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# Socialist Outlook

WEEKLY

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1953 3d.

At the  
**Eleventh  
Hour**  
(See p. 3)

## Gunboat Democracy!

THE cruiser *Superb* is on its way to *British Guiana*. En route, it called at Kingston, Jamaica, to embark troops of the Royal Marines.

What is happening against this solitary outpost of the British Empire on the mainland of South America? Is there a rising of the people against the duly elected government? Nothing of the kind! The British Navy and the Royal Marines have been called in to check the activities of the legally constituted government of British Guiana—elected last April by an overwhelming majority of votes.

"Let nobody say that the guns of the cruiser *Superb* are trained against democracy." So starts the Editorial of last week's "Sunday Express". What hypocrisy! A Government elected by the free vote of the people and now trying to put into practice the programme on which it was elected—if this is not democracy the word has no meaning.

"The activities of Dr. Cheddi Jagan's Government in British Guiana," the "Express" continues, "... have no parallel this side of the iron curtain. Dr. Jagan has urged solidarity with the Mau Mau of Kenya and the terrorists of Malaya. . . . The danger is that, left unchecked, this infection might spread to the West Indies. This, then, is a time for firmness. And the *Superb* supplies it. But the biggest guns are with Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Colonial Secretary. He should consider without delay whether democracy is a proper gift for those whose only disposition is to abuse it."

This is the inner voice of the Beaverbrook Empire Crusader at work. Democracy is for the privileged, for the white races only or, better still, for that section of the people who can be relied upon to vote Tory every time they go to the polling booth. It is a "gift" to be bestowed on those whose loyalty to Crown, Empire and Capitalism can be relied upon; certainly not for those who, like Cheddi Jagan, have dared to express their solidarity with the

fighters for freedom in Kenya and Malaya.

Here are some of the "crimes" of Dr. Jagan's People's Progressive Party since it was voted into power:

It has given full support to the struggle of the workers in the sugar plantation for better conditions. The strike of 50,000 sugar workers which started on September 5 has had the backing of the government.

Nationalisation of the sugar plantations was one of the election promises of the P.P.P.

It has sought to bring all schools under State control and thus to take education out of the hands of the Church—a measure which will bring British Guiana into line with most civilised countries.

The P.P.P. is now demanding full self-government, including the abolition of the three official members of the cabinet and the Governor's right to veto.

Britain's answer to these elementary democratic demands is . . . to send a gunboat and the Royal Marines.

Because it has tried to carry out its election mandate, the P.P.P. Government has been confronted with the opposition of the Governor.

"Governor Savage," writes the "Sunday Express", "has the business community and the moderates behind him. And soon he will have the Royal Navy."

So here we are back at the old game of "Gunboat Democracy". As if the forward march of a people can be halted by a show of brutal force. Behind Dr. Jagan and the People's Progressive Party stand the great mass of the people of British Guiana. Their fight will be watched with sympathy by the people of the West Indies and all over the colonial world.

To this support, British Labour must add its strong voice. It must give no support to this threat to the liberties of the people of British Guiana; it must not stand idly by while the aspirations of a nation are blasted by a broadside from a battleship. It must demand that British troops and battleships be immediately withdrawn.

## An Injury To One Is An Injury To All!

### Dockers Strike For Trade Union Principles

ON the first of this month 3,000 dockers went on strike at Birkenhead in defence of a colleague who had been sacked for refusing to surrender his principles.

The strikers have since been joined by 4,000 dockers from Liverpool.

He had refused to knuckle under to a most unjust system of allocating work—to relieve another docker designated by a stevedoring firm as a "key man" for transfer to work at a higher rate of pay.

The man who refused to further this system of privilege is **Ernie Sullivan**, a 28 year old ex-sailor of Brook Street, Birkenhead, a married man with two children. For saying "No", he was given seven days' notice and his appeal against his dismissal was rejected by the Appeals Committee.

This means that he loses his docker's book and has no immediate prospect of being re-employed on the docks—except through the efforts of his striking fellow-dockers who think he did right to say "No".

**HOW IT BEGAN**

The strike began when the local Dock Labour Board rejected a plea for re-instatement. It brought work on loading 15 ships to an immediate halt. Only eight men broke the ranks to continue work on the s.s. *Linguist*.

**From a Special Correspondent**

Dockers from Liverpool and Manchester who had been brought to Birkenhead because of the pressure of work returned to their

own controls. The Manchester men were given an appreciative send-off as they turned into the docks' entrance of the Mersey Tunnel on their return journey.

Later, strike pickets met a number of gangs who turned up for night work and persuaded them to refuse work also.

The following morning about 500 dockers held a meeting lasting for an hour and a half outside the Victoria Dock gate and resolutions were carried that the strike be continued until **Ernie Sullivan** is re-instated and that the system of "key men" should be abolished.

"The completeness of the strike demonstrates the strength of the men's opposition to the preferential treatment of so-called key men", says **Bill Johnson**, chairman of the local **Portworkers' Committee**.

"They feel that the rule on men who are directed to take over 'key

men's work, enabling the 'key men' to get more money in the way of overtime, creates a small section of favoured workers."

Conversations with ordinary dockers convinced me that the speaker above was not exaggerating. Opposition to the "key men" agreement is widespread. How then did the Union ever concur in such an agreement? Were the men themselves adequately consulted beforehand? Some dockers seem to be under the impression—rightly or wrongly—that they were never consulted at all!

**ROLE OF THE UNION**

Mr. O'Hare, District Section leader of the T. & G.W.U., is reported by the "Herald" (October 6) as saying: "This strike is obviously Communist led."

It is also being said that the strike has been prepared for many weeks.

"It is not true that the Portworkers' Committee has been preparing this strike for many weeks", said a Committee spokesman. "We have held mass meetings on the Lord Street blitz site recently, but they were called specifically to rally support for the docker's wage claim."

**Instead of trying to smear the strike with a Communist bogey, the dockers feel that Mr. O'Hare would be better occupied in explaining to the public what the strike is really all about.**

A leaflet issued by the Birkenhead Portworkers Committee calling on Merseyside dockers to rally to a meeting on Liverpool's Lord Street blitz site last Sunday drew attention to a further important fact conveniently overlooked by the hostile daily newspapers.

**Ernie Sullivan has not been alone in refusing to take the place of key men.**

A few days after his dismissal, eight other dockers were ordered to replace eight men on day work to enable the favoured eight to go on night work. The replacements refused to do so and subsequently were hauled before the N.D.L.B. and cautioned. But within the week, Bro. Sullivan's appeal was disallowed.

Merseyside dockers see a moral in this different treatment of men charged with identical "offences". **The man who stands alone is open to victimisation.** Eight men together are treated with more respect.

Yesterday, October 6th, 3,000 dockers marched around the Mersey Dock and Harbour Board buildings, Liverpool, demanding that their deputation be admitted to present the dockers' case and refute the slanders being made against them in the Press. On the deputation was **B. Johnson, J. Allen, and J. Leyden.** The deputation was refused admittance.

