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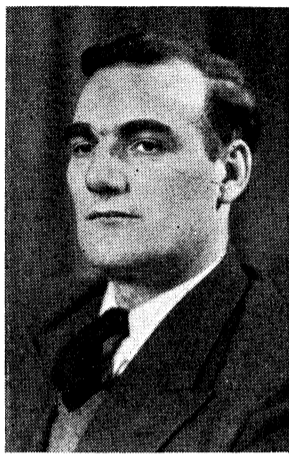
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With
Folded
Arms
(See p. 3)

A Question of Principle

THE Woodford Constituency Labour Party's appeal against the decision of the National Executive Committee not to endorse our Editor, John Lawrence, as their Labour Candidate to oppose Sir Winston Churchill at the next election was turned down by the Margate Conference. The matter was discussed in secret session and the Press was excluded.

Issues of great importance are raised by this Conference decision. They were well put by the "Tribune" last week and, as we completely agree with the "Tribune" on this issue, we reproduce their editorial in full below. In so doing we take this opportunity of congratulating the Editors of "Tribune", for their principled stand on such important questions.



John Lawrence
Editor "Socialist Outlook"

A CHARTER FOR SHEEP

("Tribune" Editorial, October 9, 1953)

A major issue of principle for the Labour Party is raised by the case of John Lawrence.

He is a member of the Labour Party, an executive committee member of the Holborn and South St. Pancras Labour Party and an elected councillor. He was selected by the Woodford party to be their Parliamentary candidate.

But his endorsement was refused by the National Executive. It was explained to the Woodford party that in the answers given to the election sub-committee of the Executive and in the views expressed in "Socialist Outlook", John Lawrence had shown himself "out of step with official party policy" and could not therefore be accepted as a suitable "standard bearer" of the party.

But the Woodford party persisted in the claim to be allowed to nominate the candidate of their own choice. At the Margate Conference the Executive's attitude was upheld. Only a moment's thought should be needed to show that a more serious issue is at stake.

The National Executive is now using its power of endorsement to introduce a quite novel feature into the Labour Party Constitution. Henceforth, it seems there are to be first and second class members.

A man may be a member of the party and a Labour councillor but not a Parliamentary candidate or an M.P. The distinction is made on a political test which is not defined and is probably indefinable.

No one can possibly claim that the expression of views "out of step with official party policy" is an automatic reason for denying a party member the right to be an M.P. or a candidate.

In short, the National Executive is applying to the John Lawrence case a test which has not been generally applied in other cases. And in doing so they add a new confusion which cannot be defended on any grounds. John Lawrence, it seems, is free to express his views as a councillor, but not as a candidate.

Has not a Labour candidate or a Labour M.P. the same right to argue as a Labour councillor or an ordinary party member? "No" says the National Executive. But that answer reveals an absurd situation which no adult party should tolerate.

No great imagination is needed to expose the insidious implications of the new doctrine. If John Lawrence had kept his mouth shut, if he had given dishonest answers to the election sub-committee and if he had refrained from expressing his views in a Socialist newspaper, he would have been endorsed.

Altogether, the new doctrine would enforce a Charter for Sheep. The sooner the National Executive reconsiders the whole principle involved the better for Labour's self-respect as a national party.

Guiana is a Warning to Labour Movement

Hands off the Colonial Peoples!

EIGHTEEN hours after his arrival, by air, in Georgetown, British Guiana, the "Daily Herald's" Maurice Fagence, cabled "I am still looking for the crisis." The "Times" correspondent wrote from Georgetown (October 7) that the town is "perfectly normal and quiet today, and the excitement in London and elsewhere is not understood. There are no signs of impending crisis such as would justify a revocation of the constitution, nor of any disorder necessitating additional troops."

On the very same day that the "Herald" published the above despatch, the crisis was there alright. It came in the wake of H.M.S. "Superb" and the troops she landed in Georgetown. No sooner had the armed forces of the Crown taken up their positions, than the Governor dismissed Dr. Cheddi Jagan and the other P.P.P. ministers and suspended the constitution under which the government was elected by universal franchise last April.

The statement of the Colonial Office contains not one shred of evidence to substantiate their fantastic talk of "red plots". They obviously have quite other reasons for acting with such brutal determination.

Numerous Press reports have indicated that the Americans were uneasy for the safety of their air bases in Guiana—and for the safety of the vital strategic Panama Canal. It is a fair assumption that they have brought great pressure on the British Tories to settle with Dr. Jagan's anti-imperialist government because of Guiana's dangerous proximity to the Panama Canal. This is the first explanation for this completely unprovoked assault on the democratic rights of the Guianese people.

Naturally the Tories will willingly co-operated in these plans for they are, in their own right, vitally interested in curbing every threat to their imperialist possessions.

Within the Tory Party there has been a growing feeling of uneasiness at what they regard as a retreat from the traditional policies of imperialism. They watched with dismay the withdrawal from India and Burma; their dismay turned to alarm when the Persians kicked Anglo-Iranian out of Abadan and the Egyptians began to hot things up in the Canal Zone. When Kwame Nkrumah stepped out of gaol to become Africa's first native Prime Minister, alarm gave way to panic. Unless a halt was called, there

soon would be very little left of the Empire.

It looks as if British Guiana has been chosen by the Tories as a test case to see if the old recipe of brute force still works.

The real crime of the P.P.P., of course, is that in its short term in office it has introduced—quite legally—measures which aim at improving the lot of the working people. It has united the people round a common programme of social reform. If successful, the Guiana example would spread to all other South American colonial and semi-colonial countries—even to Panama!

All this has aroused the hatred of the considerable vested interests in British Guiana. The sugar planters and the Aluminium Company of Canada, which controls the colony's vast bauxite deposits, see in the programme of the government a serious threat to their profits. Although nationalisation does not feature in the immediate programme of the P.P.P., capitalist interests peer fearfully into the future and, in their imagination, foresee their own expropriation.

It is to reassure these elements that the gunboats are lying in Georgetown harbour and the colony itself is being infested with troops.

But even more is at stake. The Tories openly hope that by use of force they can stop the Empire from disintegrating. If they can use the navy and the army against the people of British Guiana and against its constitutionally elected government—then why not against the Gold Coast and Nigeria where the people are also demanding constitutional changes. Gunboats in Georgetown harbour today may well be the precursors of gunboats off Freetown and Lagos tomorrow.

If the Tories look upon British



HE'S HAPPY AGAIN!

Addressing the Tory Conference, this number one imperialist expressed his relief (!) at the news from British Guiana.

Guiana as a test for their reactionary colonial policy, it is also a test for Labour. The Tories are trying to do in the colonial field what they are doing in domestic policy. They are undermining all the progressive acts passed by Labour during its six years in office. The denationalisation of Road Transport and Steel, the National Health charges and now the assault on the democratic rights of the Guianese, are all part of the same Tory pattern.

