

Join the
**LABOUR
PARTY**
TODAY

Socialist Outlook

WEEKLY

No. 94
[Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper]

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1953

3d.

**Mau Mau
in
Ireland**
(See page 2)

Dis-United Nations

THE recent meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations does not augur well for the forthcoming Peace Conference with China and North Korea. Throughout, the United States acted, not as one among equals, but as the Big Boss, determined to have its own way.

What a farce the whole business was! A majority of the nations voted for the inclusion of India in the forthcoming conference. But faced with the truculence of Wall Street's representatives, India "gracefully" withdrew. All the American satellites, including the delegate from South Korea and a spokesman for "China" who represents only Chiang Kai Shek and the Soong financial dynasty, dutifully obeyed their master's voice and voted for the exclusion of India.

Behind this façade of votes and speeches can be seen the inner conflicts which is tearing the so-called United Nations to pieces.

There is, first of all, the very real cleavage between the capitalist world, dominated by America, and the non-capitalist world as represented by the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. The differences between the two systems can never be resolved around the conference table. By its very existence, the Soviet Union is a living demonstration to the workers and peasants in the capitalist world that bosses have become redundant—to use a term so beloved of our tame economists.

But within the capitalist camp, too, there are conflicting interests. While the British capitalist class are no less eager than their American confreres to see Communism wiped out, they do not view with complacency American domination of the Far East. The military occupation by United States troops of Japan and Korea facilitates the economic penetration by American capital of regions which have

hitherto been considered sacred to French and British imperialism.

When Britain and France press for recognition of Peoples' China, they do so, not because of love for Communism, but because they have their eye on the tremendous trading possibilities which China provides.

The British and French governments, also, have to take account of a working class which would be bitterly hostile to a renewal of the Korean conflict. This time it will not be so easy to disguise it as "Communist aggression". Thanks to the outspokenness of Syngman Rhee, the world knows who the real aggressors are and they also know that behind Rhee stand his masters—the Wall Street profiteers.

How The Tory Press Undermines Labour

Some Recent Distortions Exposed

By Frank Allaun

"*BRITAIN seems to have turned the corner at last after the war and post-war years*" boomed the voice of the British Gaumont News commentator last week. "*Carefree crowds are enjoying the holiday of their lives.*"

Mr. A. J. Cummings in the "News-Chronicle" also tells us that all is now for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

I can't remember the news reels

telling us this kind of sunshine story during equally carefree holidays under a Labour government. And Mr. Cummings should have been in our local Co-op stores and heard the women's comments on the latest increases in food prices!

Many good Labour men are in the doldrums. They are asking themselves why a government which has cut the food subsidies and the children's education

should be holding its own and even winning seats.

It is partly due to the fall in world prices and partly to Labour leadership which let Churchill seize the initiative in opposing warlike American moves.

But it is mainly the result of the deliberate and sustained boosting of Conservatism by the press.

If Labour had committed the crimes of the present administration it would have been hounded out of office in six months.

ROLE OF THE PRESS

Any newspaper proprietor knows it is easy to deceive readers without telling lies. All you have to do is to select the news. You play up news items which suit your policy and play down or omit those which don't.

The gloom spreading which depressed us for six years from the reactionary press, newsreels and B.B.C. comedians has now gone. Here are some recent examples of biased news treatment.

No subject has been more unfairly handled in the Conservative newspapers than nationalisation. Almost every stick has been used to beat it. When it makes mistakes play them up, when it has successes forget about them.

By selecting the news the general impression has been created that the nationalised industries are all making losses. The facts are exactly the contrary. With only one exception

they are all making profits—even after paying generous compensation interest.

FACTS ON NATIONALISATION

On June 19 the state steel industry declared the huge net profit of £64,000,000. This was reported in most daily newspapers in two or three inches with a single column head. (Contrast the front page lead given in Tory papers to the Coal Board's first year's loss of £20,000,000—after compensation payment.)

The "Daily Sketch" and "Graphic" (now owned by the Rothermere group) managed (on June 18) to report the nationalised steel industry's accounts without mentioning any profit figure at all! Earlier in the year Richard Thomas and Baldwin's, then under State ownership, made a net profit of £10,500,000. In reporting these profits the press carefully omitted to mention that this was a publicly owned property.

FACTS ON PRICES

On August 6 the prices of butter, marmalade, cooking fats and sugar were raised and that of bacon was temporarily reduced. The increases were due to cuts in the subsidies which we were promised at the general election would definitely not be interfered with.

How did the "Daily Express" (circulation 4,100,000, readership 10,000,000) deal with this item? Its "splash" (front page headline) was "All the Bacon you Want". It did not explain, of course, how reduced consumption due to the high cost of living had led to this

Continued on page 2



Child Victims of War

The results of an allied raid on Berlin in 1943. (Photo: Weltkrieg im Bild. Reproduced by kind permission of "Peace News.")

The "Herald" wants more efficient instruments of war. (See article by R. Hood on this page)

Can we agree to this slaughter of the innocents?

Well Done Leeds!

On Sunday morning, August 30, 15 supporters of the "Socialist Outlook" went into the Central Division of Leeds on an intensive door to door canvass as a beginning to the "Outlook" propaganda week in the Leeds district.

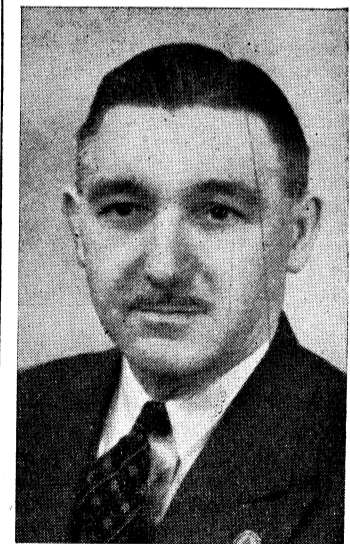
In just over one hour, 184 copies of "Socialist Outlook" were sold. As a finish to the morning's sales drive an open air meeting was held off Camp Road which attracted an audience of 40/50 people and resulted in a further sale of over two dozen copies.

Questions from the audience came on Housing, Cost of Living, and the Tory cuts in Food Subsidies. Two problems on housing were presented which the speaker undertook to pass on to the appropriate Council Committee.

The questions asked, the problems presented, and the reception we received all demonstrated the need for a real fighting Socialist policy for the Labour Party and the desire of the ordinary man in the street for such a policy.

Bob Pennington. Leeds.

Leeds.



NORMAN DINNING

A left-wing Labour Party member and one of the candidates in the forthcoming election for President of the A.E.U.

(See Star Letter, page 4.)

The "Herald" Has a Complaint

By Roddy Hood

"ARE We Well Defended?" asks the "Daily Herald" in its editorial of August 26. In a week of scare propaganda about H-Bombs and Guided Missiles, the "Herald" chimes in with the injunction to get value for money out of the arms budget.

