

## Employers Defy the Labour Movement to Fight on Wages

**I**F you want more wages you will have to fight for them. That, in effect, is the answer of the Engineering Employers to the demand for a £2 a week rise made on behalf of nearly three million workers. The application has once again been turned down flat.

Miners, railwaymen, dockers, busmen, and the rest of the nine million workers whose wage claims are pending, can expect no better treatment than that already meted out to engineers.

*The employers are acting in full accord with the Tory Government which has openly declared itself against all wage increases because they interfere with its wretched war plans. The challenge is, therefore,*

### Editorial

*also a challenge to the Labour Party to associate itself with the unions in a joint fight to defeat the employers and bring down the Tory Government.*

Discussion and speculation as to whether the wage claims are "reasonable" enough is entirely irrelevant. The main fact is this: there won't be even a shilling more in the pockets of the workers unless the unions are prepared to back up the claims with seriously-prepared action.

What is "reasonable" is what you can get—and what you can get depends entirely on how strong are the unions and how well they will fight. It was once considered "unreasonable" to ask for the 8 hour day but we got it—although not, of course, without a fight.

'Wait for an increase in production first' is another specious argument which must be tossed aside in face of the facts. Production has been increasing steadily for years—and so have profits!—but what can be bought with the week's wages gets smaller and smaller all the time.

### THE EMPLOYERS HOPE

Obviously the employers think that now is a favourable time for a showdown. They are gambling on the 'foot-in-both-camps' position of the top trade union leaders to see them through and certainly they must feel encouraged in this belief after Arthur Deakin's Presidential Address to the T.U.C. "Be responsible", he said—"ask for

less and take no action to get it!

But 22 million workers are not fooled so easily. They know that with a Tory Government in office the only way to maintain working class living standards is to force an increase out of the unwilling pockets of the employers. And this understanding is already having its effect in trade union circles.

The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions has answered the employers challenge by imposing a ban on piecework and overtime. That was shock number one for the employers. They expected a climb-down, and they didn't get it. Now, if the decision is taken seriously by the leadership and by the workers concerned—if real preparations are immediately put in hand to implement the decision—the employers can be made to change their tune.

But this is no time for bluffing. On the contrary, it is a time when all bluffs are rapidly being called on both sides. Every trade unionist will now look to the strength of his organisation, for on that, and on the readiness to fight, will depend the outcome of the battle of the wage-pocket.

### Here is REAL Leadership

**B**IRMINGHAM (Small Heath) C.L.P. have a resolution on the Morecambe Conference agenda which, in our opinion, shows the way to unite the Labour Party with the Trade Unions to force the Tories to resign. It reads: " . . . the Tory Government obtained office by fraudulent means . . . (and) is using its parliamentary majority to smash the social services and . . . depress the standard of living of the working class. It calls on the Party

- To call regional policy conferences followed by public demonstrations;
- to organise demonstrations on a national scale against the Tory Government, calling upon it to resign;
- to support the Trade Union Movement where it is forced into industrial action to defend the living standards of its members with the object of rallying the entire working class for the early return of Labour to power;
- when returned to power, to implement a full Socialist policy.

## Sack General Templer!

**P**ERMATANG TINGGI is no more. It has been destroyed, razed to the ground. How did it happen? A tornado? A hurricane? A flood? None of these things. In fact, it wasn't the work of nature.

It was done by man—one man. His name—if you don't know it—is Templer—General Sir Gerald Templer, 'Iron Man' of Malaya!

What was Permatang Tinggi? It was a hamlet of seventy-nine men, women and children, situated in the province of Wellesley, in Northern Malaya.

Why was it destroyed? Because none of the villagers would give evidence to the police about the shooting of a Chinese re-settlement officer in Tinggi, a week before. Despite the personal appearance of the 'Iron Man' himself, and a warning ("maintain your silence and you go into detention")

—the villagers did not speak.

And where are they now? They have been put in a detention camp.

The General told them "You will sever all connection with this village and district for ever".

### 'THOUGH COWARDS FLINCH'

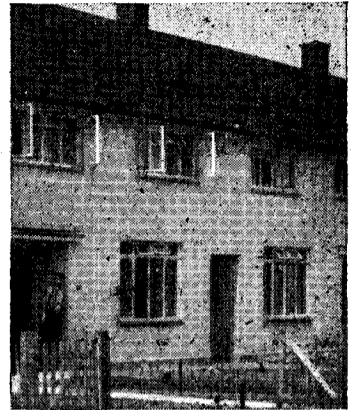
These are the bare facts of the Tinggi 'disaster'. Do you think the General's actions are defensible? I don't. Nor does Lord Listowel. He thinks that such an

By M. Banda

action—"the most drastic example of collective punishment"—stinks. He is very concerned about the stink. In a letter to the "Times" (28/8/52), he disapproves of such methods as being "contrary to British methods of fair play". "We cannot" he warns "perpetrate the atrocities (!) of our communist enemies."

His Lordship deplures collective

## BOREHAMWOOD: L.C.C. CONCEDES HOUSING INQUIRY



THIS . . . will become . . . THIS

Thanks to the men on the job!

**T**HE London County Council's threat to stop the completion of its great estate of 4,000 houses at Borehamwood has now been withdrawn. Contrary to the impression given in most of the Press, this was a great victory for the 1,200 building workers, stewards and unions concerned.

The order to stop the job was made by Mr. Reginald Stamp, Chairman of the L.C.C.'s Housing Committee, on the grounds that unofficial stoppages had made it too costly. The men on the job angrily denied these baseless allegations and demanded an inquiry into the management which, they claimed, would show just who was really to blame for the high cost of building at Borehamwood.

