

Socialist Outlook

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'Socialist Outlook'
will appear
WEEKLY
beginning
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Nov. 21st

Bevan Gives the Lead That Workers Want

'Socialist planning is the only answer'

THE first two days proceedings at Morecambe have shown that the Labour Party is turning resolutely to the socialist road - no matter how doggedly the Right Wing cling to the mistakes of the past.

Both Left and Right agree that Tory rule is inflicting growing unemployment and lowering living standards on the British working people. Everybody understands that serious action is urgent. But what action?

It is here that agreement ends and differences emerge. We must halt the Tories, said the spokesmen of the Right. Good. But then they went on to argue most strongly against the overwhelming feeling of the Conference that we

Editorial

should warn Mr. Churchill that his piracy on road haulage will not be rewarded with double compensation.

Similarly, the Right would not vote for a resolution which pledged the Labour Party to give its complete support to the trade union movement where it is forced into industrial action to defend the living standards of its members. Be realistic, they said, and get down to hard work. Their policy—which was not supported by the great majority of the delegates present—meant patching up an unworkable competitive economy and trying to achieve security under capitalism.

The great majority of Constituency Parties have already indicated they have no wish to follow this road. Even the solid block vote of the big unions is beginning to melt under the blows of recent experience. Arthur Deakin's brutal threats that his line of policy must be accepted "or else", sound hollow to the members of the trade unions who are hardest hit and most menaced by Toryism in power.

On the very first day, the wage struggle developing in his industry—engineering—brought Jack Tanner into collision with Deakin and Lawther. This is only the beginning.

Let the inescapable struggle with the Tories unfold a bit more and Deakin will find other unions as well as the engineers arrayed against him, and the members of his own union will have a word to say too. The die-hards in the Party are definitely slipping. They confront a movement determined to go forward to socialism.

The delegates came to Morecambe looking for a clear alternative to the old policies. Aneurin

Bevan gave them such a lead in his speech of the first day. He brought forward the simple, and old, truth that our Movement can make progress only through a fearless application of the socialist ideas of the pioneers.

OLD GUARD REPLACED

Socialist planning, not only in Britain but in the Commonwealth and in Europe as well, was the essence of Bevan's message. That is why the delegates rose to him with a tremendous ovation. That is why they elected him at the top of the poll for the N.E.C. with a record vote, and replaced the old guard of Dalton and Morrison with Bevan's supporters, Harold Wilson and Crossman. Here was the clearest demonstration that the rank and file wants a socialist policy.

Morecambe will not settle the issues. But enough has already happened at this conference to show that the socialist wing of the party will gain the ultimate victory that millions of ordinary people so ardently desire.

TOP OF THE POLL!



VOTES FOR THE N.E.C.

Aneurin Bevan ...	965,000
Barbara Castle ...	868,000
Tom Driberg ...	744,000
Jim Griffiths ...	700,000
Harold Wilson ...	632,000
Ian Mikardo ...	630,000
R. H. Crossman ...	620,000

KOREA: 'The Mark of The Beast'!

By S. O. Davies, M.P.

"That blinding flash above Hiroshima wrote a climax to an era of American expediency. On that date we joined the list of those who had introduced new and horrible weapons for the extermination of man The use of the atomic bomb, therefore, cost us dearly; we are now branded with the mark of the beast We have embarked on total war with a vengeance!" (Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert for the 'New York Times' in his book "Great Mistakes of the War".)

THE above words were written four years before Korea was reduced to a shambles by the indiscriminate slaughter of three million men, women and children in that tragic country. And the slaughter goes on, senseless and pointless, with no objective more laudable than the testing of more and more destructive instruments of death.

The horror of Mussolini's try-out at Guernica has been forgotten in the thousand 'Guernicas' of Korea. Assassination and extermination of civilian populations, the use of bacteriological weapons (now proved beyond a shadow of doubt) and other crimes, all expressly prohibited by laws and customs of war, have been carried out in Korea with fiendish savagery.

The utter destruction recently of the ancient city of Suan in North



Korea illustrates and epitomises the abominable crimes carried out in our name in that country. Twelve thousand gallons of petrol were poured down on Suan's defenceless people, followed immediately by an all-day raid of high explosives, napalm bombs and incendiaries. It is inconceivable that a single soul escaped from such a sadistic inferno.

CONTEMPT FOR LAWS

Add to all this the vicious treatment of Korean prisoners of war, concerning whom every rule, custom and law relating to such persons have been violated with supreme contempt. How often, for instance, have we read of Korean prisoners of war being "shot by accident". So often, in fact, that "pot shooting" at them seems to have been adopted as one of the many pastimes indulged in that country.

Is it any wonder that those responsible for these crimes are in process of converting all the excesses of Nazism into virtues by releasing Nazi criminals and rewarding the most influential (Continued on page 4, column 3.)

SLUMP SPREADS FROM COTTON TO ENGINEERING

Shop Stewards say 'Keep workers on the books!'

by HARRY RATNER
(Secretary, T.M.M. Central Shop
Stewards' Committee)

ARE we, the working class, going to passively accept the return to the dole queues?

The textile slump is spreading. Short time and closed mills in the cotton towns was followed by sackings in the clothing and waterproof trades in Manchester. Now it has spread to engineering.

Large scale redundancy has been declared in the Textile Machinery Manufacturers' Combine, which, through its constituent firms holds a monopoly of the supply of machinery for the textile trade.

It started in June with the announcement that the Asa-Lees factory was to shut down and that some (but not all) of the 400 workers employed would be absorbed in other Combine factories. But now, hundreds of workers are to be laid off from other T.M.M. factories in Accrington, Bolton, Oldham and Manchester.

The firms affected are Howard & Bulloughs; Brook & Doxy's; Dobson & Barlows, and the three Platts factories. In Platts alone over 900 workers are affected. In mill towns like Oldham and Bolton this is little short of a catastrophe.

At Oldham there is very little engineering other than the T.M.M. works which employ over 5,000 workers. The textile mills are already closed or on short time, so that the newly redundant workers will find it very difficult, if not impossible, to find other



jobs. For the first time in their lives the younger generation of workers are coming up against real unemployment.

