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Help the Fight  
**AGAINST  
TORYISM  
and WAR!**

## WHY WE HAVE ENDED CIVIL DEFENCE

By Coventry City Councillor  
**E. A. C. Roberts**

**T**HESE questions are now placed firmly upon the minds of human beings everywhere. The H-bomb has obliterated the remaining barriers between the peoples of the world.

Coventry City Council is, in the words of the Tory press, "the first city in the world voluntarily to end its own Civil Defence." The reverse of this is true.

We are fighting for the only true defence of our citizens against the H-bomb. We have decided to conduct a campaign for its obliteration.

As the body responsible for C.D.—in fact the same C.D. committee which carried the burden during the blitzes in the last war—we know that the H-bomb is not a shield nor is there a shield against it.

The only protection for the public is international agreement for its total abolition.

The City Council is aware of its responsibilities and the seriousness of its decision to abolish its C.D. organisation which would be impotent in the event of H-warfare.

We are sure that Coventry's population of 260,000 will actively support our demands for action by the national government to remove this constant menace to the lives of our citizens.

We refuse to be parties to the hoodwinking of the public by the suggestion that the C.D. organisation can give them defence against H-bombs.

We are of the opinion that until there is international agreement on the H-bomb, C.D. is unreal and futile.

We have already collected several thousands of signatures to a petition to the government for steps to be taken against the H-bomb and German re-armament.

We have special reasons to fear the re-arming of Germany having felt the full weight of German air strength. Our city was "Coventrated" for ten hours and our air defences were unable to prevent it.

We refuse to bury our heads in the sand or blind ourselves with illusions. It is better to face the realities of life today with its threat of universal human obliteration which will take place if we, and others, do not place the full facts before the people, and act to prevent the awful catastrophe of H-bomb warfare.

It is not the waste of several thousands of pounds of rate-payers' money that is our major concern, but the possible waste of thousands of our citizens' lives.

## Labour's Answer To Dulles' United Front

### All Workers Organisations - Unite!

**I**T is not the mere existence of the Hydrogen Hell Bomb which makes this moment in history so dangerous for the future of all mankind—it is the existence of the Bomb in the hands of people who will clearly stop at nothing in their dastardly attempts to crush the movements of national liberation in the colonies and the progressive economies of Russia, China and Eastern Europe.

A Dulles threatening mankind with a "war against communism" is bad enough—but a threatening Dulles, armed with the power to unleash nuclear horror on the world, is a direct challenge to every workingman and woman.

G.I.'s get used to the atom bomb. Soon it could be the real thing in Indo-China.

At all times it is bad to have illusions—but illusion as to the real intentions of Mr. Dulles and the American millionaires he represents are likely to prove fatal. From all his speeches and actions over the past few weeks, it is clear that the American Secretary of State is intent on continuing the bloody colonial war in Indo-China.

More than that, he is endeavouring by a mixture of bribes and threats to create a "United Front" of all the capitalist countries to extend the war into China itself.

The Dulles "United Front" is a call to make Indo-China into another (and bigger) Korea—waged this time with the Hell Bomb. He has clearly stated his intention of dragging American and British troops into the Indo-Chinese war.

If he succeeds it will probably start the Third World War of mass extermination.

Much as the Chinese and the Russians want peace and peaceful co-existence with capitalism, they cannot be expected to stand calmly aside while American troops (always supposing they can overcome Indo-Chinese resistance!) sweep up to the southern borders of China.

#### IMPERIALIST DILEMMA

The rulers of America are not fools—they know perfectly well the consequences of any intervention by them in Indo-China, but they have no desire to turn back. In a sense they are caught up in a contradiction.

If they halt their war drive then two things will inevitably follow. The movements of liberation in the colonies will go on, faster than ever, to success and thus undermine imperialism throughout the world, and the paralysis which is already creeping through American industry will infect the whole system and there will be slump.

This is the choice for American Imperialism: either they blast their way with Hell Bombs into new markets or—their industrial system will stagger to a stop and the world social upheaval will rush

forward to embrace the land of the Almighty Dollar itself.

It is this dilemma which makes world capitalism such a reactionary and utterly bankrupt way of life.

But a tiger is most dangerous in its death agony. That is why the Dulles "United Front" should be viewed seriously by the Labour Movement. It is the preparation for intervention in Indo-China as the immediate forerunner to the Third World War. There is only one answer to such a move. The United Front of world REACTION must be opposed by the United Front of world LABOUR.

Clearly it is in the interests of the great mass of mankind to secure a just peace in Indo-China which would benefit the Indo-Chinese, for this would render a

## Editorial

hundred times more difficult the fulfillment of the American plan. If the French are compelled to negotiate peace, any American intervention in the face of that would be—for all the world to see—naked counter-revolutionary aggression. She will fight alone—and she will be defeated.

#### LEADERSHIP NEEDED

But although so many millions of ordinary working people in every country in the world (including America) want to see peace, there is at the moment no united effort to get it, no rallying call from a recognised leadership to create a Workers' United Front against the United Front of the imperialists.

