We must bear up, brothers. We

How they Sacrifice

On July 7th, Edward Hulton, the *Picture Post* man, threw a party. There were over 500 guests—including royalty and prominent Tories like R. A. Butler and R. S. Hudson.

The party cost around £6,000!

Chickens, lobsters, hams and 600 bottles of champagne were consumed by the guests who afterwards enjoyed themselves dancing on a ballroom floor which cost £400 to construct for the occasion.

We are indebted to *Tribune* for these facts. We hope they, and the Government, will draw the same conclusions from these disgusting episodes as does Tom Braddock in his article on this page.

shall have to see our own children and women folk using and consuming the wealth we produce, we shall have to train ourselves to spend all the money ourselves. What a prospect! It has got to be faced, the alternative will keep us tied to the dregs of capitalism now in its last ditch in the North American Continent. Let us always keep in mind the struggle the workers there have still to face. The fact that we won't take their bosses' dollars does not mean that we are separated from them; they will get all our help when they start on their exploiters. The time cannot be long delayed.

A Nasty Blow for Deakin !

By HARRY SHINDLER (*South London Shop Steward*)

ALL those who have been trying to defend the present bureaucratic set-up in the nationalised industries received a severe blow at the recent Conference of the huge Transport and General Workers' Union. Against the passionate opposition of the General Secretary, Arthur Deakin, the following resolution was carried by 433 votes to 170 :

That this conference being very dissatisfied with the present position of many of the nationalised boards and executives demands that trade union representatives should be placed upon these boards and executives with the right of the members to recall such trade union representatives as and when considered necessary.

That the right of recall is demanded is a sure sign that the workers are no longer content to place the leaders in positions of power—they are insisting on working class control over all such leaders.

At the same conference, another resolution dealing with the nationalised industries was only defeated by the Chairman's casting vote. *This resolution demanded drastic cuts in the compensation at present being paid to the ex-owners of the nationalised industries.* The voting was 320 for and 320 against.

It is true that the Right Wing of the Union secured a victory in convincing two-thirds of

the delegates to support a witch-hunt resolution depriving "communists" of all official positions in the Union. But neither Deakin nor the Communist Party can be very happy about the voting at this conference. It is clear that a very large number of delegates do not trust the Communist Party in the Union, but a great proportion of these same delegates are just as firmly opposed to the political leadership of Transport House men like Deakin, as can be seen from the voting on the resolutions dealing with the administration of the nationalised industries.

A militant Left Wing—tied neither to Transport House nor to the Communist Party—but which opposes the witch-hunting and strives to lead the membership in a struggle for a clear socialist policy in both the Union and the Labour Party, is now urgently needed in this "biggest union in the world."

The Dockers' Lock-out

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

PANIC again! Leave out for the moment who is to blame. Was it really necessary to invoke "law and order" to deal with such a small affair. Disputes over these Canadian ships have been going on for nearly three months. There have been other stoppages, but as the dock workers have obviously been only too anxious to isolate the ships in dispute they have generally been able to get back to work without much trouble.

In London the same condition exists. Continue the isolation of the two disputed ships and work on other ships would go on immediately.

Instead, the Communist bogey has been paraded and the Government, anxious to show the American Government that they can be as frightened as

the Americans are, adopted panic measures.

The only immediate result was to increase the number of men thrown out of work and to spread dissatisfaction and disgust through all sections of the working class.

Again, suppose the ships are not black, the fact remains that the dockers think they are; they have good reason for that point of view. Is it worth while putting 15,000 men out of work and creating a position even more dangerous for the sake of two ships. After all, they had been lying in dock for over two months before the employers stopped men working on the hundred or more other ships. **The fact is, of course, the employers want to cause trouble and have**

used the perfectly legitimate doubts of the dockers as a basis for their attack on the men and on the nation.

The Government are doing what the Communists in this country have never been able to do, they are sowing the seeds of discord between organised workers and the rest of the community, and they are endangering the safety of the country by throwing a spanner into the productive machine.

As these words are being written they are trying to save their faces. They now know that by listening to Tory politicians and press they have made a mistake. It is to be hoped that they will succeed, but if they do so, it won't be by the use of troops and police.

Organise Comrades, Organise !

By BERNARD MURPHY (*Welling A.E.U.*)

THOSE of us who attended the London Conference of the *Socialist Outlook* on June 26th were greatly impressed by the display of enthusiasm and the earnest desire manifested by the delegates for a Left Wing policy. But are we using the great source of energy available to us, or are we letting it escape like gas through a leaky jet ?

Tom Braddock quoted Omar Khayyam. Let us delve into this sage still deeper.

"Myself when young did eagerly frequent Doctor and Saint and heard much argument

About it and about; but evermore

Came out by the same door as in I went."

If we do not organise ourselves efficiently we will all be in exactly this position. We will be a babble of voices and yet as a political

force we shall be inarticulate. We must organise and organise efficiently.

How are we to do this ? We must have both national and local machinery. We must create specialist committees. These will be *ad hoc* committees so that on any particular subject we can say "This is our policy. This is the left wing policy." We must have supporters in every T.U. branch, and in every local Labour Party, who are morally bound to push our policy. Our task is to convince the Labour Movement that we are idealists but not utopians. That we have intelligence as well as faith. That we have a very clear objective in our mind and that we are conscious of our progress forward to Socialism. It is only when we can achieve this can we say that the Left Wing has a real influence in the Labour Movement.

Finally I would say this. For the success of our movement we must look for more support to two much neglected groups in the Labour Movement. The first of these is women. The second Youth.