It appears at first logical to argue that "until the day of disarmament comes let's be sure we are getting full value for our gigantic arms expenditure", for, "everybody agrees that the money, whatever its amount, must be spent efficiently".

Yes, it does appear logical—for it implies that opposition means arguing for inefficient arms spending. Yet no Socialist could read that editorial and feel happy about it.

The feeling of distaste begins at the use of the term "Defence" which helps the Churchills and McCarthy's put across the idea that they are merely defending us against a coming attack—this time from the U.S.S.R. Tory foreign policy as it affects the Africans, Malaysians, Egyptians, Persians and other colonial peoples, is thus strengthened because it gets universal support for increasing its "Defence" measures.

By joining in the chorus of "More Defence" we endorse the use of the "defence" forces in these theatres. We also increase the weight of Tory say in the so-

called councils of the great powers. It is not at all crazy for Socialists to be against the use of any money for these purposes. And what are the other aspects of this "Defence" programme?

They concern mainly the building up of means to intimidate the workers' states of China, Russia, and Eastern Europe. That is the overall general function of "Defence" in the relative peace of today. As we pointed out last week, it does not prevent, but facilitates war—the big bang, literally so this time.

"Our R.A.F. has no guided missile schools", we read. "All our recent air, sea and land exercises have been based on last-war techniques and weapons." Note the "Our". It is similar "Defence". It could never have been written by a Socialist paper to describe the present state of things.

It needs to be said that the Socialist movement has no R.A.F., no Defence, no possibility of "air, sea and land exercises". These are, and will remain, Tory-controlled, to be used strictly in accordance with Tory foreign policy. That means, to be used against the anti-capitalist movements and countries—to weaken and destroy them, at first by diplomatic pressures, then economically, by means of blockade techniques already employed, and finally militarily.

That is the reality of today's

"Defence" as conducted by "Our" defence arms.

Clearly, therefore, a Socialist paper must qualify any statement about getting value for money out of a Tory-controlled arms budget. But perhaps the "Herald" editorial is written like other editorials with the deliberate aim of confusing the real point at issue—namely that Tory defence cannot be our defence? Perhaps it is part of the crafty capitalist propaganda that the arms programme is for the defence of you and me? For it does undoubtedly play upon the natural desire of you and me to do our utmost to survive. It does play up the notion that if the others are arming then we must arm faster.

But what if you and me have no say in how the arms are to be used and against whom? What if they are in fact at present being used against our brothers in other countries?

We submit that a Socialist paper must qualify such statements about arms expenditure. It must state the truth. It must propagandise the fact that the arms are being used for Tory purposes—against those oppressed by Tory foreign policy. Having faced the responsibility of doing this, a Socialist paper would write fewer crafty articles enjoining the workers to get more value out of arms programmes.

It would see that advocating efficient spending on arms implies

endorsement of the use of these arms and leads to a need to develop the requisite hysteria to get acceptance of the sacrifices consequent upon such expenditure on arms. It would see the connection between the wages struggle and the arms programme.

In short, it would see that by joining in the press claptrap it must sacrifice the most elementary interests of the class it represents.

That is why we say: "No support for the Tory arms programme". "Against spending—efficient or otherwise—for the purpose of restoring capitalism to the world." For a new Labour Government with a Socialist foreign policy. That is the only real defence we have today.

Who Owns 'Socialist Outlook'?

The "Socialist Outlook" was first produced in December, 1948. It is owned and published by the Labour Publishing Society Ltd.—a co-operative society registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act.

Anyone who is a member of, or is eligible for membership of, the Labour Party can, by purchasing a £1 share, become an owner of the "Socialist Outlook".

The Officers and Committee of Management are elected at an Annual General Meeting, and they appoint the Editorial Board.

The present Chairman of the Society is Jack Stanley, General Secretary of the Constructional Engineering Union. Bob Streetley, for many years a well-known member of Bermondsey Labour Party, is the Vice-Chairman. Tom Braddock,

Labour M.P. for Mitcham (1945-50) and now chairman of Wimbledon Labour Party, is the Treasurer. The Secretary is Lambeth Councillor, Tom Mercer.

The aim of the "Outlook" is quite simple: to assist the rank and file in securing a Socialist policy for the Labour Party. If you agree with this, why not become a shareholder?

Mau Mau is well-known to Irish people

says Timothy Enright

"THE peasantry formed themselves into secret societies, taking various names, such as 'White Boys' and 'Lady Clare Boys'. The men were sworn upon oath to preserve the secrets of their association, and to act for the interest of their class. The 'Whitefeet', or 'White Boys' were disguised by wearing a white shirt over their clothes, and a mask. The 'Lady Clare Boys' were disguised by wearing women's dresses and masks made of the sides of a black hat, with quills sewn over the hole for the mouth in place of teeth. These disguises were horribly grotesque; and when it was known that firearms were carried under the disguise, the stoutest heart might quail on the approach of these hideous and savage instruments of discontent. In their wild rage they perpetrated acts the bare recital of which made the heart palpitate. . . . In one district bands of men, disguised with white handkerchiefs round their waists were going about swearing the people to pay neither tithes, taxes nor rents, and beating those who refused."

Substitute Mau Mau for "White Boys" and "Lady Clare Boys" and we would have a passage which might be taken from any of the newspapers or periodicals dealing with events in Kenya during the last six months.

The quotation comes in fact from **"The History of Ralahine and Co-operative Farming"** by E. T. Craig.

Ralahine in Co. Clare was the home of the first co-operative community in Ireland founded by E. T. Craig in the 1830's. Craig, steeped in the teachings of Robert Owen, saw in co-operation the means of changing the savage and murderous Irish into productive and peaceful citizens.

His method was to found a co-operative community on land leased from an Irish landlord, the class which by its open robbery and state-sponsored repression coerced a prosperous and contented people into pauperdom and slave labour.

The attitude of Craig (and when we remember that he was sympathetic we get a picture of what the general British attitude was) is closely mirrored by the approach of the Pale Pinks towards the Mau Mau. Craig believed that one method of divorcing Irish children from the wild ways of their fathers was to teach them the minutiae! Is this any different from the policy of preaching to the Kikuyu that the neat algebraic formula, one White equals 100 Blacks, which describes the economic picture, also describes algebraically the political picture of one Black equals one White in 100 years?

"The Government", as Craig says, "had no clear picture of any practical remedy beyond the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the temporary abolition of trial by jury, the introduction of a military tribunal, and martial law. . . ." The same Government adopts very similar measures today, only the locale is different. The "Hell or to Connaught" policy of Cromwell is the Templer policy today.

Whole populations were driven from Ulster, Leinster and Munster into the barren and bleak Connaught coast to make way for British colonists. The Kikuyu were driven from their rich lands into small, inadequate and ever-

Wars don't end with the signing of Armistice

WARS end officially when an Armistice Agreement is signed and a Peace Treaty is drawn up. The fighting ceases and the troops are withdrawn from the battlefields and dispersed to their various homes.