## Birmingham Engineers in Victimisation Fight

ON September 25 dismissal notices were issued in the pay packets of seven employees of James Beresfords, Birmingham. The management broke all previous established procedure in the factory by issuing these notices *without prior consultation with the shop stewards.*

Despite the fact that investigations showed that the seven workers classed as redundant had plenty of work, the management still insisted that the notices must stand. They had already intimated that further redundancies would follow. A proposal from the workers for short time working was rejected out of hand.

At a mass meeting, the 300

workers employed at this firm un-animously decided to cease work and stay out until the notices were withdrawn pending investigation.

"It becomes increasingly obvious", says a **Strike Committee** statement, "that the management's use of the term redundancy conceals an attempt on their part to victimise our members."

Another struggle is thus added to the list of those against victimisation.

The Trade Union movement in general still has to face squarely to its responsibilities so far as victimisations under the cloak of redundancy are concerned.

We have already had one setback in Austins. Because of the lack of support from the official movement the Austin strike ended

in a victory for Lord, and other employers since have adopted his tactics and sacked striking workers.

The **Constructional Engineering Union** attempted to rouse the last Trade Union Congress to the dangers in this increasing victimisation. This Union presented a motion asking for a scheme of joint Union action against employers who victimise Trade Unionists.

The C.E.U. motion was defeated, but the fight to rouse the movement to the necessity for such joint action must go on.

Meanwhile, the strikers at Beresfords, Birmingham, appeal for the utmost support from all Trade Unionists. They are 100 per cent. solid and as they state in their appeal: **"100 per cent. solidarity deserves 100 per cent. support."**

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## What Next After Margate Conference?

SOCIALISTS have absolutely no cause to be despondent about the Margate Conference. True enough the block vote of the Three Big Unions—T. & G.W.U., N.U.G.M.W., and the Mineworkers—was successful once again in upholding almost every one of the N.E.C.'s proposals. The "no-more-nationalisation" line of "Challenge to Britain" was adopted—but it would be rash to conclude—as some capitalist newspapers have already concluded—that the Left and Socialism have thereby been "routed in the Labour Party".

In reality, the Left wing emerged from Margate as a solid opposition block of some 2,000,000 votes which is no longer just vaguely in favour of the extension of nationalisation. It is now in favour of the nationalisation of the very specific, very real, and highly important engineering industry.

At Morecambe last year the general desire in Labour's ranks for Socialist progress, as against semi-Liberal "consolidation", found its expression in a resolution which called for the nation-

alisation of all the "key and major industries". So great was the pressure and enthusiasm of the rank and file that the N.E.C.—despite some vicious opposition from the extreme Right wing—accepted this Socialist declaration. The election of Aneurin Bevan and five of his closest associates on to the Executive, and the removal of the "consolidators" Herbert Morrison and Hugh Dalton, showed clearly that the rank and file meant business—Socialist business.

The Right retired in high dudgeon and ever since Morecambe they have tried every means to reverse the Morecambe decisions. They have set to work in the Trade Unions to roll up a solid block of votes against any extension of nationalisation. The Douglas Trade Union Congress was, in effect, a preparation for Margate. Yet, now that Margate has come and gone, an intelligent reading of the Conference proves that the Right wing have failed in their main objectives.

In the first place they have failed in their 12 months' endeavour to remove some or all of the "Bevanites" from the N.E.C. They only got Herbert Morrison

### Socialist Opposition Appears in the Unions

returned by an administrative amendment to the Constitution—a trick, the chief result of which will be the discrediting of Mr. Morrison himself.

But—even more important—the Deakin-Williamson-Morrison opposition to further nationalisation (although formally successful) has thrown the powerful **Amalgamated Engineering Union**, the **Foundry Workers**, the **Pattern-makers** and other engineering Unions into a solid block with a majority of the Constituency

programme of a Trade Union Left wing.

"Having in mind the fact that a comprehensive plan for engineering on the lines proposed by the **Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions** would give a Labour Government the economic power on which to build a Socialist economy, the principle of nationalisation or a public administration as recommended by the plan, in respect of the following sections of the engineering and shipbuilding industries be accepted:

- (a) Aircraft.
- (b) Agricultural Machinery.
- (c) Builders and Domestic Castings and Metal Fittings.
- (d) Coal Mining Machinery.
- (e) Electrical Equipment—Heavy Electrical Engineering.
- (f) Locomotive Wagon Manufacture and Repair.
- (g) Machine Tools.
- (h) Marine Engineering, including Shipbuilding and Ship Repair.

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- (i) Motor Vehicles.
- (j) Radio.
- (k) Textile Machinery.
- (l) Foundry.

This motion produced first class speeches from Trade Union delegates like **Ernie Roberts, Norman Dinning, and Ellis Smith** and rallied 1,774,000 votes. A separate resolution calling for the nationalisation of armaments received even more—2,200,000 votes.

There can be no question of the **Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions** dropping this plan. It has been formally adopted by the representatives of nearly 3,000,000 engineering workers and cannot now be cast aside in favour of "Challenge to Britain".

On the contrary, the Conference's rejection of this plan will only inspire members of all engineering Unions to devise ways and means of explaining it, popularising it and making its terms familiar to every Trade Unionist and Labour Party member throughout the country.

The nationalisation of Engineering has, therefore, now been placed in the centre of British politics—in the same way as the nationalisation of the Mines was

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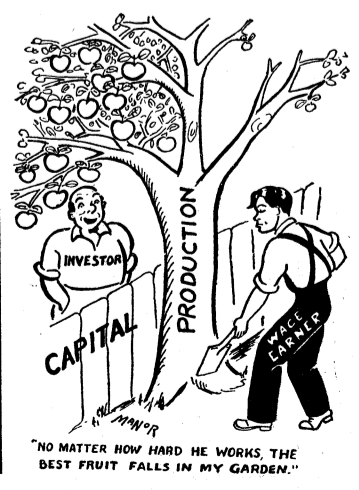
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### Editorial

Parties—thus forming a potentially formidable Socialist opposition fighting within both the local parties and the Trade Unions.

"Challenge to Britain" has been carried—but the following resolution—excellently moved by **R. Casasola** for the **Foundry Workers** got nearly 2,000,000 votes and remains to haunt the "consolidators" as the immediate pro-



# ELIZABETHANS AT WORK IN NAIROBI

If you were living in the England of Elizabeth the First, a poor peasant just about getting enough to live on from a few small strips of land, you would probably have found yourself one of the victims of the Enclosures Act.

You would have been turned off your land, your house burned to the ground, to wander abroad with your family and with such of your worldly wealth as you could carry in a bundle.

On the roads you would have met thousands of dispossessed peasants like yourself—destitute, hungry, wandering from parish to

## By 'The Leveller'

parish seeking a crust of bread. The more militant among you would, every now and then, resort to slitting the throat of a passing wealthy merchant, as the only way to find the means to keep body and soul together.

