

Socialist Outlook

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3d.

TORY GOVT. TAKES THE MASK OFF!

Labour Needs A Policy To Meet Attack On Our Living Standards

HOUSES galore—good food at low prices—better social services—and peace to the world! That was the Tory promise. What a dream! Or rather—what a deliberate deception of the people!

These Tory gentlemen never had the slightest intention of carrying out their Election promises. They were put forward solely in the hope of deceiving enough people into voting for a Tory Government so that their REAL policy could be operated. Now, after only one month, that real policy is taking shape.

WE ARE EATING TOO MUCH!

Instead of "red meat", one quarter of all imported food (£350,000,000) is to be cut. The meat ration has already been reduced to 1/5—and what food we are still allowed **WILL ALL GO UP IN PRICE.**

Farmers are to get some £40,000,000 in price increases and, to quote a leading Tory newspaper, "these increases . . . will be reflected in higher prices . . . (affecting) . . . milk, eggs, meat, barley, oats, potatoes and sugar." (Daily Telegraph 27/11/51).

WHERE ARE THE HOUSES?

Instead of 300,000 new houses, the building of power stations, hospitals, schools and sanatoria has been banned for (at least!) three months.

Housing priority based on need has gone by the board. Private contractors are to build 50 per cent of whatever new houses are allowed—and the bulk of them will be **FOR SALE** and not for rent. Working class

Editorial

families—unless they can produce £4,000 or £5,000—will go without!

As for education, there are proposals by the *Economist* to raise the school-beginning age to 6—and the price of school meals by up to 100 per cent! Even the *Daily Herald* is alarmed. They know what the *Economist* proposes today, the Tory Government will introduce tomorrow.

THEY LOOK AFTER THEIR OWN!

Only re-armament and profits are free from cuts. Thousands of British troops have been landed in Egypt since the Tories came to power; the generals are to get their bigger armies; and the Home Guard is to be re-established for use against strikers "in case of emergency"—even with Mr. Shinwell's women soldiers!

The bankers have got £25,000,000 out of the increased bank rate; the landlords are in the queue for higher rents; and the big shareholders are impatiently awaiting the de-nationalisation of steel and road transport.

THE GLOVES ARE OFF

The mailed fist of Toryism is beginning to show. They are back in office to defend their wealth and privilege against the workers at home and the colonial peoples abroad. Unless organised Labour **BRINGS THEM DOWN**, this Government will lead us through poverty and hunger into another world war. They make no bones about it. It is a brutal challenge to Labour. Are we ready to meet it?

THE WORKERS WILL RESIST

The *Daily Herald* (26/11/51) commenting on the proposed attacks on our living standards, says . . . they will be "resisted with the whole strength of the Movement."

That is correct—so far as the workers are concerned. But can we say the same of the leaders?

Are they ready to resist? Are they preparing the Movement for the battles that now lie right ahead? Are they conscious of the need for a new programme to win back the millions of soon-to-be-disappointed Tory voters? Are they fighting against the war plans of Churchill's Government? **THEY ARE NOT.**

On the contrary, according to Tom Driberg writing in *Reynolds News* (25/11/51) " . . . there was a solidly coalition atmosphere about most of the first Foreign Affairs Debate in the New Parliament."

Sir Hartley Shawcross has even suggested that the defeat of the Labour Government . . . was a good thing! The election of a Tory Government, he said "is the swing of the pendulum which safeguards democracy!"

Mr. Herbert Morrison, instead of fighting the Tories, has rebuked Aneurin Bevan and his supporters for voting against the Japanese Peace Treaty. Bevan can, and

A Policy we DONT' want!

Tom Williamson, Secretary of N.U.G.M.W. writing in December issue of his Union Journal, has condemned as "dangerous talk" the use of Labour's industrial strength to bring down the Tories.

Suffer and Like it, brothers!

should, reply . . . What conference of Labour ever authorised Mr. Morrison to sign this Treaty in the first place?

FOR A NEW PROGRAMME

The truth is that the Labour Movement has no policy WHICH HAS BEEN AGREED BY THE MEMBERSHIP. The last Conference at Scarborough was simply an Election Rally. None of the hundreds of critical resolutions submitted by the local organisations were discussed.

The majority of the Party wants to fight the Tories on all fronts—but the Movement is hamstrung by the previous policies of the Labour Government.

The Tory attack on our living standards is inevitable if the colossal arms programme is to be maintained. **Inflation and re-armament go together.**

We can't mobilise the people to bring down this Tory Government if the Movement itself is pledged to support re-armament and the war-alliance with America. That's why, in our opinion, the most urgent need right now is for **AN EMERGENCY CONFERENCE OF THE LABOUR PARTY.**

We can't wait until next October. The Movement needs a fighting policy NOW to bring down the Tory Government—and the only way to get such a policy is to **LET THE RANK AND FILE DECIDE!**

1,000 E.N.V. Strikers Say

NO GOING BACK TO THE 'OLD DAYS'

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

NEARLY 14,000,000 workers voted Labour in the recent Election primarily because of a determination not to go back to the "good old days" of long hours, low wages, unemployment, and the servile status imposed on the workers by Tory rule. We lost the Election—but we haven't lost the fight. In fact, right now, there are 1,000 workers at the E.N.V. engineering factory in London who are showing the employers that winning an Election is one thing—but imposing Tory rule over the working class is quite another. Let us see what this strike is all about.

A few weeks ago an item appeared in the *Daily Express* informing its millions of readers that . . . "A foreman said or did something—no-one will say what—at a meeting with Shop Stewards, and because of that 1,000 men of E.N.V.'s struck work."

