

Socialist Outlook

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On Guard Against a Coalition!

By FRANK ALLAUN (Withington D.L.P.)

THE coalition dragon is raising its ugly head again. Mr. Churchill in the Commons and Lord Elton in the Lords have both asked for a pact recently.

The Tory leaders, narrowly thwarted in their bid for power on February 23rd, want a coalition with Labour. The more far-seeing bosses prefer it to a Tory Government — at least for the time being. Conservatism stinks so offensively and obviously of the big employer and the warmonger that the majority of workers would not stand it for long. If the industrialists could turn round to the working people, however, and say: "Look, *£* Your own leaders are in it, too," then they might prey upon the trade unionist's loyalty to induce him to refrain from industrial or political action. **We should be hamstrung.**

Ambiguous Cripps

According to most newspapers it was turned down for the Labour Party by **Sir Stafford Cripps**. Speaking in the House on April 24th, Sir Stafford is reported to have said:

"... a vague suggestion of a coalition which could only work on the basis that everybody else abandons their policy in favour of Mr. Churchill's. Whatever the Liberal Party may feel about it, we are not having it."

It is therefore not a little alarming to find, on looking up *Hansard*, that what Sir Stafford actually said was:

"We are not having it on that basis."

Only Three Little Words—as the popular dance song title went—but oh! what a difference they make! The Chancellor is known as a man who chooses his words carefully.

We in the Labour Party must make it clear that we shall have it on NO basis.

Outspoken Strabolgi

Consider also the view of another influential Labour Party member, **Lord Strabolgi**, who went even further. Speaking in the House of Lords on April 21st, he said:

"Surely the parties could arrange a truce as long as the present state of affairs continues.

"Surely there could be some continuous consultation on the big questions of the day, such as foreign affairs, defence and, above all, the economic situation."

(Ye Gods! What would there be left to differ about?)

With Parliament balanced as it was, Lord Strabolgi said he did not see the government introducing any very controversial measures. The government could not claim to have got the country's consent to go forward with the nationalisation of steel and cement.

Our reply to the noble Lord should be

"We don't want power for power's sake. We want power for what we can do with it. Let us use our overall majority of seven to bring in measures raising the lot of the working people and taking steps towards socialism. If we should be defeated—which is doubtful—let us go to the country over something worth while."

The Labour leaders are not fools. One or two have felt the ghosts of Ramsay McDonald, Philip Snowden and Jimmie Thomas looking over their shoulders ever since 1931. They know the fate of men who join a coalition and fail to take the rank and file with them. They would certainly fail to-day.

War Scares the Excuse

Only in a war emergency or a threat of one could they succeed.

But supposing a sufficiently misleading war scare were created by the Tory press—as they attempted recently over the alleged shooting down over the Baltic of an American bomber (admitted by the pilot's widow to have been on a secret mission, though this was not mentioned in our newspapers)—there is a real danger of the masses being carried away into support for a coalition.

Our Task

Because some of our leaders are trying to make capitalism work instead of introducing socialism as quickly as possible, there is often little difference between the policies of the two major parties. **A coalition in policy is dangerously close to a coalition in fact.**

It is up to *Socialist Fellowship* members and all other socialists to stop it.

I liked the recent speech by **Miss Margaret Herbison, M.P.**, an executive member of the Labour Party, who said publicly last month:

"We will not have anything to do with a coalition."

The Labour Movement should say what Bernard Shaw's young working woman told the gentleman who wanted to see her home: "Not bloody likely."

October Conference

The Rank and File must Lead

says MRS. E. BRADDOCK, M.P. (Liverpool)

IT has always been our proud boast that the policy of our Labour Party is made by the rank and file, but that statement has become less and less true since the Party achieved political power and control.

The programme on which we fought the 1945 Election had been fashioned by the long years of struggle, victimisation, misery, poverty, and terrible hardship of the great mass of the working class of this country. And because of that it inspired the workers to swing Labour into power with all the old enthusiasm of the pioneers who sponsored and nurtured our great Party.

What has now become of this great pioneering enthusiasm? Why are we not stepping forward with the old vigour? Why are we marking time and almost stopping? Why is it that reaction has almost slid back once more into control?

I believe it is because the rank and file of the Party do not make the programme any more. It is made for them at the top.

Rank and File Frustrated

The 1950 programme was made for us at Shanklin where the National Executive retired with a flourish of trumpets and tremendous press publicity. You may say that the programme they produced was later endorsed by the Party Conference, but it had no alternative. No resolutions or amendments were allowed. The Standing Orders Committee dealt ruthlessly with any signs of revolt so that the Conference consisted chiefly of speeches galore—good speeches, mind you—by Cabinet Ministers and other Party leaders. Naturally then, the platform won the day and many delegates—too many—left the Conference praising the speeches but feeling frustrated because so little real rank and file opinion had been expressed.



We went to the country on that programme, but those who had to propagate it had no confidence in it. All the kick had gone out of it and it was no longer a reflection of the real desires of our productive workers. The programme had become too respectable and, in many respects, above the heads of ordinary people. The Tory Party became the attackers and we were forced on to the defensive. That is why we nearly lost the day.

And now?

Instead of recommencing the attack we are once more placed on the

Continued column 1, page 2.

Mrs. Braddock—continued.

defensive. Once again our programme is to be made for us and not by us. This time at Dorking instead of Shanklin but still very far away from the workers.

It is high time we realised that the place to consider a workers' programme is in a working class district like Glasgow, Liverpool, Sheffield, or in South Wales. Then the views of the workers might exert some influence.

As at Shanklin, the Dorking talks are accompanied by a flourish of trumpets and press publicity—but this time it seems that someone has divulged the programme to the press even before the meeting has taken place.

According to the *Observer* of May 14th, we are again to stand still. The programme which is being made for us will not go over to the attack but it might very well retard the forward advance of socialism.

Take action NOW

All this should spur the rank and file to action NOW. The Party Conference will take place in October. Now is the time to frame your resolutions on real socialist lines and **REFUSE TO BE LED BY THE PLATFORM.**

Send your best speakers and fighters as delegates to the Conference and give them definite instructions about what you want saying and doing. Complacency has no place in the present scheme of things. Back to the fighting spirit of the socialist pioneers should be the slogan of Labour rank and files. Don't let another mark time policy be thrust upon us—unless you want to see the discontent of the workers force them into the arms of the watching and waiting Communist Party.

There is everything to lose by complacency. The Tory Party might win the next Election and that would mean disaster. We should be forced back to the industrial strife of 1918-1939 with its mass unemployment and poverty level standard of life.

The Constituency Parties can avoid this tragedy if they set the pace at the Conference. **Let US make the programme for the next Election and let us base it on the cry of the old pioneers . . . Socialism, the only hope of the workers!**

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Housing

Working Party Report on Building

By TOM BRADDOCK

IT is not surprising that the new Minister of Works held up the publication of this report. He was probably trying to find out why it had cost £6,869 15s. 6d. to produce.

Apart from the cost of printing and publishing, which only amounts to £512 12s. 1d., it could have been put together by any journalist for about 25s. Take an assortment of all the prejudices, lies and half-lies that have been given voice over the past five years, select a few of them, add an equal amount of venom against building trade workers and a pinch of fact, mix all these ingredients, take out a dollop, print same and issue as a Report, and you get another stick with which to beat the building trade workers.