The law which robbed the English peasant of his land then proceeded to take the most vicious measures against the vast army of beggars and vagabonds which it had itself created. In 1598, an Act was passed which was ironically called "An Act for the Relief of the Poor" which laid down that

"Every person which is by this present Act declared to be a rogue, vagabond or sturdy beggar which shall be . . . taken begging, vagrant wandering or misordering themselves . . . shall upon their apprehension . . . be stripped

naked from the middle upwards and shall be openly whipped until his or her body be bloody, and shall be forthwith sent from parish to parish . . . to the parish where he was born . . . there to put him or her self to labour as a true subject ought to do . . .

" . . . And if any such rogue so banished . . . shall return again into any part of this realm without lawful licence or warrant . . . in every such case . . . the party offending (shall) suffer death."

Four centuries have elapsed since those days yet, in Kenya today, scenes reminiscent of the England of the Tudors are being enacted.

In 20th century Kenya, as in 16th century England, the peasants have been uprooted; they have been crowded into "reserves" unable to maintain them. Economic necessity has driven them to seek work on the farms of the white men who dispossessed them, and into the towns. For tens of thousands who flocked into Nairobi, there was no work, or work at what was almost starvation wages.

Under these conditions, crime is inevitable—because for thousands of Africans it is either steal or starve. And this is now being made the excuse for a vicious drive against 20,000 Africans living in Nairobi.

British troops with fixed bayonets, armed with stens and machine guns, are rounding up African men, women and children—all those who are jobless or are living in the city "without permission". Verily, these are the "New Elizabethans"!

# Mr. Deakin is astonished

THE overwhelming victory of the Left wing of the Labour Party at the 1952 Morecambe Conference, was so devastating that the Right wing, seeking reasons and excuses, thought it had been due to some secret organisation of the Bevanites!

In his famous "fraternal address" Arthur Deakin said . . .

"We are going to have straight and clean conflicts within our movement for those positions within our movement which it is the right of every member of the Party to seek to achieve and to hold (i.e., the N.E.C. elections). Organisation has been set, well, organisation will be set up to counteract that." (Interruptions.)

The promised fight to get Morrison back on the N.E.C. did not however take place, there was no "straight and clean conflict" for the position of Treasurer. Rather than a head on clash, Morrison obtained office ex-officio as Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Party.

Apart from the usual Right wing T.U. caucus, no organisations were set up to convince the party of the "error of its ways". The preliminary agenda showed that the rank and file had moved even further to the Left. So that, rather than argue on policy, the Right wing used the bludgeon of the block vote, and proceeded to threaten a split from the political movement.

In the debate on Nationalisation, Arthur Deakin said . . . "The Trade Unions have done

## Some Comments on 'Indiscretions'

their utmost to create a measure of understanding with the political Labour Party. . . . If you want us to go forward united, don't drive us into a position of pulling out and breaking the party on this issue."

"Unless this stops" shouted Mr. Harry Douglas to barracking rank and files in the debate on Industrial Democracy. "there will be a split between the two wings of the movement."

In his fraternal address from



ARTHUR DEAKIN

He's against further nationalisation—but this smile is not for Tom O'Brien.

the T.U.C., Mr. Tom O'Brien was clearly invigorated by his lunch and discussion with Mr. Churchill, at the Cap D'Ail. Unlike his predecessor last year, he did not propose to fight the Left wing; he even jokingly remarked that some delegates had told him he had got his dates mixed, and he should have got to Margate the following week during the Tory Party Conference. For him the die was cast, he said . . .

"We must undertake a searching and serious examination of where the political protection of the working population concentrated in the Unions begins and ends."

Mr. O'Brien begins by calling into question the whole purpose of the Labour Party, set up by the Trades Unions for the sole purpose of overthrowing by political

## By Sam Goldberg

action, the fundamental basis of capitalist society, as the only way of safeguarding the interests of the working people. All resolutions seeking to achieve these aims had been defeated already by his Right wing T.U. colleagues.

"Must we assume that the Trades Unions exist exclusively to protect the industrial interest and meet the industrial needs of the workers?" continued Mr. O'Brien. . . . "Can the Trades Union Congress contract out of the political responsibilities that concern all the citizens in the whole community?"

"All the citizens in the whole community" means of course for Mr. O'Brien, the capitalist class, and those who support the Tory Party. There is nothing vague in the implications of this statement. For him the present association with the Labour Party had to be reviewed to allow the T.U.C. greater freedom to promote a policy not "narrowly" Socialist, but one permitting them to support Toryism where possible.

After this bombshell, he is alleged to have given a statement to a reporter of the "Manchester Guardian" advocating complete disaffiliation of all Trades Unions from the Labour Party, leaving a nominal connection and financial assistance to be rendered by a T.U.C. liaison committee.

Further, the "Manchester Guardian" states . . . "we can say with assurance, the views" (of Mr. O'Brien) "were decidedly toned down rather than 'coloured'."

Arthur Deakin went to the rostrum next morning to disassociate the T.U.C. from this statement, and made a statement which contains the following extraordinary sentence.

"I can only suggest that he is

not only talking out of his turn, but he is talking without any consideration of the relationship that exists between the T.U.C. and the Labour Party."

The phrase "talking out of his turn" if grammar means anything, means that Mr. O'Brien had prematurely revealed something which had already been canvassed and discussed amongst the top circles of the T.U.C., and partially revealed within the Conference.

Arthur Deakin was forced to condemn the suggestion (that any) "Trade Union affiliated to the Party would for one moment consider any disaffiliation or divorce from this Party".

In the light of his own statement earlier in the week, this effort was singularly unconvincing.

Mr. O'Brien has since denied making the statement, and we can only hope that some effort will be made to establish who is lying. The evidence produced would certainly be interesting.

Apart from this scandal, the statements already quoted illustrate the menacing speed with which the Right wing is in the process of burning its bridges and boats, if the example of Sir Lincoln Evans was not proof enough.

If the projected split is to be avoided it will be necessary for the rank and file to purge the Trades Unions of all collaborationists, to establish workers control over the Trades Union leadership and form a Trade Union Left wing, to act in concert with the Left wing of the Labour Party.

## Thank You Comrades!

Once again the £100 target has been surpassed, and we thank all our loyal supporters who have contributed.

In particular, our Leeds readers have set a fine example by collecting £16 10s. They made September their "special effort" month, and it has been a great success.

Over 600 papers were sold in a special sales campaign week, and their £16 10s. collection has been of enormous help in hitting the target.