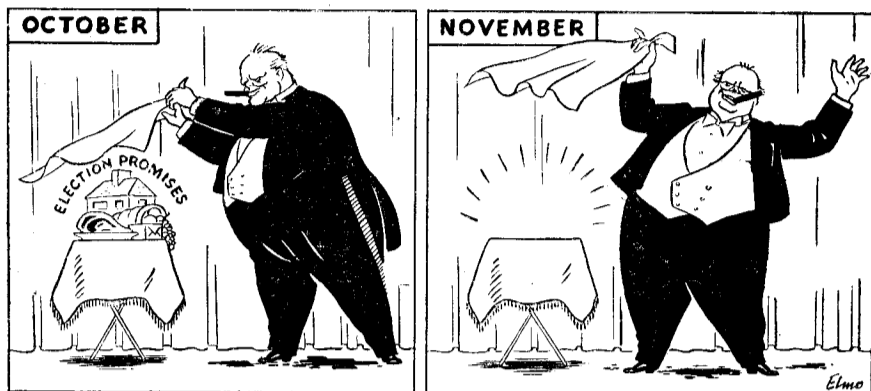
Had the *Daily Express* been interested in giving the true facts of the case, had they taken the trouble even to read the PUBLIC statement of the Strike Committee, they would have discovered that what the foreman in question actually said, according to the Shop Stewards, was . . . "I'M BLOODY WELL RUNNING THIS SHOP. I'LL SHOW YOU WHO IS THE BLOODY BOSS."

The Management had AGREED that the foreman's attitude had been "threatening, aggressive, and provocative" . . . and it was their subsequent refusal to remove him which had caused the strike.

In other words, far from being the result of some mysterious madness which had suddenly infected 1,000 workers (which is the impression the *Express* "report" conveys) this strike concerns a matter of vital importance to organised Labour.

It has the official backing of the A.E.U. Executive Committee.

From the Strikers' "Press Committee" I learned a little of the background of this strike. Solid Trade Union work has transformed E.N.V.'s from a "black spot" into a factory which now compares favourably in



THE GREAT VANISHING TRICK!

Egypt

Bring The Soldiers Home!

AFTER Persia comes Egypt! The peoples of the entire Middle East—like the peoples of Asia—are determined to free themselves of foreign domination. That is why British troops now stationed in Suez and the Sudan are surrounded by a hostile population. Clear Out! is screamed at them even by little children. Young conscript soldiers now go in fear of their lives—and many are indeed, fished out dead from the Sweet Water Canal.

You think this kind of activity is a peculiar attribute of "wops" and "wogs"? You are quite wrong, brother. A knife in the back on a dark night has ALWAYS been the fate of conquerors and occupiers throughout history.

It happened to British troops in Ireland, and it happened to German soldiers in every country of Occupied Europe. Bayonets will never succeed in keeping a WHOLE NATION in subjection. It didn't succeed in Ireland after hundreds of years of bloody repressions—and it won't succeed in Egypt, the Sudan, Malaya or, for that matter, Korea. The national aspirations of a people can never be denied. And indeed . . . WHY SHOULD THEY BE?

DEMOCRATS OR—ARISTOCRATS

By what holy and "democratic" right do we occupy Egypt and the Sudan? Mr. Morrison has said that in those two countries "we stand on our right". WHAT RIGHTS?

We have about as much right to station thousands of troops around the Suez Canal as the Egyptians have to occupy Liverpool and Manchester.

Either we recognise that the Egyptian and Sudanese people have the same rights of national sovereignty as we have ourselves

by "THE LEVELLER"

or . . . we are not democrats at all—we are ARISTOCRATS who believe in one law for the rich nation and quite another for the poor.

In fact, of course, the only 'right' that Britain has in Egypt is the same 'right' she tried (unsuccessfully) to defend in Persia—the right of conquest, the right to protect the property, wealth, and strategic military bases filched from the Egyptian people.

How many people realise that NEARLY ONE-HALF of Egypt's national wealth is owned by foreign investors? Vast profits are made from investments in cotton, in public utilities, and in loans to the Government of Egypt. It is to protect those interests that British troops occupy Egyptian soil.

THE FRAUD EXPOSED

Perhaps some "democrat" will object that this is an "over-simplification". Too crude altogether.

After all, hasn't Mr. Morrison said (and Mr. Eden repeated!) that "we shall stand by the Sudanese until they achieve full self-government"? What damned hypocrisy! The Sudanese would have full self-government tomorrow **IF ALL BRITISH TROOPS WERE MOVED OUT.** What are we waiting for?

In any case, the Egyptian Foreign Minister has exposed this whole rotten deception. He has proposed that **ALL TROOPS—both British and Egyptian—SHOULD BE REMOVED SO THAT THE SUDANESE PEOPLE CAN DECIDE THEMSELVES WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY.** And Trygvie Lie, U.N.O.'s General Secretary, has said it is "a good idea".

Where are all those supporters of U.N.O. now? Why aren't they moving resolutions of support inside the British Parliament? Why? Because, unfortunately, on all questions affecting so-called "national interests" these "democrats" always turn out to be brothers under the skin to every downright Tory Imperialist.

HANDS OFF EGYPT AND THE SUDAN!

BRING THE SOLDIERS HOME!

Does Your Library Take The 'Outlook'

(continued col. 4, page 4)

After the Election

'Where do we go from here?'

asks TOM BRADDOCK
(M.P. for Mitcham 1945-50)



THINGS seem to be settling down quite nicely. Most of the Labour Members of Parliament have got back to the House of Commons, though admittedly enough of them lost their seats to put Winston Churchill on the right hand of Mr. Speaker instead of Clement Attlee. But in spite of this they are well satisfied, because, lo and behold, the Tory Government find that all they can do is to carry on as before.

Each side indulges from time to time in a little good-tempered wordy warfare, but so far as actual administration and legislation are concerned we are *as we were*. They are all acting as good parliamentarians, and if Labour has lost its majority that is only a proof that we are a democratic country. After all, never in the last hundred years has any government been elected for a third time, and it might have been rather a terrible thing if Labour so far forgot itself as to break that great tradition.

Also, and this is important from the point of view of the Parliamentary Labour Party, every seat held by Labour is now a safe seat; if the Tories went to the country tomorrow Labour would get its majority back again.

TOO TRUE TO BE GOOD

This sounds fine, but there are one or two snags. First, the Tory Party will not go to the country tomorrow or at any time in the discernable future; second, if they did, and Labour got back, *what would the Labour Government do?*

As things are now they would carry on as before, which is exactly what the Tories are now doing. Nevertheless the Tories must be got out; the situation is so dangerous that that task has got to be faced immediately. They cannot be shifted, however, unless public opinion is so aroused that government on Tory (i.e. Attlee Government) lines is no longer possible. The country, in fact, must be brought to a state of open and active opposition against the Government and all its doings. *Are we in the Labour Movement agreed on that?*

Do you agree, comrade reader? Do you think the country is safe under a Tory Government; never mind, for the moment, about the Labour Government. You agree the Tories are dangerous and that they must go. Good! now we have something to work on, now we can make a start.