How the Knights and O.B.E.s and C.B.E.s who represented the workers on the party came to sign this poisonous production passes all comprehension: not even a squeak of protest, the horrid dollop swallowed whole.

Workers attacked

The party tells us they inquired into causes of fall in productive efficiency since 1939. They immediately admit the reasons are numerous and complicated (page 12). On page 16 they admit that most of these causes will be temporary in their effect. They are in fact the result of war, and as the industry recovers from the war the fall in productive capacity will disappear. This fact, however, does not prevent the party repeating the slanderous libels that have been levelled against the operative in the industry; his morale has deteriorated, the nature of the work has had a bad effect on him, he has no sense of responsibility, the fact that he had no fear of unemployment has tended to reduce his efforts. All these vile and spiteful innuendos are on page 15; not a shadow of proof and all killed stone dead by the admission on page 16 that quite other causes had been responsible for low production.

Although the benefits of full employment in the building trade have been just as great as in any other, the working party had the impudence to refer to the hampering effects of "over-full employment."

This in effect suggests that the plans for future building shall always be well behind the industry's capacity to build. A most absurd suggestion that could only be made by a Working Party whose one idea was to get back to the bad old days when 17 per cent. of building workers were always out of work and waiting on a trade ignorant and disorganised to give them a few weeks badly paid work.

Planning Required

It is common knowledge that among the operatives in the trade there is a continuous demand for the transfer of the industry from private profit making to a public service. The Working Party seem to be quite unaware of this.

One would have thought that the O.B.E.s in the party would have mentioned the matter. The report, however, is full of references to the need for such a change; in paragraph 63, they call for the planning of local programmes of building work. In paragraph 69 it is stated that any building operation must be planned in detail before work is commenced. They also call, at the end of paragraph 89, for a Central Technical Department.

It seems obvious that if planning is necessary on the job, locally and in technical matters, there is an even greater need for overall planning over the whole country. How this can be done unless the industry is a public service it is difficult to see. At any rate, surely a Working Party should have given

some attention to this great central problem of the industry.

Time and space are, of course, given to boosting up the Speculative Builder. The Party were apparently "informed" that their work was very economical to carry out. They might have had a look at the quality of the work.

The report, in short, is a mere skimming over the surface, a thing of shreds and patches dominated right through by a wish to return to pre-war conditions when the speculative builder was free to carry on his appalling work and the worker himself was out of a job for a very considerable part of his working life. Might we respectfully suggest that the building trade workers themselves set up a working party, leaving out employers, professors and O.B.E.s.



We can build 350,000 Houses a Year

says R. COPPOCK (General Secretary N.F.B.T.O.)

I AM glad to have the opportunity of saying a few words through the medium of *Socialist Outlook* on the housing position in particular and on building in general, from the point of view of the building operative.

I think it may justifiably be said that the building workers are capable of sustaining any reasonable housing programme which the Government may see fit to adopt. The Government's decision not to give effect to its original intention, indicated in the Economic Survey for 1950, of cutting the housing programme will be received with considerable satisfaction, for the housing shortage is still far from solved. We all of us, of course, that is—all the supporters of the Labour Movement—fully appreciate the necessity for the Government to decide on priorities in the matter of the country's social and economic activities, but I and my colleagues in the building unions cannot help feeling that it is a pity that the building industry should generally be chosen as the one to suffer cuts.

I am sure the industry can build at least 350,000 houses a year in addition to all the other building required.

I know there are shortages—timber is admittedly one of the problems at present because of the necessity to conserve dollars—but the position is not insurmountable. It is a case of balancing one urgency against another, and I personally would regard housing, with other vital social service building, such

as hospitals, schools, etc., as the first priority. Whether it is possible for the housing shortage to be more speedily dealt with if the building industry were nationalised is a matter of argument. At any rate the N.F.B.T.O. is to debate the nationalisation of the industry at its annual meeting in Ayr in June. Acting on instructions of last year's annual meeting the Executive Committee have prepared a scheme for the public ownership of the building industry. The scheme has not yet been made public, but it soon will be. I know that the nationalisation of the building industry is not in the Government's immediate programme, but that is no reason why we should not submit our views to authority.

The building industry contains a million people—as many as in pre-war days, but now very few indeed are out of work—probably about 2 per cent. compared with a "normal" 20 per cent. before the war even in what was regarded as a good season. **Good heavens!—given the opportunity this million could completely reconstruct the country in less than ten years.**

I fear, however, that time has been wasted. No one of use wishes to underestimate what has already been done in the way of reconstruction: factories and industrial and commercial buildings of all kinds have gone up since the end of the war, but one has the uneasy feeling that a good deal of misery due to the housing shortage has still to be liquidated.

News of the Socialist Fellowship

South East London forms Dramatic Group

THE newly formed dramatic group has already produced a one-act play at a local Labour Party social. It is now anxious to offer its services to any Labour Party, trade union or other organisation looking for a means of raising money.

The group is prepared to stage a three-act play as a full evening's entertainment or a one-act as part of a bigger programme. All enquiries to the Secretary, D. H. Glanville, 9 Monmouth House, Avignon Road, Brockley.

The South East London Fellowship is continually growing and forming new groups. As fast as it is built up members leave to start Fellowships in their own districts. New branches are being formed in Norwood and Bermondsey.

Manchester and Salford Election Gains

Fellowship members won a number of seats at the municipal elections. Sid Reid (St. George's), C. Bramall (Salford) and Bernard Moylan (Salford) were all successful. Comrades Harold Collins, Louis Hanbidge and Frank Moran all put up good fights.

On the annual May Day march, 200 copies of the *Outlook* were sold to demonstrators.

In the evening a first class discussion on "How to Stop War" was opened. This was the first time the Manchester Fellowship has broached this vital question. The interest was such that it is to be continued on June 4th in the Mitre Hotel at 7 p.m.

All Fellowship members are urged to attend.

A conference attended by 80 delegates and visitors heard Stanley May, N.W. Secretary of the *National Federation of Building Trade Operatives*, Roland Casasola (Labour candidate for Moss Side) and Fred Emmett (Fellowship national secretary) put the Fellowship policy.

Harry Ratner has been elected one of the two Salford City Labour Party vice-presidents.

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Merseyside Young Member Wins Seat

David Taylor, 22-year-old member of the Merseyside Fellowship, gained a seat for Labour at Huyton. He is now the youngest ever member of the urban council.

Ronald Leeper failed by only 22 votes in a total poll of 3,120 to gain a seat from the Conservatives at Birkenhead. Edward Harby made a strong bid in Liverpool (Fairfield). Four others stood in Southport.

Arrangements are being made to raise funds by holding a social and jumble sale.

It is expected to increase *Outlook* circulation by appointing literature secretaries and separate selling organisations on both sides of the river.

Merseyside branch meets on the first Sunday evening of every month at the Stork Hotel, Liverpool.

South Norfolk Leader Joins

Alderman Harry Watling has joined the Socialist Fellowship. Harry is one of the Borough Fathers on Thetford Council and was for 14 years the solitary Labour member. A former Ipswich I.L.P.er, he now leads the Labour group.