While workers of the whole world are threatened with nuclear annihilation at the hands of the frenzied American imperialists—the leadership of international labour remains divided.

On this fatal division, more than on any other single factor, Dulles depends for success in his nefarious scheme to plunge the world into war.

In our opinion, the time has come for the Labour Party to issue a clear call to world labour to meet together to work out a concrete campaign against war.

The call must go out to all working-class organisations including the Communist Parties which, let it not be forgotten, lead millions of workers in Europe and Asia. A world conference of labour which excluded the communists would be like a man with only one leg.

#### THE DEMANDS

The basis of a United Front Conference has already been established by the workers themselves in the following progressive demands. They are not an ultimatum, but a basis upon which to work out a programme of action:

Cease-fire in Indo-China. Recognition of the Ho Chi Minh Government. Recognition of the Chinese Government of Mao Tse Tung and its claim for a seat on the United Nations. Freedom for all Colonial peoples. The peaceful unification of Germany. Opposition to German Re-armament and E.D.C. An end to N.A.T.O. A ban on all nuclear weapons of destruction. Unrestricted East-West trade. An end to secret diplomacy.

All workers organisations—including those of America—should be invited to a Conference to form a United Front of Labour. The programme once agreed, the concrete actions could easily be worked out. As an example, the Australian dockers have refused to load arms for Indo-China. The United Front could, if necessary, organise such working-class action on an international scale.

The British Labour Movement has the responsibility to issue such a call. Here is a chance for our great Labour Party to lead the world away from the horrors of atomic war.

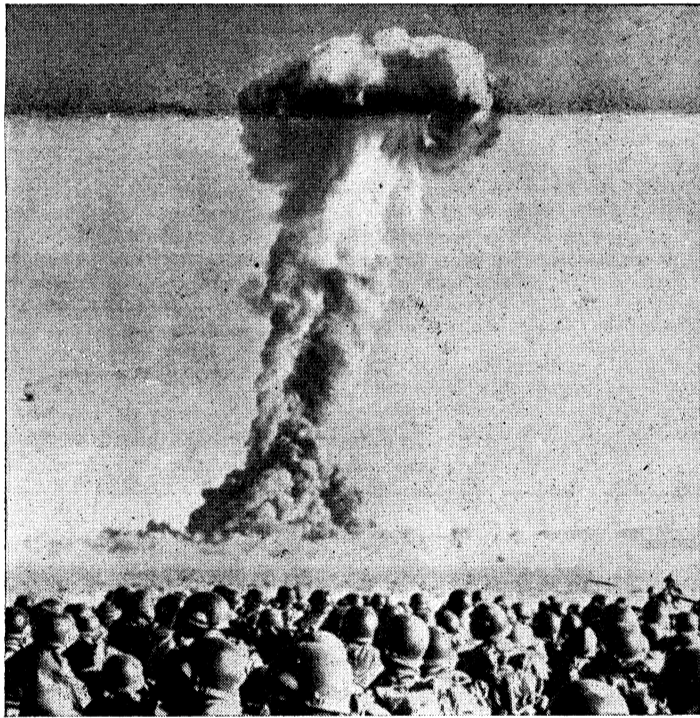
**When Will This Demand Be Answered?**

**T**HE N.E.C. of the Labour Party has not yet made any statement on the demand which has been raised in numerous Labour Parties for a Special Conference to discuss German Re-armament. It has not yet said how many Parties have made the demand—or that the demand has been made at all—but it is clear from the resolutions which flood into this office that the number is very large indeed.

Here is a typical resolution which was recently passed at a meeting of the City of Leicester Labour Party—a party which combines 4 Constituency Parties.

"This meeting of the City of Leicester L. P. expresses its dismay at the decision of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the N.E.C. to support German Re-armament. We cannot regard the Berlin Conference as fulfilling the demands of the Margate Conference for further efforts to ease international tension, and we call upon the N.E.C. and the Parliamentary Labour Party to reverse their decisions in this matter.

"We further call upon the N.E.C. to arrange a National Party Conference where the whole question of German Re-armament can be discussed." The resolution was carried UNANIMOUSLY.



## Labour and the Horror Bomb

In Leicester They Say...

"That this City of Leicester Labour Party congratulates the Parliamentary Labour Party on its motion tabled in the House of Commons on 5th April, 1954, calling Her Majesty's Government to take action arising from the knowledge of the H-Bomb, and the terrible problems afflicting mankind, at this momentous stage in our history.

"We pledge ourselves to give our loyal and whole hearted support to the proposals laid down in the resolution, but failing decisive action by H. M. Government along these lines in the near future, we call upon the National Executive Committee and the Parliamentary Labour Party to conduct a Nation-Wide Campaign, by public meetings and the publicity of suitable literature, to force the Government by pressure of Public Opinion, to act on the proposals of the resolution passed in the House of Commons, 5th April, 1954."