WHAT SHALL BE THE WORKERS ANSWER?

In the past, if the bosses said "We have no work—one hundred of you must go", the workers accepted it without question and limited their arguments as to who should be given, the sack first. Employers were quite content to let them argue thus among themselves, for it created further divisions and splits in the workers' ranks.

But to-day a new idea is growing among Trade Unionists. WHY should we accept being thrown on the dole? WE are not responsible for the chaos of, private enterprise. Our Unions and our Labour movement have long ago said that so long as industry is owned and controlled by private capitalists, concerned only with profit, unemployment and slumps would inevitably be bred.

The Labour movement aims to end this by taking industry out of the hands of the monopolies and running it in a planned manner for the benefit of the people. That is the only lasting solution. For this we must kick out the present Tory government of big business and replace it with a new Labour government which will take these measures (and this time we must make sure they really do).

But meanwhile we have to decide what to do when faced with the threat of being thrown on the dole. Shop stewards of the affected T.M.M. factories have supplied an answer. In their journal, the "Textile Machinery Worker", they have raised the demand—**Keep the 'redundant' workers on the books and pay them full wages until they are found suitable alternative employment.** The employers have made sufficient profits out of these workers—£4 per worker per week—to enable them to pay.

CAN IT BE WON?

Timid spirits may say "That's all very well. You can ask for it but you'll never get it."

But look what a thousand engineering workers at Smith's, of London did last May. They de-

(Continued on page 4, column 3)

TORY LOYALTY TO PROFITS

The Tories have voted in the Council of Europe for a unified transport system, while proposing de-nationalisation here. This is "confused and stupid" said Percy Morris speaking against denationalisation. But this inconsistency is consistent with their loyalty to the profit motive of British capitalism. Bargains for the speculators at home; cheaper transport for the monopolists across the channel.

Give the Weekly a Flying Start

MORE MONEY AND MORE READERS ARE WANTED RIGHT NOW

THE announcement that "Socialist Outlook" will appear weekly from November 21st has brought many congratulations. It is a step that our staunch supporters have been longing for.

A big effort NOW will get it off to a flying start and more than repay later on. We appeal to every one of our readers to help in **THREE WAYS.**

Firstly—rush in that Fighting Fund donation. We must reach that £50 target again this month, and **EVERY PENNY COUNTS.**

Secondly—we need £500 **NEW SHARE CAPITAL.** If you are not yet a holder of at least £1 share, become one today by sending in your £1. If you are already a shareholder—get your workmates to become shareholders too.

Get your Trade Union branch and your local Labour Party to become shareholders.

Thirdly—**INCREASE SALES.** Our next issue, on October 17th will be an important follow-up of the Labour Party Conference, and a big sales drive is planned to take the paper into the factories, docks, shopping centres, etc. **YOU** can help by ordering extra copies and selling them.

Report of the Morecambe Conference

★ THE FIRST DAY ★

IN the first free-speaking debate at a Labour Party conference since 1939, when Labour was last in opposition, the party ranks had the chance to voice their real sentiments. They were unmistakably and loudly critical of the platform. It was a predominantly left-wing delegation.

This was made clear in today's discussions around four main points: denationalisation; compensation for nationalised industries; the combination of political and industrial action; and unemployment.

DEAKIN BOOED

The right-wing had no answer to the arguments of the spokesmen for the left-wing except to swing the axe of the bloc vote. Although they won the vote, the right-wing lost whatever confidence fair-minded delegates had in them. As the sessions proceeded, their arrogant conduct aroused indignation which exploded particularly in protest against the intervention of Arthur Deakin and Will Lawther.

The first brush with the platform took place over that section of the N.E.C. report, which condemned "attempts now being made by irresponsible elements to persuade trade unions to take industrial action in order to achieve political ends." Speakers from the A.E.U. and Foundryworkers were quick to speak on this section. One speaker recalled the "Hands Off Russia" movement of the Councils of Action after the First World War as a precedent.

Another mentioned that A. E. Tiffin of the T.G.W.U., who could hardly be considered "subversive", had said that the government did not dare denationalise the coal industry because there would be no coal mined. "Does this not imply industrial action?" he asked. Later a third speaker pointed out that the Tories were using political action for industrial ends and asked whether industrial action for political ends could not be justified in view of this.

Several delegates took up the dissatisfaction in the League of Youth with the cavalier treatment accorded it by the N.E.C.

Morgan Phillips droned a reply that the League of Youth is not a separate party, that its recommendations must be in line with Labour Party policy, indicating that the L.L.Y. was to be given no better chance for development in the coming year than in the past. The reference back was lost.

WARMING UP

Conference sentiment began to warm up considerably in the afternoon session when denationalisation came up for discussion.

"All the unions concerned are unanimously opposed to the government's proposals on denationalisation," said Arthur Deakin who moved the resolution and called for its acceptance by acclamation. "Short of industrial action, we are prepared to do everything to prevent denationalisation of road haulage," he added.

After Jim Figgins of the N.U.R. seconded this resolution, Douglas Jay put his finger on a very important point: "The main reason why the Tories are doing this is because they are scared of the successes which the nationalised industries are beginning to show. They are in indecent haste to wreck this thing."

COMPENSATION

The Conference went on to discuss a supplementary resolution "that the Party on being returned

CONFERENCE SPARKS

Jim Figgins said in the denationalisation debate: "Give the workers an interest in the industries in which they have invested their lives."

Mr. Churchill has committed many acts of robbery in his career, remarked Douglas Jay, but none so big as his "act of highway robbery in transport."

When George Brown declared: the party has lost its head, one delegate exclaimed: "He's wrong! It's just found a new and better one."

to power in Parliament will re-nationalise all industries denationalised by the present Government, without any further compensation being paid and that all profits made by those industries during the denationalisation period, should be expropriated."