Labour must not stand idly by

Editorial

or content itself with pious resolutions and allow the Tories to get away with it. The Labour movement must make it known in no unmistakable fashion that it is solidly on the side of the people of British Guiana and will give them every support, inside and outside of Parliament.

The issues involved are vital to Labour. Mr. Oliver Lyttelton has openly stated that the Tory government "is not willing to allow a Communist State to be organised within the British Commonwealth." If the moderate reform programme of the P.P.P. can be characterised as "Communism", then so can the far more radical programmes of the Co-operative

LABOUR PROTESTS

The Wimbledon Labour Party and the Surrey Federation of Labour Parties have passed strong resolutions protesting at Tory actions in Guiana. The resolutions have been sent to the National Executive, the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Press.

Commonwealth Federation of Canada, the Labour Parties of New Zealand and Australia, to say nothing of the programme of our own Labour Party as adopted by the Margate Conference.

If the Tories get away with this it might well mean that the armed forces of British imperialism could be "legitimately" used against Left wing governments anywhere in the Commonwealth.

Even if we have a Labour Government in power in Britain, the commanding positions in the Navy, Army and Air Force are still firmly in the hands of the scions of the ruling class. In the name of "anti-Communism" they can use the Guiana precedent to suppress the government by force of arms.

Fantastic? That is precisely what happened in Spain in the 1930's. There is nothing to prevent it happening here unless the Labour Movement acts resolutely NOW in support of the Guianese.

THE ENGINEERS' WAGES FIGHT

★ Prepare For Action ★
says Norman Dinning

THE expected has happened. The employers have given a flat rejection of the engineers' claim for a 15 per cent. increase.

Denying that the increase can be met out of profits, the employers state that the days are over when contract prices can be altered to meet wage increases. Thus it is demonstrated at the outset that, according to the employers, profits are of paramount importance; that workers should live is a secondary question!

This situation is the most serious that has confronted engineers since 1921-2 when, in a period of 14 months, by progressive reductions, engineers lost 32s. from the weekly pay packet. That is what happened when the post-War I "sellers market" ended. Today, the employers' statement that the seller's market is ending has an ominous ring.

The necessity of winning the 15 per cent. must now be regarded as a first step to prevent wage reductions which will surely follow if resolute action is not taken. Some months ago, certain T.U.C. leaders were urging increased productivity as the only basis for wage increases. Now they are urging the same course to retain present wages. Their acceptance of the employers' viewpoint regarding export prices is but a short step from the advocacy of wage reductions to maintain foreign markets.

Fortunately these views are not held by the Engineering Confederation Unions who reject the employers' plea that

profits cannot provide the wage increase.

The reasonableness of the claim is apparent. If wages are to retain the same relationship to productivity as in 1946 and also be related to the cost of living rise of 41 per cent., it would mean that since productivity has increased by 50 per cent., a justifiable increase would be 50 per cent. of the present cost-of-living figure (141 per cent.) i.e., 70.5 per cent. plus the 8 per cent. lag of wages (133 per cent.) behind the cost of living figure. Thus, whilst 78.5 per cent. increase is necessary to restore 1946 standards all that we ask is 8 per cent. on the cost-of-living plus 7 per cent. from increased productivity.

I submit that this is not merely reasonable, it is in essence—rigid restraint!

Contrast this with the progressive profits increases year by year in the same period. From 1947: 30 per cent., 21 per cent., 20 per cent., 27 per cent., 18.4 per cent. This progression (e.g., 21 per cent. in 1949 is 21 per cent. of 1948's 130 per cent.) aggregates to an increased profits figure in 1952 of 183 per cent. over 1947. Related to pre-war (1938) profits are now four times as much. This astronomical profits figure for engineering £306,000,000 (1952) is the direct result of increased productivity.

The employers tell us that this has arisen from capital invested in new and modern machinery, which does not involve greater effort from the worker, as though a faster machine didn't demand a faster worker to keep pace.

The real answer of course is
● Continued on page 2, col. 1

'Mumbo Jumbo and Mongrel Dogs'

TOO many leaders of the Labour and Trade Union Movement develop, at a certain stage in their "careers", hallucinations, illusions of grandeur. Accustomed always to "getting their own way", protected from rank and file criticism by an elaborate organisational machine, flattered and fawned upon by the capitalist Press they begin to imagine—perhaps sincerely—that they are leaders heaven-sent. They can do no wrong.

One such man was Ramsey MacDonald. Another was Mr. J. H. Thomas, and now it looks as if the present General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union—Mr.

Arthur Deakin—is determined to follow in that miserable tradition.

At the recent Conference of the Labour Party Mr. Deakin referred to the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions' "Plan for Engineering" as mumbo-jumbo. It obviously means nothing to him that this "Plan" was drawn up by the leaders of Unions representing more than 3,000,000 of the most skilled workmen in Britain. And he does not hesitate to denounce the "Plan"—even though his own Union had voted for its adoption in general terms.

That the "Plan" moreover embodies the experience of men

who know every aspect of the engineering industry—from the fitter's bench to the designer's drawing board, from the lathe to the planner's charts—all this means nothing to Mr. Deakin. All that matters is that the "Plan" comes out strongly in favour of public ownership and Mr. Deakin is, of course, very violently opposed to any extension of public ownership. So to him the "Plan" is mumbo-jumbo—very much in the same way as Galileo's discovery that the world was round was mumbo-jumbo to the High Priests of feudal reaction.

Naturally the other leaders of the Engineering Unions are angry with Mr. Deakin and they

have publicly called him to order. Does this worry Mr. Deakin? Not at all. To him—as to Ramsey MacDonald before him—the criticism of his fellow Trade Unionists is nothing more than the "snapping of mongrel dogs".

The Press is, of course, delighted. After all, Mr. Deakin has said what every employer in the country thinks—namely, that Trade Unionists who advocate the public ownership of industry are impudent "mongrel dogs".

But take care, Mr. Deakin. That noise you can hear behind you isn't the "snapping of mongrel dogs", it's the angry growl of lions!

'I am sorry' says the Mayor of Grimsby

"I AM not glad to be present. I am sorry," the Labour Mayor of Grimsby told officials when he opened a Civil Defence exercise last Tuesday.

After the ceremony the Mayor was interviewed by a reporter from the Grimsby "Evening Telegraph". He described as deplorable the money being spent on civil defence and said, "This will be a centre for destruction; we want a centre for peace." The Mayor continued by declaring that the town needed an art gallery, a swimming bath—"and our dramatic societies cannot get a halfpenny for cultural uses. But anything that is going to destroy gets money poured into it."