No other group has suffered the brunt of capitalist society more than women. Only under real socialism can they achieve political, economic, social and cultural equality. Let us then enlist their support. We are bound to get it. Are we not in favour of the rate for the job ? Why not make a start by explaining our case to the women members of the Co-op. Guilds ?

Youth ! Our finest asset. Let us get them behind us and fight for a democratic constitution in the Labour League of Youth. One could not fail to be impressed with them at the London conference. They knew what they wanted; did they not cut through some of the mumbo jumbo mutterings of us older ones ? Let us not fail them and they will not fail us. Remember Comrades, above all ORGANISE !

The Railwaymen's Ten Bob

By BOB SHAW (Nottingham Goods Guard)

WITH the help of the Labour Government, the Railway Executive has produced yet another formula for delaying, side-tracking, talking out, the N.U.R.'s demand for a ten shillings increase. A Government-sponsored "enquiry" is the latest gag. Now we railwaymen will really get to know some facts about our wages.

It is a little hard to believe, of course, that the Railway Executive does not know about the wages of railway workers. Haven't they the benefit of Mr. Allen's advice and experience? But well, perhaps it is the Government that needs convincing that our wages are really low. Ex-signalman Champion, M.P. would have been better occupied in telling the Minister of Labour a few of the facts about the pittance received by his one-time colleagues, rather than in making remarks about "saving the nation," etc. The "nation" in this case turns out to be the Railway Executive and the ex-railway shareholders.

But if Mr. Isaacs is not acquainted with the facts about the starvation wages paid on British Railways he could ring up Mr. Figgins who would be only too happy, I am sure, to enlighten our Labour Minister on why we must have the ten shillings. But we must not be too hasty in our criticism. After all, there are the Parliamentary traditions and everyone knows how Cabinet Ministers love to set up commissions and enquiries.

Who Sits on This Enquiry?

A couple of platelayers, grade 2 porters, shunters, guards? Of course not. The whole point is not to get to know anything, but to gather together a few lawyers, financiers, with one or two trade union leaders thrown in,

and to produce after a decent interval of several months, a report written in language which no one can understand and which helps the workers' claim not one little bit.

By this time, of course, the hope is that the railway workers will have forgotten their ten shillings claim, or a nice crisis will have come along to rescue the Railway Executive, who can then get up and mouth long appeals about the "nation," etc., etc. You know the kind of stuff.

No, comrades, I am afraid that we have been sucked in again. The enquiry is just the Railway Executive's original answer, with trimmings, and that answer is NO.

Cripps calls for sacrifices and, in reply to a question about the N.U.R. wage claim, stated rather pointedly that no more increases in personal incomes could be allowed. But there are a few omissions from the proposals made by His Majesty's Labour Government. Railway workers must sacrifice their ten shillings increase, that we are told. But when we look around, apart from the workers of other industries, there doesn't seem to be much sacrificing going on.

There's Room for Sacrifice

What about Stafford Cripps and his fellow Ministers? Surely they could get along with a temporary wage reduction? *They average between £3,000 and £10,000 per year, which is a hell of a lot more than the porter's £4 12s. 6d. or even the signalman's, guard's, and shunters' £5 and a few shillings.* How about making a "sacrifice" here, Sir Stafford? *Then there are the members of the Railway Executive who get around £5,000. An enquiry into the*

necessity of this expenditure could very usefully be made by a select committee of grade 2 porters.

There are, of course, the £30 millions earmarked for the ex-shareholders in British Railways as interest. This would be a sacrifice which could easily be made and would have the advantage of being just. Then there is the Royalty, with special trains to run around in, which stop the job every time they pass, and must cause us no end of waste. Then there is . . . But I don't think Sir Stafford is listening.

Whether it is a question of a living wage, or the trade union principle of solidarity with fellow workers on strike we are told every time by the Labour Government and by the majority of trade union leaders that we, the workers, must give way, in the interests of the "nation," or to balance foreign payments and the rest of it. There is no apparent limit to this, since very few leaders have the guts to say "this far and no farther." I can well imagine that the Chartists were exhorted 100 years ago to withdraw their claims in the interests of the "nation," and the export drive. And these same arguments were used to justify the 72-hour week on the early railways, the sending of children down mines, and, in more recent times, to justify the Means Test. These things were done by Tory Governments, which everyone understands and expects. But no Socialist Government would depress workers' wages to starvation level and leave the capitalists, the royalty, and their hangers-on, to wallow in every luxury.

Stop the Retreat

It is time for the workers to clean their party and their trade unions of all the fellow-travellers of capitalism and all the non-socialists and to stop the retreat. Let us do a bit of resisting the pressure of capitalism for a change. Let us stop retreating before the Railway Executive and demand justice for the men who run the nationalised transport. Let's have a real and not a sham fight for the ten shillings.

Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism

The Colonies and War

By J. KWESI LAMPTEY (Chairman, London Centre)

IN June 1948, Puteaux, France, was the scene of a Conference attended by representatives of various national movements and Socialist parties from Africa and Asia, and European anti-imperialists. After thorough discussion of the problems confronting each people, there was formed the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism.

There is an international centre in Paris, and regional centres grouping the movements by regions so as to integrate the anti-imperialist struggle are being set up. The London centre co-ordinates the work of the various regions in the British Empire, and issues a monthly Bulletin which contains articles and information on events in the struggle against imperialism, which are rarely reported in the world press. The organisation has been provisionally recognised as an unofficial body associated with the Economic and Social Council of U.N.O.