The delegate for Heston and Isleworth, C.L.P. said this resolution was meant as a warning to all and sundry not to take stolen property. There were several speeches to the same effect before H. Douglas summed up for the N.E.C. He said that they were determined to prevent the banditry of the proposed Tory action, but that confiscation was dangerous, "a tool of dictators." There were angry cries from the floor, and a brief rebuttal from the mover of the resolution emphasised that this was not a question of paying

Overheard after Mr. Bevan's speech: "If Clem Attlee shines like a 40-watt bulb, Mr. Bevan blazes like a neon light."

Heard on the Morecambe 'bus going to the Conference: "Attlee and Morrison boarded this bus on the last trip," said the conductor. "So I shouted to the driver: 'Hurry them up a bit!'"

for newly nationalised property, but of refusing to pay double.

The resolution on denationalisation was carried unanimously. The resolution on compensation was next voted on, and appeared also to have been carried by a show of hands when, in a most unusual procedure, the chairman himself called for a card vote. There were boos throughout the hall. The vote was: For—1,652,000; Against—2,386,000.

Conference debate reached a new high point on the next resolution dealing with the campaign against the Government, moved by A. Howard, Salford (West) C.L.P. and seconded by H. Finch, of Birmingham, Small Heath, C.L.P. Mr. Howard held up the

Lancashire textile slump as a horrible example of Tory misrule, and stressed the urgent need to remove them as fast as possible by combined action of both wings of the Labour movement. In seconding, Mr. Finch declared that the resolution was not designed to tell the trade unions what they should do, but rather to mobilise the party in support of any action the trade unions might be obliged to take under Tory provocation.

H. M. King (Parliamentary L.P.) agreed that the Tories got in by fraud, but feared that industrial action might negate democracy. Fred Lee, M.P., who followed, pointed out that "the Tories have not scrupled to use political action for industrial purposes," so he could not see there was such an outcry against the possibility of using industrial action for political purposes. As to the parliamentary group, he wanted to know when the fight that had been promised would begin.

W. Hunter (East Islington) remarked that all the speeches from the platform and the leadership of the unions logically led to mass demonstrations and action, but when it came to action, the leaders were holding back.

BLACKMAILERS CAUSE ANGER

At this point, as the left-wing tide in the conference surged, Arthur Deakin took the rostrum attended by a chorus of jeers which increased in volume as he attempted to speak. Finally he made himself heard. "If you want money, you'll listen... there's no decision you can take here which will commit the unions..."

This blackmail threat provoked the anger of the delegates. It drew a rebuke from Emanuel Shinwell, who, while agreeing with Deakin's position, reminded him that the "funds of the trade unions are furnished by the members of the trade unions."

Jack Tanner of the A.E.U. next rose to pledge the support of his union for the resolution and called for its support. After a Deakin-like intervention by Will Lawther of the N.U.M. which earned him

another indignant reception from the delegates, Arthur Greenwood summed up for the N.E.C., and the resolution was put to a card vote. For—1,728,000; Against—3,986,000.

BEVAN'S SPEECH

The last debate of the day on the unemployment issue was moved for the National Union of General and Municipal Workers by its Lancashire Secretary. This set the stage for a great speech by Aneurin Bevan. Pointing to the sharp decline in productivity and the great rise in man-hours lost per week during the past year; 5,200,000 this year as against 418,000 last year, Bevan declared: "If there were a Labour government that did not proceed to Socialist planning, unemployment could not have been prevented either."

"It is a fact," he said, "that unemployment under capitalism cannot be abolished." Even the Keynesians understood that now. Poverty makes unemployment, they tell us nowadays, that was remarkable indeed; the poorer you were in the past, the harder you worked. Today they tell you that it's poverty that makes unemploy-

ment. The U.S.A. has been held up as a living monument of the success of capitalism. What is its success? It is due to the arms industry. Great fears dominated the United States. Fear of war, fear of unemployment, and fear of peace. Why is there fear in the U.S.A.? Because there is no alternative of socialist planning to dispose of the surplus product.

To prevent unemployment, only socialist planning at the workshop level can be effective. There is no way other than public ownership in solving the problem.

"I get tired of hearing speeches to workers about working harder," Bevan cried out at this point. "Any fool can work harder. Let's work more intelligently." Arms production is "a rake's progress,"

There is a lot of talk about a pattern of British industry, but you can develop such a pattern only by centralised direction. "Socialist planning at home, socialist planning in the Commonwealth, socialist planning in Europe: that is the only answer. America, hasn't the answer; Russia hasn't—We have it. Let's back it."

★ THE SECOND DAY ★

The big bombshell of the second day was the sweeping victory for the Bevanite candidates in the N.E.C. elections and the elimination of Herbert Morrison and Hugh Dalton. This stunned the supporters of the Right Wing both inside and outside the Labour ranks.

Their astonishment showed how far out of touch they were with the real feelings of the membership. The vote was not only a stinging repudiation of the policies and leadership of the Right Wing. It was the most positive and unmistakable expression of the desire of the movement for a change of course and a new type of leadership.

The results so jolted the bosses of the bloc vote that they sent up Sir Will Lawther to declare: "We are very disturbed at the attempt being made to drive a wedge be-

tween the trade unions and the Labour Party. If any attempt is made to do this, we will fight it to the death, if need be." After yesterday's "moneybags" blackmail threat, this new defiance of the democratic will of the movement aroused seething anger. The delegates could readily see who was really seeking to drive a wedge between the industrial and political wings of the movement. The ranks of the unions will be no less aware of any efforts from above to break the unity and militancy of the common struggle.

Against this background Clement Attlee presented his report on domestic policy outlined in "Facing the Facts." He itemized the difficulties England experiences in living under a mixed economy in a capitalist world. He stated that the document was "an interim, and not a final one" and did not lay down any exact electoral programme.

D. Finch (Norwood C.L.P.) moved the reference back of the N.E.C. document. He especially criticized the section on the role of the United States in world affairs. On this point, he said, "Facing the Facts" is misnamed. It does nothing of the sort. It gives the impression that the U.S. is concerned with improving trade, raising living standards, etc. Mr. Attlee did not say that the U.S. has placed an embargo on our trade. The U.S. has a responsibility but it is as a capitalist nation to stabilise capitalism throughout the world, to stop colonial revolutions, and return such countries as the U.S.S.R., China and Eastern Europe to capitalist exploitation. That is the purpose of its rearmament.