HOW DO WE START?

Obviously you will not rouse the country against the Tories unless you have got an alternative policy to put forward, and it is exactly that which is missing at the present time—that is why the Tory Party got back. Labour policy was leading to nothing but war and danger of even more war, with its accompanying reductions in living standards. This led enough people to vote Tory to put Labour out. Out of the frying pan into the fire, you say. Well, what's the odds; neither place is fit for the accommodation of ordinary people. We have, if we are to get rid of the Tory fire, also to remove the Labour frying pan. *It can be done.*

HOW CAN IT BE DONE?

This is where doubts will arise in the minds of many Labour Party comrades. Obviously something different will have to be attempted. If we go on as now we shall be false, not only to the workers of this country but, what is still more dangerous, *false to ourselves*. Does Satan cast out Satan? That was a question posed some nineteen-and-a-half hundred years ago. Let us put it into modern words. Does a Labour Party with the same policy as a Tory Party cast out the Tory Party? Obviously not, so

PEACE OR PRIVATION?

In a recent article, "A Challenge," the leader-writer of *The Observer* suggested that "to strengthen confidence in sterling" it was necessary "to reduce domestic purchasing power and to let prices rise still further . . . by reducing food subsidies."

*We cannot pay for Atom Bombs,
And Guns and Butter, too;
Workers are eating far too much—
Food Subsidies must go.*

*Prices we must allow to soar—
The Bankers' Rate increase;
For Full Employment is a curse
Starvation will decrease.*

*To Wall Street, Britain still must bow
Throughout penurious years,
And yet more Christian Tribute pay
In blood, and sweat, and tears.*

*For Guns and Atom Bombs we'll pay
With prices rising still,
While British Conscripts shed their blood
Our Freedom to fulfil.*

PERCY ALLOTT.

far as results are concerned, and it is actions and results that matter. Who it is drawing the £1,000 a year parliamentary salary and getting the plums of office are not matters of any consequence to anybody but the salary and the plum-getters.

We must therefore have a different policy from that of the Tory Party. Yes, you say, of course.

All right, Comrade, but you must now face the question: What is a different policy from that of the Tory Party?

First, we must look at foreign affairs, since in the modern world these control our internal conditions. What then is Tory foreign policy? Quite naturally, co-operation with capitalism wherever it exists in other countries. Therefore, equally naturally, the closest possible association with that one great bulwark remaining in the world, the United States of America.

Oh! but, you say, that won't do; they lend us money, they have got the atomic bombs, they have depots for those bombs in this country and aeroplanes to deliver them against their enemies. They believe in the same things as we believe in. They love our Royal Family. They love Mr. Churchill. If we had not got their protection we should be at the mercy of all those people in the world who have thrown over capitalism or are in the process of doing so.

Do you say that, Comrade? If you do you are false to your Socialist cause and false to yourself. In fact, you continue to support Tory policy, and in so doing you condemn our movement to ruin and our country to destruction.

You do not want that? What then is the alternative? I think most of you know it; I will see if we agree in my next article.

(To be continued)

The Last Election - and the Next

My experiences as Labour Candidate, Moss Side, Manchester
by FRANK ALLAUN

"IT'S SCANDALOUS," shouted the dear old lady in the front row, rising indignantly in her seat.

"It's scandalous to say such things about Mr. Churchill. He fought in the Boer War—which is more than your lot did."

And she didn't understand why the audience rocked with laughter.

That was just one incident in a really happy election campaign. Being a candidate is a great experience. It's much easier and pleasanter for the man on the platform than for the lads slogging away at the canvassing, knocking on doors in the dark.

As in most constituencies, we had the biggest and most serious Labour meetings ever. And the members worked like Trojans. Their spirit was magnificent. From the agent, a Post Office engineer who got three weeks off, downwards, they were all unpaid volunteers who worked because they believed in the cause.

My object was to drive home two points:

(1) That the Tories are the party of big business.

(2) That the prospects of avoiding a third world war would be even more remote if the Conservatives won.

I made it clear that the Tories did not want war, but that they followed policies that made war inevitable. I quoted Mr. Churchill's speech that we must stick to the Americans "at all costs". Even if they decided to make war on China and required us to send a British army there? I asked.

In my election address and at every meeting I made the point I expressed from the rostrum at the 1950 annual conference of the Labour Party: that whereas Mr. Churchill saw one government wishing to dominate the world—Soviet Russia—I saw two—Russia and America.

I urged that our country should fight for neither but give the lead to other lands and to the workers inside the two great powers to act as a third force.

You can imagine my delight at our opening meeting to find 500 people cheering their heads off for nearly two minutes when this case was put. I hadn't realised before that this was a popular point of view.

Moss Side is a Tale of Two Cities: the proletarian Moss Side and the big residential suburb of Chorlton-cum-Hardy which, under redistribution, had been added to it and largely accounts for the 10,000 Conservative majority. (One solution, of course, would be for the Coal Board to strike a particularly rich seam of coal bang under Chorlton and open a big pit there! That would un-

doubtedly alter the political complexion of the constituency.)

THEY WERE DECEIVED

My experiences convince me that millions of working class people—particularly women—were deceived by promises of "more red meat", bigger rations and a reduction in the cost of living.

They have already been disillusioned—as by-elections will shortly reveal.

(The Young Tories will probably feel the most bitterly disillusioned of all. I predict that many of the sincere, working class members of that organisation—and they exist—will come over to us. *Some will go the other way and join Sir Oswald Mosley's young gentlemen.*)

It will not be good enough, however, for the Labour Party merely to be anti-Tory. It must use its period out of office to work out and adopt a socialist policy—and quickly.

THE LEFT WILL GAIN

The Bevanites, and others who have opposed the fanatic arms programme will now be able to attack the government without being accused of being disloyal to Labour (which they never were).

They have been proved right in their contention that the £4,700 millions arms expenditure would cause inflation, further raise the cost of living, undermine the social services and bring down the Labour Government.

But don't let us underestimate the Tory leaders, those brilliant representatives of the oldest, cleverest and most experienced capitalist class in the world. They will be ready to concede everything—*bar power itself*.

They will, I think, try to cut the ground from under our feet by agreeing that we can't afford such an arms burden. They will then claim further American aid—and get it.