The second international conference is to be held in London on the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th of October, 1949, when the main subject of discussion will be the

Colonial Peoples and War. It is based on three principles:—

- (1) The right of the colonial peoples to independence.
- (2) Independence of the two Power Blocks.
- (3) Neutrality in war preparations by, and in war between, the two blocks.

We realise that the struggle we must make against imperialism is immense, knowing full well that as a result of capitalism, imperialism is deeply rooted in the economic life of the metropolitan countries.

It is in that light that I appeal to the British Labour Movement and ask you to give your whole-hearted support to this Conference by sending delegates and thereby demonstrating your solidarity with your coloured comrades.

This is a vitally important issue, an issue that affects trade unionists, Co-operators and Labour Party members. It is impossible for this country to advance to a new Socialist era without a prosperous and independent African

world. The whole economic future of this country is dependent upon the mutual co-operation of the Africans and Europeans.

We colonials were particularly disappointed in the last Labour Party Conference because nobody, from the Executive to the rank and file of the Labour Movement, seemed to be interested in us.

The colonial peoples fought side by side with the Europeans for democracy and a reasonable standard of living, yet in various parts of the colonial world where ex-servicemen or the workers have demonstrated their solidarity and eagerness for the achievement of these aims, they have been suppressed. Instead of freedom, they have been put back into uniform; instead of bread and the amelioration of their living conditions, they have received bullets and the burning down of their homes.

Congress of the Peoples Against Imperialism

For all information of this Movement and for details of the forthcoming Second International Conference of the Congress, write to—

J. KWESI LAMPTEY, Swaraj House,
32 Percy Street, London, W.1

EDITORIAL**Its Nature and Cause**

THE world is once again faced with an economic crisis. Unless the Government applies drastic measures to avoid this threatening catastrophe, the British working class will again suffer mass unemployment, and there will be a wholesale reduction in our present living standards.

The Tories are already clamouring for a reduction in the Social Services, for a "reasonable" amount of unemployment, to bring economic pressure to bear on the workers, and for a lowering of the rate of income tax to give more "incentive" to the employers. Will the Government resist this capitalist pressure? That will depend entirely on how strong and sustained is the counter-pressure from the workers for an alternative socialist solution. One thing is certain. The Labour Government must now either accept the Tory solution—and go rapidly to the RIGHT. Or it must accept the solution of the workers—and go rapidly to the LEFT. There is no middle way.

The Cause of the Crisis

The crisis is rooted in capitalism and the capitalist method of production for profit. Only the U.S.A. came out of the war with her productive forces undamaged. All other countries suffered terrible economic and physical devastation. As a consequence, America now completely dominates the capitalist world. She is the creditor to which all other countries must go cap in hand. The present scramble for dollars signifies only that American productive powers have reached their highest point at a time when capitalism in Europe and Asia has decayed to the point of exhaustion.

But America is herself a capitalist country. All her vast production must find a market. It must be sold. Goods are not produced to satisfy the needs of the people—they are produced for profit. And profit can only be realised through sale on the world market. And there is the snag.

Up to now, America has been able to dispose of the bulk of her produce in her own home market which had been neglected during the war period. While that market existed she was willing to grant credits to Britain and other capitalist countries—although the purpose of those credits was not at all philanthropic. The dollars were given to the hard-pressed capitalists of Europe to assist them in their efforts to keep in subjection their own working people.

But now, her home market having been practically exhausted, America is herself seeking a foreign outlet for her produce. That is the basic cause of the crisis. *The United States is no longer willing to grant credits to Britain, or any other country, if by so doing they assist these countries to compete against American capitalism in the greatly reduced world market.* Similarly, she is not prepared to allow other countries to make separate trading agreements, if those agreements exclude American penetration into the markets of the countries concerned.

"Free" Trade

That is why the American capitalists are to-day demanding "multilateral" trading and the "convertibility of sterling." They want "free trade" for the reason that American goods can be produced more cheaply than

the goods of any other country and so, given "free trade," the world market will, more or less rapidly, fall into the hands of the American capitalists.

The Government's Solution

Capitalism has only one answer to such a situation. To compete more efficiently for this diminishing world market—to cut costs of production to the bone. That means to extract more from the workers for the same or less money. It means harder and more intense work, "rationalisation" and its twin brother "technical" unemployment. The total effect of this kind of "solution" is to reduce the purchasing power of the workers, which thus makes the crisis still deeper. The proposed cuts in imports create unemployment in other countries . . . and so the mad business goes on.

Yet we are compelled to say that such a solution is now being attempted by the Government. What other interpretation can we place on the present hysterical exhortations for harder work, "self-discipline," lower costs, increased exports, and decreased imports.

The Danger of War

Britain hasn't the remotest chance of competing on a capitalist basis with the streamlined economy of the United States. The attempt will be made, but nobody really believes it can succeed. And failure will bring social upheavals which will undermine the stability of capitalism throughout the world. The most astute capitalists in both Britain and America know this only too well. Rivals though they are, they realise that they must stick together against the world working class. But that solves nothing *economically*. Markets must be found somewhere. If it is socially too risky to take them from the European capitalists then other markets must be found—or the whole system will choke up and collapse. There is only one such market available—the Soviet Union. Here is a planned economy which, if it can be won for capitalist exploitation, might provide a new lease of life to this dying capitalist system. The Russian market cannot be obtained by "peaceful penetration" as it is protected by a State monopoly of foreign trade. War then remains the only method left. *And war against the Soviet Union for the purpose of*

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subjecting it to imperialist domination is now the supreme aim of the United States of America.