"I should be wrong if I were to sponsor a thing like this without making my protests," he went on. "If I were not Mayor I should have a lot more to say."

It is good to see a Labour mayor protesting at the wasteful expenditure on "civil defence" in preparation for war.

Merseyside Dockers Take Legal Action

AFTER a week on strike, Merseyside dockers returned to work on Thursday, October 8. As reported in last week's "Socialist Outlook", Birkenhead men came out first in defence of a colleague—28 year old Ernie Sullivan—and were followed by 5,000 Liverpool dockers.

Sullivan had been sacked after he had refused to relieve another docker designated by a stevedoring firm as a "key man" for transfer to work at a higher rate of pay. This "key man" system has been a running sore of discontent on Merseyside.

On Wednesday, October 7, the striking dockers met on the Lord Street blitz site in Liverpool. On the recommendation of their Port Workers Committee they decided to return to work at 8 a.m. on the following day and take the case of Sullivan through legal channels.

It was reported to the meeting that the Committee and Mrs. Sullivan were taking legal advice in respect of an article in the "Daily Mail" of October 6, which alleged that Mrs. Sullivan had made statements attacking the strike and the Committee.

For The Leader They Wait With Bated Breath

LAST Saturday, that noble and ancient knight, Sir Winston Churchill, made a speech in the Winter Gardens, Margate. His audience had waited two days for him to arrive, whiling away their time by playing Tory "Conference".

They had discussed a handful of motions judiciously selected by head office for their lack of criticism of official Tory policy. They had heard a speech or two from Tory Ministers, and generally received a build-up for the big event—the entry of the leader!

Came the day; came the appointed time, came the great man himself. No more playing around. The old man, like Moses coming down from Mt. Sinai, proceeded to give the line.

"I am sure you are all relieved by the news from British Guiana," he began. His audience certainly was. Troops and gunboats. This was the stuff to give those "lesser breeds without the law". No scuttling here. What we got by the gunboat we'll keep by the gunboat, by gad! Those people have actually got ideas about running their own country. Communists! Grandfather would have shot them out of hand!

Warmed to the cockles of their imperialist hearts by the news from British Guiana, the delegates were willing to listen with patience to the old guff from the old man, that he was, above all "for the brotherhood of the English speaking world, (they speak English in British Guiana) but there can be no true brotherhood without independence."

Sir Winston was very strong on brotherhood. He also wanted brotherhood with the Trade Union movement. The Conference had been informed that divisional Trade Union councils and area committees would be set up, transmitting resolutions on industrial affairs to a national Conservative Advisory Committee.

"We are asking all Conservative wage-earners to join Trade Unions and take an effective part in their daily work," said Churchill, and one again spoke for independence. "I have often said that Trade Unions should keep clear of both parties and devote themselves solely to industrial matters."

It might almost be Tom O'Brien

giving his fraternal greetings. However, Sir Winston continued with a gentle rebuke for Tom, a hint that he also thought that perhaps O'Brien "spoke out of turn" a week ago.

"At the present time, however,"

By **Bill Hunter**

he said, "I must admit they are doing very useful work where they are in restraining the featherheads, crackpots, vote-catchers, and office-seekers from putting the folly they talk into action."

The leader was not only con-

cerned with the Trade Union movement, but also with the Labour Party. As there was no real argument in the apology for a conference that immediately preceded his speech, he dealt with the arguments at the Labour Party Conference.

"Mr. Attlee's speech a week ago had some very sensible statements," said Sir Winston, scattering his blessings. On the other hand, there was the "Bevanite faction". That he viewed with "some concern".

No wonder, of course, that he keeps a sharp eye on the Labour Movement. The victory of the Left Wing would mean a real fight against him and his party!

Kenya: Some Facts

'The Times' refutes Lyttelton

IN our last issue we reproduced extracts from an article in the "Times", which tells the capitalist class the plain unvarnished truth about the situation in Malaya. This was in sharp contrast to the lying propaganda put out in the more sensational organs of the Press.

This week we quote from an article on Kenya in the same newspaper, which gives the lie to the myth that Mau Mau has nothing to do with social conditions in that country but springs from primitive devil worship and so on.

"Kenya today... is seeking means to remedy the economic maladjustment that led to the present emergency... Economically the root of the trouble has been the out-moded wage structure... a low wage economy without provision for social security which is wholly unconnected to the reality of the present... In one reserve after another the increase in population and the consequent overworking and fragmentation of the land has rendered illusory the premises of such recovery..."

"On the agricultural side there are two courses of development open. The capitalist approach is to convert what are now nominally communal tribal holdings into transferable and hereditary freehold... by the legalisation of what is already growing up, namely African landlordism on the European model... They will irrevocably sever from the land a large proportion of Africans..."

"The second line of approach, that of co-operative peasant settlement is not new in Kenya. In general such settlement requires heavy capital expenditure... It is quite certain that the Kenya government will not be able to open land settlement schemes on a scale commensurate with the absorption of the whole African peasant population. Moreover the provision of suitable land raises violent political issues such as the inalienability of the White Highlands Order... These issues have naturally been rendered more intractable because of Mau Mau..."

Colonialism is able to conceive the problem but absolutely incapable of finding a way out of the vicious circle!

Nehru Accuses UNO of Backing Rhee

IT is exceedingly unlikely that the political conference on Korea will begin on October 28 which was the date fixed by the Korean Armistice agreement.

Meanwhile Syngman Rhee continues his preparations to renew the war. He has already stated that it is his "wish and determination" to "march North at the earliest possible time".

The South Korean Army could last only a few weeks without American arms and money. That is clear enough, and has led a great many members of the Labour Movement to the conclusion that Syngman Rhee is not the uncontrollable force which American propaganda would have us believe, that his bellicose utterances and preparations are conceived and encouraged by American militarists and politicians.

It is significant that the Indian Government has also reached that conclusion. At a Press conference on October 11, Pandit Nehru declared "he was being reluctantly driven to suspect that perhaps the United Nations and certain major countries in it were inclined to back the South Koreans, whose intentions of continuing hostilities were by now an undeniable fact, as speeches of their Foreign Minister had shown".

Together with 16 other Governments the Tory government signed an agreement—in secret—that in case of a breach of the armistice by North Korea (no mention of a breach by South Korea) "in all

probability it would not be possible to confine hostilities within the frontiers of Korea".

Let us be under no illusions. If Rhee commences hostilities on the excuse of a breakdown of the armistice agreement, the Americans will come to his assistance. With the application of the 16-nation agreement the war would spread into China and then rapidly involve the whole world.

The Margate Conference of the Labour Party opposed the 16-nation declaration. Should the truce agreement break down it must immediately mobilise to oppose unambiguously a new outbreak of the war in Korea.