It is significant that Butler's cuts were of imports from Europe—not of those from the U.S.A. This indicates he is already confident of more dollars.

So we shall have to make it clear that we are thinking of something more important than money—the saving of millions of lives. Rearmament will worsen, not improve, the prospects of peace.

Speaking at the recent City banquet, Mr. Churchill said that by allowing Britain to be a base for atom bomb raids on Russia we were placing ourselves in a most vulnerable position for reprisals. He said a mouthful.

He made this an argument for further American aid (to pay for rearmament). We should make it an argument for telling Washington to remove those American bombers from our territory altogether.

What is Churchill's Game?

Railwayman ERNEST JONES gives a forthright answer

TORYISM has now been in power long enough to be judged, but instead of fangs we have had, for home consumption at any rate, the cooing of doves. Beautiful speeches have been made about the need to co-operate with the workers and about harmony and how wrong it is to stir up party strife. But more than words, the railwaymen's wage claim was agreed, signed and sealed three weeks from the Tories taking power. Our suspicions are aroused. What is Churchill's game?

There has been no change of heart. Churchill still remains the true-blue defender of the rich class, power and privilege, the man of the gun and the cudgel. But in dealing with us, the British workers, he has temporarily discarded these weapons and has taken up a well-tried instrument of British Toryism—the wedge.

CHURCHILL BUYS TIME

Imagine what would have happened if the railwaymen's claim had been rejected. Railwaymen owe no loyalty to Toryism and there would have been a national strike, or at least localised strikes, in January and February, which would have seriously crippled the moving of coal.

The Tory Government is buying time to divide the workers and win over some of our more thick-headed leaders for a "national" effort to prepare for war.

Hence the speeches about unity and co-operation, and hence the wage increases and "soft" policy. Railway strikes just now would stir up class hatred and create an atmosphere that would ruin the delicate Tory plans.

But we are not fooled. The 8 per cent increase for railwaymen will not cost the capitalists or the shareholders one penny. The £17 million bill will be presented in a short time marked "no discount" and "for prompt payment" in the form of transport charges and increased prices which will quickly swallow up the 8 per cent increase.

This is the hidden policy of Toryism, the quick-fingered method of picking our pockets. Unable to directly combat the workers' wage demands, Churchill will resort to the policy of pushing up prices and thus lowering the value of Friday's packet. This

SIR HARTLEY SPEAKS

SIR HARTLEY SHAWCROSS, "analysing" the defeat of the Labour Government, has concluded that everything is fine and there's nothing whatever to worry about.

"It is a dangerous thing", he said, "if a particular Government goes on for too long. It is the swing of the pendulum which is the safeguard of democracy."

(*Evening Standard*, 5/11/51).

sly policy is more difficult to fight—but it can and must be done.

WHAT MUST BE DONE

Under Labour, the unions always appealed to the Government to peg prices and with some measure of success, through the T.U.C. and Labour Party, brought pressure to bear to see that this was done. But to believe that the workers can trust the Tories to "play the game" is a fanciful pipe dream. Pressure by resolutions and polite notes from Transport House will not work here. Toryism only gives way to workers' demands when they are backed up by force. What must be done is for the N.U.R. to immediately negotiate with the Railway Executive to have a clause written into wage agreements so that wages go up automatically as prices increase. Refusal should be met by strong action, even strikes! The Tories are out to attack our living standards and the rising scale of wages is our only guarantee against a shrinking wage packet.

Whilst no effort is made to meet our reasonable demands, the unions should have no truck with schemes to forfeit the 44-hour week, work one week's holiday, more lodging turns and the longer working day.

The N.U.R. has its own programme for the manpower crisis. Suspend compensation payments, and give us power on the job is Union Policy—and these demands, coupled with others for pensions and sick and welfare schemes, should be taken off the shelf and a real campaign conducted to bring them into effect.

SCOTCH THEIR PLANS

Toryism aims to take the sting out of Nationalised transport whilst keeping the shareholders on velvet. No more road enterprises are to be acquired and the integration of road and rail has come to an end. They propose to give the railway regions more power so that they will become, in effect, the *five old main line companies once more!* Meanwhile a Tory Government gives a tremendous boost to every bureaucrat from the Railway Executive down. They feel stronger now Mr. Churchill is in power, and they await the chance to put their feet on our necks.

The answer must be given to these Tory plans by the N.U.R. Give the railways a chance by suspending all compensation payments. For a national integrated transport system of road and rail—with real workers' power on the job.

150,000 Postmen Seek Wage Protection From Price Rises

THE Union of Post Office Workers has shown how to tackle the question of rising living costs.

Their Special Wages Conference has decided to press a claim for wage increases from 9/- to 18/- for postmen, 24/- for higher-grade postmen, and 25/- for cleaners.

But, side by side with these claims, the Union has decided to fight for a SLIDING SCALE AGREEMENT which will give AUTOMATIC wage increases for every five points rise in the Ministry of Labour's wages index.

In these days of continually rising prices due to re-armament, this is the ONLY way to prevent wage increases from being rapidly undermined by price increases.

How long will the Engineers' 11/- last UNLESS THE CONFEDERATION SECURES PROTECTION BY A SLIDING SCALE?



TIE WAGES TO LIVING COSTS

'Productivity' is a Trap

Says NORMAN DINNING
(A.E.U.)

AT the time of writing, the Engineering & Shipbuilding workers' claim for a 20/- increase has resulted in an offer of 11/-.

The offer itself is in sharp contrast to that of the 1950 settlement, and it is impossible to overestimate the effect of the piece-work bans of 1950 in the seemingly chastened attitude of the Employers. There is an obvious anxiety to avoid an open breach of "amicable relations"—with the T.U. leaders. The mood of the rank and file has to be reckoned with, hence the seemingly "offer-without-strings". It is nevertheless the sugar for the pills which are to follow.

The armament programme provides ample scope for super-profits in spite of this increase in the wage-bill. The wage question had to be cleared from a path which leads ultimately to a request for co-operation from the Unions on trade relaxations. Dilution is, after all, but a short step from the position of co-operation on increasing productivity so repeatedly stressed by our leaders—and particularly by Bro. Tanner in presenting the wage-claims.

This same re-armament has already created inflationary pressure on a world scale and is the reason for Churchill's import cuts. Thus, the Engineers' 11/- will be rapidly cancelled out by further rises in the COST-OF-LIVING. This factor strikes the keynote for all wage applications.