Houses on this site are built on a variation of the "cost-plus" system. Gee, Walker, Slater, the

building contractors, act as managers for the L.C.C. They buy the materials and labour, and the L.C.C. foots the bill. The stewards on the job claim that this system has led to gross mismanagement and wastage, and they have a complete dossier of facts and figures to prove it.

Mass meetings declared that Mr. Stamp's action would be treated as a straightforward 'lock-out'—as, indeed, it was—and would be treated as such and the job declared "black". The result was a climb-down by the L.C.C. The job goes on and an inquiry has been conceded.

There is absolutely no question of the men having agreed that the charges made against them by the employers and the L.C.C. were true. On the contrary, building workers at Borehamwood now jubilantly refer to themselves as . . . "Stamp-lickers"!

### WHERE THE BLAME LIES

Ike Hayward, and other Labour members of the L.C.C., have been issuing statements to the Press alleging "irresponsible strikes and go-slows" at Borehamwood. The truth is that most of the disputes have concerned the system of "incentive payments" and the men have sometimes rejected these bonus schemes, preferring to work normally. On no account can that be called 'go-slow'.

In any case, most of the disputes have been sent to arbitration and have, in the overwhelming majority of cases, been settled in favour of the men!

To give one typical example. A bricklayers' steward was sacked The Conciliation Machinery of the Building Industry ordered his re-instatement and declared that his hasty dismissal would not have taken place but for "the intervention of third party" which had "aggravated the situation". This "third party" was a member of the L.C.C.!

### WHY THE 'LOCK-OUT'?

Why did the L.C.C. threaten this 'lock-out'? The answer seems

(Continued on page 4, col. 3)

## How Free are the 'Free' Nations

**O**IDIUM disease is the scourge of the Rubber Trees. It can ruin whole plantations. It can only be kept in check by dusting with sulphur—the supply of which is controlled by America.

Ceylon rubber growers were experiencing difficulty in selling their rubber to the "West", so they sent a shipload or so to China.

Immediately, the American Office of International Trade refused any further licences for the export of sulphur to Ceylon—thus forcing the Ceylonese Government to stop sending rubber to China or else have the rubber industry ruined by Oidium disease.

The result? Ceylon must now sell its rubber to America at Uncle Sam's own price.

## Will you reject your Paper's claim?

**T**HE insolent rejection of all wage claims by the employers and their Tory Government merits only one answer—prepare for action.

It must be done and it WILL BE DONE. Thousands of workers throughout the country look to the "Outlook" for a socialist lead. We do the best we can BUT WE ARE TERRIBLY HANDICAPPED BY LACK OF FUNDS.

We support the workers' just demands for a better standard of life—we fight to bring down this Tory Government—we campaign

in every issue against the war preparations which threaten to blow the world to pieces—but we are limited to appearing once a fortnight because of lack of MONEY to produce a weekly.

But the "Telegraph" which calls the engineers claim a "monstrous" demand, and the "Herald" which prints witch-hunting articles against the socialist wing of the Party—not to speak of the rest of the reactionary Press barrage! —APPEAR EVERY DAY.

We want to throw our whole weight into the fight on the side

of the workers. We can't do it unless we get your support. We have no other sources of income—no revenue from advertising—except what you send us in donations and the money received for sales.

Vent your indignation at the employers, their Government and their Press by sending the Fighting Fund OVER THE TOP THIS MONTH.

No socialist can stand aside from the coming struggle—our paper least of all. Give us the tools and we'll do the job. SEND IN THAT DONATION TODAY.

Long live the spirit of Permatang Tinggi!

# The Cure For 'Deakinitis'

MR. DEAKIN has opened this year's Trades Union Congress in true Deakin style.

He stated that "substantial wage increases are bound to raise costs . . . (and) . . . an appreciable increase in the cost of our exports at the present time might have the most serious consequences for our standard of living. Rises in the cost of our exports could in themselves price Britain out of world markets."

This nonsense was answered long ago by the T.U.C. itself. The 1921 report of the Joint Committee on Unemployment appointed by the T.U.C. and the Labour Party Executive said:

" . . . The position in the foreign markets is not that the manufacturers of this country are being undersold by those of other countries, but that the purchasing power of Continental nations has been prostrated first by the war and then by the imposition of the artificial economic conditions created by the Peace Treaties. . . . The means of restoration is not to reduce the wages of British workers, but to restore the purchasing power of other countries."

Or, as a special Labour Party Conference in December 1920 put it:

" . . . We therefore call for an immediate cessation of the wanton and unnecessary acts of

## THE WRONG PEOPLE ARE REDUNTANT

WITH Engineering profits soaring sky-high, workers are not likely to accept at its face value the employers statements that redundancy is due to the need to streamline production in order to reduce prices.

In fact at Austins, where 800 have been declared redundant for this reason, the shop stewards have bluntly stated their opinion that "redundancy coming at this time was an attempt to damp down our fight for the national wage increase."

They further point out that while wages have risen by 2 per cent., in the last six months, prices have risen by 6 per cent. and profits by 15 per cent. As they rightly say, these figures show what should be cut.

Mr. W. Blackwell, Big Business chairman of the National Union of Manufacturers, however, has found another reason. Redundancy, he says, is the "fault of the workers". They haven't, he declares, "pulled their weight at the work bench since the war," and have not "answered the call to produce more and more." ("Birmingham Gazette", 30/3/52).

Such a calculated insult is worthy of nothing but contempt. Anyone who takes such a statement seriously wants his brains tested. Take a look at the table of profits printed on this page. Where does Mr. Blackwell think that lot came from? If workers can produce for the bosses a profit of £7 per worker per week and over, they are pulling not only their own weight, but somebody else's too!

Take care, Mr. Blackwell! The workers may make that "somebody else" redundant—and in the not too distant future.