The following donations are gratefully acknowledged: Leeds readers, £16 10s.; West London readers, £7 18s. 4d.; Norwood readers, 9s. 6d.; St. Pancras readers, 9s. 6d.; Irish Socialist, £3 3s. 3d.; Conscript in Germany, £2; Hackney readers, £5 2s. 2d.; Westminster readers, £8 13s. 6d.; Bebington readers, 7s.; Trade Unionist, £6 6s. 6d.; London readers, £5 10s. 6d.; Bethnal Green tailor, 1s.; Streatham readers, £6; F. Blackman, Rugby, 6s.; Cheam reader, 2s. 6d.; J. S. Grose, Reading, 5s. 6d.; J. G. Lippitt, Wolverhampton collection, 10s.; Irishman £6 6s. 6d.; R. J. Johnston, Altrincham, 4s.; London busman, 5s.; Bethnal Green readers, £1 8s. 6d.; Islington readers, £1; Ashton under Lyne readers, 12s.; R. T. Shelley readers, £1 2s.; Birmingham readers, £3 3s. 10d.; R. & M., £6; Two London Printers, £6; Nottingham readers, £3 10s.; S. Dixon, 5s. 6d.; Collected at Margate £6 1s.; E.N.V. Workers, £1 7s. 3d. Total £101 0s. 10d.

### Small Advertisements

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

### MARGATE REPORT

All Trade Union and Labour Party branches in the Manchester area, who would like to hear a full report of the Margate Conference please contact: Jim Allen, 64 Brantwood Terr., Moston, Manchester 9.

### "SOCIALIST OUTLOOK" MEETING

Speaker: G. Healy on the Labour Party Conference. At Trades Hall, Thurland Street, Nottingham, 7.30 p.m., Friday, October 16. All readers invited.

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# What Next After Margate? (from page 1)

in the centre of British politics in pre-war days.

Left wing Constituency Parties—and they are a majority—now have common ground (and powerful allies) with the progressive Trade Unions. When we remember that (a) the majority of active Trade Unionists are in favour of extending nationalisation (anyone who doubts that statement can prove it by moving a resolution in his Trade Union branch), (b) the miners are fast becoming aware that they are robbed of the full fruits of their own nationalisation precisely because their industry is working for a privately-owned engineering industry and (c) that the engineering employers, gorged with profit, are likely to spearhead the resistance to wage increases—it is not being romantic to state that support for the engineers' plan will grow apace in the coming months. But on one condition: that the Constituency Parties and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions unite to fight for this plan.

This is the most important result of the Margate Conference. Deakin's organisational "triumph" has created a Left wing which can function unitedly in both local parties and Trade Unions for the nationalisation of that sector of industry which is owned by some of the most powerful capitalists in Great Britain.

Not a few "intellectuals" and "frustrated journalists"—but a solid block of responsible and practical Trade Unionists has now declared that industrial efficiency and expansion (the theme of "Challenge to Britain") is impossible to achieve unless the engineering industry is nationalised. Their case is unanswerable—and indeed it went unanswered at Margate!

The main task of the Left wing of the Labour Party is to strengthen its ties with the progressive Unions and together with them present that unanswerable case throughout the entire Labour and Trade Union movement and thereby gain overwhelming support for it.

## NO COMFORT FOR THE TORIES

The case for Public Ownership is now so well established that Margate passed unanimously a decision to re-nationalise Steel and Transport. It went further

## Equality!

Let not the atom bomb  
Be the final sequel  
In which all men  
Are cremated equal.

and accepted a powerful plea from the National Union of Railwaymen to integrate rail and road transport by taking all passenger services also into public ownership and drastically limiting the issuing of the notorious "C" licence.

These decisions alone are enough to demonstrate the weight of Socialist opinion in the Labour Party. It is clear that the Tories will wait in vain for a Labour Party declaration in favour of private enterprise. Indeed, the private enterprise wing of the T.U.C. was publicly rebuked at Margate and by no less a person than Arthur Deakin!

Following Morecambe, Arthur Deakin was in the forefront of a campaign to overturn the Morecambe decisions and oust the Bevanites from the N.E.C. He was even one of the loudest in making public declarations about the need for Trade Union "independence". Together with Lawther and Lincoln Evans he made noisy pronouncements about not taking orders from "frustrated journalists" etc. And what happened?

The Left remained unaffected—the Right have fallen out among themselves!

Lincoln Evans and two others made their peace with the Tories and left the T.U.C. to take well paid posts on the Tory-created "Denationalisation of Steel Board". Meanwhile, Tom O'Brien sent his telegram to Churchill, met him for dinner in some Continental gay-spot and finally issued a Press statement which played around with the idea of a definite break between the Unions and the Labour Party.

In all this, it should be understood, O'Brien was only carrying to its logical conclusion the ideas of Deakin and Lawther. But the reaction of rank-and-file Trade Unionists was so violent that Mr. Deakin has been compelled to publicly repudiate O'Brien and declare—to the cheers of the Margate Conference!—that no Union would follow any leader who tried to disaffiliate his Union from the Labour Party.

This means the Right is split—while the Left is as solid as ever and much more conscious. It is a great victory for Socialism in the Labour Party.

However, as we stated in our editorial of September 25, the formal majority rolled up against Left wing policies may encourage certain irresponsible elements in the Right wing to institute organisational reprisals, disciplinary actions, against the "defeated" Left. It is necessary to be vigilant

in protecting the democratic rights of all minorities within the Party.

**UNITY AND THE ELECTION**  
Assisting the Trade Union Left wing in every way in its fight for the acceptance of the nationalisation of engineering in no way conflicts with the preparations for winning another General Election. Hundreds of thousands of militant Trade Unionists can, and must, now be recruited into local parties by the Left Wing.

"Challenge to Britain"—weak though it is—is infinitely better than any programme that the Tories can put before the electorate. The renationalisation of steel and transport and the abolition of the Health charges are definitely things to fight for against the Tories. But above all, with the existence in the Labour Party of a strong Left wing, another Labour Government will be forced by events themselves to review the old-maidenish attitude to public ownership contained in "Challenge to Britain". The Left has, therefore, every reason to be in the

forefront of the anti-Tory fight if and when an election is declared.

## FOREIGN POLICY

The debate on foreign policy at Margate was a most unsatisfactory business. The document itself—whatever its merits or demerits, and we personally don't think it has many merits—cannot carry any authority in the Party for this simple reason. It was never presented to the local parties and Unions for discussion and no opportunity was given the conference to amend it.

The excuse for its late appearance—"that the world situation is continually changing"—is equally a reason why local parties should bring the utmost pressure on the new N.E.C. to change this foreign policy statement as world events demand. The Parliamentary Labour Party will be faced with the most grave decisions on foreign policy. Local parties and Unions can assist them by making known their views on foreign policy to both the N.E.C. and the Parliamentary Labour Party.

# The Lost Amendment

CONFRONTED with a Margate Agenda that, in the main, contained resolutions and amendments strongly critical of N.E.C. policy, how was it possible for the Right wing to "ride the storm" and reverse the decisions of Morecambe?

The last minute introduction of a foreign policy statement, coupled with the demand that delegates would have to take it or leave it without even having the opportunity to add amendments provides one answer. The virtual suppression of the Blackley amendment provides another.

As the Blackley delegate, I attended the Conference with the following amendment to "Challenge to Britain".

(a) "That to achieve political and economic independence Labour will break the reactionary alliance with capitalist America whilst making every effort to strengthen the ties with U.S. labour.