### ★ The Movement Raises Its Voice ★

In London They Say...

The following resolution was moved by one of the speakers, Victor Yates, M.P., and seconded by James Avery Joyce, Prospective Labour Candidate for Norwood at a recent conference attended by 50 delegates from London Labour Parties:

"In view of the recent developments in warfare, particularly the detonation of the H-Bomb, this conference of Labour Party members believes that there can no longer be any effective defence by military means.

"Only through a redirection of British foreign policy on a new moral and political basis can mankind be saved.

"We therefore call upon the British Government to initiate a new policy for peace, including:—

(a) A ban on all weapons of mass destruction.

(b) A new initiative to achieve all-round disarmament.

(c) Opposition to German and Japanese re-armament.

(d) A diversion of resources from re-armament to wage an effective war on want in the under-developed areas of the world.

(e) The termination of all colonial wars and the speedy implementation of plans for self-determination in these areas."

The meeting also agreed to a motion calling for increased East-West trade with no restrictions imposed by the U.S.A.

The Women Say...

The following resolution has been sent to the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, the Leader of the Opposition, the N.E.C. of the Co-operative Party, the N.E.C. of the Labour Party and the National Peace Council:—

"The Women's Co-operative Guild views with extreme alarm the latest tests on the Hydrogen Bomb which have proved beyond a shadow of doubt the inability of those responsible for such bombs, to control their devastating and terrible results. We therefore demand that the British Government shall take urgent action asking America to cease further tests and calling for an immediate international conference of all nations concerned in the making of nuclear weapons, to ban the manufacture, research and testing of same. We further demand that all such and similar weapons now in existence be destroyed forthwith and in view of America's unilateral action we insist that H. M. Government shall make clear in no unmistakable terms that such acts make co-operation with her quite impossible."

# Ireland's Easter Rebellion

## Some Thoughts on 1916

By Tim Enright

"Now, valour with worth while will be blending,  
When answering Labour's command,  
We arise from our knees, and ascending  
To manhood, for Freedom take stand."  
James Connolly, "Songs of Freedom."

the name of God and of the dead generations..." Padraig Pearse, most renowned of the nationalist leaders, was reading the prologue to a drama; its message was soon to ring with thunderous reverberation through the length and breadth of Ireland and to find echoes in the far corners of the world. The last act of that drama has yet to come.

The crowd, steeped in anti-German propaganda, began to jeer and shout vile abuse but they soon scattered when the bullets began flying as British troops poured along O'Connell Street.

For a week the G.P.O. remained the centre of the insurrection. Morning, noon and night it was raked with bullet and shell. Who were those inside? What did they hope to gain? Were they in the pay of Germany or simply nationalist extremists who liked heroics?

The rumours were various. The Germans had landed in Dublin

Bay! Jim Larkin was marching from Sligo with 10,000 men! As the lurid flames belched out from the great shops the looters were busy, the "Fluthers" and the "Coveys," later to be immortalised by Sean O'Casey.

What did the people throughout Ireland think? It was known that the leaders in the G.P.O. such as Tomas MacDonagh, Joseph Plunkett, and Padraig Pearse were idealistic visionaries who were in love with the beautiful Kathleen Ni Houlihan and who mourned with her, as she walked through the mists on the Dublin mountains, over her hated marriage to the ugly monster, John Bull. But what about James Connolly, the cool-thinking marxist revolutionary whose Kathleen Ni Houlihan was driven to prostitution on the streets of Dublin Slumdom?

"The Socialists will never understand why I am here", he said, "They all forget I am an Irishman." In other words Connolly was in the true tradition of the permanent revolution in Ireland. Each generation had to

rebel though material failure was temporarily inevitable. Otherwise the soul of the nation must become conditioned to irrevocable slavery.

Further, in the case of Connolly, from the outbreak of the Great War when international socialism was almost swallowed up in a slough of jingoism, he realised the inevitability of an Irish rebellion, from the ashes of which the phoenix of international socialism would once more rise. He therefore pushed inexorably towards it, forcing the pace for even the most militant of the nationalist leaders. At one stage he threatened to lead out the Citizen Army alone.

"Starting thus", he wrote, "Ireland may yet set the torch to a European conflagration that will not burn out until the last throne and the last capitalist bond and debenture are shrivelled on the funeral pyre of the last warlord."

Before the final surrender, Connolly, with exultant tears in his eyes grasped Pearse's hand: "Thanks be to God, Pearse, that we have lived to see this day" ... the day on which he had led against the might of British imperialism the Irish Citizen Army, an army of conscious social revolutionaries, which he had created out of the ranks of the Dublin workers during the great 1913 lock-out.

The Proclamation of the Provisional Government was, under the inspiration of Connolly and Pearse, in the clear democratic tradition of the United Irishmen in 1798, Robert Emmet in 1803 and Finton Lawlor in 1867.