But long after the din of battle has died down there are tens of thousands of human beings who bear living witness to the misery and suffering which war brings in its wake. There are widows and orphans; the bereaved parents and wives and sweethearts; the wounded; the sick and disabled—all paying the price for the wars of the past.

A grim picture of this mass of human suffering emerges from the hundred pages of facts and figures contained in the 28th report of the

eroding reserves to make way for the same class of vultures. To whole villages were razed to the ground and innocent old men, women and children carted off to be "resettled".

For six harrowing months the struggle has raged. The comic-opera speeches of the Colonial Secretary that Mau Mau is the result of witchcraft without economic foundation are only accepted by those politicians who for their own miserable survival are forced to keep their consciences on their sleeves.

We do not condone the outrages perpetrated by the Mau Mau, mostly against their own people. This, however, we do know—that the Mau Mau was as sure to come as night follows day.

The inhuman slumdom of Nairobi, a city which boasts more cars, in proportion to the population, than any city in the world; the deliberate crippling taxation resulting in the squatter system and slave labour; the starvation and disease-ridden reserves; all these were certain signposts even though we knew that for long the Kikuyu were regarded as one of the mildest tribes in Africa.

Today the schools are shut down; the Kenya African Union, which was laying solid foundations of political development, has been suppressed and its leaders gaoled; teacher Peter Wright, who worked for racial co-operation and lawyer Peter Evans, who exposed the appalling conditions in Kenya prisons and the Black-and-Tan thuggery of the police have been expelled; the high-powered bombs blast the forests—yet all these crimes committed in the name of the British people are met here with almost complete silence and we are responsible for the welfare of the Kikuyu.

For 700 years Ireland suffered the rack and thumbscrew. But there was a bright gleam in the long darkness each time a few dared stand out in defiance and seize the weapons to hand. Such men were the White Boys, the Lady Clare Boys and others who committed the officially described "agrarian outrages". Each such "outrage" showed that the heart of the nation throbbed with the pulsation of liberty and that it would

Ministry of Pensions, which has just been published.

In the years 1952-53, the Ministry paid out **£83,633,000** in pensions and allowances for the victims of the first and second world wars. Since operations began in Korea in 1950, the following pensions have been added: Disablement 749; widows 180; orphans 9; parents 86. For Malaya the corresponding figures are: Disablement 629; widows 69; orphans 3; parents 21. In due course, the colonial war in Kenya will also add its quota of human misery.

The cash figures only tell part of the story. Both the great world wars have left a legacy of ill and maimed the cost of which can never be computed.

It may be some small compensation to know that modern surgical skill has resulted in a smaller proportion of disablement resulting from direct wounds and amputations in World War II than in its 1914 predecessor. But on the other side of the picture we find that the second war produced a higher incidence of deafness (due to exposure to bombing) and many more cases of nervous and mental breakdowns. There is also an increase in the respiratory diseases,



A typical scene in Kenya today.

never stop beating in an ignominious death of thralldom.

In Kenya the police action of the "civilised" to tame the "uncivilised" has resulted in 1,062 Africans killed and 349 believed wounded, according to a report in Parliament before it broke up. The figures have increased since then.

All the eloquence in the world could not give a better picture than these figures of what our Labour politicians choose to call the "transformation of 19th century imperialism into 20th century Commonwealth co-operation".

According to a report in the

"Manchester Guardian", the Mau Mau leader, **Dedan Kimathi**, claimed in a letter to the Government "that there was no such thing as Mau Mau. He said that the poor were the Mau Mau. Poverty could be stopped but not by bombs and other weapons" (my emphasis.—T.E.)

Surely it is time the British people and especially the Labour movement faced up to its responsibilities. What we cannot repeat too often is that **the responsibility is ours.**

When are we going to cry halt!

The T.U.C. and Africa

THESE two resolutions on the T.U.C. agenda, standing in the name of the C.E.U. and the C.S.C.A., should be supported by all delegates as a welcome advance on the present official position of the Labour and Trade Union Movement.

KENYA

This Congress views with grave concern the present position in Kenya and while appreciating the necessity of protecting the interests of the British people in that country, feel that the repressive measures being adopted against people of Kenya are not likely to produce goodwill or any long term solution of the problem, but are more certain to exacerbate the relations between the Europeans and Natives, thereby considerably worsening the position. Congress therefore calls upon the Government to end immediately the present reign of terror and repression and set about the task of giving to the people of Kenya the opportunity of setting up their own Government on similar lines to other members of the Commonwealth with the view to their ultimate right of self-determination and complete independence as in the case of India.

Constructional Engineering Union

especially bronchitis and tuberculosis.

What is particularly striking is the delayed effects of some injuries received in war time. Last year, 35 years after the armistice of 1918, 95 new pensions were granted for disabilities from that war which had only just become manifest. At this rate, some of the injuries received in the last war will only be showing themselves in the 1970's. A truly sobering thought.

These statistics speak for themselves. They show the tremendous toll of human suffering which results from war. Right now the capitalist world is making feverish preparations to plunge the world into a third blood-bath. With the new weapons of death this would leave behind even a bigger burden of tortured flesh and twisted minds.

A powerful Labour Movement can prevent this catastrophe only by opposing the war moves of the capitalist rulers and calling on the working class to intensify its efforts to re-install a Labour Government with a Socialist and internationalist policy.

AFRICAN UNIONS

Congress places on record its admiration and sympathy for the present struggles of the peoples of Africa for basic human rights and condemns the opposition they are meeting in many quarters, motivated as it is by the concept of white supremacy. Congress believes that the success of this struggle for elementary justice requires the existence of a free democratic Trade Union Movement and therefore the I.C.F.T.U. must take urgent action to increase its help to African trade unionists and to consider setting up an African Trade Union College, as soon as possible.

Congress also urges the General Council to increase the allocation of funds for educational purposes to provide a larger number of scholarships for African and other Colonial trade unionists to attend T.U.C. courses in this country and to secure the benefits of trade union education in supplementary ways.

Civil Service Clerical Association.

TORY PRESS and LABOUR (from p. 1)

freeing of bacon for those who could afford it.

Now let's look at the way the "Daily Express" dealt with this year's local elections. On May 4, 5 and 6 Labour recorded big gains in the elections throughout the country. On the Thursday (May 7) the "Express" carried no mention of them and even "forgot" to tell its readers that on that Thursday polling would take place in the municipal boroughs.

THE AUSTIN STRIKE

And note its treatment of the Austin strike. This was an official strike by the National Union of Vehicle Builders against the breaking of a pledge by the Austin company that they would not take on new workers until they had taken back men they had recently declared redundant.

This essential point was not even mentioned in the article entitled "The Strange Case of Brother McHugh" on March 20 in which Trevor Evans examined the Austin dispute.