(b) "To break the stranglehold of British Financial Capital, Labour will nationalise all major banks and monopolist combines of industrialists, thus giving Labour full control of financial policy both here and throughout the colonies.

(c) "Labour will withdraw all

British troops from the colonies, and assist in every way possible the colonial workers in their struggle for democratic Socialism."

On the morning of the first day of Conference, the Chairman of Standing Orders announced that "there was some difficulty regarding the Blackley amendment". He asked the delegate concerned to meet the Standing Orders Committee.

After an hour's wait, I was finally ushered into the presence of the Committee. It was a friendly atmosphere. A smile, a

## By Jim Allen

pat on the back, and a suggestion that I be "co-operative".

"Have you read the special resolution submitted by the N.E.C. on Foreign Policy?", the Chairman asked. I replied that, like most delegates, I had not. He then handed me the statement and said: "I'm sure, comrade, that when you've read this you'll want to withdraw your amendment."

I returned the following day, and told them that, having read the statement, I was even more determined that my amendment should go before Conference.

There was an angry scene. All

# The Builders Ninepence

THE York meeting of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives' Executive Committee, in session on September 25, decided to go forward with a claim for a 9d. an hour wage increase for all building operatives. (In passing it may be noted that the Carpenters favoured a demand for 1s. increase.)

Such a demand arises from the desire to keep wages abreast of prices. There is, of course, a cost of living sliding scale agreement operating in the industry, but for this to provide a firm basis for a sound wages structure would require the drawing up of a genuine cost of living index; would require reviews at much more frequent intervals than the yearly one at present in operation; and finally a revision of the datum figure to immediately relate present wage rates to the cost of living.

Beyond all of this is the growing recognition by building workers that because of increased productivity and a consequent vast increase in the employers' profits they have a right to a greater share of the wealth they produce.

In what degree of seriousness the demand for 9d. will be fought for by the leadership, can perhaps be gauged by a quick backward

By

**Reg Brown**

Member of A.U.B.T.W.

look at the hocus pocus that took place concerning the demand, tabled in January this year, for 6d. an hour increase.

The demand was born in the various conferences of the affiliated Unions and in the conference of the N.F.B.T.O. itself. From there it duly found its place on the agenda of the National Joint Council for the Building Industry.

Sir Richard Coppock presented an extremely able case for the operatives, and dealt with prices, productivity and profits. The employers listened and then pronounced that they had rejected the claim—just like that!

Next stage is the "Special Committee" to hear the claim. This afforded no problem to the employers, because they immediately decided that the National Joint Council be the "Special Committee".

By now though, the operatives' leaders, for reasons of their own—to me at least, inexplicable—then watered the claim to 3d. per hour and presented it to the "Special Committee".

Once again the employers politely listened and then rejected the claim—and turned the meeting back into the National Joint Council.

For high speed rejection of claims by the properly constituted negotiating machinery of the industry, this wants some beating. The employers implacable—the operatives representatives frustrated. And all this after the years of boasting of the effectiveness of joint negotiating machinery and class collaboration.

The next stage is set in advance—forward to arbitration! But a new factor asserts itself. The joint executives in the N.F.B.T.O. decide to ballot the membership. Strike or arbitrate for 6d.

Ballot papers are duly sent out and a majority decides in favour of arbitration.

Now it is our turn to ask some

## Labour's History

# At the Eleventh Hour . . .

ON Saturday, May 1, 1926, a special conference of Trade Union Executives voted 3,653,527 to 49,911 in favour of strike action to help the miners.

The miners had rejected a demand by the owners for lower wages and longer hours; and were, from Friday afternoon onwards, being locked out of the pits. Premier Baldwin's Government endorsed the mineowners demands; and for the past nine months had been preparing to meet and defeat any action taken by other Unions in support of the miners.

Trade Unionists all over Britain were prepared to stake all on this gesture of solidarity with the miners. By striking, the men and women in the Trade Unions believed that they would be defending the miners' standard of living. For them the cause for which they were striking was summed up in the miners slogan: "Not a penny off the pay, not a minute on the day".

lock-out beginning, the miners' leaders had dispersed to their districts. In Mr. Cook's view, there was nothing to negotiate on: the lock-out had started, the decision to call a strike in support of the miners had been made. The miners' leaders were bound by decision of their delegate conference, and through the conference, of the miners themselves, to reject the mine owners demands. The time had come to stand firm against wage cuts and longer hours.

The Industrial Committee were meeting Mr. Baldwin, Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Sir Arthur Steel Maitland and other Cabinet members. The Trade Union men urged that the lock-out notices be withdrawn as a necessary pre-condition for negotiations. Lord Birkenhead replied that the Government could not press the owners to withdraw the lock-out notices unless the miners first agreed to accept lower wages and longer hours.

Discussion continued. At 11 o'clock Mr. Baldwin asked the General Council Committee members present: "Would you agree for two or three of your number

The second of 3 articles by  
**Reg Groves**

and a couple of my colleagues to meet ourselves, abandon the secretaries and the shorthand writers, and see if we can come somewhere near to brass tacks without prejudice to either side. . . ?"

This was agreed: Arthur Pugh, T.U.C. Chairman, who looked and thought more like a chartered accountant than a spokesman; perky, adroit J. H. Thomas of the N.U.R.; and the then acting secretary of the T.U.C., Walter Citrine; stayed on for discussion with Sir Arthur Steel Maitland, Mr. Stanley Baldwin and Lord Birkenhead. The rest went home.

By 1.30 a.m. on Monday morning, a formula had been found which seemed to offer the basis upon which negotiations could be re-opened. It was:

"The Prime Minister has satisfied himself, as a result of the consultations he has had with the representatives of the Trades Union Congress, that if negotiations are continued (it being understood that the notices cease to be operative) the representatives of the Trades Union Congress are confident that a settlement can be reached on the lines of the Report within a fortnight."

Understood in the words "a settlement on the lines of the Report" were wage reductions for the miners. As Mr. Baldwin told the House of Commons a few days later: "Acceptance of the



**J. H. THOMAS**  
Ex - railwaymen's leader and Cabinet Member. Played a prominent and treacherous rôle in the General Strike. He finally deserted the movement with MacDonald in 1931.

Report includes both the re-organisation of the industry, which is to be put in hand immediately, and pending the results of re-organisation, such interim readjustments of hours of work and wages, as would make it economically possible to carry on the industry meanwhile."

The talks broke up, each side agreeing to refer the formula to full meetings of their Committees. Walter Citrine telephoned Cook, told him that there were hopes of settlement, and asked him to summon the miners' leaders back to London.

At the General Council meeting next morning, Cook protested at what had been done, but the General Council endorsed the action of their representatives, and agreed that negotiations should continue for a settlement on this basis. Peace hopes were high—"to my mind", J. H. Thomas told Ramsey MacDonald, the Labour Party leader, "the thing is all right." Within 12 hours, Mr. Thomas was to receive a shock.