There was considerable informative discussion around the resolution moved by Islington (North) calling for a new programme of nationalisations of the key major industries in an integrated five year plan which was accepted by the platform. Two distinct, if unequally represented, voices were heard on this question. The big majority of speakers supported the proposals for extending public ownership while a few right-wingers cautioned against proceeding too far and too fast towards a socialized economy.

After similar excellent speeches of the same sort by a wide range of delegates, who gave concrete examples of the need for nationalisations in their industries, the extreme right wing made itself heard through George Brown, M.P. for Belfast. He exclaimed: "this conference is rapidly going mad. It has lost its head." He was roundly booed. Mr. Sutherland of Hampstead aptly replied: "The conference has not lost its head; it has regained its confidence."

The resolution for a new programme and for East-West trade, was unanimously passed. The card vote on "Facing the Facts" was: For—5,328,000; Against 274,000.

Mr. Attlee says Facing the Facts is a signpost," said Joan Maynard (Thurston - Walston). "Well, I don't know where it is pointing to and don't know whether other delegates do."

'Ours the Vision and the Victory'

A Tribute to the Weekly — By Percy Allott

WE are proud to print the tribute to our paper which you can read below. It is the viewpoint of a man who has spent his whole life in the socialist movement and who, at the age of 72, still looks forward with undiminished socialist vigour.

Percy Allott started work at 2—a week as a printer's apprentice in Lincoln and, like all apprentices in those days, was automatically sacked at the age of 21.

He came to London and was employed in the City under the most shocking "living-in" conditions. He joined the Wimbledon Marxist Labour Party in 1907 and the Shop Assistants' Union in the same year. Active in the union (and there was plenty to be active

about) he became the organiser of the City District of the Shop Assistants' Union (now amalgamated with the USDAW) in 1918. During this period, Percy Allott won the 1st Prize in a competition organised by Lansbury's "Daily Herald" for the best slogan for the Labour Movement. His winning slogan was: "Ours the Vision and the Victory."

Percy Allott contested Holborn for Labour in 1928 in a three-cornered fight against Tories and Liberals. He had no office and no funds. All the money for the campaign was raised by the voluntary organiser, Barton Brown, who worked day and night to do it. Despite the plural vote, he defeated the whole weight of the

Liberal Party machine.

He was a Shop Assistants' delegate to the T.U.C. for nine years, and an Executive member of the London Trades' Council also for nine years. At the age of 72 and in bad health, Percy tells us he is now retired and "exiled as an alleged fellow-traveller". But when you read his letter you will know that his retirement applies only to his earning capacity—as far as socialism is concerned he is as active and principled as ever. It is men like Percy Allott who have built our great movement and they have done it willingly and without thought of self. As a young paper, we are proud indeed to receive the good wishes of pioneers like Percy Allott.

To the Editor:

THE time-servers on the N.E.C. of the Labour Party and the General Council of the T.U.C. have sapped the foundations of Socialism in this country and endangered the peace of the world. But people like Tom Braddock—one of the pioneer builders of Socialism and an architect of national repute—and the other members of "Socialist Outlook's" Editorial Board: John Lawrence, Jack Stanley and Gerry Healy, are rebuilding socialism on enduring foundations.

In less than four years they have founded the "Socialist Outlook" and, by increasing its circulation through voluntary efforts, they have been able to transform it from a monthly into a fortnightly clarion call for action, and to announce its weekly issue in November.

To have done this despite the bitter opposition of Right Wing Labour leaders, without capitalist advertising revenue or large financial subsidies, is a "Bermondsey Street Miracle" which surpasses even the "Fleet Street Miracle" of the late George Lansbury's "Daily Herald". I should like to

offer my sincere congratulations and thanks to the Editorial Board and all whose sacrifices have made this splendid achievement possible.

I hope the delegates to the Morecambe Conference will protest most emphatically at the undemocratic actions of the N.E.C. in "exiling" from Parliament people like Tom Braddock* because they refuse to sacrifice their socialist principles on the altar of expediency. I hope also that the delegates will vote solidly for the Labour policy advocated in the "Socialist Outlook" thus ensuring peace and prosperity FOR ALL PEOPLES.

Yours sincerely,

PERCY ALLOTT

*Tom Braddock was Labour M.P. for Mitcham 1945-1950. His candidature was refused endorsement by the N.E.C. in the 1951 Election and the ban is still in operation although a number of Labour Parties have since nominated him as a Parliamentary Candidate. He is, of course, a member of "Socialist Outlook's" Editorial Board.

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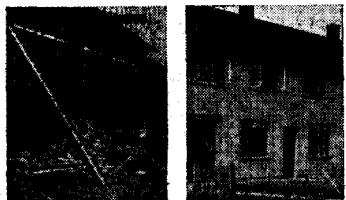
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London County Council Housing at Borehamwood

Clear the slums of decaying property and replace them with hundreds of "Borehamwoods" throughout the country. That is the answer to the problem of neglected house property. For that the Local Authorities will need MORE subsidies and loans at low rates of interest.

And to get these things we need a Labour Government which will set its face against all the ghastly war preparations which is the main cause of the big cost of repairs and also prevents money and materials being available for new housing.

Slum Clearance - But not this way!

ONE atom bomb dropped near Clapham Junction would kill or trap 16,000 and wound 3,000 out of an expected population of 115,000 in the area. This "expected" population allows for the evacuation of "priority classes" beforehand! These are two of the conclusions reached by civil defence experts in London recently.

Of course it's alright if you are one of the "priority classes". But if you have to stay around to earn your living, Mr. E. C. Allen, principal scientific adviser to the Home Office has the following with which to console you.

When the bomb drops "some 18,000 houses will be destroyed or put beyond repair, 20,000 houses would be seriously damaged, 50,000 less seriously damaged, while between 100,000 and 150,000

Mass Protest Must Stop This Tory Plan . . .