The "Sunday Post" has a big Scottish circulation—and is one of the D. C. Thomson publications the T.U.C. is rightly asking us to boycott because of its victimisation of Trade Unionists. On April 26 with a headline across four columns it gave the Austin company's case at court. Now it is the usual procedure to give both sides of court proceedings. During the ensuing week the Union's evidence was given. It might have been reasonably expected that it would receive equal prominence but the "Sunday Post" of May 3 did not report a single word of the hearing!

The following happened on the "Daily Mail". On June 18 a story was set up in type about the Hon. Roger David Marquis, company director, son of Lord Woolton, being committed for trial on a charge of driving while under the influence of drink. Later in the evening the story was cut by two thirds and the reference to Lord Woolton deleted.

Readers may say: "Quite right, too. Why drag Lord Woolton into it? After all, he can't be responsible for his son's conduct." I fully agree. This smearing of political leaders by publishing personal matter of this kind is to be deprecated. But why wasn't the same nicety of feeling demonstrated when Emanuel Shinwell's son was in trouble?

(It should be added that Mr. Marquis was acquitted a few weeks later.)

TROUBLE AMONG TORIES

Time and time again we find the press ignoring trouble in the Tory camp which would have been "splashed" had it been within the Labour movement. (And surely there is no more serious division inside the Labour Party than between Churchill and the rest over the sabotage of his May 11 speech?)

When, for instance, the Conservative "Spectator" fired Mr. Wilson Harris, its editor for 21 years, after a row with the directors, the "News-Chronicle" was one of the handful of papers to report it. Supposing it had been the editor of the "Tribune", or some other Socialist paper,

what a how-d'ye-do there would have been in the Tory journals!

Similarly, on March 27 one of our leading evening newspapers carried a report by its political correspondent on the private meeting at Westminster held by Conservative M.P.'s at which Churchill was bitterly attacked over his Egyptian policy. This was reported by this political correspondent as "an exhilarating discussion" (though he could not have been present himself).

But if it had been a private discussion between Labour M.P.'s we should have been told of another fatal split in the Party, of Bevan, Morrison and Attlee seething with ambition, of the feud having finally destroyed all public confidence, and all the rest of it.

PROGRESS INEVITABLE

This personalisation of politics debases them. So that instead of being allowed to follow intelligently the real and vital discussion now taking place within the Labour movement the reader is bemused with tales of personal vendettas.

I believe, however, that while the press can, and does, delay progress it cannot prevent it. And if the Labour Party will campaign officially and vigorously for a peaceful settlement of the differences between Russia and America it will sweep the board.

Footnote: As newspaper proprietors decide the policy of their journals it is they and not the working journalists who are responsible for the pro-Tory propaganda.

THREES INTO TWENTY-NINE!

Wage restraint? Nationalisation of land? Compensation? Have a look at the record of the Land Securities Investment Trust.

If you were one of the fortunate ones to "get in on the ground floor" with a 30s. investment in this concern you have had three shares of ten shillings each. Apart from dividends you will also have received free, gratis and for nothing, the following "bonuses".

For every three shares held, two free shares making your holding five.

Then, another two making your holding seven.

Then another two, making your holding nine.

Then another two making your holding eleven.

And now, for every eleven shares held, you are given a bonus of twenty-nine!

Thus your original 30s. has become £20. Any suggestions?

Calling all Readers!

L.P.S. Shareholders Meeting, BATTERSEA LABOUR CLUB, 81 Falcon Road,

Clapham Junction, S.W.11.

Tom Braddock

on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK POLICY AND THE MARGATE CONFERENCE

Wednesday, September 9, 8 p.m.

Dublin's Unemployed

LAST month saw one of the biggest unemployment demonstrations in Dublin's recent history. A meeting of some 3,000 reduced traffic in Dame Street to a crawl and caused some buses to be diverted.

Addressing the meeting, Mr. James Larkin, son of the famous Jim, said that there were 62,000 registered unemployed in Ireland at present. This did not take into account some 20 to 25 thousand who had been cut off the Exchanges by Employment Period Orders. In October these would come back again on the Exchanges and he feared that by the end of the year the figures would have gone up to over 80,000.

In Dublin, said Mr. Larkin, there was an urgent need for 20,000 new houses but still they

had thousands of unemployed building workers.

Just before the meeting began, 300 members of the Dublin Unemployed Association marched through the streets of the city. All of them were charged with obstruction. Reporting this to the meeting, Mr. Thomas Pearle, chairman of the Association, asked: "Obstructing what? Not working class people, but the aristocrats and capitalists who have been sucking us for the last 30 years."

The meeting passed a resolution calling on the Government to increase benefit rates to offset the rise in the cost of living and that work should be provided at Trade Union rates of pay by initiating a policy of capital expenditure on housing and industry.

This new-found militancy of the Irish unemployed is the direct result of their rapidly worsening

conditions. The two budgets so far introduced by the De Valera Government have borne very heavily on the working class. In 1952, direct and indirect taxation was increased and most of the food subsidies abolished. This immediately sent the cost of living soaring and there have been no commensurate wage increases. Especially hard hit were the great army of unemployed.

The Irish workers, who took a leading part in the struggle to free Ireland from British rule, are now learning the lesson which Jim Connolly tried to impress upon them in the years leading up to the Easter Rising in 1916—that the fight for national liberation is only the first phase of the battle. After that comes the struggle against the Irish capitalists, for that Irish Workers' Republic for which Jim Connolly and the heroes of the Citizen Army gave their lives.

Socialist Outlook

177 Bermondsey St., London, S.E.1.

Telephone: HOP 4554

Editor: John Lawrence

Nationalisation —and How

WAY back in '45, when Labour confidently stepped into power, the leaders were for nationalisation, and nationalise they did—some very important sections of industry.

Capitalist interests fought back with all they had—especially with their press—so that now, with Toryism in power busily returning Transport and Steel to their happy hunting grounds of stocks and shares, many Labour and T.U. leaders have deserted to the Tory camp on public ownership. Even some of the rank and file begin to enquire, is it worth it?

Well, is it? Lets get down to fundamentals and find out. What every worker wants from life is security, a decent home life for himself, wife and kids, with decent working conditions and enough of peace and leisure to indulge in his favourite pursuits and hobbies. The short answer to this is that you can only get these conditions with a Socialist system. Capitalism destroys security and peace, degrades work to the level of arduous toil, compels the worker to struggle and scheme like an

animal for his living, and leisure becomes merely an escape to the pub at the corner, the chapel or the flicks.

So we need Socialism if we, the wealth producers, are to step into the world of freedom; which means taking away from all the landlords, landowners, and shareholders with their many hangers on, the freedom to own and control, buy and sell human lives and human labour. It makes no odds whether these parasites deal in the labour of the Bill Smiths and Fred Greens, now living and working as engineers or brickies' labourer, or whether they buy and sell the labour of the Tom Browns and Peter Sykes of 60 to 100 years ago and which was built into the dockyards, roads and railways of today.