It guaranteed "equal rights and equal opportunities to all her citizens." Pearse, as well as Connolly, had a clear conception of a free Republic. In "The Sovereign People" he wrote: "Let no man be mistaken as to who will be lord and master in Ireland when Ireland is free. The people will be lord and master ... The nation's sovereignty extends not only to all the men and women of the nation but to all the material possessions of the nation... no private right to property is good as against the public right of the nation..."

"To-day an attempt is made to drape Pearse entirely in a mystic shroud and to belittle Connolly's influence over him. To-day too in Ireland Connolly's life work has been emasculated and he is portrayed as a nationalist only. But neither of these two giants of Irish and international democracy need to be vindicated. Their

Continued on page 4

# On the Art of Evasion

## A Reply To G. Healy

THE only thing which emerges clearly from Healy's astonishing attack on me for having praised Jennie Lee's stand against German Re-armament at a recent Paris Conference is... his remarkable ability to hide his own political position amid a welter of personal abuse.

In my article I opposed German Re-armament unambiguously and said that Jennie Lee's efforts in Paris should become the starting point for the creation of a United Front of all European Labour against German Re-armament and E.D.C. If Healy is in favour of this simple proposition, what was the purpose of his article? If he is not in favour, then why not say so—openly and plainly so that we all know where we are?

His efforts to characterise me as one who deliberately "conceals the hideous facts of class collaboration" succeed only in revealing his own lack of understanding of the problem we are dealing with. He devotes the major portion of his article trying to prove that the Conference which Jennie Lee attended was little more than a... Fascist Rally! To make his point he omitted to mention the presence at the conference of an official delegation from the Italian Socialist Party headed by Signor Nenni, nor did he think it worthwhile mentioning that a German delegation (not socialist) was also present.

Now when British, French, Belgian, Italian and GERMAN delegations meet together to oppose German Re-armament and E.D.C., and call for the peaceful reunification of Germany and the opening of East-West trade, it can hardly be described as an orgy of "anti-German chauvinism"—however deficient it was from the point of view of international socialism.

In any case, it was not the conference itself which I praised (it was not even the subject of my article!) but the courageous intervention of the six Bevanite M.P.'s who gave to all present the true position (and not the Transport House one) of British Labour on the question of German Re-armament. I praised this intervention. Healy sneered at it. Who was right? I leave the readers to judge.

There might be some point in Healy's reference to the "pacifist" trap which these anti-E.D.C. conferences hold out for the workers—if the war which is now being prepared was simply a war between two groups of imperialist powers. But it isn't. It is a war between the Western imperialist

powers and those nations which have thrown off the yoke of capitalism. It is a counter-revolutionary war on the part of the West. How then is it possible to "muddy the waters" by opposing (as a start) the arming of one very important section of the imperialist camp?

It is simply evading the issue to say that you are against ALL capitalist re-armament. So am I—and every other socialist worthy of the name. But it does not tell us anything of your attitude to GERMAN re-armament. Does Healy oppose it, support it—or is he content to sit on the fence and let people like Marshall Juin do his opposing for him?

To declare in favour of the "removal of all troops from Germany," "free unification," "free elections," a "Socialist Germany," a "Socialist France" and a "Socialist Britain" is a similar evasion of the real point at issue. This ritualistic recital of political generalisations tells us nothing at all about what is concretely proposed on GERMAN re-armament.

Finally, it is perfectly correct, of course, that Marshall Juin is the "butcher of French North Africa." It is also correct to state that he is an opponent of German Re-armament—so much so that his supporters have recently delivered (in public!) a well-aimed kick up the backside to the President of the French Republic!

Now I don't have to be a disciple of Marshall Juin to derive a certain pleasure out of this public brawling among the French Heads of State in which is dramatically portrayed the present hopeless division in the ranks of the French capitalists.

Not to take advantage of these splits in the camp of the enemy is simply to reveal oneself as a political abstentionist—afraid to take action in case it should conflict with some idiotic code of socialist "principles." Healy sees his only task to be the issuing of "warnings" to the workers about the "dangers" of pacifism, of Popular Frontism, of anti-Germany and the Lord knows what. Strangely enough, however, (or is it so strange?) he never saw fit to warn the workers of the REAL danger of anti-RUSSIANISM.

Anti-communism, anti-Russianism—that is today's trap for the workers. For it is Russians—not Germans—whom the British workers are now being bamboozled into fighting.

John Lawrence

# RELEASE CHEDDI JAGAN!

DR. CHEDDI JAGAN the deposed Prime Minister of British Guiana has been sentenced to imprisonment for six months for an alleged violation of an order restricting his movements to Georgetown.

Dr. Jagan's real crime in the eyes of the Tory imperialists who have raped the democratic constitution of British Guiana is that he still remains—despite all persecution—an unrepentant opponent of British Imperialism.