No Rent Increases!

by HERBERT FEILDEN
MEMBER OF SOUTHPORT
LABOUR PARTY

UNLESS tenants protest in every way possible—by mass meetings, letters to M.P.'s., letters to the press, etc.—they may soon find themselves either without homes or, with greatly increased rents.

The Tory Property Owners' Association is busily engaged in propaganda in the Tory and Liberal press for a statutory increase of rents. According to some reports, the increase wanted is put as high as 50 per cent. If they get away with this, it will mean for millions of low-paid workers a drastic reduction in living standards. For Old Age Pensioners it will mean semi-starvation.

Ostensibly, the landlords are demanding more rents in order to meet the increased cost of repairs. They want to abolish the Rents Act because it prevents them turning out tenants from their property and thus prevents the houses being sold at the prevailing scarcity prices.

WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

Large numbers of houses built during the last 30 years are in such good condition that their owners have had to spend very little upon them. In many cases, the tenants themselves have even done some of the outside

houses over a wide area would have broken ceilings, roofs and tiles." As a result of this "200,000 people would take to the streets, many of them because of fright".

Mr. Allen goes on: "In the central area there would be a ring of fire about three-quarters of a mile wide with streets obliterated beneath a sea of uniform debris of from five to eight feet high". Nevertheless, be thankful for small mercies. Our civil defence experts discount the likelihood of attacks by Hydrogen bombs!!

painting and repairs—although it is the owners liability. Now why should this section of owners be given higher rents?

More than a million houses were empty before the war. There were no tenants at reduced rents (much less buyers!) because the owners had neglected vital repairs. Yet they received increased Standard Rent for that purpose when tenanted. It was only the housing scarcity caused by the war which enabled such houses to be let at all!

Is it right that these tenants who have suffered from the owners' neglect should now be bled for an increased rent—and increased rates, too, don't forget? And all to bolster up property that is derelict—and will be empty again as soon as the supply of new houses exceeds demand.

Increased rents would automatically disqualify hundreds of thousands of "higher rent tenants" from their present protection under the Rents Act (unless the maximum limit was raised) with all the serious hardship entailed thereby throughout the country.

If rents are increased under the pretext of the higher costs of repairs—it would NOT compel landlords to do repairs. It would just be a bonus to owners of good property which required little or no repairs.

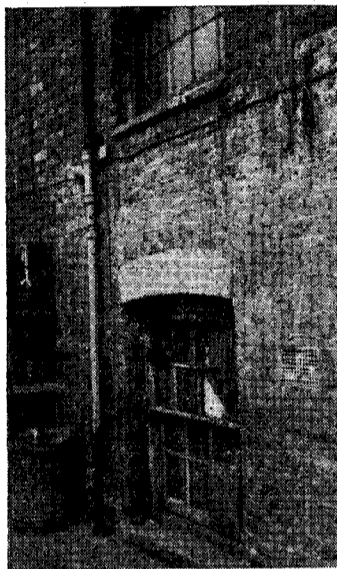
Thousands of houses have been freed from Rent Control by death or leaving a district. These houses have been sold at approximately three times their pre-war value—largely to ex-servicemen without a home for their families on returning from the war.

Mr. Churchill's war-time Coali-

tion Government was forced by public opinion to agree to Rent Restriction—but no limit was ever placed on the selling price of homes!

Thus the sale of one or more houses by owners throughout the country has far more than recouped such owners for any increase in the cost of repairs of their other property. Other "freed" houses have been turned into two or more flats. Why should such people be presented with increased rents upon other property?

The Labour Movement must have nothing to do with this campaign for higher rents—not even with the suggested "inquiry". Its job is to protect the tenants against the landlords and the property owners.



BACON ST., BETHNAL GREEN

The kind of property landlords want a higher rent for. They must be pulled down as soon as possible.

Until then, the Council must either do the repairs themselves or COMPEL the landlords to do them. To aid Councils to do these repairs, there must be subsidies, not only for new buildings, but for repairs as well.

The Dockers and Mr. Deakin

Reported by our Own Correspondent

Liverpool, Sept. 15th.

THE 4,000 Labour Party members and supporters who turned out for yesterday afternoon's demonstration against the Tory transport denationalisation bill were surprised to see the approaches to the meeting lined with police!

This unusual display was occasioned, it seems, by reports that dockers had prepared a reception for their General Secretary, Mr. Arthur Deakin, who had been billed as the main speaker. He was ill from phlebitis, but resumed work the next day.

The dockers gave vent to their disappointment by shouting at intervals throughout the meeting: "Where's Deakin? Is he afraid to come?" It was, as the Chairman remarked, a "lively meeting".

Mr. Attlee, the chief speaker, adequately exposed the Tory plan to ruin the transport industry in the interests of a group of speculators. "The Tories have been in office about nine months, and not much to show for it", he said. "Quite enough", shouted a member of the audience.

UPROAR

As Mr. Attlee sat down, port workers hurled questions to the platform on docks problems. One worker dashed forward and shouted: "Deakin is the one you want to get after. People in the Labour Party regard him as a Tory and another J. H. Thomas." One docker permitted himself to be led out of the meeting by police officers who warned others to remain quiet.

But the uproar reached its height when Mr. Tiffin was presented as a substitute speaker for Arthur Deakin. He was unable to speak for several minutes and then explained that his chief had been ill and could not come. A voice exclaimed: "He couldn't die quick enough." Mr. Tiffin replied: "Anyone who says Mr. Deakin is too afraid to come doesn't know him. (Applause.) "One of the last things you can accuse him of is cowardice."

Nevertheless, dockers in particular have memories of Mr. Deakin's hiding from a docks deputation inside Transport House. In fact, I cannot recall a dock gate meeting ever being addressed by the big chief of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

UNEMPLOYMENT

In his speech, Mr. Tiffin pointed out that unemployment was again appearing in Britain. Members of the T. & G.W.U., he said, knew that the Ministry of Labour figures of unemployment were not a true indication of the real situation. Dockers today were not being fully employed because of the restrictions on imports and shrinking exports.