At 9 that Sunday evening the full General Council, together with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Arthur Henderson went to Downing Street, and discussions were resumed with the Cabinet, although the miners' executive had still not returned to London, and had not been consulted. Details were discussed until about 11 o'clock. A formula produced by Lord Birkenhead included the words "we approach it (i.e., the discussion on the report) with the knowledge that it may involve some reduction of wages". Speaking for the Trades Union Congress, Mr. Thomas said: "Never mind what the miners or anyone else says, we accept it".

A number of the miners' leaders had now arrived in London and were waiting at the Russell Square offices of the Federation. They were now called to Downing Street. On their arrival, General Council and Miners went into a room upstairs to discuss the formula. At 11.45, the discussions were interrupted by a messenger. Mr. Baldwin wanted to see the General Council on a matter of some importance.

Thomas, Pugh, Swales and Citrine went into the Cabinet room. Waiting for them were Baldwin and Birkenhead. The Cabinet, Baldwin told them, had decided to break off negotiations: "Something has happened at the 'Daily Mail', and the Cabinet has empowered me to hand you this letter. Goodbye, I am sorry. This is the end."

Bewildered, Mr. Thomas took the letter. It referred to "overt acts . . . including gross interference with the freedom of the press" and stated: "H.M. Government, before it can continue negotiations must require from the Trades Union Committee both a repudiation of the actions referred to that have already taken place, and an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the instructions for a general strike."

Mr. Thomas took the letter upstairs to the rest of the General Council and the miners representatives. None of them knew anything about the "overt acts" mentioned in the letter. It was decided to repudiate "overt acts", and a resolution saying so was drawn up.

At the "Daily Mail", the machine men, members of N.A.T.S.O.P.A., had refused to print the next days newspaper unless a leading article, which declared the General Strike to be "a revolutionary movement, intended to inflict suffering upon the great mass of innocent persons in the community and thereby put forcible restraint on the Government", was withdrawn.

Other sections of the printing trade backed the machine men. The proprietors refused to withdraw the leading article. There was no "Daily Mail" on Monday morning.

The action of the "Daily Mail" men was received with acclamation and delight by Trade Unionists everywhere. It marked, too, the eager, fighting mood of the rank-and-file.

And it was the excuse the Cabinet wanted. For the Government was determined to compel a settlement on lines acceptable to the mineowners; and the Government, knowing the men it was dealing with, was convinced that the General Council would not go

through with the strike; or, if it did, that the strike would quickly collapse. Either way, the Government men reasoned, the power and influence of the Unions would be gravely weakened, and the way laid open for a widespread attack upon wages and conditions.

The General Council passed the resolution repudiating the action of the "Daily Mail" men. The resolution was taken downstairs. The Cabinet room was in darkness. A servant told the Trade Union men that Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues had gone to bed.

Angry, the Trade Unionists left Number 10. In that moment of truth that comes to all men at some time, even to Trade Union officials of moderate views, Mr. Thomas seems at last to have understood that the Cabinet went out to break the Trade Unions.

On the steps of Number 10, Mr. Thomas told waiting pressmen: "You know, I suppose, that war has been declared".

And turning to Arthur Cook of the miners, he said: "And now, Cook, we must fight for our lives".

It was late. Mr. Thomas was tired and hurt. In the House of Commons next day, he and others renewed their efforts for peace. It was useless. The State of Emergency had been proclaimed. Strike-breaking and special constabulary volunteers were being enrolled. Troops were on the move.

And from midnight on Monday, May 3, as the night shifts came off, the strike was beginning all over Britain. The T.U.C.'s "first line" was going into action.

### The Tory Mind

Mr. D. Jones (Labour) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in view of the continued imprisonment by the Greek Government of certain of their nationals for political offences, he will take steps to withdraw from all treaties and obligations under which Her Majesty's Government are committed to render assistance to the Greek Government.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd: No, sir. (Hansard, July 27, 1953.)

### Three Weeks Holidays With Pay

BRITISH workers, many of whom have just recently succeeded in getting a second week's paid holiday, will be interested to know that, from next year, most Danish workers will get three weeks' paid holiday.

This is established by the new Holidays Act, which applies to most workers, both manual and non-manual. The Act also covers holiday pay, which is to be 6½ per cent. of earnings made during the qualifying period.

Not only is his Danish brother going to get more holiday than the British worker, but he will also be better paid for it than many workers here.

For example, the holiday pay of British engineers is much less than their average earnings. For their fortnight they receive 4 per cent. of their consolidated rate. On the London minimum skilled rate this amounts to £14 4s. 8d., which is £7 2s. 4d. for each week. Whereas, according to official figures, their average weekly earnings including overtime, etc., are about £9 16s. 0d. (nationally).

A Danish worker who earned the equivalent of £9 16s. 0d. in each of his 49 working weeks would receive 6½ per cent. of £480 4s. 0d., which is £31 4s. 3d., or £10 8s. 1d. for each week.

## Eighteen Months On Strike!

### ★ T.U.C. Must Aid Rival Lamp Strikers ★

IT is now almost 18 months since the workers—most of them women—at Rival Lamps in Addlestone, Surrey, struck work following the discharge of the most active Trade Unionists, including two shop stewards. They are still on strike! And there is no sign of a settlement.

New to Trade Unionism—it was their action in joining the Electrical Trades Union which provoked the management to act—these women have answered in the clearest way—by action—those frightened people who, to cover up their own timidity, say that the workers are "apathetic" and "will not fight".

Every working day for 18 months they have maintained their picket line—often in the face of strong opposition from the police. They have sent their delegates up and down the country, contacting stewards and firms in an effort to ensure the "blacking" of all Rival Lamps work and supplies.

But this is a task that requires more than the efforts of a band of gallant women strikers. A task that requires the efforts of more, even, than one Trade Union.

The E.T.U. can obviously keep a score or so of women on full

pay indefinitely. But this is not enough. For, in an area like Addlestone, the firm can always obtain a few women and girls who, understanding little or nothing about Trade Unionism, can keep a certain amount of production going.

So long as that goes on the Trade Union movement as a whole is made to look weak and ineffective. Other firms—large and

By  
**Fred Emmett**

small—are encouraged in anti-Trade Union practices. Are encouraged to dismiss active workers, to ignore agreements and to treat the movement as weak and ineffective.

Some firms of course, meet unexpected resistance, because workers on the job know full well the importance of defending shop organisation.

So, of course, do the top Trade Union leaders. The difference being that whilst the workers on the job are prepared to act, so

many leaders do nothing about it.

It is time our movement as a whole prevented these continual victimisations. Let the T.U.C. General Council say—"Enough! There will be no more. We will appeal to every Trade Unionist in the country to refuse to touch anything remotely connected with any firm guilty of victimisation."

Such a statement would not only be applauded by every serious worker, it would be enthusiastically put into operation.

The Rival Lamps dispute now needs such action. The management there needs to be shown that in attacking a few women it is attacking the whole Trade Union movement—which will defend itself.

The new T.U.C. General Council, elected last month, has an opportunity to show it is a serious leadership. It is not too late to take up the cudgels on behalf of these women workers. They have fought magnificently within the limits of their means.