Below we publish a letter sent to this paper by Janet Jagan the Secretary of the P.P.P. We urge all our readers to raise a protest in their local organisations, urging the N.E.C. of the Labour Party to fight the Tory Government on this issue. Labour stands condemned in the eyes of all colonial peoples if it remains silent while the leaders of the oppressed peoples of the earth are railroaded to jail by their British exploiters.

The following letter was sent to the Governor by Dr. Jagan before his arrest.

Georgetown, April 5th

"I wish to protest strongly against the restriction of my movement to within the city limits of the municipality of Georgetown. This is a flagrant violation of my democratic and civil rights as a citizen of Guiana. I wish to point out that I have neither committed nor have been charged for any crime.

"In addition this restriction on my movement denies me the opportunity of pursuing my professional calling. As you no doubt are already aware, I have for the past three weeks been practising as a dental surgeon at Mahaicony, E.C.D. and Rose Hall Village, Corentyne. I attend at Mahaicony on Saturdays and at Rose Hall Village on Sundays, Mondays and Tuesdays of every week. Your security officer who trailed me with a private car during the past two week-ends will testify to this. I need hardly point out to you the inadequacy of proper dental professional service in the rural areas of this country, the high incidents of "dental quackery" and the resultant harm from this "quackery."

"I wish to state further that I have contracted with many patients for restorative dental

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work, which have been commenced, and for which part payment has already been made. Root Canal therapy has been started in several cases and this work has to be completed shortly if the teeth of these patients are to be saved.

"I hereby make application to be allowed to attend my dental clinics at Mahaicony and Rose Hall Village on the days of every week specified above. Please note that I have standing appointments for this week-end from Saturday, April 3rd to April 6th.

"I wish to notify you that should this permission be withheld I would be forced to disobey the order restricting my movements. I shall consider any such action justifiable on the ground that the restriction order violates my democratic rights, and denies me the opportunity of treating my patients, whom I owe, according to the ethics of my profession, a high duty."

On April 3rd he left the city

for Mahaicony where he was arrested and brought back to Georgetown. He was kept in jail without bail until April 5th, being charged indictably for breaking the Restriction. The Solicitor General indicated that the charge may be altered to a summary one. Twenty minutes after he was released on bail, he was picked up by police as large crowds followed him home.

Janet Jagan, Rory Westmaas, Martin Carter and six others were arrested on April 4th as a large crowd demonstrated before Police Headquarters protesting the arrest of Dr. Jagan with placards and the Party songs singing. They spent the night in jail being released on bail after the Magistrate charged them with taking part in an unlawful procession. The eight men have also been charged with disorderly conduct for singing in their cell.

As huge crowds waited their arrival at court sixteen were arrested for disorderly behaviour.

# Labour Discovers The Colonies

## ★ Launches Movement For Colonial Freedom ★

AT the launching of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, on April 11th, Jennie Lee introduced an excellent policy statement which was adopted by the conference.

In its section on "Immediate Issues," the statement demands, among many other things: an end to the fighting in Malaya and Kenya; the release of arrested political leaders in British Guiana and other places; the restoration of a democratic constitution and full political rights to the people of British Guiana and the reinstatement of the deposed Ministers; the return of the many leaders in various colonies who have been deported and banished; the termination of British military domination in all overseas territories, including the Suez Canal Zone.

### THE BOMB

In her introduction, Jennie Lee said that all our hopes of the more gentle ways in which we had wished to build a better world were being overturned by the diplomacy of the hydrogen bomb. Referring to the use of violence, she said that we should not be so illiterate as to imagine that you have the same conditions everywhere and could have the same methods.

"We must not blind ourselves to the fact that even under British law there is one law for the people of these islands and another for

the people living in the colonial world."

### FIX THE DATE!

"Let's name the date!" was the central slogan of her speech. "Let's name the date for independence for all the colonies!"

"I hope our organisation will look at the conditions in every part of the colonial empire and decide what would be the fair date for that country to take over

Reported by  
Audrey Wise

its own government. Let's fix the date in co-operation with our friends in those parts."

Jennie Lee appealed for a practical approach to the problem, but a definite, unambiguous one which would be understood by the peoples concerned and have their co-operation. She recognised that "the spirit of the modern world is a revolutionary spirit—we live in a revolutionary period."

### AGAINST DULLES

Miss Lee introduced the question of Indo-China into her speech. "We have got Mr. Foster Dulles coming here in fact to ask us to take a stand in Indo-China on the side of America and France. We cannot do it, and it would be



Jennie Lee  
She moved an important  
Resolution

a disastrous thing if Mr. Foster Dulles misunderstood the spirit of the people of Great Britain. There are issues even inside our own Labour Party on which it is difficult to get our own way, but it is not difficult on this issue."

"If there are certain Americans who are wondering whether

to drop the hydrogen bomb either on Indo-China or the mainland of China, they cannot pursue this policy and have the friendship and co-operation of the British people."

"If we are going to have colonial uprisings suppressed by hydrogen bombs, that is the end of peaceful struggle."

"No people have ever tried to get independence through violence if they could get it through peaceful methods."