London Welcomes Fellowship

Conference condemns use of Troops in Dock Strike

NEARLY 300 delegates from 85 Labour Party, Leagues of Youth, Trades Councils, and Trade Union Organisations, applauded at the first public conference called by the *London Regional Socialist Fellowship* at the Holborn Hall on April 30th, when Dr. S. W. Jeger, Holborn M.P., in welcoming the gathering, emphasised the need for a return to a real socialist policy by the Labour Movement. This note, struck early in the proceedings, was maintained throughout a stimulating meeting called to discuss "Labour and the Future."

Tom Braddock, in a fighting speech, referred to the dock dispute, and the manner in which troops were being used as strike-breakers by a Labour Government.

Dockers address Conference

Conference gladly agreed to give Harry Constable, one of a dockers' delegation, and himself one of the three expelled from the Transport and General Workers' Union, time to present the case for the dockers.

In a rousing speech, he clearly and vigorously described the difficulties which led up to the dispute. He pointed to the need for a struggle inside the giant Transport and General Workers' Union for democratisation, for the election of all officials, and for salaries paid to them to be comparable to wages paid to those actually employed in industry.

After listening to Constable's speech, an emergency resolution was presented by the delegates from Camberwell A.E.U. condemning the use of troops in industrial disputes. This resolution was carried with great enthusiasm. The mood of the conference was further shown when later, a resolution was moved expressing solidarity with the dockers, and again there was the same wholehearted support.

John Lawrence, Editor of the *Socialist Outlook*, took as his theme the dockers' slogan of "an injury to one is an injury to all." He told the conference that this was the kind of policy which had to be spread among workers everywhere. The struggle of workers abroad was, he said, as much our fight as theirs. There was the greatest need for an internationalist policy to be pursued if the danger of war was to be averted.

In the course of the very full discussion that followed, the real and ever-present dread of the possibilities of war were emphasised. One speaker, from the League of Youth, summed it up when she said that the fight against war was a fight against capitalism. To fight for peace one had to fight for socialism.

Through all the discussion ran the need, the demand, for a policy which attacked the capitalist class at home, and linked up with workers abroad; a policy which worked for the freeing of colonial peoples—in all, a socialist policy.

Fenner Brockway, towards the end of the meeting, had the conference cheering when he referred to the wage-freeze policy and the way in which it hit the lower paid workers.

The conference which had begun enthusiastically ended on the same note when a resolution was passed which

"considered that the General Election results emphasised the need for more socialism in the Labour Party's policy; it therefore welcomed the formation of the Socialist Fellowship, which was pledged to work within the Labour, trade union and Co-operative Movements for a real socialist policy based on the needs and aspirations of the working class."

It is now necessary for all sympathetic to the aims and objects of the Fellowship, to press their local organisations for speakers from the Fellowship, to prepare for the October conference of the Labour Party, and to get local Fellowships formed.

Bert Karpin,
Secretary, London
Region Socialist Fellowship

Birmingham hears Ronald Chamberlain attack drift to Right

Sixty delegates and visitors attending a Birmingham Fellowship conference heard Ronald Chamberlain, a former M.P. for Norwood. While praising the government's efforts under difficult circumstances, he criticised the drift to the Right and the tie-up with America, militarily, politically and economically. Labour's policy was being dictated from above instead of by the rank and file, he said.

Comrade Shorthouse said it was the union block vote and not Labour Party delegates which denied Zilliacus the right to state his case at the Party conference.

OUTLOOK IN LIBRARIES

South East London Socialist Fellowship has been successful in getting *Socialist Outlook* placed in Deptford Public Libraries and hopes to do the same in Camberwell.

YOU CAN DO THIS TOO!

S.F. National Committee opposes German Dismantling

THE following resolution was adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Fellowship at its meeting on May 3rd, 1950.

"The National Committee of the Socialist Fellowship strongly protests against the present policy of dismantling German industry. We believe that the destruction of Germany's industrial capacity will not eliminate the possibility of war or of Fascism. On the contrary, by bringing certain misery to thousands of innocent working men and women who will be literally driven out of the productive processes of society, the dismantling policy may very well encourage the growth of Fascist propaganda in Germany.

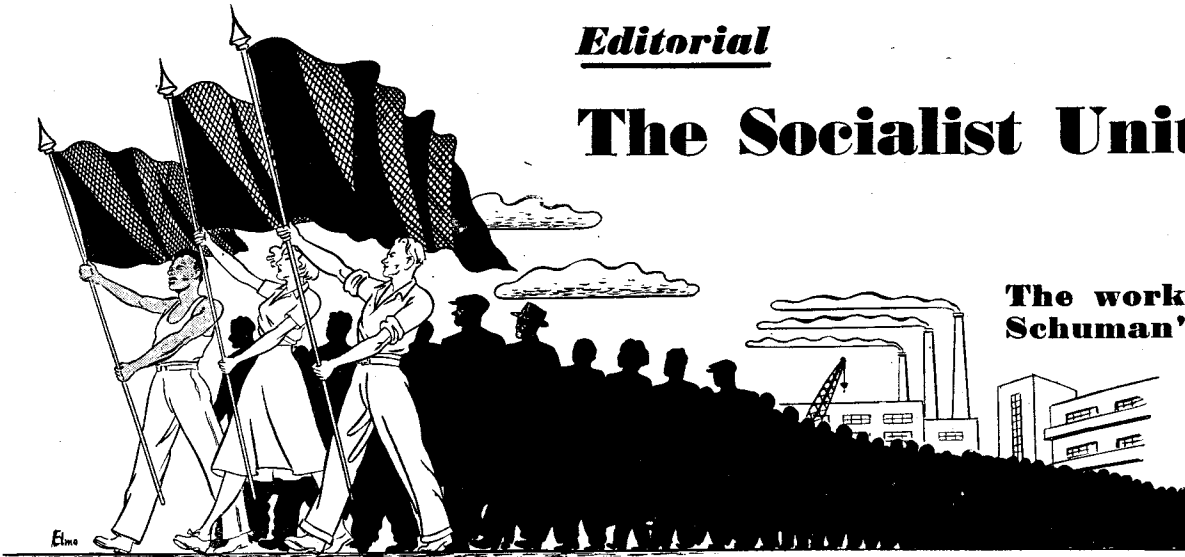
Unless the British Labour movement protests against this senseless destruction which on March 2nd and 6th required the use of British troops to break the resistance of the German workers, these workers may very well, and with some reason, lose all faith in the international solidarity of the working class.

For these reasons, and because we feel deeply for the plight of our fellow workers in Germany, and because we do believe in a policy of international socialist solidarity, we urge the Labour Government to do all in its power to cease the policy of blowing up great steel works and instead to revive the policy of public ownership and so turn the productive potential of such plants to the rebuilding of homes, schools and production of consumer goods."

Editorial

The Socialist United States of Europe

The working class alternative to Schuman's International Cartel



WHEN two monopolies compete with each other they sooner or later end up with an understanding that it is more profitable to work together. These agreements are called *cartels*, and the pre-war economy was plagued with them in every important industry.