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

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

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military and economic imperialism, by which a considerable part of the sorely needed resources of the country is still being frittered away, month by month. Immense damage has been caused by reckless military expenditure in Mesopotamia and Persia (today read Malaya, Korea, Egypt, etc.) to say nothing of the support which is being accorded to the filibustering expeditions of the enemies of Soviet Russia . . . .

"There must be an immediate resumption of Trade with Russia, and of normal political relations with the Soviet Union . . . (and) . . . restoration of trade with other Continental countries."

Arthur Deakin would be advised to study well these decisions—and pay less attention to the economic pronouncements of Mr. R. A. Butler.

## The Fruits of Our Labour

WE publish below figures of profits made by a selection of Birmingham Firms last year.

The list was compiled by the A.E.U. for its Birmingham District Committee, who are to be congratulated on sending this information to all its shop stewards. Such figures are sorely needed in the workshops. They show clearly where the workers' claim for a £2 increase could come from.

Name of Firm	Gross Profit	Per cent. on shares earned	dividend
Austin Motor Co. . . .	£8,241,575	326	45
Birmingham Small Arms	£2,801,731	56.1	10
Joseph Lucas . . . .	£7,379,735	197.1	22.5
General Electric Co. . . .	£7,424,716	81.5	22.5
Dunlop Rubber Co. . . .	£17,971,077	53.6	17.5
Rover Co. . . . .	£1,576,104	58.5	25
Tube Investments . . . .	£8,694,400	168.7	25
Avery, W. & T. . . . .	£1,641,982	130	20
British Aluminium Co. . . .	£3,404,506	38.4	12
Cammell Laird & Co. . . .	£1,020,270	28.1	14

Examples of the profit made out of each worker employed are:

Dunlop's (100,000 workers) £3 1s. per week; Austin's (21,000 workers) £7 16s. per week; Tube Investments (20,000 workers) £8 1s. per week!

## IT'S FOR LABOUR TO DECIDE

War ON want - or war AND want . . . says Alf Rose

FIFTEEN HUNDRED MILLION people, two-thirds of the world's population live in the vast, economically under-developed areas of Latin America, Africa and Asia. Their lives from birth to death are surrounded by squalor and disease, by famines and epidemics, by ignorance and poverty."

This appalling statement—taken from the Labour Party's pamphlet, "Towards World Plenty"—makes the size of the problem clear. To drive it right home, take just this single detailed fact of the poverty in Africa alone:

The YEARLY income of Africans in Northern Rhodesia is . . . £5 per head! (U.N. Statistical papers E.3.) The ANNUAL earnings of an African agricultural worker in Southern Rhodesia is . . . £28! (The official Year Book of S. Rhodesia).

In Nigeria there are only 331 doctors to administer to 24,000,000 people! In London's Harley Street alone there are more than 700!

### POVERTY AND PEACE

These figures of wretchedness have a very definite bearing on the present state of war—and near-war—in the world today. It is these terrible contrasts between wealth and poverty which are at the root of the "trouble" throughout Africa and the Far East. Neither there—nor in the Labour Party—are there "secret communist plots." The point has been well made by the authors of a very interesting little pamphlet called "War on Want".\* They are mostly Labour M.P.s. and they write:

\* War on Want. Association for World Peace. 14 Henrietta St., W.C.2. Price 1/-.

After Eleven Weeks . . . .

## WORKERS WIN AT FAIREYS

FROM OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

AFTER eleven weeks the strike at Fairey Aviation, Stockport, officially recognised by all the Unions involved, has ended in victory for the workers.

Faced with a threat by a meeting of Engineering Shop Stewards to call a total strike in the district unless a settlement was reached, the Ministry of Labour intervened

to re-open talks between Unions and management.

The management have agreed to take back the two stewards they sacked, and to negotiate on the position of the four non-unionists.

### WHAT IS BEHIND THIS STUBBORN STRIKE?

Tom Stevenson, speaking for the Publicity Committee of the Fairey strikers, gave the "Socialist Outlook" the answer.

"In 1939," he said, "100 workers were promoted to the staff. In 1945, with peace reconversion, these men were put back "on the clock". All but 4 rejoined their former unions.

Bro. Stevenson described how, when the workers in one department had refused to work with them unless they joined a union the management had shifted the four "nons" to a weaker, less organised department. But this department too, became organised, the only "nons" being the four ex-foremen.

The rest of the workers in the department, faced with the final refusal of these men to join up, downed tools and asked the Shop Stewards' Chairman, Bro. Woodall, and the Convenor, Bro. F. Hulme, to call a mass meeting of the works. At this mass meeting the entire factory decided to strike in support of the protesting department.

A few days later the strike could have been over. A mass meeting was to be held to vote a recommendation to return and negotiate. Within two hours of this critical meeting, the management intervened in the most provocative fashion. Bros. Woodall and Hulme were informed by post that they were dismissed for calling a meeting during working hours!

As such meetings had been customary at Fairey's, only one conclusion can be drawn—that the management deliberately and cold-bloodedly provoked a show-down with the object of smashing the Union organisation in the factory.

Other employers too, have tried to smash shop organisation and met similar resistance. For exam-

ple E.N.V. workers at Willesden were out for 13 weeks defending their Convenor; P.R.V. at Acton have been out for 10 weeks in defence of their shop agreements. Both these strikes have been provoked by the bosses who know they cannot cut wages until they have first smashed the shop organisation.

For the engineering workshop is a constant battleground over piece rates—and the better the shop organisation the better the pay packet—and vice versa. Engineering workers know this from hard experience. That's why they want good stewards—and that's why they wouldn't go back at Fairey's without Bro. Hulme and Woodall.

During the strike, Manchester shop stewards asked that the Unions should raise strike pay to the level of the average rate—about £6.

Although the strike is over—hardship still exists for many workers, and finance is therefore still needed. Send all donations to T. Robinson, 33 Garthland Rd., Hazel Cross, nr. Stockport.