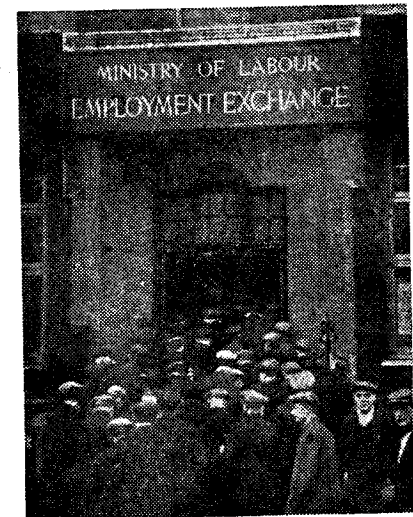
The capitalists of the rest of the world are compelled to accept this solution proposed by America. As capitalists, they have little choice anyway. In return for their support they receive Marshall dollars just about sufficient to feed their hungry peoples and prevent the tragedy (for them) of a socialist revolution. The Atlantic Treaty is the military supplement to this economic "alliance" for war against the U.S.S.R.

These are the serious plans of capitalism. They mean poverty, militarism, and eventually war. As a Labour Movement pledged to end capitalist exploitation and war, we must reject them. Trading wars or shooting wars, the workers are always the losers.

The task before us now is to design a programme of action which will prevent the approaching disaster and prepare the way forward to socialism. The movement of the working class throughout the world is strong and undefeated. We still have time to frustrate the plans of capitalism.

The Editorial Board of the *Socialist Outlook* offers the following Programme of Action as our contribution to the great political task now confronting the Labour Movement.

We are confident that if the Government goes to the people with such a programme of action against capitalism, it will secure an overwhelming majority and the enthusiastic support of the working class.

CROWDED LABOUR EXCHANGES IN THE CRISIS-RIDDEN 'THIRTIES

Our people must never again suffer the humiliation and poverty expressed in this picture.

Those days need never return—if the Government is prepared to attack Wealth and Privilege and rally the workers in the creation of a socialist planned economy.

Read and discuss the Programme of Action on page 5. Let us have your comments. We'll print all that we can.

omic Crisis

The Way Out

DEFEND THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE PEOPLE

THOSE who place the burden of the approaching crisis on the shoulders of the working class must be exposed. All talk of "self-discipline" in industry is futile so long as the capitalists, their families, their generals, their bishops, their managers, and their high-paid journalists, continue to live in luxury. Wages CAN be improved, equal pay for women CAN be enforced, and old-age pensions CAN be raised—if the Government is prepared to attack the wealth and privileges of the capitalists.

In a crisis there can be no room for luxury and idleness. He who does not work, neither shall he eat. That must be our guiding principle from now on.

A STRICT ACCOUNTING OF THE NATIONAL WEALTH

The Government and the people must have full and detailed knowledge of the wealth of the country—how it is produced, and how it is spent. This means *an end to all business secrecy*. Committees of workmen established in every industry, in the banks, and on the land, with powers to examine the books of all the companies concerned, will reveal the real wealth of the country to those who produce it. The workers will be able to see just how much of the results of their labour is squandered by the property-owners in salaries, "expenses," luxury living, and socially useless activity.

Armed with this information, the Government could enforce drastic cuts in this type of expenditure, in the sure knowledge that such action would receive the support of the entire working class and those "small men" who are themselves the victims of Big Business.

This is the first, elementary, and democratic step which must be taken if the people are to be mobilised to fight the approaching crisis. But further measures will be needed to provide a lasting solution.

PLANNING FOR THE WORKERS AND NOT FOR PROFIT

The basic industries of the country must be operated as part of a national plan. That is impossible while they remain in the hands of their present owners who must put profit before the needs and interests of the great mass of the people.

The land, the joint-stock banks, engineering, shipbuilding, cotton, chemicals, and armaments must be added to coal, transport, power, and iron and steel, if the nationalised sector of industry is to be more than the hand-maiden of Nuffield, Vickers-Armstrong, and I.C.I.

The workers themselves, with the aid of technicians and Government representatives, can operate these industries without exhorting from society any fancy salaries, large expenses accounts, high-powered cars, servants, and the rest of the capitalist paraphernalia.

With industry planned and operated in such a manner, it will be possible to immediately improve production and raise the living standards of the people.

SUSPEND PAYMENTS OF COMPENSATION TO THE EX-OWNERS

The country cannot afford this generous gift to those who have made millions out of the sweat and toil of the workers. Those ex-owners who are fit can be offered jobs in the mines, on the railways, on the land, and even in a technical capacity—provided they have the ability and they are loyal to the Labour Government. Those who are too old, or unfit for work, can be dealt with by committees of workmen who should have powers to pay compensation sufficient to avoid cases of genuine hardship.

The millions so saved can be used to develop the modernisation of these industries and to improve the wages and conditions of the producers.

SUSPEND ALL FURTHER PAYMENTS ON THE NATIONAL DEBT

Small savings and Post Office accounts must be strictly exempted. But the bulk of the huge sum of £500,000,000 paid out annually in interest on the national debt goes to those who have exploited the nation's needs in time of war. In the vast majority of cases, the loans to the Government came out of the swollen war-profits of vested interests. The country cannot afford this millstone. Suspend these payments—and use the money for useful purposes.