Apartheid

IN pursuance of its "Apartheid" policy which aims at humiliating the coloured people of South Africa as much as possible, the Malan Government has now introduced "The Reservation of Separate Amenities Bill". When this becomes law, any person in charge or control of "any public premises or any public vehicle" will have the absolute right to reserve them, or any part of them, "for the exclusive use of persons belonging to a particular class or race".

Anyone wilfully entering any place, "counter, bench, seat or any other amenity or contrivance" reserved against him, will be liable to a fine of £50 or three months' imprisonment or both.

Five Years of "Socialist Outlook"

ON December 1 our paper will be five years old. These have been years of great achievement. From a monthly we have progressed to a weekly at the same pace as the Left wing has spread its influence throughout the length and breadth of the Labour Party.

"Socialist Outlook" has contributed in no small way to this development. Its consistent Socialist message has assisted year by year in the formulation of important policy making resolutions at Trade Union and Labour Party

Conference. Whilst it is true that these policies are not always adopted support continues to grow all the time.

On this occasion of the fifth anniversary we are planning a series of important meetings in different parts of the country. Plans are also in hand to press forward the circulation drive so that at least 1,000 new readers are won during the month of November.

Full details of these arrangements will be announced in these columns next week.

Engineer's Wages (from page 1)

that the invested capital is from the increased profits extracted from the worker each previous year.

Nor has this investment diminished the distributed profits. The aggregate figure of increased net profits (dividends) in 1952 was 152 per cent. greater than 1947, i.e., 2½ times as much. The first five months of 1953 show a dividend increase of 6 per cent. and of total profits 9.2 per cent. over 1952. I quote again the statement of Dr. Barma (Oxford University Institute of Statistics).

"If profits had risen in the same ratio as labour costs (wages) since 1938, they would have been, in 1948, from £700 millions to £750 millions less than that they were, and this would have permitted prices to be reduced by 10 per cent."

Though this refers to the whole of British industry, engineering profits have increased by 153 per cent. since 1947/8 in spite of less than £150 millions being added to the wage bill. This can only mean, in total, that the estimated £125 millions of the 15 per cent. claim can easily be met without increasing prices.

The Confederation is to hold a further meeting with the employers, in order that the Unions

can try "to get them to change their minds". How do we do this?

ARBITRATION?

It is time for plain speaking. Even if recent claims had not been rejected by the Arbitration Tribunal it would be necessary to declare that arbitration performs a State function, it controls wages "in the interests of the National economy". This is the language of the employers and they refuse to pay it out of profits. Arbitration must be rejected.

An overtime ban is not an adequate weapon, our claim points out that only 33 per cent. are working overtime, 33 per cent. of strength will fail, especially while normal production continues. This, or a piece work ban, will merely lengthen the struggle in favour of the employers.

"Guerilla" tactics will not be successful when a whole industry is involved and in any case, the employers have been preparing for a struggle and have learnt from the electricians' effort to counteract with lock-outs. The initiative must be kept in our hands.

For a long time now, the employers, and the government, have indicated their "Achilles heel". They have urged us to more and more production, thus the greatest blow they could suffer is no production at all. This is the truth of the matter. Our leadership must tell this truth to the Confederation membership. Only this sort of action can prevent an onslaught by the employers to reduce wages. Remember 1921, in 14 months we lost 32s. from the wage packet. However, then we were weak, today we are stronger than ever before.

Maurice Orbach, Labour M.P. for Willesden East, and Mr. George Leeson have just returned from an eight day visit to Madrid. The purpose of their visit was to enquire into the conditions of imprisonment of Spanish Trade Unionists and other democrats about whom grave concern is felt among wide circles in this country.

Their mission to Spain was sponsored by a large number of organisations of the Labour and Trade Union movements.

IMPRISONED WITHOUT TRIAL

Mr. Orbach and Mr. Leeson obtained permission from the Spanish authorities to visit the Madrid Provincial Prison at Carabanchel where political prisoners are interned together with men convicted of criminal offences—including thieves and murderers.

Here they were able to substantiate the fact that a very large number of prisoners are held for long periods awaiting trial.

They asked for, and were granted, an interview with Gregorio Lopez Raimundo, General Secretary of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, and one of the leaders of the March, 1951, strikes in Barcelona. Lopez Raimundo told them: "A British lawyer came to my trial, and I would like to thank all the people in your country who have made efforts on my behalf."

Asked why he was still in prison after the completion of his sentence, Lopez Raimundo replied:

M.P. Reports on Franco Spain

"I don't know why. I should have been released on January 9. Then they said I was to be released in July last, but no reason has been given for my continued detention."

It would appear that Raimundo's continued imprisonment is on the instructions of the Minister of Justice. He is kept in solitary confinement in a wing of the prison reserved for dangerous prisoners, but said that he is in good health and that he has received three visits from his sister.

Enquiries about several groups of Spanish Socialists and Trade Unionists, including Ramon Porqueras, some of whom were arrested 18 months ago, revealed that these prisoners were not in the Provincial Prison, but are being held in Ocana Prison, about 40 kilometres from Madrid. There is no indication as to when they are likely to be brought to trial.

One of these men, Tomas Centeno, died in prison, and his body was handed over to his family for burial. Though the Spanish authorities gave suicide as the cause of death, the injuries on the body gave every reason to believe that his death was brought about by police brutality during interrogation.

Political prisoners include men and women of a wide variety of opinions—Monarchist, Basque Catholics, Republicans, Trade Unionists, Socialists, Communists, and Anarchists. In addition to the fact that they are held for long periods without trial, when trials do take place, they are invariably held before military courts, and it is the practice to announce the trial only 24 or 48 hours before it is held.

This Is The 'Free World's' Latest Recruit

I.C.F.T.U. PROTEST

The I.C.F.T.U. has called on the American Trade Union Movement to protest vigorously to the Government of the U.S.A. about its recent agreement with Franco Spain which it declares "will be taken by the Spanish people as a betrayal of their struggle for freedom".



The offences with which they are charged are usually those of giving expression to the general discontent with the regime or of being members of clandestine Trade Union or democratic organisations. There are cases of men who are charged with merely having made contributions of 5d. a month to clandestine Trade Unions.

Says Mr. Orbach: "All the working people and peasants with whom I came into contact complained of their low wages and the high prices of food-stuffs. Other consumer goods seemed to be outside their reach."

"The arid countryside around Madrid with soil erosion and medieval methods of agriculture pointed to a tottering economy."

"Many knowledgeable Spaniards complained that the treaty with the United States had come at an

appropriate moment to bolster the Franco regime, at a period which otherwise might have been the beginning of its end. I found everywhere among the people a fervent desire for peace and opposition to attempts to draw Spain into war-like alliances.