## Furniture Workers Keep "Sliding Scale"

THE first serious attempt by a section of employers to impose a wage cut has been beaten off by the Furniture Trade Workers.

Their trade operates a cost-of-living sliding scale which used to give a penny an hour rise for every three points rise in the Interim Index of Retail Prices. Some time ago the employers proposed to amend this sliding scale agreement as follows: a "standstill" on cost of living increases until the index (then standing at 132) should reach 140, and after that to allow 1d. an hour rise for every 4 points increase instead of three.

Furniture workers were very militant in their opposition to this proposed wage cut. Mass demonstrations were held in London.

On August 22nd a Conference of the National Union of Furniture Trade Operatives authorised their Executive to call a general strike if that should be found necessary to defeat the employers' proposals.

Meanwhile, a ban on all overtime was applied in many of the big factories (in order to prevent the employers building up stocks with which to meet a possible strike.)

### TALKS FOLLOW

The employers then submitted their case for suspension of the Sliding Scale Agreement to the Ministry of Labour who in turn referred it to the National Arbitration Tribunal. However, the employers also suggested that while waiting for the N.A.T. they should re-open talks with the unions concerned.

At these talks the Union submitted alternative proposals which, while conceding a change from 1d for 3 points to 1d for 4 points, insisted that this should operate when the index reached 138.

The employers at first rejected this final offer on the part of the Union but finally agreed to it after Sir Robert Gould, the Government's Chief Conciliation Officer, entered the talks.

The result is that an increase of 1d an hour will now be payable on the first full pay day in September and all the other features of the Furniture Trades' Agreement on holidays and working conditions will remain as before.

Mr. Jack Moss, Works Committee Secretary at Morris Cabinet Works and Chairman of the London Furniture Workers' Shop Stewards' Council, stated in an interview with "Socialist Outlook" . . . . "Although the Union has suffered a partial set-back on the question of 2 points instead of 3, the general result may be considered a victory insofar as the employers could not proceed with their plans for the suspension of the Sliding Scale and were thus unable to impose a wage cut."

Continuing he said, "There is no doubt that the expressed militancy of organised furniture workers was a big factor in staying the hand of those seeking to impose wage cuts."



"We of the West deceive ourselves and over-simplify our thinking if we blame the whole threat to peace on the activities of Communist propagandists. If every Communist were overnight converted to a belief in our best ideas about democracy, the threat to world peace would remain, and would sooner or later be intensified, so long as we live in a world in which one-third of the peoples live in comfort and two-thirds live in poverty" (p.10).

That is true—but the question is: what are we in the Labour Movement going to do about it?

### WHAT TO DO

The N.E.C. of the Labour Party propose (p.15 of "Towards World Plenty") that capitalist Governments should set up "an Interna-

tional Development Agency to administer grants-in-aid to undeveloped countries for investment in public services." It's a nice idea—but it has already been turned down by the people who could give it any life! The facts of this are given in "War on Want" as follows:

"A proposal along these lines came before the Economic and Social Council in August 1951. It received warm support from many under-developed countries, but was opposed by the industrially advanced countries . . . . In January, 1952, however, the General Assembly of the United Nations, by a majority of 30 to 16, called for the preparation of a plan for the collection and administration of a large international fund for the economic development of backward areas . . . (but) . . . "the United States and most of the countries that could contribute to such a fund VOTED AGAINST THE PROPOSAL . . . ."

In face of these facts, it is worse than useless to continue prattling about "aid" to the under-developed countries—unless by that we mean real aid, socialist aid. And it is all essentially simple.

The peoples of Asia and Africa want our aid in lifting off their toil-worn shoulders the double burden of foreign oppression and native exploitation. When that is done, it will be possible for them and us to become real equal partners in a planned world economy in which the profit-making interests of monopoly capitalists do not wreck and sabotage the desire of the peoples for a good life.

Thinking the world means this . . . . Abolish this capitalist imperialism. In its place put socialist co-operation between the free and equal peoples of the world.

# No Reds Under Bessie's Bed

★ An Open Letter to Mrs. Braddock, M.P. ★

September 1st, 1952

Dear Mrs. Braddock

This is the season for witch-hunts it seems. We have all read the "News Chronicle's" "revelations" of Aneurin Bevan's alleged "party within a party", and now the "Daily Herald" has entered the field with two full-length features giving us the "startling truth" about a "sinister Communist Plot" to disrupt the Labour Party from within. You, Bessie, it is sad to see, are the author of this latest piece of rubbish.

Like everyone else in the Party, it is clear that you have read the Agenda for the Morecambe Conference and noted that it is full of resolutions from Constituency Parties demanding such things as drastic cuts in armaments, withdrawal of troops from Korea, recognition of China's right to a seat on the United Nations, and all expressing strong disapproval of America's political domination of Britain. However, instead of being pleased with this very progressive development, you are obviously horrified.

You say "it will weaken our resolve to rearm" against "communist aggression". I shouldn't worry too much about that, if I were you, Bessie. That "resolve" was never very strong among the workers, anyway. After General Eisenhower's "cold finality" speech—it can hardly stand up at all! As for "communist aggression", did you read Edward Crankshaw in yesterday's "Sunday Observer"? He is a well-known anti-Russian—yet he was forced to admit that there is absolutely no evidence that Russia is planning aggression.

It is therefore quite ridiculous for you to claim that the Constituency Party resolutions are not "genuine"—that they have been planted in the heads of Labour Party members by "secret communists" working on the "directives" of Moscow.