FOREIGN TRADE IN THE HANDS OF THE STATE

But it remains true that Britain—a small island of 50 million people with a top heavy industrial development—cannot exist apart from the rest of the world. We must trade, but we must trade with a purpose. Our trading policy cannot be left in the hands of private enterprise.

The products of our industries must no longer be designed for the luxury markets of North and South America. The world is crying out for agricultural machinery, railways, houses, hospitals, books, and useful goods of every description. It is these things that must be produced in British factories. So long, however, as our production is determined by the state of the world capitalist market and not by the needs of the people, we shall be unable to dispose of the useful goods which we can and must produce. It is necessary to break out of this capitalist prison house. It can be done if we have the courage to adopt a Foreign Policy which aids the oppressed peoples of the world.

COMPLETE AND UNCONDITIONAL FREEDOM TO THE COLONIES

The liberated colonial countries could provide a permanent market for British manufactured goods in return for the food and raw materials which we need. The present poverty of the colonial masses—itsself a product of Imperialism—would oblige a Socialist Britain to GIVE AWAY to those countries the products they need to develop the living standards of their people. But trade pacts of

this character would immediately result in the solid support of the peoples of Ireland, Africa, and the Far East, and would eventually result in an assured supply of the raw materials which we need.

A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

The vast area of Eastern and Western Europe to-day lies almost prostrate from the effects of two world wars. The division of Europe into rival states prevents the development of its economic resources. Its further division through the splitting of Germany into four states is a crime against the hungry peoples of Europe. We must work with all our power for the creation of a saner Europe—one that is united on a socialist basis—a free association of countries possessing a common socialist planned economy.

TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION

Russia, for all its undoubted political deficiencies, has a planned economy—one not subject to capitalist crisis. They need all sorts of manufactured goods which Britain can supply. If the terms of trade would not, in the first instance, be favourable to us, this should be no deterrent. It is in the interests of the workers of both countries to strengthen and defend a planned economy. No crisis of overproduction can result from such trading.

A planned economy—with the workers participating in the planning—stretching from Britain right across Europe and Russia. It is a bold perspective, but now is not the time for timid thinking. The fate of humanity is at stake.

A Socialist Europe would inspire the American workers to end their own Imperialism. The international solidarity of the working class is not a phrase. It is the only practical foreign policy for a Socialist Government. It must be our answer to the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Treaty.

A POLICY FOR PEACE

To avoid war it is necessary first to prevent the statesmen and generals from plotting war behind the backs of the people. It is necessary to make *an end to all secret diplomacy*.

The next step is to *nationalise all the war industries and place them under the control of the workers, who have no interest in war*.

Those who have to fight must have the opportunity to decide policy. *The vote at 18 will bring the Youth into the struggle against war*.

The present military burden of £760,000,000 a year is a crushing weight on the economy. If we had no colonies to hold down, if the troops were withdrawn from Germany, Greece and Ireland, and if we made it clear that Britain had no imperialist designs on any other nation—then we could dispense with a large part of the present military burden.

ABOLISH THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE MONARCHY

The Government cannot allow the possibility of any legal sabotage of its plans by the reactionary section of the population. Those feudal relics—a House of Lords and a Monarchy—must be abolished. They have no useful function and, in times of crisis, they can be used to obstruct the declared will of the great mass of the people.

Do we want Cabinet Ministers on the N.E.C. ?

By Mrs. E. BRADDOCK, M.P. (Liverpool)

I REFERRED in last month's issue of *Socialist Outlook* to the sense of frustration being felt in some divisions regarding prearrangements made by the National Executive to impose the findings of the N.E.C. at conference. I think the time has arrived seriously to review the whole question of the election of Executive members in relation to Divisional Party representation.

While agreeing that all members have the right to stand for election to the N.E.C., some consideration should be given to nominations. At the moment the D.L.P.s elect to the N.E.C. five Government Ministers out of seven places. This means that the voice of the Government and the E.C. is the same, and any decisions taken by the Government is endorsed by the E.C. and becomes E.C. policy. This has the effect of stifling the real objects of our Executive Committee. Mr.

Morrison becomes the Pooh-Bah of the Labour Party!

It would be for the benefit of the Party generally, if we could have some discussion in these columns about these important principles, and also some serious discussion in the D.L.P.s. I think Divisional Labour Parties should very seriously discuss whether it is wise to nominate for E.C. positions members who have very heavy responsibilities in the Government, or whether it would be more in the best interest of the progress of the Party if members outside the Government held the Executive positions. **To have complete agreement between the Government and E.C. is the most desirable thing, but, when it is obtained by the same persons dominating both, it can have a very deadening effect on the Party organisation.**

I am certain some Ministers on the E.C. would have no objection whatever if they were

not nominated to contest for E.C. Others would, and so it is up to the D.L.P.s to think carefully of the whole position before they make a nomination.

Let us take *Labour Believes in Britain*. Was it properly discussed at the Conference? Was there a note taken of the various suggestions? Had it adequate consideration by those who were appointed delegates from the constituencies? Was the knowledge possessed by those who know the feelings of the man and woman in the street, factory and workshop, given adequate ventilation?

No! is the answer to all these questions!

I have listened since the Party Conference to many discussions about the way the Conference was managed, and there is some disquiet. The Divisional Labour Parties have the matter in their own hands. *Don't grouse and do nothing!* Discuss seriously the implications, and then let the columns of this paper know what you think.

The Role of Building Societies

By H. L. AUSTIN, M.P. (Stretford)

THE title, Building Societies, is in itself, misleading. They cannot build. They finance. Their role as middlemen, therefore, calls for some examination.