### ADMIT CHINA

If there was to be any chance of peaceful settlement at all, Jennie Lee thought that the admission of China to the United Nations was essential.

"Someone should tell Mr. Foster Dulles," she said, "that it is not very long ago since America had its War of Independence. And it was assisted by rebels in Britain and France who were on the side of the revolutionaries. America is the last country that should be exerting its money and military power to stop other people getting independence."

Miss Lee ended her introduction of the policy statement by saying: "It is the people of all countries who are going to decide the issue. The great demand is for peace not war, for friendship not hostility."

After discussion, the audience

of about 300 enthusiastically adopted the policy statement.

### MOVEMENT INAUGURATED

Earlier in the day, the Movement for Colonial Freedom had been formally inaugurated and an interim constitution adopted. This constitution provides for Local Councils composed of individual members and representatives of affiliated organisations, Area Councils, and a Central Council consisting of members elected by the inaugural conference and members to be appointed by Area Councils.

Represented at the Conference were 38 Constituency Labour Parties, 8 Ward Labour Parties, 22 Trade Unions at various levels, 6 Trades Councils, 20 Co-operative Parties, and various miscellaneous bodies.

The National Executive of U.S.D.A.W. has given its official support and sent a donation of £50.

There is provision for affiliation at all levels, and the Movement makes a special appeal to Trade Unionists. This is a call to which we should respond.

If the inaugural conference representation is any guide, it looks as though we in the Labour Party are waking up to the great tasks and responsibilities facing us in a fight to bring freedom and decent conditions to our fellow workers in the colonies.



**Jennie Lee**  
**She moved an important**  
**Resolution**

# Facts On The Rent Bill

Reported by Press Official to the Grimsby and District Trades Council.

At a special meeting of the Grimsby and District Trades Council addressed by Mr. R. Hunt of the Labour Research Department on the question of the Government's Housing Rent and Repairs Bill, it was decided to form a committee which would be available to give advice and assistance to tenants—who in the event of the Bill becoming law—would find themselves called upon to pay an increase in rents.

Mr. Hunt said: "In operation, the Government's scheme means that the lower rented houses will suffer a higher proportionate increase in rent than the highest rented. And, the tenants of 'old-controlled' houses will have bigger proportionate increase than the tenants of 'new-controlled' houses. So by and large the scheme hits the poorest hardest."

This, Mr. Hunt explained, will be disguised by the fact that the increases are not to be based on a percentage of the rent paid; if this were done everyone would know where they stood from the word go. Instead of this, the increases are to be based on the "statutory deduction" from

the landlord's statement that he has spent the required amount on repairs, he has to apply to the County Court within 14 days. This might involve a great deal of expense and should the tenant lose his case he may be liable for the landlord's costs too.

Meanwhile, if the tenant wishes to prove that the house is not in a good state of repair he will have to apply to the Sanitary Inspector for a certificate of disrepair. Only after getting this apparently, will he be able to withhold the extra payment of rent.

If the landlord obtains the increase and the house subsequently falls into disrepair the tenant will have to apply for a certificate of disrepair. This will enable him to withhold the increased payments once more until the house is brought back to standard.

"This arrangement is very much like that introduced in 1920 when rents were increased by 40 per cent," Mr. Hunt explained, "but the tenant was permitted (and in the case of 'old-controlled' houses is still permitted) to withhold the increase if the repairs were not done."

"In practice", said Mr. Hunt, "as everyone knows, the scheme never worked, for a combination of reasons—fear of the landlord, the bullying and unpleasantness that resulted, ignorance of the law, and above all, the inadequacy of many local authorities' staffs of

# The Productivity Racket

## ★ How Big Business Profits ★ By Bob Shaw

NINETEEN-FIFTY-FOUR promises to be crisis year for British industry. Will the American slump spread? Can Britain pay its way? Will unemployment rise? The answer as far as the Tories are concerned is a lemon, they haven't a clue.

They have, however, issued a call to the British people in the Economic Survey for 1954, to "Save us from National Bankruptcy," and they tell us how.

Number one job, says the Tory Government, is to keep down prices and costs. What they mean by prices are of course export prices and by costs they don't mean the cost of living they mean the cost of labour! British capitalists don't export the cost of living, but they do export labour cost in the form of manufactured articles, and their anxiety about this item is the reason why wage increases are so hard to get these days.

The bosses know that it is impossible to meet the demands of the unions at the same time as they keep prices down and profits up. So, although they would like to get tough and solve their problem by wage cuts, they have to be smart and think up something a bit more subtle. They have!

### ANOTHER RACKET

So long as the job of selling the stuff turned out by British workers was easy, the capitalists did not bother too much about modernisation and efficiency so long as the profits kept coming in. But when the competition got fiercer and profits started to sag then, by gad sir, it was time to modernise and put the worker's shoulder to the wheel.