**COME-OFF IT, BESSIE!**

You know very well it's not true. Labour's rank and file didn't need the Communist Party to tell them that the rearmament drive is undermining working class living standards. We have experienced it in our own lives every day. Surely you are not so isolated from the

From John Lawrence

EDITOR, 'SOCIALIST OUTLOOK'

workers whom you represent in Parliament as not to know that they are sick to death of war preparations. They want homes, not guns. They want to live in peace with the common peoples of all countries—and that's why there is a big demand to fetch all foreign troops out of Korea and Malaya.

For the same reason, the workers object (and that's putting it mildly!) to American armies strutting around this country waiting the order to plunge the world into war. There is a revolution going on in the world today—a revolution against poverty and oppression. Everybody knows that the American millionaires and Mr. Churchill's Tory Government are out to crush it. The workers certainly know it, and that's why they want no part in this dirty plot to wage war against Russia and China.

It's time you, too, knew these things, Bessie—you're a big girl now—so stop inventing secret plots in the Labour Party and start fighting the very real plot which the capitalist rulers of America are hatching against socialism and the peace of the world.

A lot of workers got a big laugh out of your "Daily Herald" articles, Bessie. I thought they were very funny myself—especially as the by-line announced you as "Britain's boldest working class fighter." However, I think your clumsy effort should be taken seriously, not because there is any truth in your daft stories about communist plots, but because—although ostensibly directed against the Communist Party—your witch-hunt is really aimed against the Left-wing members of your own Party.

**WHY YOU DO IT**

I suppose we must expect this now. The more difficult it becomes for Right-wing people to defend their pro-war policies, the more will they resort to the old trick of trying to discredit the ideas of their opponents by labelling them "communist-inspired". I'm sorry that you, too, have descended to these methods—but at least you have enabled us to take

a good look at the method itself.

You say that there are "secret communist plotters" in the Party. Well, what do they look like? According to you, they are "members who will not miss a single ward or Party meeting" . . . who for a time "remain modestly quiet" . . . but who later "join in discussions . . ." Really, Bessie, this is a description which fits nearly every man and woman in the Party! The place must be positively littered with "secret communists"!

To catch these sinister people red-handed, you tell us we must look out for members who have "volunteered for service for any Party jobs that fall vacant"! If such a member actually kicks up a row about the eviction of tenants and goes so far as to demand that "Labour Councillors take up the



John Lawrence addressing an anti-war meeting

case" then, we can be sure that he is an agent of Moscow trying to get himself elected to the Morecambe Conference!

Please, Mrs. Braddock, thousands of active members are doing these things up and down the country—and they have been doing them since before the Communist Party was founded, and before you joined it. How then are we to distinguish a genuine Labour Party member from a "plotter"?

You have the answer all pat. By their "motives" shall you know them. The trouble is, you forgot to tell us what instrument to use in seeking out a man's motive". Shall it be a stethoscope . . . or a thumbscrew?

**CONFUSION!**

And in any case, won't all this lead to a lot of suspicion being cast on EVERY ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE PARTY—especially if he happens to be against the war? I think it will, and what is more, I think that is the whole purpose of your method. Talk about causing "confusion and discord"! Why, if your methods are ever adopted in the Party there will be more suspicion, more disension, and more bad blood between members than any mythical "secret agent" could have imagined in his wildest dreams. Nobody—absolutely nobody at all—would be safe!

For example—come to think of it—how do we know that you, Bessie, aren't yourself a "secret communist"! After all, in your time you have done all the things you list in the "Daily Herald" as being typical "communist infiltration tactics" . . . except perhaps for that point about "remaining modestly quiet".

You have certainly made a fuss

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by G. HEALY

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**Who said this?**

"Why are we not stepping forward? 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."

"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!"

(Answer at foot of this column)

about tenant's evictions and you have, at least I hope you have, at various times "volunteered for vacant jobs in the Party." How are we—whom you describe as "dupes" and "apathetic masses"—to know what are your real motives in all this. For all we can tell, it might be a deep-laid plot to get yourself elected on to the N.E.C. where you can work more effectively on behalf of your masters in the Kremlin!

And that's not so funny, either. If you lived in America—the country you want us to support in their murderous attack on the Korean people—you would most certainly have been denounced as a "secret communist" a long time ago!

**FOR HONEST DISCUSSION**

However, as the rank and file of the Labour Party are not, in general, witch-hunters, we are ready to concede that you have only the most honourable intentions when you agitate against "evictions"—so treat your opponents in the same way, Bessie.

We don't like your policies, it is true. And we know very well that you don't like ours (although you used to before the Korean war exploded). Very well, let us fight it out openly and honestly, and drop all this dangerous rubbish about "Moscow Plots".

One last word, Bessie. Please credit the workers who elected you to Parliament with possessing as much independent political judgment as you claim for yourself. If members of the Party support the demand to withdraw troops from Korea it is not because that slogan happens to appear in the "Daily Worker"—it is because all the facts show that it is a correct demand and in the best interests of the working class.

You can therefore stop having these nightmares about the Labour Party falling under the influence of the C.P. Sleep peacefully, there aren't any reds under your bed. As a matter of fact, one of the chief barriers between

members of the Labour Party (particularly Left-wingers) and the Communist Party is precisely that which they (the C.P.) have in common with you, Bessie—namely, their method of "regulating" internal discussions.

Don't you remember how, during the last war, the C.P. branded its political opponents in the working class movement—those who, for example, refused to accept the political and industrial "truce" with Mr. Churchill!—as "agents of Hitler" and "dupes". Well, using different labels because it's a different war, you are now trying to introduce into the Labour Party this same deplorable method of discrediting political ideas.

We're not having it, Mrs. Braddock—from you or from anyone else. We want a movement free from the poisonous atmosphere of witch-hunts—a movement in which every man and woman can speak his mind without fear of being branded as a "secret agent" of this or that foreign power. If you have confidence in your political ideas, you will stop this disgraceful "red-hunting" and join us in fighting for a democratic movement where policies can be openly and honestly discussed before the whole membership.