In 1943, in Great Britain and N. Ireland, 924 societies embraced 2,021,000 shareholders, 756,000 depositors, and 1,390,000 borrowers. *Of this last substantial category, not a single member has yet achieved the distinction of a seat on the board of directors.* Of the number of unfortunates who defaulted in payments, with resulting loss of occupancy, and forfeiture of deposits, no information is officially available.

The contention that house-ownership is a deterrent to Socialism is not without interest. As late as January, 1926, Sir John Lorden, President of the National Federation of Property Owners and Ratepayers, provided a typical example. "I view with pleasure," he said, "that a large number of houses are being built, not to let, but for sale only. I feel that people owning their own houses will do much more to combat Socialism and Communism than all the lectures and tracts or any other methods Governments can adopt."

The year 1945 saw this stupid doctrine refuted. But despite this, Mr. Eden, speaking at the Tory Conference in 1946 said, "... there was one principle underlying their (the Tory) approval of all these problems—a principle upon which they stood in fundamental opposition to socialism. The Conservative objective was a nation-wide property owning democracy."

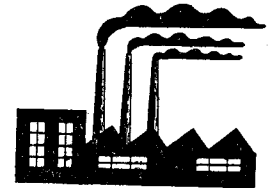
How this applied under previous Governments when four-fifths of the population died leaving less than £100 was not made clear.

The origins of Building Societies are not to be found in the field of Social improvement. The growth of wealth and capital and its utilisation can be more readily traced as the influence responsible. Their imaginative powers were possessed by one motive only, profit-seeking rather than communal benefit, self-centred avarice and advancement, rather than visionary fields of reform and betterment.

(Extracts reprinted by permission of H. L. Austin, M.P., with acknowledgments to the Stretford & Urmston Voice.)

Workshop Notes

By JACK JOHNSTON (A.E.U. Newcastle)



Speak Up

DID you read last month's Workshop Notes? The Editor wants this to be a regular feature, and for the present, I've got the job of drawing it together. Now, if this is to be a success, I'll need the co-operation of Socialist trade unionists. Any news from the workshop or the trade union branch which you think will interest *Socialist Outlook* readers, write it down and send it off to me—Jack Johnston, 80 Buckingham Street, Newcastle on Tyne, 4.

Seaside Conferences

Policy-making by conferences of union representatives is popular in the summer time, and something of the atmosphere of the particular seaside resort seems to emerge sometimes during their deliberations. Take, for example, the President of the A.E.U.'s speech—at least the part that received the press publicity. You must have read it. His familiar point about the "cake," really takes the biscuit. It seems, that before an engineer can legitimately ask for a living wage he has to help increase the size of the "National Cake." And then there will be more to share for everyone. On the face of it, this seems to be a sound and original thought, but what happens? If a board of directors are presented with a larger "cake" in the shape of increased production, do they share it with the people who have produced it? What do you think? The trip to Europe, Africa, the United States, which could not be afforded last year, can now be made by two, three or more of the directors. It all depends on how big the increase, how many go, and to where. Bigger "cakes" do not necessarily mean crumbs for us, but they do mean more paid holidays for directors and their friends, and always will until the producer is up there on the board,

not advising, but taking decisions. That's what the A.E.U. should have been discussing—ways and means of cutting the "cake."

Did you feel a little ashamed when you heard that the engineers could not go on "taking advantage?" I did, and you can guess what I was ashamed about.

National Committee or Annual Conference?

This National Committee business is what is called a "twice removed" conference. The branches elect a district committee delegate, and they in turn select their National Committee men. The A.E.U. would be a healthier organisation with a straightforward annual conference. Every three branches could hold a joint meeting once a year before the conference to discuss policy and send a delegate to the annual meeting—and don't raise the plea that it would cost too much. We send delegations all over the world and hear a lot of bunk that does not do the membership a ha'p'orth of good. Write and let me know what you think about this. It's rules revision year next year and maybe we could do something.

The Witch Hunt

The T. and G.W.U. has taken a decision to remove all communists from office. This means that if any member raises an awkward point he will be dubbed a Communist, and lose possibly years of service in the organisation. This rule ensures that the union will drift further still from the rank and file who work beside the communists and can hear their persuasive arguments first hand. There is only one way to deal with the Communist Party and its spurious arguments—free discussions, and facts in the hands of union members.



The Crusade for World Government

The attitude of the Editorial Board is very disappointing and disturbing; in my opinion it shows a distorted outlook and little knowledge of World Government as advocated by the Crusade.

Such a World Government would not merely outlaw resort to armed force, it would make it impossible. This is not just a wild assertion or personal opinion; it is the verdict of history which proves that the only way to abolish war between groups of any size is for those groups to give up the right to fight, and the means of doing so, to a higher authority—in this case a World Government. This would not, however, be a "higher authority," in every sphere, but only in those matters common to all humanity, and allocated to it by all humanity. Each nation would be left to lead its own life as it wished and to choose the government it wanted.

It is easy to assert that socialism alone, or for that matter Christianity, can prevent war, but we are dealing with human material, and the evidence of two world wars, and common-sense is against such an idea.

The common people of the world are indeed sick of war, talk of war, and the cost of war. They are also sick of theories and "isms" as a means of peace. They want a solid guarantee against war and the crushing cost of even the fear of war. There is one, and one only—a democratic elected World Federal Government.