WAGES NEED NEW APPROACH

In the June issue of this paper I drew attention to the necessity of eliminating, once and for all, the lag of wages behind prices. It is the most important task facing Engineering workers.

A rising scale of wages tied to the Cost-of-Living is now an absolute necessity.

I am aware that this approach has perhaps never been discussed, and certainly has never been endorsed, by the policy-making National Committee of the A.E.U., but that is no excuse for the approach of Bro. Tanner which is revealed in the report of the first proceedings.

For the sake of clarity, let me say immediately that as long as our political objective—the elimination of the Bosses—remains unachieved, wage negotiations with those Bosses will make it necessary for our leaders to prepare the best possible case, even though we recognise that, in the final analysis, it is the organisation of the workers behind the leaders that wins the day.

The necessity of a "good case" does not, however, extend to an acceptance of a "one for you, two for me" division by the Employers, of the wealth created by the Industry. Bro. Tanner apparently thinks it does. Having a perfect case that the risen COST-OF-LIVING has reduced our living standard, he justifies our recovering that standard "because of the enormous rise in productivity".

CO-OPERATION IN U.S.A.

In support of this view, Bro. Tanner quotes the agreement of the General Motors Corporation and the United Automobile Workers Union of America, which gives automatic annual increases of 4 cents per hour until 1954. The agreement states:—

"The annual improvement factor provided herein recognises that a continuing improvement in the standard of living of employees depends upon technological progress, better tools, methods, processes and equipment AND A CO-OPERATIVE ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF ALL PARTIES IN SUCH PROGRESS. It further recognises that to produce more with the same amount of human effort is a sound economic and social objective . . ."

This is certainly "SOUND" from the Bosses' viewpoint. The workers' share can be increased, but only if they co-operate to INCREASE THE BOSS'S PROFIT!!

Bro. Tanner continues:—

"In addition, the agreement provides for further automatic increases as and when

BIRMINGHAM TRADES COUNCIL WELCOMES MONICA FELTON

WHEN speaking of her experiences in North Korea, Mrs. Felton—a lifelong member of the Labour Party—met with a hostile reception from the Right Wing delegates of the Trades Council. All three of them left the meeting . . . amid the catcalls of the remaining hundreds of delegates.

Mrs. Felton received great applause from the Council, who all appreciated her courage in visiting the "enemy" and exposing the terror and destruction which UNO'S armies have brought to North Korea.

the cost-of-living rises.

Really, Bro. Tanner, only "in addition", the agreement provides for further automatic increases with the cost-of-living, and we, simple souls, think **THE COST-OF-LIVING IS THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR** affecting wages.

Thus Bro. Tanner leaves the substance and pursues the shadow. **IT IS THE COST-OF-LIVING THAT HAS REDUCED, IS REDUCING AND WILL CONTINUE TO REDUCE OUR STANDARD OF LIFE**, but Bro. Tanner says ". . . productivity in Engineering should go on increasing and that the workers should continue their efforts to make this possible . . . they are unlikely to do so if they are denied a fair share of the proceeds arising from increased production."

So we are to increase productivity and production in order to race after the COST-OF-LIVING and recover our standard. Truly this is "Wonderland" reasoning, like the Red Queen, we must run faster and faster in order to stay in the same place.

FOR A RISING SCALE

First things first, fellow members. Until we win back a Labour Government (AND WE MUST) with A REAL SOCIALIST PROGRAMME, increased productivity simply means MORE AND MORE ARMAMENTS, and higher inflation. Our immediate task, since we can't keep the COST-OF-LIVING down, is to keep wages UP WITH IT.

A wage claim NOW with a rising scale clause tying wages to the cost-of-living on an index fixed by rank and file committees. When we've got that, further wage claims will be real improvements and not merely efforts to recover what a rising cost-of-living has taken from us.



A Worker's Diary

by Harry Shindler

THE DIARY hasn't appeared in the last two issues of the Outlook due to the Election, so we'll start this month's Diary with an Election piece.

Elections always produce some real "profound" speeches—but this one takes the cake. It's Miss Ruby Miller (ex-Gaiety Girl!) speaking in support of Ernest Partidge, Tory Candidate for South Battersea. I quote:

"In my father's household in the good old days, there were 22 on the staff . . . We have got to be human beings with each other. We were until the Labour Government came in."

Then she really opened up with some gems. Speaking about "this ridiculous nonsense of warmongering" she continued . . .

"I know these Easterns. I have lived among them and I know what they are like. If you show them your teeth they fall in front of you. If you are kind to them they think you are mad."

Finally, Miss Miller spoke of Mr. Churchill's "ladder and the queue". "I cannot tell you any more than our great chief has said for I am only a disciple."

HALLELUJAH!!

WE'VE just quoted a Tory telling us about being "human beings with each other", well this item really follows on admirably.

THINGS TO COME

Lancashire County Council have increased their Institution charges to Old Age Pensioners by 4/-. Blackpool Corporation have increased their charge by 3/-. **Both bodies are Tory controlled.**

D'YOU TAKE SUGAR!

MR. FREEMAN is Town Clerk of Bermondsey. He has been telling the Borough how to make tea after the Atom Bomb has dropped near the Buildings.

"In the last war when the all-clear went—and sometimes before—what did you do?"

"You got out of the shelter, and went

straight into the kitchen (if any) and made some tea (if any) . . . you will enjoy your cup of tea as you did in the last war." (Evening Standard, 12/10/51).

You see it's simple. Don't think me cynical, but pour out two cups while you're at it. One cup for the angel!

EMPLOYERS IN ACTION

I HAVE been sent this item for the Diary by an indignant Trade Unionist. He sends a report of the Lockout at Change Wares Morden, and gives a very interesting account to the strike.

He writes . . . "One of the Tool-room workers contracted T.B. He notified the firm. The firm replied expressing their sorrow and guaranteeing him his job on his return to health.

"Meanwhile the management had refused to grant the workers the increase obtained by the Union. The workers then refused to work overtime. The next move of the management was to dismiss eight out of the ten toolroom workers as redundant. The workers called a meeting in the dinner hour and decided on a token strike for the afternoon. The following morning the Lockout began.

"One of the dismissed toolroom workers was the employee off sick with T.B. He received his cards whilst in the Sanatorium.