Merseyside dockers, with their thousands of short-timers, know this better than anyone else—and that was one of the main reasons for their angry protests and for the march of the unemployed organised by their unofficial Port Workers' Committee.

"WHERE'S NYE?"

At one point in his speech, Mr. Tiffin was interrupted by the cry: "Where's Nye Bevan? Where's our next Prime Minister?" Officials on the platform pointed to Mr. Attlee exclaiming "He is here." But, to judge from the cheers and counter-cheers that followed, the audience was divided on the question.

Despite the militant interruptions from port workers, they gave their unanimous approval to a motion which demanded that the Government withdraw this infamous denationalisation bill—and thus showed that dockers are solid with their fellow-workers in transport in the fight against the Tories. And that is not all. They want public ownership extended to their own sector of the transport industry.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

OUR NEXT ISSUE will be of special importance to trade unionists. It will explain the plans for the weekly's industrial service. ORDER NOW.

Pride & Prejudice

Colonial conversation piece - by M. Banda

(The Scene: the beach at Morecambe. It is a dull windy day. A Colonial student and a reader of 'Tribune' are engaged in serious conversation walking slowly along the promenade. Coming in the opposite direction and walking quickly is a mysterious looking figure. The collar of his overcoat is pulled over his ears and the brim of his hat is pulled over his eyes. He wears dark glasses—his chin is wrapped in a muffler. As he approaches—they recognise him. It is Earwig—a character who calls himself a Socialist as the result of a misunderstanding.)

'Tribune' Reader: Hullo Earwig! Taking your constitutional?

Earwig: No, I'm going to the Lord Mayor's Reception.

'Tribune' Reader: Don't rush. You've got another hour—join us in our discussion (Earwig accompanies them after much fussing). They resume the discussion.

T.R.: (to the Colonial student) You were speaking about a Socialist Britain giving material and financial assistance to the Colonial peoples. Don't you think that the Colombo plan is a start in the right direction?

Earwig: (with great emotion). And what about Truman's Point Four Programme!

Colonial Student: Don't ask me about Point Four—go and ask the Korean peoples. They will tell you how Truman's Generals and his private police force (United Nations) "developed" the "underdeveloped areas" of Korea with high-explosives, napalm, guided missiles and the blood of millions of Korean, Chinese, British and American soldiers and civilians. (Turning to T.R.) The Colombo plan is nothing more than "an exercise in condescending charity." On page 44 of the Colombo Plan Report it states quite clearly: "In terms of the standard of living of the peoples, the growth of productive power is not likely to show spectacular results. . . . The programme will do little more than hold the present position." The 'present position'! Do you know what that means? It means a state of per-

(Continued from previous issue)



manent crisis in which food production per head is 15 per cent. below pre-war! Development indeed! I tell you this is a capitalist plan—with capitalist objectives.

Earwig: Rubbish!

C.S.: Yes—the Colombo Plan is a lot of rubbish—and we aren't going to consume rubbish. If you look a little further than the end of your nose you will see that S.E. Asia is valuable to the Capitalist West for three major reasons. One: It is a valuable field for investment. Two: It is a source of cheap labour and super profits. Three: It provides most of the vital raw materials for the industries in the metropolitan countries. Before the last war it provided almost all the exports of jute and rubber, more than three-quarters of the tin and one-third of the oils and fats. That is not all. For a long time before the war this area of the globe always had a large trading surplus with the Dollar Bloc—which enabled Britain to finance her own deficits.

T.R.: Not now!

C.S.: No. Not entirely. Since the war many things have happened. Where previously Britain was able to finance one-fifth of her imports from her colonial investments, now she can only finance one-twentyfifth of a smaller amount. As a result of the war Britain, the greatest creditor nation in the pre-war world, became the greatest debtor nation.

Earwig: Woe! Woe!

T.R.: Why do you say it is a

capitalist plan?

C.S.: Simple. I shall answer you with a quotation from "The Colombo Plan" (London—Sept.-Oct. 1950):

It says: "The progress of these countries will depend largely upon the existence of a favourable atmosphere for private foreign investment . . . all the countries are conducting their policies toward foreign investment in a manner which seeks to build up this favourable atmosphere." (p.41.) Everything depends on world capitalism, in other words.

T.R.: But aren't we developing the basic services?

C.S.: What use is a macadamized road to a peasant if he hasn't got enough to eat? That's the trouble with this "Plan". It avoids the nub of the question—industrialisation and the mechanising of agriculture. Of the total estimates only 10 per cent. is to be spent on industry and mining—while the 32 per cent. to be spent on agriculture will yield only a 10 per cent. increase in food grain production. This is worse than useless, because the population of Asia by that time would have increased by at least 20 per cent.! Seventy to eighty per cent. of the peoples in S.E. Asia derive their income and livelihood from agriculture. But because of obsolete technique, the lack of fertilizers and pesticides and the small size of farms, productivity is low and consequently two-thirds of the crop is consumed by the farmer and his family. By increasing the size of the farms and by introducing machinery and the latest techniques half the problems would be solved.

T.R.: But what about those countries which are "overpopulated"?

Earwig: That's what I'd like to know. These backward peoples breed like rabbits. That's why you get famines, epidemics and wars.

C.S.: (turning to T.R.) Rising standards of living, as the history

Readers Forum

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

CONGRATULATIONS

Hearty congratulations on the advent of Socialist Outlook weekly at the end of November: and goodbye soon to the "Herald"—that tame attempt by Morgan Phillips and his friends to wreck Socialism. Best wishes to you.

Southport.

H. Feilden.

AND AGAIN

Congratulations on the promise of a weekly paper so soon.

I was particularly struck with the paragraph "Cure by Death" in the article "Facing Facts" ("Socialist Outlook" 19/9/52). Couldn't this picture of such great destruction of vast surpluses be heavily emphasised to show this "inevitability" of Capitalism—and the possibilities of such surplus under socialism. It's a nail to drive right home at such a time as this and exposes the lies about shortages.