This challenge to Trade Unionism, if ignored, will strengthen the employers and the Tories everywhere. It is a challenge which can easily be defeated. It depends on the T.U.C. General Council whether it will be.

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## Who Goes To The B.B.C.'s 'Public Enquiries'?

A good deal of space has been given in the national Press to the television show "Public Enquiry" which was staged in Leeds on Thursday, September 24.

Attempts have been made by the newspapers to create the impression that a representative audience demonstrated their faith in the Tory Government's food policy and its rejection of Labour's previous policy.

As one of the people who attended the "enquiry" I would like to show the falseness of such impressions.

The audience who attended were in no way a true cross section of Leeds, the number of motor cars parked outside the hall belie that. Tickets were issued in the following manner: 10 to the Labour Party, 10 to the Conservatives, the

## ★ Star Letter ★

Liberals also received 10 and the Communist Party two. Something like 270 tickets were then made available for distribution to the public.

One housewife informs me that when she called, 20 minutes after the allocation was due to begin, all the tickets had gone.

It is obvious if you want to ensure a really representative audience, then something like 60 per cent. of the tickets should have been made available to the Trades Unions. Also if tickets are to be issued on the 'first-come-first-served' basis then the time to do that is during the evening, not in the morning when the genuine housewives are generally too busy getting the kids off to school than to form queues outside the B.B.C. office.

Perhaps the B.B.C. might consider the not unimportant point that most employers are not keen to allow their workers to slip out for tickets during the morning!

When the Tory papers referred to a "typical Yorkshire housewife" "slating" Webb in general, they omitted to mention this typical housewife is a Tory Councillor.

Bob Pennington. Leeds.

## ★ A Better Return For High Rents

As a regular reader of your paper, the article by Lambeth Councillor David Finch (most of which I heartily endorse) squarely lays the blame of high rents and slow house building on bankers and rings by building suppliers.

Has he ever given thought to the Borough Councils (Lambeth included) who waste money that is loaned to them, by giving building sites to architects to plan, yet no one seems able to creep away from the style of flats that were being put up 20 years ago by the L.C.C.

Would you say that is not wasting money? But the waste comes in when they try to cram modern devices into the same floor space.

In the Wyril Estate (if Coun-

cillor Finch would like to take the trouble) he will find a good example of council squandering. Two years' argument amongst councillors to erect the site lighting (in between times, two girls are molested). Site railings looking like vertical cheese cutters, 20 per cent. of the wires already broken and useless. You cannot entirely blame the children, these places were built to rehouse them.

There is also a matter of an extra window that opens outward being let into the balcony windows after the flats were let, yet when I mentioned to the architect that to get fresh air into the living room we had to open the french windows he said ventilation was ample with the air vent bricks. If this was true why put in the extra window. Are they pandering to tenants whims?

Floors that were laid down by a well-known rubber company have peeled off and the white base is showing in large patches. There are gas-operated drying cupboards which are very expensive to use and so left unused.

Why did the fuel storage house have to be enlarged, and the chimney stack have to be taken higher by nine feet. Did local conditions call for these alterations, or was it indifference by the architects concerned who do not work for love but for big fat cheques?

Money spent more wisely by the Borough of Lambeth would have given me a better return for £2 7s. 5d. a week rent.

W. Eastop. Lambeth.

## ★ Comprehensive Schools

Labour is now committed to the comprehensive school. This is a very good thing but it is as well that our own people should not have too many illusions about it.

Too many of the eloquent advocates of the single school system presume that this is the road to the elimination of class distinctions in society. It is of course, nothing of the sort.

Classes are determined by the relationship to the means of production. Those who own the means of production belong to one class; those who use their labour power to operate the means of production but don't own it, belong to another class.

If the children of the capitalists and the workers all go to the same sort of school (e.g., the comprehensive), and receive exactly the same educational opportunities this would not result in the removal of class differences as long as the existing property relations remain as they are. At the end of their schooling, the children of the capitalists would step into their fathers' businesses and, eventually into ownership of the means of production; the great majority of the workers' children would still be compelled to sell their labour power in order to live.

In short, the workers would

remain workers and the capitalists would still be capitalists.

The importance of the comprehensive schools is that it will help to remove some of the artificial barriers which today serve to divide the working class. Everyone knows the heartache and envy which is caused in working class neighbourhoods when Johnny next door passes that "scholarship" which admits him to a grammar school while "our Ted" has to go to a "normal" secondary school. That sort of thing will become a thing of the past when comprehensive schools become universal.

Labour Teacher. East Sheen.

## ★ Pensions Out Of Taxes?

A new and objective approach to the question of old-age pensions is made in an article written by Frank Spires, published in the current issue of the "New Dawn" the official organ of the U.S.D.A.W., which in my view provides excellent material for action for those anxious to help the old folk. And, aren't we all?

Frank suggests that the weekly contributions system should be scrapped. "Pensions", he writes, "should not be provided by the cumbersome system of collecting and recording many millions of weekly contributions from workers and employers. They should be paid for out of general Government revenue, to which everybody contributes by paying direct or indirect taxes, or both, according to their means. Everybody should therefore, be entitled without quibble to the pension on reaching the appropriate age. Some progressive countries pay higher pensions at a lower age. They spend less on administration expenses."

The author of the article claims that "The aggregate total of old-age pensions should always be considered in relation to the growing national income of which the old folks are not getting their fair share. There is no need for stinginess. At a cost of about £200,000,000 a year pensions could be raised to 50s. a week." And, by quoting and analysing some figures builds up a strong case in support of his claim.

"... at the end of that year (1952) there were 4,150,000 persons drawing retirement pensions, form one-twelfth of the population and

equal to one-sixth of the number of people of working age."

This ever increasing number of old people is, we are told, placing a strain on the working section of the community. But Frank says that this strain has been offset by the fact, "that at the other end of the age scale the proportion of dependent children has declined during the century."

The report of the Ministry of National Insurance for 1952 reveals that expenditure on retirement pensions was £27,000,000 higher than in the previous year. But, "... according to another Government Blue Book, the national income during the same year rose by £800,000,000 compared with 1951."

So continuing his analysis of official figures, the author goes on, "The cost for the present year (of pensions) will be nearly £350,000,000. The actual calculation is that the total cost of pensions on the present basis will amount to £700,000,000 in 25 years time. Some indication of what the total national income will then have reached can be gathered from the official statements based on 1948 prices, the gross domestic product in 1952 of £11,117,000,000 was £1,500,000,000 more than in 1946. Output of goods and services rose by 15 per cent. from 1946 to 1952. At the same rate of progress the total yearly product in 25 years time from now should be up by about £6,000,000,000. Science and mechanisation will go marching on to new achievements."

If there should be any doubts among readers of the "Outlook" as to which side of the Labour fence Frank Spires sits on, these doubts should be dispelled by this quotation from his article. "Before trying to drive old people to work longer, attention should be paid to the hundreds of thousands of working age who render no useful fitness cannot be justified."