Whether it be profit made today or profit made 60 to 100 years ago and pocketed by the spivs, the shareholders, and the money rakers, it is still used to enslave workers. We are as much the slaves of profit, of interest, of rent, as were the negro people sold by traders from West Africa.

The nationalised railways shell out £32 millions per year in interest alone to the ex-shareholders and the National Coal Board pays out £14,500,000 every year to members of the same class. These industries are not subsidised by Government funds so that railway men and miners must work to pay these huge sums, as interest on profits originally made out of the workers who built the railways and mines.

A profitable game for shareholders. Modernisation, wages, welfare, safety, must all wait until interest is paid, that is capitalist law. Socialist law is different, but it must be applied by Labour.

Basic truth No. 1 is therefore, free the nationalised industries from the grip of the ex-shareholders. Stop the payment of interest on nationalised property and subject all hardship claims to a Trade Union commission.

Ernest Jones

Fund Started For African Trade Unions

SOLLY SACHS, South Africa's exiled Trade Union leader is heading a campaign to raise a fund to help the South African working class in its fight against Malan and Apartheid.

The campaign aims at raising £100,000 which will be mainly used to provide technical assistance for African Trade Unions. This is a move of great significance. African Trade Unions, restricted by vicious colour bar legislation, are further hampered by lack of funds. Out of their miserable wages, African workers find it almost impossible to provide sufficient money to pay for organisers, office accommodation and equipment and all the other technical requirements which go to make for efficient Trade Union organisation.

Here is one way in which the Labour Movement in this country can give practical assistance to their African brothers now fighting the evil of Malan. The organisation of the millions of Africans in industry, the mines and in agriculture into strong Trade Unions will spell the end of Malan and all he stands for. In South Africa the struggle for African Trade Unions is part of the fight to extend elementary civil rights to all those who are today the voteless serfs of the white Herrenvolk.

At a meeting in London last week, where the campaign was launched, Mr. Sachs assured a questioner that the administration of the fund would not be limited to the frontiers of the Union of South Africa. Where African Trade Unions in the Rhodesias, Nyasaland or Kenya required help it would be gladly given.

Get your Labour Party or Trade Union branch to give its support to this campaign, thus expressing in a practical way the solidarity between the British and African workers.

The Trustees for the Fund are **Reg. Sorensen, M.P., Anthony Greenwood, M.P., George C. Doughty (Sec.), Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draftsmen, Canon John L. Collins of St. Paul's.**

All donations should be sent to: Fund for South African

Democracy,

2 Amen Court,
London, E.C.4.

Solidarity

Westminster clerks, meeting on August 25 passed a resolution congratulating French strikers on their unity and militancy in struggle, and calling upon the C.A.W.U. and T.U.C. to express the solidarity of British clerical workers with their Paris comrades. A collection of £1 14s. 6d. was raised.

SWEET LITTLE RACKET

Open your paper any day and look at the "City" column. Today for example (Monday, August 31) the "Daily Herald" carries a headline "Cloth Firm to give Free Share Bonus". It proceeds then to explain that a "large slice of reserves, £1,850,000, all of which comes from retained profits over the years is to be capitalised by Salts (Saltaire), the Yorkshire worsted cloth firm. . . . Ordinary shareholders will get four new shares for every share held." As the adverts were fond of telling us at the time of shortages, this is worth waiting for. Instead of receiving dividends which would be subject to income tax, and which would have provided arguments against wage restraint, shareholders will retain their initial investment, and be able to sell their four new shares, the proceeds of which go down as "capital gains" and are not subject to taxation as income.

Nice work if you can get it. But the workers who have produced all this extra wealth? They can get a lecture from the British Productivity Council proving what a lazy lot of so and so's they are, and work a bit harder in order to produce more so that we can carry on making bigger and better profits for bigger and better bonuses.



LION? I CAN'T SEE ANY LION!

Will the T.U.C. Press its wage claim?

LAST April Mr. Butler introduced a Budget in which he made very substantial tax concessions to wealthy individuals and to industry. City speculators amused themselves by making bids for shares and many companies increased their dividends.

The cost of living, however, continued to rise and many Unions put forward claims for wage increases, the most important of which was a demand from the **Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions** for an increase of 15 per cent.

Now the Unions are being told by Mr. Butler, Mr. Deakin and others that they must exercise restraint and that any substantial and significant increase in wages would lead to a further increase in costs and prices and make it very much harder for the country to maintain its export markets in the face of German and Japanese competition.

They are being told this in spite of the fact that the reduction in income tax and the abolition of the Excess Profits Levy and other concessions to industry very considerably increased the resources at the disposal of industry. Indeed it seems obvious to most workers that it should be possible to increase wages at least in proportion to Budget the tax concessions to industry without any effect upon costs and prices and export markets.

We are told, however, that the funds made available by the tax concessions must be ploughed back in capital development instead of being distributed to the workers in wage increases. Such capital development may be needed; but if the capital accumulation is undertaken within industry it will be undertaken on behalf of ordinary shareholders whose shares will necessarily appreciate in value.

Half the privately held ordinary shares in the country are held by people with fortunes of over

£50,000; and these capital gains would be made free of tax.

The Unions are being asked to exercise restraint in wage claims in order that still higher profits may be piled up on behalf of shareholders.

What is the attitude of the T.U.C. to this situation? Mr. Deakin, Mr. Williamson and others support the Government in saying that there must be restraint in wage claims. The T.U.C. also says—as in its memoranda before and after the Budget—that taxation of profits should be increased and that dividends should be limited by law. It does not, how-

In 1952 the T.U.C. suggested that earned and property incomes should be taxed at two rates. If they were, property incomes could be taxed at well over 20s. in the £ so that those concerned had to pay out of capital. Taxation on profits could also be increased and the capital accumulation which is needed could be undertaken by the state on behalf of the nation. Or, if all industry was brought under social ownership by the conversion of every public company into a public corporation, capital accumulation within industry would also be undertaken on behalf of the people.

Discussion Article

This article shows clearly enough the back-sliding of the T.U.C. on the question of the legal limitation of dividends. However, we do not think the Trade Union movement should agree to wage-freezing even if, as the author suggests, dividends were legally limited.

ever, say what it means by the "legal limitation of dividends".

It could mean a temporary delay in the distribution of dividends (as proposed by Mr. Gaitskell in 1951) in which case profits would be piled up on behalf of shareholders and distributed when the legislation came to an end. But it could also mean that the return paid to shareholders was limited as permanently and effectively as in the nationalised industries and in the Co-operative Movement by the conversion of every public company into a public corporation.

Unless the T.U.C. has such permanent legislation in mind dividend limitation merely means that profits accumulate on behalf of shareholders.

The present Government is unlikely to make such changes. But it could increase the Profits Tax—a tax which was introduced by the Tories before the war. Or it could introduce temporary legislation for the limitation of dividends as was proposed by Sir John Simon in 1940.