International competition for markets is as furious to-day as before the war. U.N.O.'s Economic Commission for Europe estimates that there will be eight million tons "surplus" steel in Europe by 1953. It is in these circumstances that Mr. Schuman has made the proposition that the coal and steel industries of Germany and France should be placed under a common administration.

Schuman himself denies that his plan means the creation of a cartel. He argues that the industries would not be administered by the industrialists but by the governments. This should fool nobody. The German Government of Adenauer—which is also proposing to cut taxation of the millionaires while there are over two million unemployed in Western Germany—acts always as an instrument of the industrial magnates of the Ruhr and Rhineland. By means of the Schuman plan the German capitalists are hoping to recover their full rights of ownership.

As for the French Government, it is surely sufficient to point out that Schuman himself entered politics as a representative of the de Wendel trust which, before world war one, had interests on both sides of the German-French frontier.

Anglo-American competition

The American capitalists are hailing the Schuman proposals as a decisive step towards the "integration" of European economy. But "integration" of two monopolies often means a move against some big competitor who isn't willing to join in. And that is what it means here. The combined strength of the French and German steel industries would leave British steel production well behind. Wall Street has given its blessing to this Schuman cartel so it is clear that the American capitalists see in it a valuable weapon in the fierce competition in which they are now engaged with British big business.

The American monopolists will use this new cartel, which they have underwritten, to bring heavy pressure on Britain so as to force this country into step with American plans in every corner of the world.

A sham unity

Would not the unification of French and German heavy industries be a move towards a United Europe? Some people who should know better (the *Tribune*, for example) think it might be and they therefore favour British participation in the cartel. The *Socialist Outlook* is absolutely opposed to such participation.

In the first place, the Schuman proposals do not include an end to dismantling and reparations. Neither does it promise an immediate withdrawal of all occupation troops. Furthermore, it proposes the Saar as a third "partner" in the combine—although the German people have never recognised the separation of the Saar industry from Germany, a separation which was carried out in the most brutal annexationist manner by the French capitalists.

The first point, therefore, is to recognise that the Schuman plan leaves the existing inequalities and chaos of capitalist Europe exactly where they are.

Because the plan preserves the *status quo* it gets the wholehearted backing of all those who have most to fear from radical change, that is from the corrupt French capitalists now threatened by German competition, and from the criminal gang of German industrialists who backed Hitler and who are now threatened by the socialist aspirations of millions of German workers anxious to take over the Ruhr factories.

Every capitalist cartel is a conspiracy to plunder the public by curtailing production and maintaining artificially high prices. The French and German capitalists who to-day agree to put their resources into a common pool have exactly the same objective. They want to prevent a coal and steel surplus which

would bring their prices and profits tumbling down.

There is only one thing which would make possible the expansion of CAPITALIST heavy industry and that is the "integration" of French and German WAR industries. This would produce soaring profits for the steel barons and—death and destruction for the peoples of the world.

Denounce the plan

There can be no evasion of the issue. Our Labour Government must denounce the Schuman plan for what it is—a cartel intended to plunder the peoples of Western Europe.

Our denunciation must not be made in the name of the holy interests of the British capitalists now threatened (with American permission) by the capitalists of Germany and France. No—it must be made in the name of socialism and the interests of the British and international working class. It must be made in order to protect the workers' standard of living which the industrialists want to force down to the starvation level of the German workers. It must be made in order to defend the right of the German workers to get rid of the Ruhr magnates and to socialise German industry.

The Socialist Alternative

Our denunciation of the Schuman plan must be accompanied by clear and constructive proposals for the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE addressed, not to the governmental representatives of the European steel interests, but to the workers of France, Germany and the whole of Europe. We must say to them:

"While the capitalists are pooling their economic power let us, the workers, join together the united strength of our class. Let us take over the control of European industry and start producing a higher standard of life for all peoples of the world."

The SOCIALIST unification of the industries of Europe will be the exact opposite of the Schuman plan. Its goal would not be the limitation of production but its expansion to the utmost. Its driving force would not be the fear of falling profits and over-production but the will to provide millions of poor people with all that is necessary for a new and happy life. Its purpose would not be to choose between crisis and war but to elevate

the standard of living of the workers and to equip the millions of poor farmers in the colonies with the tools capable of winning the most urgent of all wars—the war against hunger, misery, and ignorance.

To decide on one of these two roads—the road of the capitalist cartel, or the road of the Socialist United States of Europe—means to decide on the most vital question of our time. Who is to control the combined resources of Europe's industries? Who is to unite Europe?

Under CAPITALIST management the pooled resources of Europe will produce high prices, unemployment, and war. Under the management of the WORKERS they will produce peace and plenty for all.

Labour's great chance

This alternative of a SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE provides our Labour Government with a magnificent opportunity to rally the peoples of the world to a real socialist programme. Its forthright presentation would appeal, not only to the workers of Britain, France, and Germany, but to the peoples of Russia and Eastern Europe. It would completely expose the so-called "aid-programmes" of American imperialism. It would conquer the sympathies of all toiling mankind. Millions are to-day waiting for such a socialist programme as an alternative to the cold war.

End May Day Bans!

WHEN the first demonstration took place in 1890 it was despite bans, threats, and intimidation from reactionary forces. Now we have bans, threats, and intimidations, from people who, sixty years ago would have fought tooth and nail to hold these demonstrations! Is it any wonder that the rank and file accuse the leaders of having lost touch and are getting too respectable. They should be leading the demonstrations instead of banning them.

The scenes in London this May Day were reminiscent of Peterloo, 1819—not so bloody but nevertheless a forerunner of what will take place if ever the Tories return to power and carry out a precedent set by a Labour Government.

The traditions of May Day must be kept and extended into a National Holy Day and Holiday for the working class who can then demonstrate in their millions to celebrate the ideals which real socialists worked for but as yet don't enjoy.

Jack Stanley.

Class Conflicts in Malaya

By H. E. CASTENS

I HAVE lived in Eastern jungles for nearly a quarter of a century and from these experiences I have long suspected that the rebels could not have maintained themselves, let alone grown in strength as they have done, were they living by bribes, threats and reprisals in a hostile country.

The fact seems to be that the rebels have got many more active supporters throughout the country than the authorities have been prepared to admit, or even than the high figures of arrests and deportations of squatters would seem to suggest. In addition, though the bulk of the population does not seem to support them actively, it does not seem to be actively hostile to them.

The Malayan citizens' attitude seems to be that of spectators at a display by foreign gladiators. They are interested. They remember at times that the white one is strong (though not invincible as he seemed till 1942) and capriciously kindly. They remember at other times that the yellow one is nearer kin to many of them. At other times they just remember the show. Until and unless they believe either that the defeat of one side is a bad thing or the victory of one side a good thing, they will remain just spectators.

We can exclude from the category of spectator all the large business and property owners of all races. *They are with the government.* We can exclude all convinced communists. They are with the rebels. But what of the rest of the people?

Races and Classes

The picture of Malaya ordinarily current in this country seems to be one of three hitherto mutually hostile races—Malays, Chinese and Indians—uneasily sharing the same country, towns and villages, while the peace is kept by the British Government. The rebellion is supposed to be an activity of the lunatic fringe of one of the races, encouraged by sinister foreign agents; an irrelevant nuisance that must be suppressed so that the races can learn under our guidance to tolerate each other, and (having learned) share with us the task of maintaining the *status quo*. Implicit in this picture is the assumption that the differences between members of each race are small as compared with the difference between races.