"To add still to the wound, his wages outstanding were also sent—the princely sum of 4½d."

When workers are on strike the National Press always dig up some "human angle" about someone who is suffering because of the strike. Here was one for them, but they didn't publish it!

WHO WANTS A FLAT?

ADVERT in Sunday Times:—Bayswater Road facing Hyde Park. Well furnished flat. 3 bedrooms, 1 rec., K. & B., Porter, C.H.W., Telephone.

Rent . . . FIFTEEN GUINEAS A WEEK. Still, the porter is thrown in!

Salford Dock Strike Report Dodges the Issue

No mention of REAL causes of 'unofficial' strikes

by Merseyside Docker—DAN BRANDON

THE Ministry of Labour's report on certain aspects of the Manchester Dock Strike, which lasted from April 25th to June 7th last, was presented to Parliament by the ex-Minister of Labour and National Service, Mr. Alfred Robens, and was published on the 4th of October. (C.M.D. 8375). The fervent hope, held by Dockers throughout the country, that this Report would reveal the REAL reasons for this, and many other Disputes, is effectively dashed by the following introduction to the Report:

"It is not the intention of this Report to discuss such questions as whether the rule about Overtime is a good one, or whether the men originally had a legitimate grievance."

Surely the most important function of an Inquiry into any Dispute is to establish first and foremost, whether the cause IS, or IS NOT, legitimate.

Had it been proved that the grievance was mythical then there were some grounds for the impression conveyed by the report that subversive elements, working against the interests of the Docker and the Nation, were responsible.

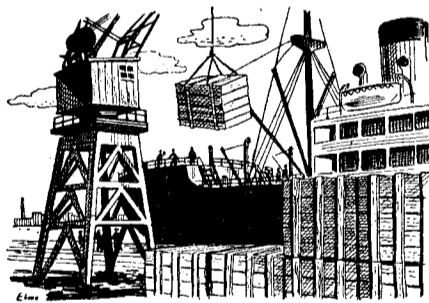
However, should the facts prove quite the opposite, then the Fifth Column theory is completely repudiated and, logically, the Overtime rule condemned as a bad one.

Seemingly, however, these vital considerations are of no importance to the Minister and the Report dismisses them by stating— "These are matters for the Industry to decide through its own machinery".

Completely ignored is the fact that this "Machinery" was responsible for the rule, good, bad, or otherwise, which provided the basis for a Strike which lasted six weeks, and therefore the "Machinery" is itself suspect and worthy of investigation. Indeed, during the Inquiry into the cause of the great Dock Strike of 1945, it was condemned as rusty and totally inadequate.

CHALLENGE TO THE UNION

The first part of the Report restates the cause of the Strike (the suspension of 2 men for refusing to work overtime from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m.) and goes on to say:—



"That a strike of these dimensions and in this vital industry is therefore not one to be lightly passed over or forgotten immediately it is ended. That is why, when the strike was over, the Minister of Labour made the following statement in the House of Commons in the course of a reply to a Parliamentary question:—

"It seems to me important to establish how it came about that the men were induced against the advice of their union to take strike action in breach of agreement for declared objects which were not only impossible of achievement but were detrimental to their own interests and to the interests of Dock Workers as a whole".

I must express myself to be in complete agreement with Mr. Robens when he says "that it is important to establish how it came about that the men struck against the advice of their officials", and it is my intention to assist the Minister in his quest for the truth, not however, ignoring the possibility that the truth may not be as earnestly sought as the Hon. Gentleman would have us believe.

The reason is as obvious to the Docker as it is unpalatable to Arthur Deakin.

REAL CAUSE OF DISPUTES

Agreements, between the Employers and our T.U. leaders, which are detrimental to the interests of dockers, are concluded with monotonous regularity both on a local and national scale, without first seeking the permission of the members concerned, indeed, in the Salford Dispute, with complete disregard for the wishes of the Branch.

This method, in line with the Deakin conception of Trade Unionism, adopted in Manchester and practised throughout the Industry is essential to these T.U. Leaders if they are to enforce their will upon the rank and file. As an illustration; the Manchester Dockers were acquainted with

the Overtime Agreement (5/4/51) after it had been concluded, for the Union Officials reasoned, and quite logically, that if they first requested permission, then that permission would not be forthcoming.

Bitter resentment of this high-handed and dictatorial procedure has been revealed in Dispute after Dispute in Port after Port since 1945. The Merseyside Strike of last February, from which arose the unsuccessful prosecution of the 7 Leaders, provides a classic example.

This prosecution was largely unsuccessful because the Defence was able to prove that the T.G.W.U. is, as I have described it above, high-handed and Dictatorial and that this bureaucracy was susceptible to a considerable degree for the 3 week stoppage.

THE COMMUNIST BOGEY

For obvious reasons the "Report" places much emphasis on the fact that the chairman of the unofficial "Salford Port Workers Committee" is a member of the Communist Party, and glibly ignores the fact that he is but one of a committee which numbers 16.

The general theme of the report infers that the strike was previously planned, and maintained against the increasing reluctance of the Salford Dockers, by means of pressure and intimidation, by a small group of men (supermen, presumably) whose mysterious and ulterior motives are not disclosed.

This utterly unconvincing picture drew the following comment from the Manchester Guardian:—

"In one respect at least it is not convincing. The picture of two thousand Dockers held to the strike against their own inclinations by a handful of conspirators hardly corresponds to the impression made at the time by those who watched the progress of the strike. It then seemed clear enough that, until the last few days, the bulk of the Dockers were strongly in favour of the strike and that criticism of its leadership, though freely voiced, did not rouse much response".

The claim, that the leaders were repudiated by the men, has itself been repudiated by the trend of events since the termination of the strike. The most notable of which occurred during the recent visit to Salford of the Minister himself. In connection with another dispute the unofficial Committee, called for and received, 100 per cent support in a two-day token strike.

An effective demonstration to Mr. Robens and all concerned that the faith of the dockers is invested SOLELY in the Committee of their own DEMOCRATIC choice.

WHY BRITAIN MUST QUIT MALAYA

by M. BANDA

FOR the last three years Malaya has been a running sore in the side of Imperialism. Neither Bevin nor Morrison were able to find a cure for it—and from the recent example of Egypt it is safe to predict that Eden and Lyttleton—though far more ruthless—will prove even more incapable than their predecessors.