CONFERENCE HELPED

"The resolutions on Spain at the Labour Party Conference, passed during my absence in Madrid and placing on record the British Labour movement's opposition to the American-Spanish pact and the necessity to send official observers to all Spanish political trails, were most timely."

"Everything I heard and saw convinced me of the importance for continued interest on the subject of Spain and for aid and succour from the British Labour movement whenever it is sought by victims of Franco's dictatorship."

Socialist Outlook

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Labour's History

No. 20. The General Strike (continued)

WITH FOLDED ARMS...

ON Monday, May 3, 1926, with negotiations broken off by the Government, the General Council of the T.U.C. had no choice but to hold to its strike call. Faint hopes that the Government would change its mind persisted throughout Monday, fading as the hours passed.

WAR proclaimed the "Daily Telegraph" placards. The Government was prepared for war, the T.U.C. did not want even to fight.

TRUST YOUR LEADERS, advised the "Daily Herald" that morning. "Never was this more necessary than it is now. . . ." All hope of peace gone, the T.U.C. sent out its message to the workers: "The Trade Unions are fighting in defence of the mine-workers. The responsibility for the national crisis lies with the Government. . . . Stand firm and we shall win."

As the afternoon and evening shifts came away from workshops factories and foundaries, the strike made its quiet, almost unnoticed beginning.

He sold out...



J. H. THOMAS

thousands of dockers wearing decorations and medals won in the first world war.

The strike was declared illegal by a Judge, and by Sir John Simon in the House of Commons. Blacklegs were promised protection in their jobs after the strike was over. A Government statement that the "Armed forces would receive full support of the Government in any action that they may find it necessary to take in an honest endeavour to aid the Civil Power", provoked a protest from King George V who described it "an unfortunate announcement".

On May 11, the Cabinet decided to seize Trade Union funds and to arrest members of the General Council, but this was not put into action at once, counsels of caution prevailing. No one was sure what might follow such drastic action.

Law, military and police power, misrepresentation in Press and on radio, threats to stop strike pay and arrest leaders—how was the strike faring against all this?

though battalions of despatch riders from the T.U.C. thundered along the main roads, bringing to main centres where the strikers were hopelessly isolated from their fellows elsewhere, and at the mercy of radio bulletins, their first news from the T.U.C. and of the progress of the strike in other parts.

Armies are notoriously badly led and badly provided for—few can have been so badly led and provided for as the millions on strike in 1926.

Yet its success and solidarity grew with every day that passed. It was saved and strengthened by two things—the amazing spirit displayed by the rank-and-file, and the abilities displayed for improvised organisation.

Every area had its committees: as the extent of the strike varied from town to town according to

the industries in each place, so did the committees. Some places had committees for each Union or group of Unions, or only for those engaged in the strike. Some, especially areas most affected, had Councils of Action, often powerful and substantial bodies, representing all organised workers in their areas. Councils and many strike committees covered, through sub-committees, a wide range of activities, including the issue of permits to employers to shift foodstuffs and other necessities, the organising of picketing, communication with outlying areas, raising of funds for needy cases, organising meetings and parades, and publishing local cyclostyled or printed bulletins.

For the first four days of the strike, the T.U.C. permitted lorries carrying essential foodstuffs to move, and it was a common sight to see lorries on the roads bearing the words: "By permission of the

T.U.C." When employers began abusing the permits to carry non-essentials ("people are often found masquerading as loaves of bread" reported one strike bulletin) the T.U.C. stopped the issue of permits.

Mass picketing in many of the industrial areas was wide flung and effective. A mass picket in action was a truly impressive sight: the wide sweeping lines of official pickets closing in on lorry or car: the check, the decision to let the vehicle through, to turn it back or—as in some areas—to impound the vehicle; the sudden engulfing of an odd tram or bus, driven by volunteers and heavily guarded, by a black sea of people; and occasionally, the rapid and efficient dismantling of hostile cars.

Muddle side by side with efficiency; great hearted enthusiasm among the rank and file, timidity and faint heartedness among the leaders; good humoured relations between police and strikers in some areas, savage conflicts in others; a grim note of war in Government statements and actions, a calm, unshakable confidence among the millions on strike—all these were facets of the strike.

As order came out of confusion, as local committees grew in efficiency, the strike gained in power and in numbers. "There are more workers out today than there have been at any moment since the strike began" reported the "British Worker" on May 11; and on May 12, the second line was called out, the shipbuilding and engineering workers. In the shipyards and larger factories the men came out solidly: in factories where Union organisation was weak, little bands of loyal Trade Unionists marched out nobly and quietly to certain disaster.

The strikers were confident, their power seemed to be growing, not diminishing. From some sections of the employers and the middle classes there arose demands for re-opening of negotiations, and demands for peace. In one area the Government supply organisation broke down: the regional chief went cap in hand to the Council of Action and asked their help in getting supplies moving. The council refused to collaborate with the enemy, and was planning its own food supply organisation when the strike came to an end.

How and why it came to an end will be described by Reg Groves in next week's "Outlook".

It was on Tuesday that the completeness of the stoppage revealed itself, astonishing friend and foe alike. There were no trains, no tubes, no buses, no trams, and—that evening—no evening newspapers. In every industry where the workers were called out—and in some where they weren't—they

special constables were distributed throughout the country's main industrial areas. Warships steamed into important ports. Arrests were made on flimsiest of pretexts—"incitement" to strike, publication or distribution of leaflets and bulletins, manning the picket line. Altogether there were 1,760 prosecutions for "incitement" and 1,389 for "violence".

On Wednesday, May 5, the "British Gazette" made its first appearance, published from the offices of the "Morning Post" with Mr. Winston Churchill in the editorial chair. He enjoyed himself to the full in this position. This was a war—against his fellow countrymen in the absence of foreigners to fight. Strikers were denounced as enemies of their country, blacklegs and volunteers hailed as patriots. The issue was presented as between constitutional government and bolshevism, or, sometimes, "anarchy".

Consisting of four badly printed pages, the "Gazette" was, like the many tiny, almost illegible sheets that made uncertain appearances during the strike with "Daily Mirror", "Daily Express" and "Chronicle" on them, mute testimony to the solidarity of the printers. In fact, when the "Gazette" started it had one typesetter only—a former linotype operator turned manager loaned by Lord Beaverbrook.

On the Wednesday evening, in reply the General Council began publication of the "British Worker". As the first run was about to begin, a small army of police and detectives descended on the offices. After searching the heavily-censored issue in vain for sedition, the police withdrew, and amid a singing of the "Red Flag" in the works and in the streets outside, the "British Worker" went to press.

A few days later, the Government confiscated all the "Worker's" paper supplies. Only by scrounging paper of all shapes and sizes from various Left wing weeklies was the paper able to carry on. By the end of the strike it was printing 750,000 copies nightly, and editions were being published in Manchester and Glasgow.