In face, there are as great or greater differences between the Congress coolie and the Bania, or between the Chinese labourer and the Kuomintang (or pre-Kuomintang) merchant, than there are between merchants of different races; or even between merchants and the Malay aristocracy.

The interests of Indian and Chinese coolies are largely identical; and even the interests of the Malayan peasant (increasingly indebted to foreign moneylenders) and the growing band of landless Malay labourers are becoming more closely identified with those of the *non-Malay coolies* than with those of the *Malay princes*.

It seems certain that the vertical division between races, which was responsible for much of Malaya's political backwardness in the past, is losing its significance, while the horizontal division between owners and non-owners, privileged and unprivileged, rich and poor, is becoming of fundamental importance.

Below the line there is a rapid growth of a new faith, the belief that all men were born equal, and the conviction that the belief can be put into practice.

The growth of this belief is taking place in surroundings which, as elsewhere in the East, produce such inequality that experience of them at the bottom would seem like a distorted and grotesque dream to any of Britain's less fortunate slum-dwellers. The experience would probably shock even a poor American Negro from the squalid South of the U.S.A. Conditions are far too extreme for even an uneasy truce. Either the spread of equalitarian faith will be stopped, or the economy—the whole culture—will have to be modified to conform to it.

The creed of equality already holds the minds of the unprivileged intelligentsia. The *Economist*, the Tories, and the like, would seek to buy them by giving them western schooling, opening government and (to a very much lesser degree) commercial posts to them, and create from among them a bourgeoisie comfortable enough to fear change.

This they would reinforce with a Malay peasantry, made larger and more

secure at the expense of even the Malay princes, the British planters and the agricultural moneylenders. Whether or not the vested interests concerned could prevent such a plan's success is beside the point, which is that the plan must fail because of the nature of the oriental intelligentsia.

Its members need not speak English, they need not be educated in western skills; they need not even be literate. They seldom form part of the Civil Services or of those meetings of village elders on which the Government inevitably leans for information. Today it is just the sum of all those independent minds which can grasp the simple creed of equality, and think out its implications with regard to their own surroundings. There is and can be no comfortable place for most of its members in the present economy—the economy of western skills *erving the needs of the few*. They will remain with the unprivileged and will spread the new creed to them without possible check.

The spectators in Malaya are a heterogeneous body as far as race and occupation are concerned, an uneducated body by western standards, and a poor body by all standards. **For all that they are a body of people who are beginning to believe in and demand equality, who will believe in it and demand it far more urgently in future, and who will lose much of their heterogeneity in the process.**

Who Owns Malaya?

We have given our present Malayan policy to the spectators and they are

looking at it; turning it over with their feet as they might a hedgehog they were doubtful about. It is a simple policy, aimed almost exclusively at advance towards parliamentary democracy and local government. *Yet, because there is no suggestion in it of intent to transfer the ownership of Malayan assets to the hands of the Malayan peoples, it is not fully consistent with the principles we profess.* For the same reason, from the Malayan standpoint, it bristles with objections as the hedgehog does with spines.

Who are the people who own Malaya, and its Government. Among the first are the rich princes and their courtiers, masters of obstructive inertia. Then the pre-Congress moneylenders and traders and pre-Kuomintang bankers and merchants, all utterly unscrupulous in their selfishness. Then the exclusive and absentee British, represented locally by their British managers and staff.

The owners are diverse indeed, but they have many traits in common. All too many have their homes abroad and are in Malaya only for what they can take away. All can spend more on one meal than a labourer can earn in a year. All believe they have a just title to their wealth, and are determined to keep it. All—Christian, Hindu,

DEMOCRACY DEFENDED!

Miss Wong Ong Kee, a pretty nineteen-year-old girl, has been sent to prison for THREE YEARS in Singapore for "using her wiles to win men to Communism."—*London Star*, May 17th.

Mohammedan, Confucian—believe in some version of the words "*the poor you always have with you*," and they believe in no better future for them than one of lesser poverty.

The legislature is mainly of unofficial members, for whom the only qualification in law is that they should be British or Malay citizens and be able to speak, read and write reasonably well in English or Malay. They are appointed by the High Commissioner, and he is appointed by the Colonial Secretary who lays down the policy on which the Legislature must be chosen. Common and powerful servants to all three are the British members of the higher Civil Services, appointed by the Colonial Office and ordered by the High Commissioner.

To-day the Legislature is an owners' Legislature, and the Civil Servants serve the owners. This need not be. It is, because the Colonial Secretary wills it so.

Seeing these things, the intelligentsia and, after them, the people, must want to know how they may ever expect a real advance towards equality as long as these people own the country and we place the power in their hands. They know, and are daily reminded of it, that there is no need for socialist measures to await the coming of parliament. They know that it is from socialism that they will derive economic equality, and that parliament is only one of the many possible ways of obtaining socialism. They want to know why they cannot have the large instalments of socialism that the Colonial Secretary has power to give them to-day.

[To be continued in our next issue when the writer will outline what he considers should be the task of the Labour Government in this situation.]

Wages Policy

[An Editorial Statement]

THE Executives of many trade unions which previously supported the wage-freeze have now been compelled to reverse their decisions. Miners, postmen, engineers, civil servants, and engineers, have all submitted claims for substantial wage increases. The General Council of the T.U.C. is preparing, in the face of this assault, to retreat to a more strategic position from which to defend its wage-freeze policy. Small increases for the lowest paid workers will probably be proposed *but only as a condition that the wage-freeze remains in force for the working class as a whole*. In the words of Mr. Arthur Deakin, "*the wages ceiling must be raised . . . but . . . we cannot just lift the lid and have a smash-and-grab.*"

This revised wage-freeze policy can be no more acceptable to the workers than was the original version. In many respects it is even worse. The workers are still expected to "voluntarily" sacrifice their right to a share in the increased wealth they have themselves produced but, in addition, by introducing the idea of some sort of "national minimum" *within the general freeze*, the trade union movement is to be divided among itself—low paid against "high" paid, unskilled against skilled, those on less than £5 a week against those on £5 5s.!

Instead of having a united trade union movement endeavouring to reduce the huge "differential" which exists between the income of the workers and the income of the employer, the energies of trade unionists will be directed towards reducing the "differential" between worker and worker, bricklayer and labourer, goods guard and porter!

This is called a "planned wages policy." To such "planning" the employers can have little objection. Indeed, the *Economist* is all in favour of it, and no wonder, for while the workers are squabbling among themselves as to the division of *their* portion of the national income, less notice will be taken of that portion which is filched from the workers—from ALL the workers—in the form of rent, interest and profit!

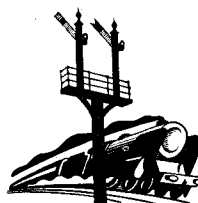
By all means let us raise the wages of the low-paid workers, and by all means let us establish guaranteed minimum rates. But not by the disastrous method of keeping the wage freeze on the rest of the working class, but by *encouraging the unions to secure wage increases for ALL their members*. This is the only wages policy consistent with working class principles and it requires first and foremost—the complete repudiation of the present wage-freeze policy.

continued column 4, page 6

Railwaymen's Wages

Some comments on the position of Bro. Figgins

By BOB SHAW (N.U.R.)