No amount of eyewash can hide the fact that civil war is raging in Malaya (in official language, there is a "state of emergency"). Why, for instance, does a British Cabinet Minister need to ride in an armoured car as protection when visiting his "loyal subjects"?

"Bandits!" exclaim the Tories. But how is it explained that a "handful of unscrupulous thugs and bandits" (the official description) could grow into a national organisation exerting a powerful influence throughout the Federation, with deep roots among the masses and so popular that every village is a "terrorist's" friend, every squatter's hut a death trap for the police, and every rubber tapper a potential guerilla. And, what is even worse, how explain the unity of the Chinese, Indians, and Malays in the present struggle against the British?

TWO CAMPS—TWO CLASSES

Malaya today is divided into two warring camps. On one side are a handful of whisky-swilling planters, tin magnates, police officers, Government officials (the 'pukka sahibs'), Chinese merchants, Malayan Sultans, Gurka mercenaries, Borneo head-hunters, and British conscript soldiers.

On the other side are ranged the vast majority of Malaya's toiling population (which is 5,000,000). They include Chinese (40 per cent), Malays (50 per cent) and Indian workers and peasants whose only possessions are a sarong, banian and kris knife.

It is these poor people who produce the wealth of the country, who tap the rubber, who dig the tin and coal, and who cultivate the rice-fields. But the fruits of their labours go to British bankers, planters, and tin-owners who control the country's economy and finances. The more that the Malaysians produce, the greater becomes the stranglehold of British vested interest over the country. And it is this paradox which lies at the root of all the trouble in Malaya today.

WHO ARE THE BANDITS?

When the Tories are criticised for their handling of colonial affairs they usually answer that it is they who "provide employment and raise the standard of living of the ungrateful natives". We had large doses of this when the question of Persian oil was recently raised and, be it noted, such "arguments" were echoed even in the Labour Movement by certain elements. What is the truth about Malaya?

Like most colonial countries, Malaya has

THEY'VE BEEN WARNED!

IN an Editorial entitled "Now Tackle Egypt" Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* declared (26/10/51)...

"Egypt is an immediate task for the Government. During the Election this second-rate kingdom, like a swollen frog of the Nile Delta has puffed and croaked against Britain..."

"It is now time to teach these unfortunate people and its misguided politicians a sharp lesson. And happily there are now men capable of the task."

"In Cairo they will understand the meaning of this Election."

They will indeed, my lord! And the lesson is as clear as a crystal... A TORY GOVERNMENT MEANS NEVER-ENDING WAR AGAINST EGYPT AND ALL OTHER COLONIAL PEOPLES!

an unbalanced economy. Her industries are mainly agricultural and extractive; production is undiversified and, consequently, she has to rely to a great extent on exports and foreign financial assistance to maintain her level of economic activity. Her main exports are rubber, which constitutes two-fifths of the total value, and, together with tin and coconuts, makes up 70 per cent of all exports.

All the tin mines and most of the rubber estates are owned and administered by British firms who export these vital raw materials mainly to the U.S.A. for precious dollars.

The Malayan people can't eat tin and rubber even if it stayed in the country! But don't they get paid?

"Since April," answers the *Sunday Observer* (4/2/51) "the world price of rubber has risen some HUNDREDS PER CENT (but) the plantation worker's earnings have gone up 24 per cent. It goes on... "the workers have demanded substantial increases... the employers have rejected the demand..."

And there you have it in a nutshell!

Last year, says the *News Chronicle* (18/11/51), "Malaya... netted £109,000,000 in DOLLARS by exports from rubber and tin." "IT HAS GOT TO BE MADE SAFE."

Safe for whom? For the British bankers and industrialists of course. And how does

the Government intend to thus "make it safe"? By such a simple expedient as the "Briggs Plan" which has so far cost 1,000 British lives and over a thousand wounded!

And what does the "Briggs Plan" mean? Listen to the *Manchester Guardian* (30/5/51)

"Because they helped communist guerillas the entire population of Busut village in Selangor will be removed to a re-settlement camp tomorrow. Security police... told the 400 inhabitants to pack their belongings and dismantle their houses..."

Here is another *Guardian* despatch from Singapore (29/5/51).

"A British magistrate on January 20th imposed a collective fine of £4,666 upon the inhabitants of Pusiung village because they failed to help security forces in the campaign against the bandits... shortly afterwards the British took more drastic action against the 1,600 villagers of Jenderam in the Southern part of Selangor State. They forcibly evacuated the inhabitants and ordered the village to be wiped out by fire..."

The last time we heard of collective fines was in the German colonies of Africa—not even the Japanese fascists dared to inflict such penalties! In fact, this is the first time I have heard of a colonial people BEING FORCED TO FINANCE A WAR UPON THEMSELVES.

The British authorities call this "promoting democracy and preserving law and order". I call it... REAL BANDITRY which is obscured by an iron censorship and a cloud of lying propaganda.

FRATERNAL CO-OPERATION

Defenders of this kind of atrocity against a colonial people always try to justify it with the argument that if Britain quits Malaya "the British people will lose their dollars". But what the British workers need are not dollars (mainly for re-armament!) but fraternal alliance and peaceful co-operation with the peoples of Asia and the world. An alliance and co-operation which will help to develop their vast natural resources in their own interests and thereby help to raise their standard of living.

What the Malayan peoples need are not guns, tanks, and planes—but hospitals, schools, machinery, fertilisers and food. Only a socialist Britain can give these things—because a socialist Britain would recognise the right of the Malayan people to control their own finances, plan production, and run their industries IN THEIR OWN INTERESTS.

The withdrawal of all British troops and administration from Malaya, and the granting of the immediate and unconditional freedom to the Malayan people is, therefore, an essential part of the present fight for a Socialist Britain.

STEEL AND REDUNDANCY

GRANGEMOUTH OIL REFINERY DISPUTE

By Jack Stanley
(General Secretary C.E.U.)

Here is a "striking" example of the change in the attitude of Employers since the Tory Government came into power.

The Construction Engineering Union have 57 members employed on the Grangemouth contract which, since its commencement, has presented difficulties only overcome by the action of the men on the job.

The firm concerned, without prior consultation with the shop steward or committee, declared 35 of our members redundant for a temporary period of two to three weeks due, it was stated, to a shortage of steel. The 35 members concerned included two of our most active job stewards and three members of the Contract Committee.