Have a little confidence in the workers, Mrs. Braddock! They can be trusted to reject policies which are against their interests—which is why, incidentally, I think they will reject yours.

Yours fraternally,

**WHO WILL REPLACE TRUMAN?**

Report From America on the PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN



LOOKED at from England, the American Presidential Elections must present a bit of a mystery. On the Democratic side, Stevenson, a millionaire. On the Republican side, Eisenhower, a five-star General.

Both these candidates are backed by Big Business interests. Neither Party claims specifically to represent the interests of the workers, as does the Labour Party in your country. Yet the American workers are faced every four years with the choice between these two major contending parties.

Up to now, the workers have tended to support the Democratic Party which is a combination of conflicting interests, a section of Big Business on its right, and organised Labour and the Negroes on its left. Its candidate must be conservative enough to hold the confidence of the right-wing. Yet talk liberally enough to keep the workers and coloured people in tow.

**WHAT ARE PLEDGES WORTH**

A study of the promises and performance of the Democratic Party reveals that regularly they pledge concessions to the workers and negroes in pre-election speeches, which they as regularly fail to carry out when elected. Stevenson has today promised to repeal the notorious Taft-Hartley anti-labour Act.

Four years ago, Truman made the same pledge—but the Act is still on the Statute Book.

On civil rights for negroes also, this fraud has been repeated time and again.

Both candidates have now stated their basic position on foreign

policy. Eisenhower's crude and menacing speech, openly threatening war on Russia, would make Stevenson, by contrast, appear a cooing dove. But though Stevenson's speech probably brought comfort to some lonely Liberals in the States, a look at the foreign policy record of the Democrats under Truman should dispel any illusions.

**BOTH WANT BOMBS**

With Truman at the White House, the United States has been geared for war on a scale never seen before. The war in Korea has been deliberately prolonged, used as an excuse for arming the whole of the western world. Protesting at MacArthur's "indiscretions", Truman took over his policy, and is now dropping bombs on the Russian border.

The truth is that Eisenhower speaks for both parties on the war question, because he speaks for American Big Business. That is their dream, Republican and Democratic alike, to roll back "the tidal mud of communism" to the borders of the Soviet Union. And why stop there?

Instead of committing the British workers to this evil plan of American Big Business, the leaders of British Labour would be much better occupied in encouraging with all their strength the formation of an independent Labour Party in America which could be a sure guarantee of world peace.

**ANSWER:** Mrs. Bessie Braddock, M.P., in an article entitled "The Rank and File Must Lead" which appeared in the "Socialist Outlook", June, 1950. It is still excellent advice.

*Speaking my mind*

**On . . . Public Ownership**

by TOM BRADDOCK

IT appears that the N.E.C. are engaged on a review of Party Policy. Why? The policy we have or had until recently, seems to have produced good results.

What better are we likely to get from the three discussion pamphlets and the statements on "Foreign Policy", "Our Daily Bread" and "Facing the Facts"? They don't make a policy, old or new; it is confusion getting worse confounded with each new pamphlet.

"Problems of Public Ownership" by Ernest Davies, M.P., certainly offers no reason why a new policy is necessary. It says, "The record of the nationalised industries leaves no doubt that public ownership is succeeding and is serving the nation well". The appendix to the pamphlet gives chapter and verse to prove the truth of this statement.

It has, up to now, been Labour Party policy to nationalise the means of production and distribution. Why, in the face of the evidence Davies gives us, need we contemplate any change in a process which is "succeeding and serving the nation well"?

We need not be mealy-mouthed about this. Hugh Dalton, in a recent speech, gives us the clue as to what is going on. He told us that the leaders of the Labour Party are "settling down at the stern, mentally and spiritually as well as physically!" They have become timid. They have forgotten the urge for revolutionary change.

A reading of Ernest Davies' pamphlet makes this clear. Page 29 of the pamphlet's 33 pages tells

us: "the original reasons why nationalisation was advocated by the Labour Movement still stand. Wherever public ownership will better serve the community than does private enterprise, and where public ownership will in other ways contribute to the furtherance of the Socialist programme, it should at the appropriate time be carried through".

What a carefully worded piece! Where did Ernest get his information about the origin of the demand for nationalisation?

The Labour Party set out to get for the worker the full fruits of his industry. What rubbish to talk about where public ownership will contribute to the furtherance of our programme. How can Socialism possibly exist without public ownership.

Again, on page 32, we read that "no industry will be acquired without the authority of Parliament being obtained for each particular industry". Why has this been put in? Could it be that the author knows of the growing demand in the Labour Party for the complete ending of the capitalist system altogether?

What has happened since 1945 shows that the mixed economy with the continued existence of the Tory Party simply leads to stagnation at home and war abroad. Davies, fearfully clinging to the remnants of capitalism, hopes to commit the Party to a similar fate. We must show him that it is not all that important to be Ernest!

The only real problem of public ownership is how soon we are going to get it. Time is short; let us not waste it in talking.

# Readers Forum

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

## COME OFF IT, MR. CUMMINGS!

Readers of the "News-Chronicle" will know that its columnist A. J. Cummings has recently launched a campaign against the Bevanites, alleging "A Party Within a Party".

What is behind this attack? A deliberate attempt to provoke Attlee into taking disciplinary action against Bevan and his supporters, even to the extent of expulsions.

Thanks to the line-up at this year's conference at Morecambe (although not, I feel at next year's) of the Miners with the Transport and Municipal Workers, Attlee will be in a position to take this action.

While I do not agree with Attlee's policy I cannot believe he would stoop to such a step which would undoubtedly wreck the Labour Party—and save the Tories.