Fawley.

J. Ride.

AND CRITICISM

At one time I hoped the paper was going to supply the need for statements of more left-wing views of L.P. members. It has however, become crude and vituperative in expression, which does more harm than good.

Cambridge. Dr. Hilda K. Adams.

OIL POLITICS

Looking through some old papers a few weeks back I came across an article that was published in the "New York Herald Tribune," and re-published in the "World Review" in 1946. It was headed, "America and the Middle East". It went on:

"Who is to control the Middle East. That is the vital question in the background of the Palestine Problem. The importance of the Middle East to the British is obvious: it is their oil reservoir. Britain must hold her Middle Eastern position at all costs if she is to survive as a Major Power. But the Middle Eastern oil resources are also a great American reserve we must fall back on when our reckless home consumption begins to produce the inevitable results."

There was a lot more in the same strain, but my eyes are very bad after 50 years in the mines. Still it's enough to show what is happening in the Middle East today.

I sent this letter to the "Daily Herald" but they weren't interested. Replied saying they could not possibly use it. I wrote back and told the Editor that he could always find time to have a few sly digs at the workers of the U.S.S.R.

Audenshaw. Tom Bakin.
(ex-Miner, aged 80)

THOSE PROFITS

While selling the "Outlook" in the factory where I work, I pointed out the list of profits on page two to one of my work mates. His reaction was "They're pretty big, but they are probably specially selected. What about the firms who can't afford to pay substantial increases in wages because they would go bankrupt?" For the benefit of myself and other readers who have met this objection, perhaps you could outline your answer to it.

London. A.E.U. Member.
Editor replies:

The selection of profits in our Sept. 5th issue covered the main firms in the Birmingham engineering industry. Nobody can deny that these increases are general. The "Outlook" editorial of 25th July noted that, according to the Government's own White Paper on National Incomes, profits rose in 1951 from £3,188 million to £3,624 millions—an increase of £436 millions. The general tendency has thus been for a tremendous rise in profits.

Of course, there have been isolated exceptions. But firms which have hit hard times have been able to utilise their reserves to maintain the income of their shareholders. For example, a Birmingham engineering firm, Constructors Ltd., made £168,586 gross trading profit in 1949 which dropped to £156,794 in 1951. Yet dividend paid increased from 20 per cent. to 25 per cent.

If small firms can't face competition and do go bankrupt then

the responsibility is not at the door of the workers. If industry as at present run cannot guarantee a living wage for its workers, surely it is another powerful argument for ending private enterprise altogether.

OUR PAPER AND THE "DAILY WORKER"

Our paper should take a more positive anti-Stalinist position. I do not, repeat not, suggest that you should borrow from, or make concessions to, the anti-Soviet propaganda of capitalism with which we are all familiar, nor should you modify the Socialist policy which you have been advocating. It is because we are Socialists that we have criticisms and evaluations to make which will not find a place in any other national newspaper.

As its circulation within the Labour Movement grows, the "Socialist Outlook" is bound to be called "Communist" meaning of course "Stalinist". Let us have the answer and reasons made quite clear so that each reader and distributor can defend the paper from the inevitable "smear" tactics.

With the U.S.S.R. in its present position, our political line is bound to run, in many cases, parallel to that of the "Worker" and, while many people will be able to discern the differences, many others may be confused.

If ever a workers' movement with a revolutionary policy approaches power in this country, we may be sure that the Stalinists would make a determined attempt to gain control, or to disrupt it. Either would be a disaster. Now is not too soon to point out why (in both cases).

Finally, to save you making the point, let me say that I recognise Capitalism as the main enemy at present; that I trust the Editor not to make the paper an "anti-Stalinist rag"; and that my suggestion is not necessarily a request for a separate series of articles or periodic statements.

Fulham. Paul Newton.

TORIES IN SALFORD

May I as an E.C. member of the Salford City Party attempt to clear away any misunderstanding that your correspondent D. Burgess's remarks on "Tories in our Party" may have created with regard to the Salford Labour Party.

I must first explain that the dispute which was confined to the East Salford Divisional Labour Party concerned the Social activity in the Division. The people who attempted to use the local Tory Press to discredit or split the Party were in no way active in the political work of the Division.

It would be wrong to assume from Comrade Burgess's remarks that Tories have held key positions in this Division. Where they had infiltrated on to the Social Committee this position has been righted. I will agree that these people, who are socialites not socialists, do exist in the Party but absence will be noticed when the struggle becomes more intense.

E. Salford L.P. J. R. Willcock.

A CASE FOR MORE WAGES

On September 23, a national newspaper (the "News Chronicle") published a leading article entitled "Love in Idleness", reporting the 'abuse' of National Assistance funds by an engineering labourer with a large family.

It seems it suited him better to draw £5 National Assistance than to work a full week for £5 16s. The leader asked: "How can these abuses be stopped?"

The answer seems quite simple to me. The man gets only another 16/- for slogging a whole week.

Surely it is not that the N.A.B. relief is too high but that his wage is too low. What an argument for the engineers' wage increase.

Manchester. (Mrs.) Lillian Allauin

CALIFORNIAN SHELTER

Can you send me a sample copy of "Socialist Outlook"? If possible, the copy containing article "Break with American war plans". Am interested. Much is happening here. We're afraid. We're on pins and needles—uncertain, restless—it's in the air. Bomb shelter signs all over business section of city.

California. S. Benedict.

Socialist office workers must rally . . .

Youth to the Unions!

by ANDREW KIRKBY
(Cities of London and Westminster League of Youth)

NEXT time you walk down a City Street, not necessarily in London, look at the ground. You won't see any gold there but it is quite likely the office block you are passing has windows at pavement level.

Look through these windows and you may see clerks, many of them young girl machinists, working well below street level, in artificial light and with little, if any, signs of ventilation.

A Committee of the Government's Department of Scientific and Industrial Research has recently reported that about 7 per cent. of people employed in offices work in rooms with no windows at all and 20 per cent. of the remainder enjoy no direct natural light on their work.