On the occasion of a previous dispute in May, 1950, it had been agreed that on the question of suspension or dismissals, providing there was equality of ability and diligence, seniority would apply. This agreement having been broken by the Employer the whole of our membership on October 30th struck work, only agreeing to resume on November 19th, providing all were reinstated, pending joint consultation on the question of presumed redundancy.

The Executive Council of the Union have agreed to support the men in the action taken.

Following similar actions by employers in other industries, it is evident that attempts are being made to revert to the old method of "I am the Master, you are the man", and what the Master says goes.

As a Union we shall resist that attitude with all the strength at our disposal. The workers now have "a place in the Sun", and don't intend being pushed back into the "Gloom".

The Patriots

Aunt Patricia thought it fine
To live at Ashton-under-Lyne,
On the other hand she thought it odd
To come from Nijni-Novgorod.
She could not be civil to a man
Born in a place named Yutacan
But had no similar dislike
For gentlemen from Heckmondwyke.
She made a 'faux pas' with McGhee
Who hailed from Auchtermuchty,
Until she saw it on the map
She just could not abide the chap.

Now Uncle Joseph is as bad
"Never trust these wogs, by gad"
He cheerfully would trust his daughter
With a boy from Upper Slaughter,
But when a lad from Oslo called
Uncle Joseph was appalled.

He thought all foreign breeds accursed
But Russians were by far the worst.
"Nothing", said he, "but only bad,
Could ever come from Leningrad!"
It caused him sorrow, poor old man,
To contemplate the Five Year Plan,
And as he pondered, grew afraid,
To think of the fate of Biggleswade,
Lest on some future day it be
Chained to a planned economy.

But of late his wrath, methinks,
Is turned upon the monstrous chinks,
Morning and evening hear him sing
A hymn of hate against Peking,
While doctors fear he'll burst a lung
In denouncing Mao-Tse-Tung.
All Chinese, as he will show,
Are cunning, treacherous, and low,
With Christian piety boiling hot
He's ready to shoot the whole damned lot.
But five hundred million folk or so
Is too much even for Uncle Joe,
And so the Chinese race goes free,
Unmindful of his enmity.

Manchester.

Joe Pawsey.

E.N.V. STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1)

are asking whether, in fact, they are hankering for a return to the days when the foreman was the "bloody boss" and Shop Stewards counted for very little.

CLOSING THE RANKS

A remarkable feature of this strike has been the wonderful solidarity displayed by those workers only indirectly involved.

For example, of the 129 lorries which have arrived with supplies for the factory since the strike began, the drivers of no less than 125 have refused to cross the picket-line.

Railwaymen have refused to operate goods and trucks in the factory's railway sidings, and the workers at the Rover Works in Birmingham have refused to work on jobs supplied by E.N.V.'s.

Bro. McLoughlin, the Convenor, undoubtedly spoke for the entire Committee when he said that "this grand display of solidarity is the workers' instinctive understanding of the need to close ranks now that a Tory Government has returned to power."

There is no defeatism among the strikers that I could see. As the Strike Committee's statement says... "We are confident that our fight will receive support among our fellow trade unionists... Our movement will always give a clear answer to those who hanker after the days when the worker 'knew his place'. THIS FACTORY IS NOT GOING BACK TO THOSE DAYS."

These strikers deserve the support of every Labour organisation throughout the country. They are carrying on the Election struggle against the Tories.

FINANCIAL support is needed. Strikes are often necessary if Trade Union principles are to be defended—but they always mean hardship, and especially to the women and children. We appeal to all our readers to send donations to:—

A. Ashby,
61 Leghorn Road, Harlesden,
London, N.W.10.

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Readers Forum

A Conspiracy

It is quite clear now that the enormous armaments programme forced upon us by the U.S.A. through the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation—without aid from them while a Labour Government was in office—was a political stunt with an ominous end in view.

Our own National Press and "financial experts" did not propagate a plea for aid prior to the Election, although amply warned by the Bevanites that we could not carry the enormous arms programme. In fact, they played down their advice to the nation. The Bevanites very nearly scotched their plan.

But, now we have a Tory Government in power, perceive them telling their counterparts in the U.S.A. what they already know, that we cannot carry this burden without their aid!

The plan, of course, was that the Labour Government was to batter itself out of office against this armament wall—which it did dutifully and without protest, except for Bevan. Then, when the Tories were returned, help would be forthcoming.

The same playing down of the Bevanite advice occurred in the American Press. Their "financial experts" opined that Britain should "stand on her own feet". Since the Election their song has changed. Doesn't this prove it was an international conspiracy?

Richmond. L. Da Costa.

Democracy and Slavery

American democracy is based on slavery and segregation—"aggression". If the remote ancestors of the Negro had not been rounded up and sold into slavery to America, and had they been given a real liberation after the American Civil War, they would not now be working in a virtual state of serfdom in the Chicago stockyards and slaughter-houses. The colour bar in America does no credit to the white race. The

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

Negroes have taken America's conception of heaven—but America does not give them justice because of the colour of their skin!

A great change has taken place since the dawn of this century. Empires had more than they could hold—two great wars proved that. The old political imperial diard, however, does not, or will not, face the fact that the days of the old regime have gone forever. They are like drowning men clutching at straws. It is pathetic.

Rosendale W. Maxwell.

E.T.U. and the Law

MR. JUSTICE WYNNE PARRY has given judgment against the Electrical Trades Union and in favour of the 7 E.T.U. members who refused to participate in a strike at the Bethnal Green depot of the London Electricity Board. Under this judgment, the Union is restrained from taking any action against the seven non-strikers.

It seems clear that the considerable apprehension felt by many members at the time concerning the action of the Executive in not officially recognising the strike has now been justified.

Justice Wynne Parry made much of the fact that the strike was UNOFFICIAL in making his judgment.

As the E.T.U. Executive have often pointed out when invoking disciplinary action against their members—playing "ducks and drakes" with the rule book is indefensible.

None of this, of course, excuses the action of the seven members. They resorted to the civil law on the advice and with the financial support of the L.E.B. Their action was indefensible from a trade union point of view.

Nevertheless, if they were able to plead justification because the strike was unofficial—the responsibility for this confusion must rest with our Executive Committee.

If necessary, Order 1305 should have been challenged.

"SPARKS"