That the "Daily Herald" should devote its front page headline to this "side splitting" attack on Bevan by Mr. George Brown, and Mr. Aidan Crowley, is however, an indication of powerful forces behind the move. The former Minister of Works and under-Secretary for Air are only the mouthpieces of bigger fry who are keeping in the background.

Such gentlemen should be warned that the rank and file are sick and tired of such smear campaigns, witch-hunts, purges and expulsions.

The truth is that Bevanism would be growing even if Bevan had never existed. He is merely saying (a part of) what socialists have wanted throughout. It was only loyalty to the Labour cabinet which inhibited the membership from expressing its views before the 1951 elections.

Manchester. L. Ball.

## THE WHITEWASH PRESS

I wish to express my appreciation of your reply to A. R. Griffin in your number of 22nd August. In any nation at war, or which considers itself not at peace, the regime is necessarily in many respects undemocratic, as experience of two great wars has shown us. Unfortunately Russia has not been able to consider herself completely at peace since the end of Allied intervention after the Great War of 1914-18 and today she is menaced more than ever before by the U.S. and her satellites—as the Mutual Security Act of the U.S.A. plainly shows.

In this Act, the U.S.A. states her intention to foster and aid subversive movements in Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe with the object of overthrowing these governments which the U.S.A. does not like.

America is to blame for encouraging and arming Chiang Kai Shek to make war against China, and it seems probable that the Korean War is an American war to regain mainland bases—an American obsession—after losing

China when her puppet Chiang Kai Shek was defeated.

As for the ills of the world, most of these can be cured. Finally, America again is the great obstacle to a resumption of normal trading throughout the world.

There is far too much white-wash, I agree—laid thickly on the U.S.A. by our "newspapers".

Manchester. W. Keane.

## AFRICAN FEDERATION

The article by George Craddock, M.P., on the Tory-proposed Central African Federation was most welcome. But I was surprised and disappointed that a man with a knowledge of the facts, and with authority in the Central African Federation Committee, had nothing to say on a solution to this most important problem.

Mr. Craddock says "I see no reason at all why the matter should be rushed, and time should be given to permit discussions with representative Africans so that a scheme is devised acceptable to the Africans."

Does he think that by prolonged discussion the Africans can be convinced that their best interests will be served by continuing to make £10,000,000 per year for N'Changa Consolidated Copper Mines while they get the merest pittance in return? The resolution of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress, which he quotes, clearly rejects this kind of talk in favour of action—not words.

The Labour Party should, in my opinion campaign for:

- (a) the right to independence and self-determination for the colonial countries, and
- (b) the removal of all foreign occupying powers.

More than this, we should be prepared to assist the African and other colonial peoples with their economic, political and social problems in order to make their independence a reality. Such views, popularised by important people like George Craddock, could advance the struggle of the African enormously and cement real friendship between African and British workers.

Twickenham. Andrew Wolff.

## LYNMOUTH

I was much struck by the truth of your contributor's comment on the Lynmouth disaster even though a reactionary acquaintance called it "un-British". Living so close to the scene of chaos which nature has caused I can fully share the feeling of pity which has been inspired.

But surely our pity and humanity are not so limited that we have none left for the horrors we permit daily to be practised in our name upon the people of Korea and Malaya? Is it "British" to condone the bestiality of imperialist massacres provided they are carried out at a sufficient distance from our shores?

South Molton, Devon. B. Bass.

## WORCESTER SAUCE?

The National Union of Mine-workers' resolution to Conference at Morecambe reads:—

"This conference places on record its appreciation of the work of the Labour Government under the leadership of the Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, O.M., C.H., M.P.

Amendment from South Worcestershire C.L.P. . . . "and also the foresight of the Rt. Hon. Aneurin Bevan, M.P., in the attitude that he adopted towards rearmament".

## ★ Borehamwood

(Continued from page 1, col. 5.) clear enough. They, and the contractors, wanted to get rid of the militant stewards and to do so were prepared to sack 1,200 men and hold up London's desperate need for houses.

Sir Richard Coppock, General Secretary of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, has proved at a mass meeting, the existence of a "black-list" of some 47 men. Even if all these men were "communists" (the communist bogey was repeatedly raised by the Press) the workers would still defend them—and rightly. But as an official of the A.U.B.T.W. said to me, "there weren't more than four or five communists on the list . . . what they were really after was every militant trade unionist they could get their hands on."

Full and final answer to the rabid attacks made on good trade unionists by prominent Labour members of the L.C.C. is contained in the following statement, issued on March 5th, 1952, by a body of trade-unionists which, by no stretch of the imagination, can be termed "communist". The statement reads:

"The London Regional Council of the N.F.B.T.O. deplors the implication of the Press campaign now being conducted which has as its object the discrediting of the trade union organisation on the Borehamwood L.C.C. housing site. This Council wishes to place on record its appreciation of the splendid work for trade union organisation, and the protection of the interests of the operators, carried out by the stewards and members on the job. It also recognises that the stewards on the job have made a major contribution to the carrying out of the L.C.C. housing programme.

Finally, the Regional Council wishes it to be known that the difficulties on this job have arisen from the continual disagreement on the question of incentive payments and the discharge of ticket stewards, as is evidenced by the frequent use of the Conciliation Machinery of the Building Industry."