And so say all of us!

S. Pearson. Cleethorpes.

## ★ The Problem of Compensation

The payment of compensation to capitalists for nationalised industries is not a moral issue but a question of bread and butter, miners', railwaymen's, bread and butter. This fact is underlined by the N.U.R. which has de-

manded of Labour Party Conferences year after year that railwaymen should not be forced to subsidise the shareholders' pockets. If payment to the ex-shareholders were to cease then the British Railways would be immediately able to give railwaymen decent wages and conditions and still leave millions for modernisation and improvement. If this happened, then instead of workers leaving the railways in disgust at the low rates of pay as they are doing now, they would be queuing to be taken on and a start would be made to gain the railway workers' co-operation in making nationalisation a success.

R. Hood, in last week's issue, said he supported my opposition to the compensation payments which he seemed to think not

## BILL MURPHY'S CORNER

I see there's to be a rise in wholesale prices. I suppose that means a wholesale rise in prices.

genuine. He did not think however, that much could be done about compensation whilst the Tories were in power but that the demand to stop compensation payments had an "agitational value". He also made the astonishing statement that a future Labour Government "need not worry unduly about its compensation policy". We could equally say that the £6 per week railway porter's demand for more wages has an "agitational value", but such Left phraseology does nothing to help the porters make ends meet, especially if we were to add that a future Labour Government would not have to worry unduly about a wages policy so long as it filled the shops with goods.

The Right wingers, who are really opposed to nationalisation anyway and certainly befriend the shareholders, erect all sorts of arguments in favour of compensation. To refuse to pay the capitalists for their nationalised property would, according to them, be unfair and illegal, it would also, they say, upset the money market and cause tremendous unrest and violence. These are the Right wing arguments and I do not suppose for one moment that "Socialist Outlook" contributors support them, but as R. Hood says, we "should be clear where our position leads".

Nationalisation of industry is useless if it cannot improve the

lot of the working people as a whole. How can this be done if industry must maintain a parasitic class which is small in numbers but large in appetite.

Socialism becomes meaningless unless we can immediately on its introduction begin the dispossession of the spiv and the capitalist and the betterment of the common folk.

Railwaymen and miners are not anarchists and I do not think they have any wish to force their industries into insolvency even to obtain wage increases, but they are beginning to realise that it is either they or the shareholders who must suffer, the difference being that the worker fights for his bread and butter and the shareholder for his luxury yacht. That is why the railwaymen, who are the hardest pressed, raise the question today of compensation. Tomorrow, the miners and the whole working class will also demand that compensation payments cease.

Of course no Tory Government would dream of giving in to such a demand, so that its ultimate success depends on the victory of Labour. We cannot, however, abandon our Left programme because the Tories are in power, although Deakin and Co. would be delighted if we did. The demand to stop payment for compensation is one of the levers for getting the Tories out of power and for returning a Labour Government. It is one of the signposts along the road which Labour must travel towards a Socialist programme.

Ernest Jones. Nottingham.

## Strike at Woodberry Down

WORK on the building of the L.C.C. Comprehensive School at Woodberry Down, North London, is being held up by the action of the contractors, Messrs. Kirk and Kirk. The 70 workers employed on this site are on strike, following the instant dismissal of the carpenters' steward on September 29.

The sacked steward is Bro. John Conneely, a member of the A.S.W., chairman of the Site Works Committee and a member of Stepney Labour Party.

On the Tuesday when the strike began Bro. Conneely had complained to a labourer that he was doing a job in a dangerous manner and that, in any case, it was a job for two carpenters. This led to an argument with the foreman and the sacking of the steward for indiscipline.

The workers declare there is a site agreement that all sackings must be discussed by the works committee. Bro. Conneely was sacked without there being such a discussion. The Federation steward asked the site management to reinstate the sacked steward pending the visit of Union organisers to the site. This was refused.

When the Union organisers arrived on the site the men returned to work so that the officials could discuss with the management. The firm refused to move on its decision and the strike began again.

The strikers express the opinion that the sacking is a deliberate case of victimisation designed to weaken the site Trade Union organisation at a time when their bonus agreement is due for review. However, they are confident the firm will fail.

They have fought and won struggles in the past against an attempt to impose on them an arbitrary system of graded bonuses and for the recognition of joint consultation in industrial matters. They have built 100 per cent. Trade Union organisation and express their determination to win this fight under the slogan of "Our steward must not go".

## Malaya—a Police State and even the 'Times' admits it!

THE capitalist press have recently been trying to put over the impression that the war in Malaya is all but over and that the result has been a victory for the terrorist methods of General Templer.

That this is far from being the case is revealed in an article which appeared in the "Times" on October 1 and 2 by their Singapore correspondent. Coming from such a source, it has an authority greater than any Socialist writer could give to these facts. We publish the following extracts without further comment.

"The internal security services of Malaya are probably the most efficient and omnipotent of their kind, and the largest in the world in proportion to the size of the country. Little expense has been spared to equip nearly three divisions of troops, including local battalions, an enormous police force and gendarmerie and more than 200,000 Home Guards. In some areas there is an armed man to police every two of his fellows, and more than 65 for every known terrorist. Their scope has been increased by helicopters and parachute formations, and they can call upon two air forces and the Royal Navy for support.

"The intelligence agencies are extensive. An army of paid informers keep the police in touch with a people whose language they cannot understand.

"... to isolate the terrorists, cut their clandestine lines of com-

munication and force them out of the jungle... (there are plans for) the resettlement in protected areas of Chinese squatters and Malay rural folk—more than 500,000 have been removed from their isolated huts... as well as food restrictions and tight administrative control.

"... two years ago there were said to be about 3,000 terrorists, today the official estimate is 6,080... General Templer said recently that the emergency was likely to continue indefinitely, until the Malayan Communist Party was convinced that the Communist world revolution would not succeed. The war would go on.

"Communist propagandists say that Malaya is a police state, and so in a way it is. The emergency regulations have increased the power of the executive at the cost of the individual. The effective Government is a military oligarchy, with a command apparatus demanding absolute obedience, which is also a system of police surveillance. The power of the security forces is almost absolute.

"There are few Malaysians... who see the emergency as their war.

"The Chinese are not the only neutrals in the emergency; they can be found in all communities, even among the Europeans. In every town are groups of young men united by mutual dissatisfaction and extreme frustration.

"Colonialism is anathema to them.

"Essentially their aloofness is

an intellectual reaction. Revolutionary theorists would call it the desertion of the intellectuals—a portent of revolt—but it is more complicated. They have never belonged, they have always been excluded.

"There are 239 permanent British officials in the Malayan Civil Service and nearly 1,000 in other departments; 486 police officers, and 695 police lieutenants. There are only 64 Malays in the M.C.S., and no Chinese...

"The British Government have proclaimed their intention to lead Malaya to self-government... But the administration argues that there must be national unity before self-government, and believes that unity is impossible because of communal antipathy."

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