The T.U.C. demands an increase in the Profits Tax and the legal limitation of dividends; but it does not say, as it did in the autumn of 1947, that the Unions are not prepared to exercise restraint in wage claims unless the Government takes more effective action on profits. Nor does the T.U.C. say that Union members are likely to exercise restraint in work unless wage claims are met or action taken to distribute burdens more fairly.

It will be remembered that the German coal and steel workers secured equal and legal representation on the Boards of steel and coal companies by the threat of strike action. By the same means British workers might secure legal limitation of dividends and increased taxation of profits or property incomes even from the present Government. Perhaps we shall hear from the Isle of Man whether the T.U.C. intends to press its claims.

Labour's History

Deported . . . For Forming a Union!

“ON all great subjects much remains to be said”, wrote an author in the 19th century, and this is especially true of the formation of the early Trade Unions.

If asked what significance is attached to the year 1834 most people would probably answer that only twelve months previously slavery was abolished.

For Socialists, and particularly Trade Unionists, the great victory of the **Tolpuddle Martyrs** over the Squirearchy and the oppressive Tory government of the time must take priority in order of importance.

These six agricultural labourers, George Loveless, James Loveless, Thomas Stanfield, John Stanfield, James Hammet and James Brine, laid the foundation of modern Trade Unions when they met in the living room of George Loveless' small hovel in Tolpuddle, Dorsetshire, in March 1833.

After deciding that it was virtually impossible to exist and pay the high rents, tithes, tolls and usury on a mere wage of 7s. per week, they approached the local clergyman, Dr. Warren, and arranged to meet the local Squire and their employers—the local farmers—to discuss the problem.

Although their action would seem the normal thing to do, it was regarded in those days as a "terrible sin", an example of which is Oliver Twist who, like the labourers, dared to ask for more.

The men were undaunted, however, and elected George Loveless, who was a local Methodist lay preacher and a good speaker, as well as being one of themselves, as spokesman. He presented their case in such a strong and sincere manner that the miserly farmers eventually agreed to a three shill-

ing increase for the men. However, they refused to make this a written agreement.

Dr. Warren, who was symbolic of the Church at that time, consented to be the referee in the matter and to see that the men got their rise.

Many months transpired, however, before the men received their increase, which was short-lived, for within another few months, the unscrupulous land owners had deducted their money until it once again reverted to the meagre 7s. a week.

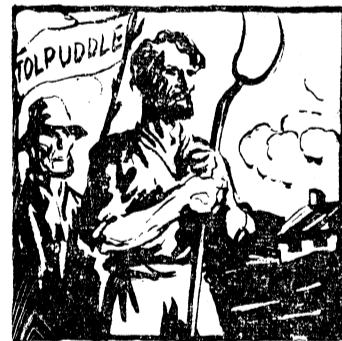
Loveless and his comrades appealed to the local magistrate against this open robbery and called the Dr. Warren as their sole witness. The parson denied all knowledge of the affair and denounced the men, in effect, as common liars. Because they had no written agreement, the labourers could not disprove Dr. Warren's treacherous lies.

This was a bitter blow, arranged by the deferential Warren and the farmers, to silence the demands of their employees who worked 14

hours a day for six days a week. And on the seventh were instructed by the clergy to pray in Church for their "masters" and squire so that by the Grace of God they may live long and grow rich quickly.

In those so-called "Good old days", unemployment was rife even in the rural areas of this country and once a worker was out of a job, employment was extremely difficult to get. Consequently, the agricultural workers of the day were fettered to their slave-like jobs.

Disheartened, but certainly not



seven years' transportation would be carried out on anyone joining the Union".

Later on February 24, the six original founder members were arrested at their homes. Knowing themselves to be guiltless they offered no resistance to their captors.

On March 18, 1834, they were tried before the Dorchester magistrates without having any accusation or evidence against them other than the administering of oaths which formed part of the Society's initiation ceremony.

Many experts today agree that these Martyrs were absolutely innocent of any crime, but Judge **John Williams**, who had only just been raised to the bench, permitted a scandalous miscarriage of justice. After an amazingly short trial—consisting of a multitude of concocted yarns and garbled nonsense in favour of the prosecution—the judge sentenced the six Trade Unionists to seven years transportation to Botany Bay.

On April 15, 1834, Lord Howick proudly boasted in the House of Commons that the Martyrs had sailed for Australia—only 11 days after their trial—and were now well on their way.

This was the spark which started a nation-wide blaze of anti-government feeling. Throughout the length and breadth of the country demonstrations and mass protest meetings were held. Petitions for the Martyrs' release inundated the House of Commons. The words "Trade Unionism" were on everyone's lips.

The Tory government, meaning to strike terror into the hearts of all Trade Unionists, created an exactly opposite effect. With a similar sentence of transportation on their heads, those early Trade Unionists worked with wonderful enthusiasm and fervour to liberate

their colleagues who had been wrongly convicted by the reactionary state.

Adverse publicity flowed from the capitalist press but in spite of this, Union membership increased tremendously.

The government became so unpopular that they realised they had to calm the anxiety. And, in 1837 the labourers returned to England where they were acclaimed as "Martyrs", "Victors" and "Heroes" and more than £1,000 was raised to be shared among them.

Although they were the victims of barbaric treatment at that court in Dorchester three years previously, there could be no doubt that they had emerged the real victors.

The Editor of "True Sun" correctly summed up the Martyrs' trial when he wrote: "The men of Dorchester were selected for persecution because they were deemed to be least capable of defending themselves against the means employed for their destruction. But in their persons the rights of liberty of the millions have been infringed and trampled on".

The Tolpuddle Martyrs (as they will forever be known) have now a great monument erected in their memory—the powerful Trade Unions of today.

READ
Britain's only T.U. Weekly Newspaper
The Railway Review
FEARLESS, FACTUAL,
STIMULATING
and packed with information.
Price 3d.
Obtainable from any newsagent or bookstall.

Stop Wasting the Coal

THAT a greater output of coal is needed urgently is a statement with which I don't think anyone would disagree, but without in any way trying to minimise the importance of raising the nation's coal output, I say in all seriousness that we as a nation have got to do a great deal more than we are doing to conserve this most precious of raw materials.

Without a doubt we are the biggest coal-wasting nation in Europe. That might have been all right many years ago when we had plenty of coal to play with, but today the position is different. Today I consider it almost a criminal offence to waste coal.

Coal—both in the home and in industry—is generally burned in old fashioned appliances which lead to a shocking waste of coal. The people of this country, to a greater extent than the people of any other country, have developed the habit of using thermal electricity for the very crude job of heating—electric fires, kettles and stoves. I know that this has the advantage of ease, and comfort and in some way or other is regarded as being modern, but the main point to consider is whether in view of changed world conditions we can afford to carry on doing this. Let's consider the points mentioned, i.e., wasteful grates in the home and the use of electricity for heating.

It is estimated that 80 per cent. of the heat produced by an old fashioned house coal fire is wasted up the chimney. Why cannot the Government, by granting subsidies for this purpose, encourage householders to instal more modern and efficient grates.