JIM FIGGINS, General Secretary of the N.U.R., has been writing in the *Railway Review* on the related questions of wages, prices and profits and he has said some very sensible things. I think, however, that he has not carried his ideas far enough.

In his first article of the series (*Railway Review* of April 28th), he makes a statement which should be noted and understood by all Labour and trade union leaders. Referring to the Tories, he said, "There is no gratitude in politics, it is a matter of supremacy of the one class or the other, and the Tories have shown that they well understand this fact since they are continuing their pressure for a big decrease in national expenditure at the expense of subsidies and housing."

In his next article Bro. Figgins came out in opposition to the "wage-freeze" policy of the Government and the T.U.C. and condemned those leaders who voted for the T.U.C. position and yet, contradicting themselves, applied on behalf of their union members for an increase in wages. One suspects that these latter gentlemen seek to have a foot in both camps.

Order 1305, being the compulsory application of arbitration to all wage and industrial disputes, next comes up for review and was likewise condemned.

This is all good stuff, if a little overdue. The first all round attack on the collaborationist policy of the T.U.C. to

my knowledge. So that when Bro. Figgins also mentioned in his May 5th article his intention of dealing with Labour Party "strategy" in "the next issue" of the *Railway Review*, I expectantly waited his analysis. I am still waiting.

To be sure, Mr. Figgins wrote advocating an increased allocation of capital expenditure to British Railways. It is doubtful, however, if the wages question would be solved in this way. He also argued against the idea that increased freight charges would mean increased prices to the consumer, citing iron and steel as an example. This argument appeared on the Friday and was smashed on the following Monday when the announcement was made that coal would go up in price 5s. per ton and the price of steel products would also be increased. What Bro. Figgins failed to say was that wage increases and freight charge increases need not result in increased prices provided we have a socialist policy and profits are curtailed.

There can be no doubt that the reason that the wages of railwaymen have been frozen at such a low level is in order that capitalism may keep its prices low and its profits high. So long as profits are squeezed out of the dwindling Railway revenue then so long will railwaymen's wages lag behind the cost of living.

£32 millions is the pound of flesh demanded from British railwaymen for the ex-shareholders. Why is Mr. Figgins so shy of mentioning this fact?

What of capital expenditure? Obviously the railways require plenty of capital replacement. Modernisation schemes, the renewal of antiquated wagons, engines, sheds and shunting yards, are a real necessity for an efficient transport system. But what of the huge waste of money for which the management are now responsible? The creation of thousands of unnecessary supervisory jobs; the launching of paper schemes costing thousands, most of which come to nothing?

A saving could be established here right away by correct supervision of all managerial functions from top to bottom. If a hundred million pounds were poured into British Railways now, how much money would be lost in all the complicated maze of red tape, inefficiency and sheer managerial incompetence?

No, Bro. Figgins, whilst I welcome your move into the opposition against T.U.C. policy, the measures you suggest do not go far enough. In my view three things above all others are required on British Railways to-day.

1. Adequate wages and welfare standards for ALL workers.
2. Suspension of the interest payments on compensation sums.
3. Workers' supervision through rank and file committees of all managerial functions.

To obtain these things would not be easy, but they are well worth fighting for and they are steps towards a solution.

Wages Policy

continued from page 5

Wages and Prices

Hiding behind this "planned wages" theory is the thoroughly reactionary idea that wages are a fixed portion of the national income (who fixed it?) which can only be increased if and when production increases. The simple fact is avoided that wages can be increased tomorrow, without any increases in the national income, merely by reducing that part of the proceeds of labour which goes to rent, interest, and profit, and adding it to wages. And, to anticipate the inevitable objection, this need not cause inflation. The biggest single factor causing high prices is the tremendous expenditure of the national and world resources on the production of armaments, the upkeep of the armed forces, and the maintenance of huge unproductive state machines.

If labour were transferred from this economically useless sector of the economy to the production of those goods the workers need, there would be quite sufficient to meet all the increased demand created by the wage increases.

Of course, if it is also accepted as fixed that the people must remain in poverty because of the "necessity" to devote a huge proportion of our limited labour force to the production of armaments (which nobody can eat but out of which large profits are made) then there is no way out. But the people cannot, and will not, adjust its living standards to the level permitted by this sick and outworn capitalist system.

The Government's Job

If the Government does not relish the prospect of large-scale industrial struggles over wages, they have all the power they need to stop them. Not by trying to impose a new form of the wage-freeze, declaring all strikes illegal, or training troops to act as blacklegs, but by pressing on with socialist legislation designed to give to the workers what is rightfully theirs—the "full fruits of their labours."

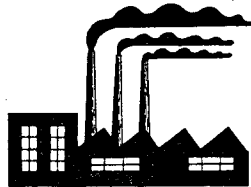
When all the basic industries have been nationalised and are operated by the workers as part of a national plan, when the needs of the people has replaced the pursuit of private profit as the motive force in industry, when, in other words, the worker has an assurance that every blow of his hammer is helping to improve his own welfare and not simply enriching those who live by his labours, then, and only then, can the trade unions agree to any plan for wages. For then it will really be possible to plan, consciously, and with the full participation of the workers, the allocation of the national resources.

The trade unions must take the lead in demanding this kind of society for it is the logical outcome of a hundred years of trade union struggle. Meanwhile, they are duty bound to defend, if needs be by strike action, the living standards of their members.

That is why the *Socialist Outlook* supports, *unreservedly*, ALL wage claims, at the same time as it fights, unceasingly, for the adoption by the Labour Movement of a full socialist programme so that this jungle struggle for the proceeds of labour shall be replaced by a co-operative, socialist, and infinitely more dignified form of society.

Workshop Notes

by JACK JOHNSTON
(A.E.U., Newcastle)



IN the absence of one industrial union for the Shipbuilding and Engineering trades the *Confederation* was brought into being. This organisation, which comprises the 37 unions connected with the industries, has been creaking and groaning under its first major task, the application for £1 per week increase to be paid out of profits. For a time it looked as if the whole apparatus would collapse.

Union leaders who had been present during all the discussions refused to carry out the democratic decision to ballot their members on the question of strike or arbitration. The General and Municipal Workers' Union finally gave way, but advised its members to vote in favour of arbitration.

This attitude of some of the Trade Union executives is amazing when you consider how quickly they appeal to the "constitution" whenever their own members dare to come on strike. But a new period is opening up for trade-unionism—a period in which the workers will discard "leaders" who use every trick in the book to beat back

the militant demands of the rank and file.

The wage-freeze, the most high-handed autocratic action in the history of the trade union movement is doomed. This decision to freeze wages was taken by men who, without exception, are enjoying a standard of living, from workers' pennies, far above the working class. The miners along with sections of workers in other unions are bringing pressure from the workshop which can only end in defeat for the defenders of capitalism.