A military cordon was drawn around the London docks: and two battalions of Guards protected the 500 students and clerks who unloaded a few food ships there.

The food was conveyed from the docks escorted by cavalry, armoured cars and mounted police, with each lorry guarded by armed, steel-helmeted soldiers.

For miles the main roads of dockland were lined with strikers watching the convoys pass, shouting friendly words to the soldiers,

The T.U.C.'s lack of preparation for the strike created many difficulties. The by no means clear list of workers to be called out created further trouble. Each Union called its own members out, and as there were some 80 Unions with all or some of their members involved, it was no wonder there was overlapping, conflicting instructions and confusion at the receiving end of the orders.

Men and women came out, were ordered back, came out again. Those not called out, or judged to be on work the T.U.C. felt should not be stopped, found themselves in confusion from the start. In factories where the transport men had been called out by their Union, while the operatives stayed in at the order of their Union, materials would arrive in lorries driven by clerks, managers, students and other scabs. Building workers on municipal housing told to stay in saw their cement being delivered by blackleg drivers, and came out.

Communications were inadequate

but he fought on...



Miner's leader A. J. Cook speaking in Hyde Park. Waiting to speak is Henry Sara.

The Industrial Front

VICTORY FOR DRAUGHTSMEN

LAST Monday, September 5, 30 draughtsmen returned to work victorious after five weeks on strike.

These draughtsmen are employed by the Middlesex Tool and Gauge Co., only a few yards away from the factory of the Medical Supply Association. The M.S.A. Trade Unionists can draw heart from the result of the struggle of their brothers down the road.

The firm stand taken by the draughtsmen against victimisation has achieved the reinstatement of the two Trade Union members who were sacked by the firm. In the terms of settlement the firm also agreed to sack a "blackleg" who started work there after the dispute began. The strikers also received a guarantee that the other "blacklegs" would be kept in a separate department and have no contact with loyal Trade Unionists.

These workers are to be congratulated on their fight and ultimate victory which was aided by the great efforts of their fellow Trade Unionists who "blacklegged" the firm's work and put the company in a very serious condition.

HAWKERS DON'T BREAK WAGES RECORD

THE chairman of the Hawker Aircraft Strike Committee, Mr. J. Jones, told "Socialist Outlook" that a regular smear campaign had been launched in the local and national Press against the 268 striking inspectors.

Because Hawkers were primarily engaged on defence production it was being said that the strike had political motives. This he absolutely denied. None of the strikers were even paying the Trade Union political levy! This was a strike for more wages and nothing else. On July 18, the Shop Stewards

sent a letter to the Labour Superintendent and Chief Inspector, putting forward demands for an all-round increase for all inspectors, male and female. After the management had twice rejected these demands, the inspectors walked out on September 27 and a mass meeting decided that they would stay out unless the firm would agree to an informal discussion, with no officials from either side being present.

The management gave this assurance but when the meeting took place on September 28, the men found out that Mr. Brown of the Employers Federation was in an adjoining room and was obviously being consulted at each adjournment.

On October 2, the management stated that they would promote 11 of the inspectors to staff, give 19 "ability money" of 3d. an hour, 59 would get an increase of 2d., and 112 would get 1d. an hour. The remaining 79 inspectors would get no increase at all.

The total cost to the firm of this magnanimous offer would be £1 4s. 6d. an hour or £52 9s. 10d. a week—an average of 9 of a 1d. for every inspector.

The inspectors flatly rejected this offer, the main aim of which was to split their ranks. Furthermore, they pointed out that some of these so-called "increases" were normal increments, which the workers would have received automatically in any case.

Despite this, the increases were included in last week's pay packets. At a mass meeting of the strikers, it was unanimously agreed to return these fake rises to the chief cashier and to ask for a receipt for same as it does not in any way constitute a settlement of the original demands.

The Strike Committee have made several requests to the management for further meetings but they have refused unless the

strikers return to work first and register failure to agree to go through the "normal channels of procedure".

That means, said Mr. Jones, that we would have to take our case to the Works Conference, then, failing an agreement to Local Conference, from there to York and then the case could be referred to arbitration or back for domestic settlement. **This would mean a question of months and months.**

"We have a case in the Kingston works now, where failure to agree was registered two years ago come November and there is no settlement yet. That's why the boys reject procedure now."

Works Stewards from the four factories involved have met representatives from other factories of the Hawker Combine (Armstrong-Whitworth, Coventry; A. V. Rose, Manchester; A. V. Rose, Langair; Hawkers - Blackpool; Gloucesters and Brockwith Engineering), and they have been promised 100 per cent. moral and financial support. The stewards also agreed to black any work from the four factories involved in the dispute.

STEWARDS RE-EMPLOYED

THE strike of building workers at Woodberry Down, North London—reported in last week's "Socialist Outlook"—ended last Wednesday afternoon. The men returned to work after Messrs. Kirk and Kirk agreed to re-employ the sacked steward—Mr. John Conneely—on another site.

M.S.A. STILL OUT—AFTER 18 WEEKS

MEDICAL Supply Association Lock-Out Committee continue their efforts to obtain a total "blacking" of work and supplies of the firm.

As reported in the "Socialist Outlook" of October 2, the 39 Unions in the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding

Unions have declared the firm "black". Following on that decision, the committee have circulated Hospital Management Committees and Regional Boards asking them to cease buying from the M.S.A. **All Labour members of these bodies are asked to take note of this.**

Co-operative management committees have also been circulated and several have agreed to cease their purchases from this firm.

Two members of the lock-out committee visited Edinburgh recently where this company has a show room. They were successful in obtaining a decision from the St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Society not to buy from the firm. The two "missionaries" also distributed leaflets to medical students of Edinburgh University who buy instruments from the Medical Supply Association. They report that their leaflets were favourably received.

Those who pass through the picket lines to work inside the factory are finding that the management is showing them no generosity for trying to undermine the strike.

The firm have now removed the five minutes washing time which the workers formerly had at the end of the day.

After 18 weeks these workers locked-out at M.S.A. are determined to win through in their struggle to prevent the victimisation of their fellow Trade Unionists.

END PIECE

New Man: "Oh! By the way, I'm a Union member."

Boss: "Ugh! We don't like that here. Anyway, what Union do you belong to?"

New Man: "N.U.V.B."

Boss: "What does that stand for?"

New Man: "National Union of Victimised Brothers."

The third of 4 articles by Reg Groves

came out to a man. Surveying its first reports from all over the country, the General Council declared that the response to the strike call "surpassed all our expectations. . . . the difficulty has been to keep the men in. . . ."

In London and the larger cities, office, shop and others not involved in the strike walked, cycled, travelled in lorries to their places of business. (It was noticed at public meetings held in the streets during lunch time in the City and West End that the black-coated were sympathetic to the Trade Union cause and gave generously to collections on behalf of the miners).