The drawback being always that the British worker, as every Tory knows, is such a lazy devil and suspicious of the bosses besides. So that to "sell" increased production to the workers a few trade union leaders were necessary to augment the distinguished company of big businessmen to form what is now called the British Productivity Council.

Big Business is represented by 12 men of industry from Sir Colin Anderson, vice-President of British Employers Confederation and Director of Anderson Green & Co., Ltd., managers of Orient Line, to Mr. F. T. Jackson, O.B.E.,

Chairman and Managing-Director of Telephone Manufacturing Co. Ltd. The Nationalised Industries give three of its "best" men and the workers are represented by 9 trade union leaders, Arthur Deakin being one, you might have guessed.

The Committee is very modest, being, it says, only concerned with "the improvement of the economic position of the country for the betterment of all," which is about as true a statement as one of McCarthy's wilder accusations against militant workers. "Individual betterment", says the Committee, "must be based as far as possible however, on personal merit and on the contribution of the individual to the collective purpose."

From which statement we fully expect a big slump in the shareholders and company directors living standards, poor chaps. The Production Committee's blurb also makes the claim that "the standard of living of all in Britain depends primarily on the productive efficiency of British industry and the related services." We assume that this was published before the railwaymen and engineers proved last year that despite improvements in productivity in engineering and on the railways their standards of living had gone down.

### LOOK AT THE FACTS

Taking 1948 as 100, productivity by 1953 has gone up to 117 in manufacturing as a whole and 116.5 in all industry. During this same period, and again taking 1948 as 100, profits shot up to 140.5 per cent. whereas wages only went up a mere 128.3 per cent. Which seems to show that this productivity business is not the all-round panacea that the Council would have us believe. But it is good for profits!

Of course all workers are interested in making the job more efficient—if only so that his work can be less arduous and more pleasant. After all, unlike the shareholder, the worker spends a lot of time in the workshop and he really gets satisfaction in turning out a good product in quantity, or running a good service. But how interested are the capitalists in greater production and higher productivity. Well, lets look at a few and see.

### PRODUCTIVITY?

For instance, the manufacturers of electric wire and cables which were examined in 1952 by the Monopolies Commission. The Commission found that out of 60 firms producing cables 29 were members of, or associated with, one of two monopoly bodies and that these monopolies controlled 82.1 per cent. of the whole production of cable in 1948.

These 29 companies, in addition to fixing prices, were found guilty of fixing production quotas to decide how much each firm should produce. Firms which did not keep to the quota had to pay a fine. The quotas were fixed

for ten years in advance and were unaffected by changes in efficiency, so why should cable manufacturers worry about productivity.

The match monopoly is another example. Investigated in 1953 it was found that match production in Britain was almost exclusively controlled by the £19½ million British Match Corporation, Ltd., which also extends its influence to firms in about 5 or 6 other countries.

Besides controlling match production, the B.M.C. keeps a tight hold on the manufacture of machinery used for producing matches. The Control Commission found that inventions for everlasting matches were blocked or bought up and pigeon-holed. Quotas for production were found to be fixed and penalties imposed for any infringement. In fact, the B.M.C. itself in 1946 paid a forfeit of £113,170 to Swedish Matches. So it is no use looking for interest in productivity here.

In fact, the Tory Government as though to ridicule its own Monopolies Commission and to mark its approval of monopoly practice in 1953 appointed Sir Ralph Glyn, ex-Tory M.P. and director of B.M.C. to the peerage.

The manufacturers of building and domestic castings and metal fittings all co-operate as a monopoly and, by fixing minimum prices and other practices, discourages increased output.

Electric lamp manufacturers have also been examined by the Monopolies Commission and found guilty of fixing prices, production quotas and other restrictive practices to the detriment of

production as well as the consumers interest.

So we see that increased production is not really what the capitalist is out for. What he is after is, by cutting his labour costs as a result of the intensification of the job and by increased output per man, to keep his prices low for selling abroad and thus maintaining his profits.

To this end many moves are now taking place to rationalise the job. British Railways have, of course, been doing this ever since 1948 and succeeded in working a much greater volume of freight with less staff than before.

The Nuffield-Austin motors had a similar object in view and 500 men were put out of a job as the result of the rationalisation of work which took place.

Platt Bros., a textile machinery combine in Lancashire, and Pilkington Bros., a glass monopoly (whose representative sits on the Productivity Committee), both carried out, in 1953, measures to concentrate production and cut costs.

The conclusion we draw is that the Productivity Committee is a phoney and that the sooner the Trade Union leaders withdraw from it the better. Its aim is to cover up the big squeeze now being turned on the British workers for more intensive work.

Labour's answer to the Productivity Committee is that whilst industry continues to be owned by the capitalists then productivity is a means by which the worker is increasingly robbed of a greater share of the product he creates. The workers can agree to increased production and more output only when industry is taken out of private hands and owned and controlled by a Labour Government. Increased production would then be used to enrich the working people of the world.