Arbitration

It seems fairly obvious that, whatever the result of the Confederation's ballot, there will be a big vote against arbitration. Arbitration has served the employers well. Their own economic law of supply and demand is not allowed to function where labour is concerned. When there is a slump yes, but when there is a boom, like the present one which has lasted since roughly 1938, no! When labour and goods have been in great demand we could not get a fair share of the increased prices.

We had to "arbitrate." In the case of the A.E.U.'s 13s., after two years we get five bob! Employers are not so chary when it comes to charging—as a glance at their declared profits will show.

The whole basis of arbitration which union leaders, cabinet ministers, and employers are anxious to save, is one sided. The worker is guaranteed a raw deal when the employers can act first, and then arbitrate until the act becomes a custom. There is not one case on record where the workers have gained from arbitration, without pressure being exerted outside the court.

Yes, the workers are moving again after years of frustration and dictation from above. There are many signs that there is a change coming. Not only in the forcing of this ballot, and it has been forced, but in numerous decisions which are reaching regional and national levels. The E.T.U.'s recent conference showed that there was a good militant lot of delegates.

In this move forward the *Outlook* is an asset. We need more sellers as well as readers, more action in the branch as well as listeners. You cannot afford to stand and watch. Pitch in and add your weight to the growing rank and file pressure.



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

German Dismantling

I am sure that the working class in Britain will realise how very harmful the whole business (business indeed!) of dismantling is for the cause of socialism in Germany. There could not be a better means invented to discredit international socialist solidarity in the eyes of the German workers, there could not be a better means to lend support to all sorts of nationalist tendencies, than dismantling factories in a country with two million unemployed.

Jacob Moneta.

GOTENRING, GERMANY.

* * *

Use the Press

A recent investigation revealed that the correspondence column is one of the best read parts of our daily newspapers.

Readers of the *Socialist Outlook* and all wishing to spread socialist views should use this important medium. It is one way of reaching millions of people who will not bother to attend political meetings. It is also a way of putting the *Socialist* attitude towards day to day affairs.

A letter to the editor should be short and topical. It should be sent to all those newspapers where you think there is any possibility of being printed. In addition there are weeklies such as *Picture Post* or *John Bull* with mass circulations and lively letter columns.

There should be at least one comrade in every *Socialist Fellowship* branch who is given the commitment of writing to the press.

Why should we leave the correspondence columns to retired colonels from Bath, paid employees of the Economic League, and the Conservatively minded writers who are so diligently flooding the editors' postbags?

MANCHESTER. Frank Allau.

* * *

Labour and the Colonies

Why is it that the socialist movement in Britain gives the impression of believing in the validity of capitalist tactics in the field of colonialism?

Do you remember the famous slogan—"Africa is the White Man's Burden." Transplanted to British soil it would read—"The Working Class Movement is the Capitalist's Burden." For decades the British workers have listened to songs of praise for capitalism, nevertheless, they have been forced to create their own mighty working class movement to fight against exploitation by the trusts, cartels, and other monopolies built up by British capitalism. That is why it is highly unlikely that this same British working class movement can be forever deceived as to the true intentions of capitalism in the colonies. The same capitalism in both fields—at home and in the colonies—has one aim and one aim alone . . . profitmaking at the expense of toiling humanity.

In the colonies this aim has been achieved by denying political freedom to the oppressed peoples. Therefore, when British workers read in the press of the shootings and arrests of Africans in the name of law and order they should remember that these aggressive and savage acts have been perpetrated in Africa for the same reasons as they were previously used against the young British Labour Movement. The British workers have been fighting for decades to be masters of their own destinies and that, too, is the motive behind the present political awakening in Africa. Both want to be free and—both have a common enemy, British imperialism.

There is, however, one fundamental difference between the British workers and the oppressed masses of Africa. The African peoples do not enjoy the political freedom which, with all its great potentialities, is at present in the hands of the British workers. Even though it would be the equivalent of standing on their own heads or marching backwards instead of forwards, the British workers can, if they wish, return a Tory Government to power. They have the political right to elect whatever Government they choose. We do not have that power in Africa. We are forced to accept Governments which we have had absolutely no hand in selecting.

It will be most dangerous for the whole of mankind if the British workers are to be manoeuvred into a position when they can feel that Socialism can have two distinct identities—like Jekyll and Hyde—one for domestic use and one for colonial affairs. There are even "Socialists" who try and preach a gospel which says that the retention of colonial possessions makes for higher standards of living in Britain and even assists the possibilities of a British Socialism.

If the British workers accept this horrible philosophy it will mean two things. First that they will reach out for a measly piece of bread that would otherwise have gone into a hungry African stomach and second, that the colonies in the hands of the British capitalists strengthens the very people against whom the British workers will soon have to fight.

If British Socialism considers it safe to operate capitalism on the continent of Africa then this will bring about its downfall, for a system of society which indulges in such immoral practices will speedily collapse. To deprive the tens of millions of Africans of political and economic rights is, in my opinion, grossly immoral. But I have faith in the ultimate triumph of real socialism in Britain and the consequent redemption of the oppressed mass of Africans.

Yacoub Osman,
Sudan U.M.M.A. Party.

* * *

Youth Programme

Congratulations to the Wandsworth Central League of Youth. They have certainly hit the nail on the head

by putting forward a draft *Socialist Programme for Youth*. It is high time the Leagues got down to working out socialist remedies for the problems facing young workers. If we don't no one else will. Certainly not the Young Communist League with its slogan of "Not a day over the year" in relation to conscription. Nor our own Party Executive whose policy statement, *Let Us Win Through Together*, contains no reference to youth problems. The responsibility rests fairly and squarely with League members themselves.

The Wandsworth programme deserves to be discussed in every League Branch. It will probably get hacked about a bit, added to, or amended—but before so very long it should represent the considered opinions of the rank and file and then no one will be able to ignore it.

Andrew Kirkby (Chairman).
TWICKENHAM L.L.O.Y.

* * *

Servicemen's Clothes

I have been requested by my organisation to draw your attention to the following:

1. The Surrey Federation has expressed its support without dissent, of the "five points" of the National Status Movement's programme.
2. The Federation is disturbed about the non-provision of civilian clothing to discharged Servicemen. The attention of the Minister for Defence has

been drawn to this and the services of the Parliamentary Labour Party have been asked for. We would welcome similar approaches by other organisations, particularly Youth Organisations.

Surrey Federation of Leagues of Youth
Ray Hesketh,
Hon. Secretary.

* * *

Religion in the Election

The articles in the *Socialist Outlook* dealing with the Election left out one thing—the fact that organised religion came out openly on the side of the Tories.

My own M.P. had to go cap in hand to the priest and then state from the platform that he had reached with him an agreement over catholic schools. There must be secret agreements—because the terms have never yet been disclosed.

I know of other places where this has happened and where the Labour candidate did not go to the religious bodies the result often went against him.

HINDSFORD. J. Shovelton.

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Labour League of Youth Page

It is the Capitalists who need Flogging

says ALF ROSE (Birkenhead Central L.L.O.Y.)

NO, we would not flog the capitalists—in either the civilian or in the service sense of the term—but it is by this method that British capitalism seeks to preserve itself and to suppress youth which it has failed to exploit by “honest” labour.