Electricity is a wonderful thing, yet it has two drawbacks. When it is being produced 70 to 80 per cent. of the calories put in are lost and, as far as anyone can as yet envisage, this is likely to continue. Secondly, it cannot be stored. More and more power is certainly needed, but it is needed for the expansion of industry not for the heating of rooms and the boiling of kettles. These sort of jobs can be done by gas, coke or coal—fuels that do not lose as many calories as electricity and can be stored.

One of the causes of the increased use of electricity by the householder has been, and still is, the lack of co-ordination between the three nationalised fuel Boards which has led to unneeded and often wasteful competition. I have never been able to understand why the Labour Government didn't coordinate the three industries under one organisation in order to plan

Small Advertisements

(1/- per line, minimum 3 lines.)

CELEBRATION. — Anniversary Bulgarian Liberation Day — "Bulgaria" by D. Kartun with Ann Lindsay, Michael Golden, Peter Copley, Martin Lawrence, W.M.A. Singers, Bulgarian Dancers. Speakers: H.E. The Bulgarian Minister, Rev. G. B. Chambers, D. N. Pritt, Q.C. Tues., Sept. 8, 7.15, Conway Hall. Tickets 1s., 2s. 6d., 5s., from Society for Friendship with Bulgaria, 1 Wardrobe Place, Carter Lane, E.C.4, or at door.

New Readers

Take Out a Special Subscription

9 'Outlooks' For 2/-

Buy a subscription for yourself - and for your friend(s)

Please send "Socialist Outlook" for to the name and address below. I enclose P.O.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Normal Subscription Rates: 1 year, 19s. 6d.; 6 months, 9s. 9d., 12 issues, 4s. 6d.

SOCIALIST OUTLOOK,
177 Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1

Our Readers Write . . .

The Value of Strikes.

the development and use of fuel and power. However, I am extremely pleased to see that "Challenge to Britain" promises to adopt this course with the next Labour Government.

The main job is to greatly expand coal output through increased productivity, but in order to make the best use of that output, far greater efforts must be made by the Government (of whatever political colour) to stop the enormous wastage of coal in this country.

Only if this is done can we hope for any appreciable improvement in the economic position of this country or any improvement in the standard of living of the people.

Price Jones. Manchester.

A Grand Effort

Despite all the difficulties of the holiday period, with factories closed, comrades away, with the Labour movement consequently at low ebb—we still hit our Fighting Fund target! Thank you, comrades.

This is a great achievement by our many firm supporters everywhere. It augurs well for the coming autumn and winter, when a redoubled effort will be needed to carry forward our never-ceasing fight for a Socialist policy.

But—it was still a last minute scramble. Over £30 came in on the last two days of the month. So this month we earnestly appeal—don't wait till the last moment.

SEND IN YOUR DONATIONS EARLY.

The following donations are gratefully acknowledged:—

A Carford, Sheffield, £20; G. P. Ironmonger, Manchester, 5s. 6d.; Bethnal Green readers, £4 6s. 6d.; London readers, £8 9s.; Leeds readers, £4 0s. 8d.; S.W., 11s.; West London readers, £8 2s. 6d.; Hackney readers, £4 6s. 2d.; Trade Unionist £6 6s. 6d.; J. Lotzkar, Canada, 7s. 2d.; D. Ride, Fawley, 5s.; St. Pancras readers, 12s. 9d.; Huddersfield L.O.Y. member, 2s. 1d.; P. Philpott, Hythe, 10s. 3d.; Cllr. T. H. Saunders, Reading, 2s. 6d.; R. F. Bishop, Reading, 2s. 6d.; London Busman, 12s. 10d.; R. and M., £9; Croydon readers, 6s.; Tottenham readers, £3 14s. 6d.; Two London Printers, £3; Bebington readers, 7s. 6d.; E.N.V. Workers, 17s.; Islington readers, 18s. 6d.; Edinburgh readers, £2 10s.; Bermondsey Compositors, 15s.; Norwood readers, £1 3s. 3d.; Nottingham readers, £3 10s.; Platts Workers, 12s. 7d.; Salford A.E.U. members, 9s.; Manchester and Salford readers, 8s. 5d.; Leicester Socialists, £2 11s.; J. G. Linnitt Wolverhampton, £1; R. J. Johnston, Altrincham, 4s.; Bermondsey readers, £1; Home Help, 2s. 6d.; Bermondsey Engineer, 1s. 6d.; Bermondsey readers special effort, £2; Irish Socialist, £3 3s. 3d.; Ex-Norwood reader, 2s. 6d.; R. T. Shelley readers, £1 0s. 3d.; Birmingham readers, £3 16s. 3d.; Birmingham special effort, £1 18s. 1d.; R. Bradbury, Whitby, 14s.

Total £104 8s. 0d.

The ownership of economic power is a dictatorship and every aspect of existing society—press, education, etc.—is subordinated to it. People are conditioned to accept society as it is. This is the rock on which capitalist society rests. Nothing can prevent the workers from being exploited until they are conscious, not only of their own power to end it. It is important for political thinkers to realise this with regard to strikes—for strikes do reveal, to the workers themselves, their power in society.

G. Gale. Leeds.

That Housing Controversy

Housing is the most vexed topic in this country today. After two widely different Governments and eight years of peace, both cold and hot, the situation still remains largely unsolved.

One of the big problems in the situation is finance. As local authorities erect more and more houses and flats the burden of subsidies becomes ever greater. Are subsidies a sound scheme? Many could not afford a modern

house at economic rents, but many families living in subsidised dwellings could well afford the economic rent.

It has been argued that many people inadequately housed are paying the subsidy for people better off in better houses. This is only partly true, for many property owners complain that controlled rents are so low that they do not cover maintenance costs. Even people in council houses are helping to pay their own subsidies, for the money being found from general taxation is collected from taxpayers according to their income tax liability.

There is also the business of the economic rent. The economic rent of a house erected in 1919 is vastly different from that of a house erected in 1935 and different again from one erected in 1953. Many families living in the pre-war houses pay moderately low rents, being based on the rents prevailing at that time, and have lived in the houses a number of years, raised families and now

have incomes on the 1953 basis.

Many young families now have to pay the very much higher rents of 1953. These are the people that can really afford it least.

The problem is a national one and to my mind can best be solved in the following way.

Authorities should compulsorily acquire all houses with a rateable value of £35 or less. The majority of these houses are in areas scheduled for re-development anyway. Housing being a national responsibility there should be a set formula for proving need for a house.

A man's qualification for a house in London should serve equally well for a house at Brighton. In other words local authorities' lists need to be more fluid and interchangeable.

Instead of widely varying rents, a levy should be imposed being a fixed proportion of one's income, to cover the cost of rent and maintenance, and a further nation-

wide levy to cover housing development schemes.