Another world war would deal a knock-out blow to socialism and any other movement for the benefit of suffering humanity. War is a political process and we must have quickly the only political machinery which can prevent it. To hinder or belittle the establishment of this machinery is to betray the cause we have so much at heart, whether that cause be Socialism, Christianity, or anything else.

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."

BIRMINGHAM.

H. F. Mirams.

[The Editor replies:

Why is reader Mirams so disappointed with the attitude of Socialist Outlook towards the problem of World Government? We are absolutely in favour of World Government—but we insist that, if it is not to be a super-capitalist machinery for oppressing the common peoples of the world such a World Government must be a Socialist World Government. Precisely because we have understood "the verdict of history" we refuse to preach confidence in "higher authorities" which are not socialist. The impotence of the League of Nations to prevent war, and the present obvious failure of U.N.O., is sufficient proof that war cannot be prevented by such "higher authorities." To abolish war we must abolish capitalism. If we forget that we become, at best, pacifist utopians.

For our detailed attitude towards World Government we refer our readers to the Editorial Statement in our June issue.]

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

Policy or Personalities

No doubt the expulsion of Zilliacus and Solley at Blackpool was a bad thing, just as previous expulsions of militants have been bad, but there are people in our Party who believe it is necessary that the energy of the left should be used in a campaign to get a re-admittance of these people into the Party. Nobody would welcome the return of men like Zilliacus, Pritt, Platts-Mills and Solley more than me. But I believe it would be wrong for such a campaign to be waged. The issue at stake is not one of personalities, but one of policy.

It is clear to every militant that what is needed to-day is a vigorous fight for a Socialist Policy if we are to win the election in 1950. Such a policy is being resisted by the right-wing—the same forces that supported and carried the expulsions. The future of the workers depends on a well-organised left within the Party, not as an *alternative* to the Party but as an organised force to *strengthen* it, to bring the Movement back to the path of struggle for socialism.

Unless the left is organised it cannot achieve this aim. Ellis Smith's call for the formation of a Socialist Fellowship provides a basis upon which we can build a left movement. Every militant should answer this call, and in achieving the position of changing the path of the Party to a Socialist one, we will defeat the people whose main line of defence when criticised is to expel the critic. The victory for a Socialist policy within the Labour Party in Britain, will bring with it working class unity throughout the world. It will end expulsions of militants, it will bring back into the ranks those who have been expelled.

SALFORD.

Peter Grimshaw.

* * *

Trade Unionists and Politics

Many of us in the Trade Union Movement are dissatisfied with present conditions. Having to work overtime because our basic wages are not enough to cover the increasing cost of living; being asked by our T.U.C. and the Labour Government to refrain from putting in for wage increases, while at the same time, enormous profits are being made out of our labour.

We have a job of work to do. We cannot, as trade unionists, separate our trade union activity from politics. The trade union branch and the Labour Party are inter-linked. Trade unionists must join the Labour Party as individual members. They must get their branches to affiliate to the local divisional party and send delegates to speak on resolutions which have been discussed and supported in the trade union branch. In this way we can play our part in helping those who are already in the Labour Party fighting for a socialist and working class policy.

MANCHESTER.

D. Ellis.

From the Stockport Trades Council

As a result of the report of our delegates to the Conference held in the district, I enclose cheque for £1 7s. 0d. for three dozen copies of *Socialist Outlook* for a period of six months commencing with the August issue.

We feel that the co-ordination of all left-wing personnel inside the Labour Party, Trades Unions and Trades Councils, has become the paramount need of to-day. It will become increasingly so as crisis succeeds crisis until the inevitable breakdown of capitalism, and to deny this is to ignore all the lessons of industrial history.

Oliver Stapleton, Secretary.

The Business Manager Reports

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is making steady progress on all sides. But this is no time for complacency, and we have no intention of joining the "back-slapping" brigade. In face of the present serious crisis we must continually step up the campaign for a positive socialist alternative to the approaching capitalists disaster. Our aim is to rally the Labour Movement to defeat the Tories on the basis of a full socialist programme.

During the months ahead we shall plan for a considerable increase in circulation. The situation demands this. But it will not be achieved by plans alone. It must be worked for and paid for out of the time and pennies of our growing army of voluntary supporters.

Special publicity campaigns, large scale circularisation of the paper within the movement, conferences in all the big cities, are among the items which were listed at a recent special meeting of the Editorial Board called to lay plans for increasing the sales. Confident that our supporters will rally behind their paper, we have set up a special Development Fund to realise our aims in this direction.

Without beating about the bush, we ask you to send immediately to us all the money you can spare. In the September issue we will announce our concrete plan of action—but the scope of this will depend on you. Post your donations as soon as you can, comrades, to *Socialist Outlook*, 6 Station Road, London, N.11.

G. Healy

Business Manager

Socialist Outlook Fighting Fund

We gratefully acknowledge the following donations received:

	£	s.	d.
G. Gifford (Leeds)	..	..	10 0
G. Duffy (June Guarantee)	..	..	2 0
H. McGuinness (collecting card)	..	..	2 3
Blackman	..	..	4 0
London Conference collection	13	14	6
Harry Ratner (collecting card)	18	5	½
Total	..	..	£15 11 2½

The Left Wing Gathers Strength

Socialist Fellowship Founded

THE Provisional Committee of the Socialist Fellowship has now met to consider the response made by Ellis Smith, M.P. and has resolved that:

"An Association of Labour Party members be formed, to be called the Socialist Fellowship, with the object of working within the movement for accelerating the speed with which we work towards the attainment of a Socialist Society."

As soon as possible a representative conference will be called to adopt a constitution and elect officers.