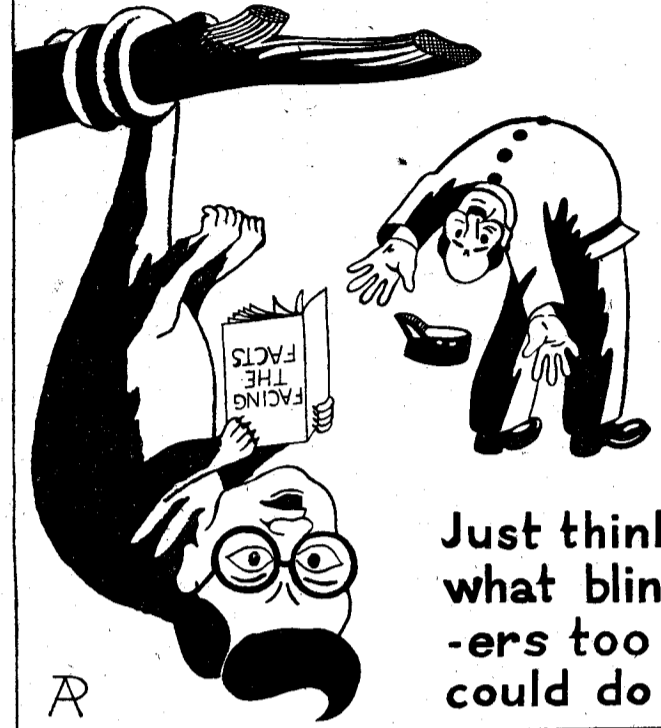
## BETHNAL GREEN READERS

are invited to a meeting at THE GEORGE (Austin Balls) Bethnal Green Road

Wednesday, 10th Sept., 7.30 p.m. to hear John Lawrence, (editor "Socialist Outlook"), speak on: The Labour Party Conference and the Left Wing". Admission free.

# 'FACING THE FACTS'

## My Goodness— A GENIUS?



Just think what blink-ers too could do!

Our Cartoonist's Impressions of the N.E.C.'s Policy Statement (with apologies to the well known brewers)

## NEW SCHOOLS FOR RICH BOYS

By ANDREW KIRKBY  
Victoria Ward Labour Party.

WE do not have to remind our readers of the pernicious effects of the education cuts on our already over-crowded and out-of-date schools. Whilst these conditions are being worsened to meet the demands of the arms-drive and the super-tax payers, the Tories are in no way neglecting their own educational system.

The schools catering for their class are untouched by "economy" cuts and, in fact, new ones are sprouting up.

I have before me an interesting circular headed "Bury's Court Schools Limited, Leigh, Near Reigate, Surrey, Preparatory and Day-School for Boys".

It announces the establishment of a new school which is fortunate to be in "... a fine large house ... well decorated and modernised within. The rooms are light, airy, and warm. It stands in about 15 acres of lovely variegated grounds ... food will be ample and good. No one can be happy if he is not well fed. ... Regular cricket and football will be played on the fine fields."

In addition to schoolroom sub-

jects, the school's aims of "happiness, energy and straight thinking with a background of true Religion" are assisted by other necessary items: "The country is excellent for riding; fishing will be possible in the River Mole; shooting ... tennis, golf, badminton ... carpentry, art and drawing ... music," etc., etc.

In case you are by now thinking of sending your kid, there is the small matter of fees such as ... "For Boarders, 60 guineas per Term, plus usual extras; for Day-Boys, 30 guineas per Term including lunch and tea".

## MEETING

Britain-China Friendship Assn. (Manchester and District Branch)  
Mr. Sidney Silverman M.P., speaks at a Celebration Meeting on the Third Anniversary of the Establishment of the Chinese Peoples' Government.

HOULDSWORTH HALL,  
DEANSGATE, MANCHESTER  
Friday, October 3rd at 7.30 p.m.  
Admission 6d. Pay at Door.

## Does your T.U. Branch Take the Outlook?

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## More news of the 'Friends of America'

### --Young ones this time

IT will be a surprise to members of the Labour League of Youth who attended the large International Socialist Youth Camp at Vienna last June to learn that the camp was financed in part by an organisation known as the European Youth Movement.

This outfit is the junior edition of Mr. Churchill's "European Movement" and includes among its affiliations, Young Liberals and ... the Young Conservatives!

## BILL MURPHY'S CORNER

Mr. John Thornburn, an Edinburgh grocer, told the Scottish Grocers' Conference at Turnberry (June 14th, 1952): "I maintain that in three year's time we will have three million unemployed in this country and it won't be a case of looking for apprentices—they will come on their hands and knees looking for a job"

Hands, knees and "slumps" aaisy. Grocers will have a good will they?

The Labour League of Youth used also to be affiliated. They got tangled up in it because the N.E.C. of the Labour Party—without any prior consultation with the Youth—attached the LLOY to this body. However, at this year's Conference of the League, a decision to sever all connection with the "European Youth Movement" was carried unanimously, and the N.E.C. endorsed the decision.

But we are still not completely free because we are a part of the International Union of Socialist Youth and prominent leaders of that organisation are also very active in the "European Youth Movement".

For example, Bob Molenaar, one-time President of the I.U.S.Y., is now Assistant-General Secretary of the European Youth Campaign. Peter Strasser, President of I.U.S.Y., and Per Haekkerup, its General Secretary, are both leading figures in the "Campaign".

At the Executive meeting of the I.U.S.Y. which took place immediately after the Vienna camp, Labour League of Youth and N.A.L.S.O. delegates fought strongly to get the I.U.S.Y. to withdraw from the "Campaign".

But there was strong opposition, other delegates even stating that they had no scruples about receiving financial assistance from the "Campaign"—even though they knew that the money came from suspicious sources in the U.S.A.

They tried to argue that they were not thereby committed politically! They 'forgot', apparently, that the I.U.S.Y. is already politically committed, in name and in principle, by the very fact of its affiliation to this "thieves kitchen" of the European Youth Campaign.

The question this poses to the Labour League of Youth is a serious one. Shall we stay in this reactionary set-up—or shall we attempt to unite the youth of Europe on a socialist basis? If we decide on the latter course—which we surely will—then we must seriously consider breaking our relations with the I.U.S.Y. if it insists on remaining part of the European Youth Campaign of Mr. Churchill and his American friends.

Let's break all the chains that at present bind us to European and world reaction!  
Jack Hamilton

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