Power to build houses should be taken from the hands of small authorities as this is an extremely wasteful method. The costs for a small block can be nearly as large as those of a vast development scheme. With a large scheme the margin of profit can be reduced because the overall profit is much greater.

When small authorities build there is always the risk of houses for the councillors' relatives creeping in. It doesn't happen? Read the local press more closely.

The Rent Acts could be scrapped if local authorities acquired the bulk of small houses and perhaps re-development could be speeded up and merged with the present housing schemes.

A further step which will help to de-cant several surplus millions from these islands is to develop industries and new towns in the Commonwealth and to transfer large blocks of population from these islands there, for many would emigrate if they could be assured of two things, jobs and reasonable living conditions.

J.F.H. London, S.E.27.

Note: Readers are invited to comment on these suggested solutions to the Housing Problem. Keep your letters short.

The Press and the A.E.U. elections

THE A.E.U. is in the news these days, and not only because of the 15 per cent. wage claim.

As an active A.E.U. member I was surprised to find the press knows more about A.E.U. affairs than I do myself. For instance, the "Sunday Observer", the other week, stated: "Ballot papers will be sent out in the next fortnight to elect a successor to Mr. Jack Tanner. . . .", our retiring president. As the ballot papers won't be out for some months yet, this could be just misinformation, but the item in the "Observer" was headed: "Communist Bid for A.E.U. Leadership."

The "Daily Herald" was earlier still. Some weeks ago it carried a front page piece about a struggle between Bro. Berridge, the "Communist" nominee and Bro. Openshaw, who was described as "the natural successor" to Bro.

Tanner. The "Observer" item went on to say: "the non-Communist vote will be split three ways between Mr. Bob Openshaw, Mr. H. G. Barrett and Mr. J. R. Longworth". All three are "right-wingers".

Is it an accident that these items are in the news before the A.E.U. membership have been

★ Star Letter ★

informed as to the candidates, and that both items convey the impression that A.E.U. members have to decide between a right-winger or a Communist for president?

The "Daily Worker" a few days ago, made reference to Bro. Berridge, and did nothing to destroy this idea.

Anybody worth their salt politically knows that the active

rank and file opinion in the A.E.U. is Left-wing Labour, and so is National Committee policy, so I couldn't understand why no Labour left-wingers were mentioned as candidates. Getting worried, I made an enquiry and learnt that Bro. Dinning, whose articles I have followed very closely in your paper, is standing again. There may be others also, although, as a left-winger I hope there aren't because a united Labour left-wing vote can win the presidency.

Last time, there were three left-wing candidates whose joint vote was 21,000 as against Bro. Berridge's 15,000 which took him into the second ballot. A Labour "Left" against a Labour "Right" in the second ballot, will be "just what the doctor ordered".

Is this the reason for the press omission of Left-wing Labour candidates?

A.E.U. Member. Manchester.

A Killer of Scottish Youth

RESPIRATORY Tuberculosis, often known as "Consumption", is one of the major social and medical problems confronting society today. It ranks high among the causes of illness and death at all ages, but in Scotland it is particularly virulent among young men and women, causing almost as many deaths as all other causes put together.

This tragic state of affairs is indicted in a comprehensive memorandum prepared by the Scottish Area Committee of the Association of Scientific Workers*. It is an indictment of the existing social system, for tuberculosis is, first of all, a social disease. There is an abundance of evidence that it flourishes in conditions of ill-housing and poverty. Adequate housing schemes have gone a long way to reducing the incidence of the disease in many parts of the world.

Almost alone of European countries, new cases notified each year in Scotland continue to be far higher than in pre-war years. Most disturbing of all, the new cases and the known notified cases form a higher proportion of the population in the younger age groups. The fateful ages for males are between 25 and 29; for females between 20 and 24.

In 1946-7, the respiratory tuberculosis death rate was 19 per cent. higher in males—32 per cent. higher in females than at the outbreak of the war.

There has been a general belief that a high T.B. mortality in the younger years of life is characteristic of the disease. Early in this

*"Respiratory Tuberculosis in Scotland." (Scottish Area Committee, A.Sc.W., 1s. 3d.)

century, the peak death-rates were, for both sexes, in young adult life. Social and medical progress, however, have changed the "pattern of death" in a number of countries. In Denmark, Holland, Sweden and Switzerland, for example, tuberculosis death-rates only rise with increasing age—as do deaths from other diseases. But in Scotland, the peak death rate for women is reached in young adulthood to a marked degree and to a lesser degree for males also.

As there are no inherent physical differences between Swedes and Scots to make the latter less resistant to T.B., we must look for other causes. Scottish medicine has access to all the modern treatment and drugs which are available to other countries. Why then this sharp deterioration in the T.B. position.

HOUSING AND T.B.

There is a direct connection between the prevalence of T.B. and the conditions in which people live. As the memorandum states: "Social and economic circumstances in Scotland may not, at first sight, appear to be very different from those in England and Wales. But the differences are considerable, and are revealed in every period of crisis. . . ."

" . . . The economic crisis of the early 1930's affected Scotland . . . more seriously; many parts of Scotland had greater unemployment than Wales. . . . Today unemployment in Scotland is far higher than in any other part of Britain, and the outlook for future employment is no more hopeful. . . ."

" . . . But the outstanding difference between Scotland and other parts of Britain and Europe is in the type and condition of housing. The Scottish 'house' (not a separate building but merely a room or apartment with its own entry) opening from an unventilated and unlit 'common stair', the

great quantity of old tenements, the large proportion of dwellings consisting of only one or two rooms . . . the lack of amenities—the disrepair and insanitary conditions . . . overcrowding; these conditions are not, as in other countries, confined to a few 'slum' areas: they constitute nearly half of all housing—and in cities like Glasgow and Dundee more than half."

Modern medicine can check the development of tuberculosis and lower the death rate. But while human beings live in these conditions the disease will break out anew and take its toll of young lives.

PLAN FOR ACTION

The memorandum analyses the social and medical facilities available for the treatment of respiratory tuberculosis and puts forward a comprehensive plan for a full-scale attack on the disease.

As is to be expected, housing has a high priority in this plan, which further calls for improved nutrition ("The removal of food subsidies is a step in the wrong

direction in regard to health"); general improvement of social and working conditions; the full application of existing statutory powers to ease the burden on families in which T.B. develops; provision of more beds for T.B. cases in hospitals and sanatoria with enlarged nursing and medical staffs.

Finally it calls for new services to supplement the existing ones and administrative machinery to back these up.

The memorandum paints a gloomy picture but not a hopeless one. Tuberculosis is a preventable infectious disease but only if it is treated as a social scourge and the conditions which breed it are eliminated.

This will only be done by a Socialist government which places the interests and health of the people first. It will certainly not be done by a government which gives priority to research for new weapons of death in preparation for World War III.

C. Van Gelderen

Socialist Outlook

is obtainable every Friday

From Your Newsagent

(Price 3d.)

In case of difficulty write to us at:

177, Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1