Enthusiastic foundation meetings of the Socialist Fellowship have already been held in **East London, South London, and Manchester**. Similar meetings have been arranged for **Liverpool, Nottingham, Sheffield, and North London**.

The **South London** meeting was addressed by **Tom Braddock, M.P.** who made a clear case for the formation of the Socialist Fellowship. He was warmly applauded by the 70 people present—especially when he stressed that the Socialist Fellowship was a 100 per cent. Labour Party organisation, having absolutely no rival claims on the Labour Party, and requiring no assistance from outside sources.

The **Manchester** meeting enrolled 39 people into the Fellowship and elected a committee of 12 to extend the work. **Frank Allaun** is the Chairman and **Harry Ratner** the Secretary. At the start of the meeting one or two Communist Party members, by all votes against 6, were asked to leave the meeting as the Socialist Fellowship is a Labour Party movement.

There is no doubt at all that if the Fellowship adopts a working class orientation and fights for a socialist programme, it will re-enthrone many thousands of good socialists who have become apathetic as a result of the present policies of the Labour Government. We ask all our readers to join this movement and give it every support.

To join the Socialist Fellowship, contact your nearest Convenor of Local Groups. The addresses are given below. If there is no Convenor in your district write direct to the **Hon. Secretary, W. C. Elliot, 5 Churchill Road, Guildford, Surrey**.

The minimum subscription is one shilling which will cover the period from now until the Inaugural National Conference.

CONVENORS OF LOCAL GROUPS

North London : Councillor F. BOHRINGER, 140 High Road, London, N.5.
South London (and Surrey) : MRS. E. BROWN, 31(a) Lenham Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey.
East London (and Essex) : H. HODSON, 5 Mildmay Parade, Cranbrook Road, Ilford, Essex.
Reading : R. BISHOP, 177 Kidmore Road, Caversham, Reading.
Luton : D. HARROWELL, 64 Holland Road, Luton.
Nottingham : R. Shaw, 13 Mansfield Grove, Nottingham.
Sheffield : Councillor J. S. WORRALL, 64 Ridgehill Avenue, Sheffield 2.
Manchester : R. RATNER, 228 Great Clowes Street, Salford 7, Lancs.
Liverpool : E. HARBY, 26 Balmoral Road, Fairfield, Liverpool 6.

Application for Socialist Fellowship

I desire to join the Socialist Fellowship. I am an individual, or affiliated, member of the Labour Party. I enclose subscription of £ s. d.

(Signed).....

Address.....

London, Manchester and Newcastle hold successful "Socialist Outlook" Conferences

THREE more successful conferences have been organised by the supporters of the paper in London, Manchester, and Newcastle. We should like to place on record our thanks to the Socialist Outlook Committee in Manchester, and to Alec Auld and Jack Johnston in Newcastle, for the considerable sacrifices they have made in both time and money to ensure that these conferences were a success.

LONDON

The London Conference was the most successful, from the point of view of numbers, we have yet held. 234 people attended this conference in Denison House on June 26th; 136 were delegates and 98 were visitors.

Read
The "Socialist Outlook"
Join
The Socialist Fellowship

The delegates represented the following organisations:

- 4 Divisional Labour Parties
- 6 Ward Labour Parties
- 4 Labour Leagues of Youth
- 1 Co-op. Party
- 22 Branches of the A.E.U.
- 9 Other Trade Union Branches
- South London D.C. (A.E.U.)
- 2 Trades Councils

Owing to illness Ellis Smith, M.P. could not attend but he sent a message of support to the Conference. His place on the platform was very ably taken by **Bill Smyth**, the parliamentary candidate for Yeovil (Somerset).

Tom Braddock, M.P. and **John Lawrence** (the editor of the *Socialist Outlook*) were the other speakers and Jack Stanley took the chair.

The aims of the *Socialist Outlook*—to assist and develop the fight for a socialist programme for the Labour Party—were well presented by all three speakers. There was a very good discussion from the floor which clearly revealed that the Left wing in the Party is waking up.

A resolution condemning the threatened execution of Greek trade unionists and calling upon the Foreign Secretary to intervene was moved from the floor and carried unanimously.

NEWCASTLE

There were 42 people at the *Socialist Outlook* Conference held in Newcastle on July 9th. Most of them were delegates from Labour Parties and trade union branches in the area. The **Tynemouth Labour League of Youth** sent a strong delegation of enthusiastic young comrades to the meeting. **Tom Braddock, Jack Stanley and John Lawrence**, were the speakers. Tom Braddock's criticism of the Government's handling of the Dock Strike was well received by the delegates.

MANCHESTER

Our Manchester supporters organised their second *Socialist Outlook* Conference on July 10th in the Caxton Hall, Salford. **Harry Ratner** took the chair, and the two speakers were **Roland Casasola**, organiser for the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers, and **John Lawrence**.

The 65 delegates, representing Trades Councils, Labour Parties, and Trade Union branches, listened attentively to the speeches and then entered into a really fine discussion. All were agreed on the necessity for the Left to organise itself if the struggle to change the present policy of the Labour Party was to be successful. There was enthusiastic support for the *Socialist Fellowship* and 40 of those present gave in names and addresses for further information of this movement.

A resolution was moved from the floor and carried unanimously protesting against the expulsion of **Zilliacus and Solley** and calling for the reinstatement of all four expelled M.P.s.

Does Your Party and your Trade Union Branch take the Socialist Outlook?

Are you a regular reader yourself?
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