The argument that is most used in favour of the restoration of flogging is the “increase” in crimes of violence. But what are the figures?

In the nine months to September, 1948, there were 711 cases of robbery with violence known to the police. The law was then changed and in the corresponding nine months of 1949 the figure had fallen to 597. It looks, therefore, as the *Manchester Guardian* has observed, that “since flogging was abolished there has been less, not more violent crime, and that what has increased is the space allotted to these incidents in the newspapers.”

The vehemence with which the cheaper capitalist press, and its allies in the Commons, Lords, and Law Courts, have campaigned for flogging is evidence of the disintegration of their society.

Two Types of Criminal

There are two types of criminal—the psychological and the economic. Regarding the first, civilised opinion has long held that it is not possible to drive out possessive devils with rods in the Old Testament manner. And understanding of this fact is very much more common among laymen than among the clergy.

The psychologically unbalanced require the most skilled attention of medical science and, in this respect, the further development of the Health Services may well be necessary at the expense of profits. Which is the basic reason why the capitalists—the profit-makers—prefer what is to them a much cheaper method, the vigorous application of the rod.

The other type of criminal in present society—the “economic” type—is much more directly a product of his environment. Capitalism teaches that wealth and respectability are one and the same thing. It teaches that the rich are the most deserving of admiration and that proper humility becomes the poor. But, while society has been accepting this tenet of capitalism, the possibility of becoming rich has, for the vast majority of people, diminished almost to nothing. Wealth has become the lot of a privileged minority. It is this basic contradiction which produces crime.

If wealth, which opens the door to privilege, rank, leisure, and enjoyment, has become increasingly less possible to obtain by legal methods, it requires very little aberration to seek that wealth illegally.

The distinction between what is illegal to-day and what was quite legal in the days of the industrial revolution when the capitalists were amassing their

fortunes, or even what is legal in modern colonial exploitation, is very slight indeed. The only real difference is that, wealth and property having become the preserve of a few, the laws have been so shaped as to preclude the entry of any new competitors. Any resort to the violence of former days will rouse the wrath of the defenders of privilege.

Robbery, with or without violence, though visited indiscriminately upon the guilty rich or the innocent poor—and not to be condoned in any case—is not of itself a cause of evil but is an evil effect.

If crime is the seamy side of life it is but another way of saying that capitalism is ready to burst its seams.

The real criminal

By the provision of wider opportunity for advance and for a full life, by better and more generous schemes of training and apprenticeship, by increased facilities for education, by the provision of adequate sports facilities, and by a real housing drive, we can immediately reduce the figures of crime. But we shall not eliminate it until we have so reorganised society that peace and plenty belong to all and, consequently, no man will covet the wealth and the privileges which belong to a select few and are denied to the great majority. To abolish crime we must abolish capitalism because capitalism is the arch-criminal in our society.

Our Common Fatherland

By A. J. BROWN (Southend Labour Party)

IN both Britain and Germany the major pre-occupation of the capitalist press and the organs of the capitalist state over a period of many years has been the destruction of the internationalism of the workers and the creation in its stead of an intense artificial nationalism—artificial because it sought to turn the workers' legitimate love of country into a love of state, and his detestation of the structure of the state into an active hatred of his fellow workers in other countries. In Britain, to our shame, almost the entire leadership of the working class joined in this song of hatred. The result was the appalling mass slaughter of two world wars.

It is important to remember that, in its essentials, the first world war was a clash of opposing capitalist and imperialist systems. It should also be remembered, that following the Russian Revolution of 1917, the workers of Germany and Austria-Hungary took the initiative in stopping mass slaughter, expelled their rulers and forced the army leaders into an armistice.

The second world war, though its professed object was the destruction of the dictatorial regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito, was still basically economic in character. Capitalism in the Axis Powers had developed into an aggressive imperialism but it was not until it was transparently clear that this new imperialism was aimed at the British and French Empires that the capitalist rulers of Britain and France decided to declare war.

They had watched with tacit approval the early triumphs of the Nazis—the outlawing of the Communist and Labour Parties, and the crushing of the working class. For six years they were idle spectators of the triumphs of the Iron Heel—six years during which time the leaders and many of the rank and file of the workers' organisations were rounded up, herded into concentration camps, tortured, and killed. But night has enshrouded the memory of the working class martyrs who died in Dachau and Buchenwald. All that remains is the fact of the war and the national hatreds which it engendered.

To-day Germany lies torn and dismembered at our feet. We have killed Hitler but already, in Western Germany, the little Nazis are creeping out of their holes and daily their strength is growing. The only class which has sworn to defeat them—the only class which wants to defeat them—is the organised working class.

But the plans they had worked out for the nationalisation of the iron and steel industries have been ignored by Labour Britain.

The suicidal policy of dismantling is continued. Hundreds of thousands are thus thrown out of work and dismay and confusion enter the hearts of the German working class. If our early pledges had been honoured and the industries nationalised under workers' control there could be no threat of war from Germany.

The *Socialist Outlook*, in opposing the dismantling of German industry in its last issue, was carrying on the fight for real international socialism. Our enemies are not only the capitalists of Britain but the capitalists of the world. Our victory will mean triumph of the common people of all humanity, the disappearance of nations, and the emergence of a universal brotherhood.

I can think of no better slogan for our fight than this sentence sent to Fenner Brockway during the war by the German underground . . . “Comrades, you like your country and we like our country, but our common fatherland is humanity.”

Lancs. & Cheshire Youth demand National Status

THE Leagues of Youth in the Lancashire and Cheshire area held their Annual Meeting in Manchester on April 29th. Last year's meeting saw stormy scenes when the Chairman and the Regional Youth Officer tried every means to prevent discussion of “controversial” resolutions. There was no repetition of these scenes this year. The Regional Officer wisely remained in the background and the Youth Advisory Committee, realising the strength of feeling inside the Leagues on the question of democratic rights, did not attempt to fight it.

A resolution from Bury League endorsing the Five Points of the National Status Movement was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Another from Eccles League urged the removal from the list of proscribed organisations the *World Federation of Democratic Youth*. The resolution was carried.

As Others See Us

THE Labour League of Youth is affiliated to the International Union of Socialist Youth and the parent body has recently made the following interesting comment on the structure of the League:

“At the annual conference of the Labour Party in Scarborough in 1948, it was decided that the League of Youth should become a national organisation. A National Consultative Committee was composed, consisting of League members. This Committee has no chairman, secretary, etc., and none of the members is a paid functionary of the League. All the practical work is done by functionaries of the Labour Party, just as *Advance* is a publication of the Labour Party. Our readers, therefore, will not be surprised that this conference at Filey was not a delegate conference: no resolutions could be passed, no vote could be taken. Every member received a copy of the National Consultative Committee's Report, and was allowed to speak for five minutes.”

Many speakers sharply criticised the undemocratic structure of the Labour League of Youth and asked for a democratic election of the National Consultative Committee, League control of its own publication, an annual delegate conference, etc. But as no resolutions could be moved and as no vote could be taken, it is doubtful whether anything will change. Especially when we read in an editorial comment of *Advance*: “Given a fair chance, a fair run, and the fair support it deserves, there is no reason why the present structure should not prove to be the most democratic possible.”

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