Throughout Tuesday afternoon and evening London's taxi drivers did great business, and many lucrative days were ahead. Yet the taxi men sent a deputation to T.U.C. headquarters at Eccleston Square, with a plea: "Call us out. We feel like blacklegs with the busmen and tram-men out, and we don't like carrying these blankety-blank business men around." At midnight Wednesday the taxi drivers, including owner drivers stopped work. (After the strike, the cabbies were heavily penalised by the Government for this action.)

The Government set its forces into motion. The whole apparatus of repressive machinery had been mobilised: police, troops and

Selecting the 'News'

There were cheers from Labour Party delegates at Margate when the executive pledged an immediate increase in insurance benefits, allowances and old age pensions by the next Labour government.

This was surely a news item of widespread interest and importance. If a Conservative conference—in or out of office—had made such a decision the Press would have "splashed" it.

But because it was a popular

★ Star Letter ★

Labour pledge how did the millionaire proprietors treat it?

For the most part they ignored it. Lord Rothermere's "Daily Graphic": not a line. Lord Kemsley's "Daily Dispatch": likewise. Perhaps they forgot.

The "Daily Mail" (Lord Rothermere) tucked it away in seven lines at the foot of column three on page two.

It's the old game of "Selecting the news".

Frank Allaun. Manchester.

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A Question and a 'Reply' on Conscription

I am a member of the Leeds Labour Party. At a recent meeting I asked Mr. Herbert Morrison, M.P., the following question:

"I am shortly due for national service. Conscription, we are told, is necessary to defend the free world against Communist aggression. But on reading the papers, I see that the 'leaders of the free world' are Eisenhower, Churchill, Adenauer, Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai Shek, Bao Dai and Franco. I also see that I can be sent abroad to Germany, Malaya, Egypt or Kenya.

"Will Mr. Morrison tell me (1) if he considers conscription necessary to 'defend the free world' against Communist aggression.

"(2) If so, in what way are Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai Shek, and Franco upholders of freedom?"

"(3) What would I, in Kenya, Malaya or Egypt, be doing to defend this country against Communist aggression?"

Here is Mr. Morrison's reply: "I do not know if this question originates from the Labour Party—I very much doubt it. I do not know why the questioner pretends that Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai Shek and Franco are upholders of liberty, as he appears to be trying to make out they are. I would never call them that. He can be quite content when he goes on national service. He will be serving Britain—a Britain not taking orders from Syngman Rhee, Franco, nor anyone else."

That was his complete answer—word for word. I have not altered, shortened nor enlarged it in any way. It consists of a filthy smear and a clumsy and obvious evasion.

G. Gale.
A future conscript.

How It Spreads

I have been receiving my "Socialist Outlook" by post and have also ordered it through my local newsagent.

The "Outlook" is a lively little paper which has given us Socialists a platform on which we can air our views and I look forward to the day when it grows in sales and size.

I pass my two copies on to friends all of whom are keen readers. I hope in due course to get them in turn to become regular subscribers. Let us all try to increase the circulation of the "Outlook".

A. J. Martin. Exeter.

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Our Readers Write . . .

Should We All Be Co-Operators?

I bought a copy of "Socialist Outlook" at Margate and was interested to read Tom Braddock's "Political Guide".

To my surprise, despite the fact that there were more motions and amendments on the Agenda advocating "co-operation" than ever before, it has escaped Tom Braddock's attention. Then again, his guide gives prominence to proposed constitutional changes, but omits to mention the most fundamental constitutional change of them all, viz., the change proposed by my Constituency Party (Wood Green) which, if carried, would have made it obligatory for members of the Labour Party to be members of a Co-operative Society or of a Co-operative household. The omission of mention of the Co-operative resolutions is all the more surprising in view of "Socialist Outlook's" control by a Co-operative Society.

I shall hope to see "Socialist Outlook" pay more attention to the Co-operative Movement in future.

Vic Butler. London, N.22

Compensation or Expropriation?

To upset Labour's policy of full employment E. Jones seems intent. No compensation, he insists, either from the industry or from taxation. Forty-six and a half million pounds worth of purchasing power is to be suddenly withdrawn from circulation and used as capital for the sinking of new pit shafts and the building of new rolling stock for the railways. And who, the sinking and building? None other, says Mr. Jones, than the men and women thrown out of work by the withdrawal of this sum, i.e., the ex-jockeys, stable-lads, butlers, maids, milliners, and the rest of those who minister unto the rich. Doesn't Mr. Jones want the Labour Party to win the next election?

Further, we are told that if compensation were paid out of taxation the capitalists would "put up the prices of their products, squeeze the workers a bit harder, employ clever lawyers to evade the tax laws". But are not the capitalists doing this all the time? Are not the workers asking for increased wages to compensate them for increased prices? And what were Mr. Black's clever lawyers when his firm made him a gift of £100,000?

No compensation is expropriation. And from expropriating an industry to expropriating workers' savings is but a short step. Once investors get it into their heads that their savings are in peril the money market begins to panic. Your contributor should read of the 1929 Wall Street crash which spread ruin, poverty, and misery throughout the world. America collapsed not through famines, floods, or any other kind of

national disaster, but through fear—the fear of the investor for the safety of his money.

The question is not whether to pay compensation or not, but how. Out of taxation, I say, because then the burden falls lightest upon the weakest, and heaviest upon the strongest.

T. W. Douglass. Sunderland.

The Burden of National Debt

Having agreed with T. W. Douglass that if compensation must be paid then it is better to pay it out of taxation, I want to make it clear that I agree with nothing else in his letter. I am amazed to find a Socialist using the hoary old line about "expropriating the savings". Ramsay MacDonald himself only met this

Engineers Rally For That 15%

A VITAL public pronouncement on the attitude of the executive council of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions towards the Engineering and Shipbuilding Employers' reply to their claim for a 15 per cent. increase will be made at a great Trafalgar Square demonstration on Sunday, October 18, organised by the London district committee of the Confederation.

Your readers might be interested to learn of this march, organised on behalf of all male workers in Shipbuilding, Ship Repair, Engineering and allied trades in pursuit of their claim.

The assembly points and times are as follows:

Contingent 1. N. London: Assemble at St. Pancras Arches at 2 p.m.—move off at 2.30 p.m.

Contingent 2. W. London: Assemble at Hyde Park on the North Carriage Road at 2 p.m.—move off at 2.30 p.m.

Contingent 3. N.W. London: Assemble at Prince of Wales, Harrow Road, at 1.45 p.m.—move off at 2.15 p.m.

argument from Tories—the "Great Post Office Savings Scandal". That this Tory charge can be made inside our own Party is sufficient warning as to where existing policy has led.