A DANGER TO HEALTH

Apart from some sanitary and fire-precautionary laws there is very little statutory regulation on office conditions of work. Whilst the Factories Act (1937) lays down that a space of 400 cubic feet (about 47 square feet of floor space) is the minimum for the health and efficiency of the factory worker, there is no similar law for offices. The Gower Committee of Enquiry into Office Conditions, reporting in 1949, approved the Factories Act space standard for offices as well but, after three years, no government has done anything to implement this White Paper.

In my own office, which is typical of many in the City of London, we work in less than half the recommended minimum space per worker. I have spoken to

several young women in a London bank who have worked in a windowless office, grimly known as "the sunshine room" which holds over one hundred girl clerks.

One in particular told me that after several had succumbed to T.B. (a disease, not surprisingly, prevalent among clerical workers), she had requested a move to another office and this was only granted when she produced a doctor's certificate that her health was in danger.

Although Mr. Chuter Ede, the Labour Home Secretary at the time, told a T.U.C. delegation in 1949 that he regarded underground offices as "regrettable incidents" nothing has yet been done to protect the health of the workers concerned.

Why is this so? The Gower Committee, while laying down a number of proposed minimum working conditions, reported "a certain unreality in our proceedings" because no rebuilding or enlarging of offices could be expected for many years owing to the economic crisis (and rearmament would now be included as a reason). The Committee's argument does not, in my opinion, state the basic reason for inaction. The fact of the matter is that office workers' trade union organisation is deplorably weak.

TRADE UNION NEEDED

The Clerical & Administrative Workers' Union and the Guild of Insurance Officials hold a minority position in most offices. The National Union of Bank Employees has recently grown to

about 50 per cent. strength of all clerks and messengers in the industry but has to fight the pernicious propaganda of well organised company unions financed by the employers.

One of these, in the Midland Bank, has recently been dissolved by its own members in anger at its blatantly insincere role. The strongest of the office workers' unions are undoubtedly the Transport Salaries Staffs Association (formerly the Railway Clerks' Association) and the Civil Service Clerical Association.

The workers concerned are not always solely to blame for weak T.U. organisation. Where they are backward to start with an apathetic trade union can wreck their chances altogether. My wife, a member of the C.A.W.U. got a job as a comptometer operator last year in the offices of Hawkers Aircraft, Kingston, and was agreeably surprised to find almost all the young clerks in her office were trade unionists. They were in the T. & G.W.U. (Clerical Section).

The employers here used most oppressive methods of timing the work without even a chance of piece-work as "bait". Health suffered. What was worse, the T. & G.W.U. did not hold regular branch meetings of the membership where protests and opposition to the timing methods could be organised. The only contact the clerks had with the union, after being signed on by a paid official, was when the subs. were collected. As a result there was discontent with the union which was followed by discontent with trade unionism.

LABOUR YOUTH CAN LEAD

There is a vast potential for trade unionism in the offices, especially amongst the youth. The Labour League of Youth membership must direct a "youth to the unions" campaign towards clerical workers. In addition to the health problem, campaign demands should include the five day week; the rate for the job, fair hours and guaranteed overtime pay where overtime work is done (this is a sore point in the banks).

On such a programme, which is by no means extremely radical but which I feel is bound to meet with a response, we in the Labour League of Youth must win the youth in the offices over to trade unionism. This is a priority task and must be done with all firmness.

If we are successful, the L.L.O.Y. can stop the rise of another generation of that menace to socialism "the floating (middle class) vote."

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★ KOREA (from page 1)

among them with fabulous sums of money.

The foul crimes of the so-called United Nations in Korea are committed, let it not be forgotten, in the name of the British people, and in the name of the British Labour Movement.

Whatever gruesome lessons may be learnt from the savageries practised in Korea there is one which we will ignore at our peril. It is that the minds of the peoples of western Europe, including Britain and America, are being deliberately conditioned in readiness for the Third World War!

Overwhelmingly, the Press of our country supports these crimes. Never was the German press in Hitler's days more cowardly totalitarian than the principal British newspapers have been since the beginning of the Korean war. They knew from the outset that it was started upon the instigation of the American warmongers. Not a word of protest has been heard in their columns against the total war carried on against the Korean people. The British Labour movement should not be surprised by this treachery of the press. Our movement only grew from strength to strength as it was able to shed

its illusions about the press of the ruling class.

It is obvious that the immediate duty of the British Labour movement is to use all its influence to stop the Korean war. In so doing it will halt the drive to another war; but unless this is done, this country goes to destruction. There will be no escape for us in this age of atomic war.

Is it not appalling that the people of this politically matured country, with its powerful Labour movement, should wait, apparently helpless, until it is plunged into a war of irreparable destruction at the behest of another country. And that country (America) an aggregation of millions of individuals drawn from almost all the peoples of the earth, historically young, politically most immature and as yet lacking all sense of nationhood; a country where its teeming millions of workers have no semblance of a political party of their own and where, consequently, to a very considerable degree, government is in the hands of high finance, monopolists and political adventurers.

OUR MOVEMENT'S TASK

At the moment the destiny of Britain with its fifty millions of men, women and children is in such hands. The urgent task of our movement is to extricate this country from the American alliance and all that it means. In so doing, Labour will be loyal to its great traditions, loyal to the ideals of socialism.

★ SLUMP (from page 1)

mandated that 200 who had been declared 'redundant' should be kept on the books with pay. The management refused. The factory struck, and after nine days returned to work having won an agreement that anyone declared redundant would be given four weeks warning. If they found work within three weeks, they would be given an extra week's pay—and the management agreed to consider giving extra time to those who were not fixed up in the four weeks.

Although the Smith's workers did not win their full demands, they made an important gain and showed that redundancy can be fought.

Less than 50 years ago the very idea that the state should pay unemployment and sick benefit was attacked and derided. "What? Pay a man for doing nothing?" But today this principle is firmly established. Similarly holidays with pay, the 44 hour week, premium pay for overtime, etc. All these were 'unprecedented' demands in their time. They were all won by the strength and determination of the Trade Union and Labour movement.

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