With no intention of nationalising more than the few basic industries, the Attlee-Morrison leadership could well afford to pay compensation to keep the 'market' happy. The lesson of the Steel Bill, however, was that further nationalisation would be met by further and more vicious sabotage. Politically, therefore, as well as for financial reasons, it is farcical to visualise paying compensation for nationalising the entire industrial machinery of this country. No one seriously proposed it. The Attlee-Morrison leadership did not. Their answer to this problem was simple—stop nationalising. Our opposition to compensation flows from the fact that we want to continue with nationalisation and speed it up. Nationalisation

policy determines compensation policy.

A new Labour Government can come to power on a bold programme of planning and nationalisation. We then face the impossibility, financially, of paying more and more compensation for more and more nationalisation. Therefore, Labour's programme must raise the related problem of the huge national debt. Enthusiasm for nationalisation can be developed only if we answer the demands now coming from the ranks on the question of the interest payments. These demands express a desire to terminate the system of compensation. The duty of a Socialist Party is to take up such demands and show how they can be realised. It is certainly not to tail behind and cast doubts on the whole policy of nationalisation. Our duty is to speed it up, show how to correct the compensation farce and institute a policy of workers control to answer doubts about "bureaucracy".

T. W. Douglass's other points about "full-employment" and "purchasing power" might lead one to believe that the interest payments and the national debt itself were assets—the bigger they become the richer we get!! Yet even the capitalist Keynes attacked the "rentiers".

Any serious programme for nationalising British industry, compensation or no compensation—must throw the so-called "money market" into the "panic" T. W. Douglass forsee. But what then? Are we to surrender our principles and give up the policy of nationalising industry? Do we capitulate? Or are we to regard such a panic as one of the overheads of the change to a saner form of society?

These are the real questions at issue. While it may be a comfortable armchair philosophy to visualise the continued payment of compensation for the quiet introduction of Socialism, this real problem involves real struggle. And nothing could be more real than the solid determination of British bankers and businessmen to hold on to what they have—their rights as owners. Any move to unseat them, whether we offer to pay for the privilege or not, will be met as "expropriation". We, like Ramsay MacDonald, will be "expropriators" no matter what

APOLOGY

On September 18, 1953, the "Socialist Outlook" put in its correspondence column part of a letter written by Mr. Donald Saunby of Grimsby, which letter was addressed to a private individual. We acknowledge that the letter in question was not written to the Editor of this newspaper, that it was a letter obviously not intended for publication, and that Mr. Saunby's permission to publish it either in whole or in part was neither sought nor received by us. In these circumstances, we recognise that our publication of part of the letter implying that it was a letter addressed to the Editor, was an improper procedure which may have had a misleading effect, and in setting out the facts we wish to apologise to Mr. Saunby for any annoyance or inconvenience our action may have caused him.

we pay or say. The principle of ownership is what is at stake, not mere sums of money. We either fight to take over the ownership of British industry or we capitulate. And the road of compensation has proved to be the road of capitulation.

R. Hood. Bermondsey.

[This correspondence is now closed. A series of articles on compensation and financial policy generally are being prepared for publication in the columns of the "Outlook".]

Why Painters Dread the Winter

SCOTTISH painters are concerned at the threat of a return to the seasonal unemployment that existed pre-war. This was shown at a well attended meeting held recently in Edinburgh. Among the speakers was J. Hoy, M.P. for Leith.

Provost Lean of Dalkeith stated there was enough work to keep all painters employed. More could be done to plan the painting trade, Public Authorities and Government Departments could play a bigger part in this.

The secretary of the Edinburgh District Committee of the Scottish Painters Society states that this meeting was the start of a campaign to plan the trade and calls upon all members of the public and associations to use their influence to postpone to the winter months work that can reasonably be executed then.

Socialism—but not on Friday!

Tom Braddock comments on the Margate Housing Debate

AT the Margate Conference just over, there was a debate early in the week on the Socialisation of essential industries. To the surprise of Conference, Morgan Phillips replied to the discussion and Socialisation was put into cold storage.

The argument was that if the delicate balance of private ownership was jarred, production would go down and all hope of getting a trade balance with the dollar countries would go. During all this, the representatives of the Constituency parties on the N.E.C. were dumb, apart from Jim Griffiths, who was in full agreement with Morgan and said so, with eloquent knobs on.

Friday afternoon came along and again public ownership raised its head, "bloody but unbowed". The Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers asked that their industry and those that manufactured and supplied building materials should be brought under public ownership. They had made the same request in 1952. On that occasion Mr. Ian Mikardo, M.P., said that the N.E.C. was anxious to do some detailed practical research and that the proposal should have sympathetic study. This debate in 1952 took place on Friday morning.

At Margate it was Friday afternoon and Mr. Aneurin Bevan, M.P., was in charge. What a change came over the scene! No talk of research or sympathetic study. Not likely, it was Friday afternoon, what a cheek it was for the building workers to suggest a

Socialist measure on a Friday afternoon!

Secondly, a suggestion that the Building Industry be turned into a public service was obviously impossible as it would mean that all industries would have to be organised for public service since all contributed to the requirements of the building industry.

Nye Bevan is evidently an idealist, no step by step progress to the Co-operative Commonwealth for him. All or nothing is the watchword, until every other industry is nationalised building cannot be so treated.

Is this another new slant on the N.E.C. approach to Socialism, slipped in at the end of the Conference, just as their Foreign Policy statement was slipped in at the start. Is this the real reason why the demands of the engineer-

ing workers was turned down? Certain it is that Morgan Phillips is able to give no reason. Was it left to Bevan on Friday to spill the beans?

Does he really believe that it is impossible to separate factories and workshops manufacturing such things as windows, drainpipes, sanitary goods, etc., from wool and textile mills or chemical works? Of course not, he was just talking nonsense, but not so skillfully as Mr. Morgan Phillips can do it.

If he really believed what he said why was it that as Minister of Health in 1947 he appointed the Girdwood Committee "to consider and keep under review the costs of building"? Did he really expect the Girdwood Committee to cast its net over every industry in the country from the manufacture of pins to liners? On his own argument he should have done, since

all take part in the building industry.

Does he argue that because the building worker's wife sometimes fastens her apron with a safety pin that safety pins are therefore part of the building industry? It can of course be so argued: It goes like this—if the building worker's wife did not pin on her apron she would not be able to peel the potatoes, if she did not peel the potatoes the building worker would get none for dinner, if he got no potatoes he would not have the energy to do his job. Pins are part of the building industry.

It may seem to some of my readers that Aneurin's arguments to resist the building worker's demands were far-fetched and rather silly. Well, so they were, but compared with Jim Griffiths, Clement Attlee and Morgan Phillips on other subjects he was a monument of wisdom.

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