### HOW IT WILL WORK

	"Old-controlled House"	"New Controlled House"
Present weekly net rent ...	9s.	14s.
Gross value ...	£22	£24
Rateable value ...	£15	£17
Statutory deduction ...	£ 7	£ 9
Increase in rent—yearly ...	£14	£11-12s.
Increase in rent—weekly ...	5s. 5d.	4s. 5d.
Percentage increase in rent ...	60%	31%

"gross value" which means nothing to the vast majority. It therefore, becomes important for such bodies as trades councils to set up advisory committees to assist these tenants.

The speaker then went on to explain the position of landlord and tenant under the scheme.

The landlord will only be able to claim these increases in rent if (a) the house is in good general repair as both structure and decoration; and (b) if he has either spent at least six times the statutory deduction on repairs in the three years before a specified date or, if he has spent at least three times the statutory deduction in the 12 months before he applies for the increase.

The landlord will not have to obtain any certificate from the sanitary inspector that the house is in good repair. He will simply serve a notice on the tenant declaring that the state of repair of the house justifies the increase and that the work to the specified value has been carried out in the specified way. The rent increase can come into effect four weeks after notice is served.

If the tenant wants to challenge

sanitary inspectors, who found it quite impossible to cope with the problem.

If the present Government proposal goes through, local authorities will be flooded with applications for certificates, months will pass before the sanitary inspectors will be able to get around to inspecting all the houses, and meanwhile the tenants will be victimised."

Turning to the Government's arguments for these increases Mr. Hunt said: "They are, repairs cost three times as much as they did in 1939, secondly, that the statutory deduction 'truly represented in 1939 the general cost of maintaining and repairing houses.' It is therefore assumed that if double the cost of this statutory deduction is added to the rent the landlord will be able to continue maintaining the house while continuing to draw the same amount as he always did as unearned income."

He gave an example taking the "old-controlled" house at 9/- a week.

It is alleged that before the war £7 a year was enough to maintain

Continued on page 4

### Tom Braddock's Resignation

THE Management Committee of the Labour Publishing Society, Ltd. —owners of Socialist Outlook —met on Sunday, April 11th and decided regretfully to accept Tom Braddock's resignation from the Editorial Board.

They also decided that the political differences which caused Comrade Braddock's resignation should be referred for decision to the Annual General Meeting of the Society to be held on Saturday, May 15th.

# The Prospects in Engineering

THE granting of a 6 per cent. increase by the engineering employers marks the end of the frustrating eleven month delay in the settlement of the union's 15 per cent. application.

Previously I have written articles on the need for bold leadership and a correct strike strategy as opposed to the ban on piece-work and also the need for a future application to be based on a cost of living index drawn up by the unions.

Without a doubt a new claim will be put in shortly because the 6 per cent. award nowhere compensated for previous rises in the cost of living let alone did it cover the present upward trend.

It is necessary to take stock of the situation if we are to succeed in the coming year to even maintain our standard of living.

A number of questions can be

posed—Why did the employers refuse four times over any rise at all last year? Why did they finally agree to the 6 per cent. as opposed to their adamant refusals previously? What are the prospects for 1954?

I believe a number of factors contributed to the employers changing their mind on having an all-out showdown now. Last November the export competition was so fierce that the employers were even prepared to risk a total show-down. The resistance of the engineers; the breach in the "No-Wage-Increase-Front" made by the railwaymen gave the capitalist class the first vision of a total disruption of the economy with the risk of losing many more markets. Then the Berlin Conference intervened and whilst we do not know what secret deals were made, the fact that there is going to be more increased East-West trade has clearly emerged. Obviously in its war drive, American Big

Business has taken into account that if it is to keep capitalist Europe, it could not let all the capitalists cut themselves to pieces in the competition battle because this would only lead to fierce

By Cllr. H. Finch

battles between the workers versus capitalists—the outcome of which wouldn't in any way help the war-mongers.

Whilst all workers agree with East-West trade it would be fatal to believe that this alone will stop unemployment or stop the capitalists at home attacking the workers' conditions. On the contrary, East-West trade will take up only a small amount of the industrial "slack". Fierce competition between the capitalists of Europe is still on the order of the day and will in-

crease and so will competition for East-West trade contracts.

1954 will therefore see the big employers attempting to speed up the work in the factories and generally an attempt will be made piece-meal to whittle away our gains. Already full evidence is at hand of a number of firms in the Birmingham area attempting to bring in new systems; for piece-work payment. We must be prepared to meet such attacks and prepare our organisations for battle.

In order to win our next wage claim the full industrial might of the unions will have to be used. There can be no half measures—no "bans on piecework" that help to divide the workers one against the other and to splinter the movement; no "Courts of Enquiry" that inevitably give two thirds to the employers side! When action is called for—it will have to be "ALL OUT". To prepare for this eventuality is the task of all active trade unionists.

# The Way Forward For Labour's Youth

By G. H. Terry

THE shadow of the radioactive clouds hangs heavily over the world today. Millions of ordinary people are terrified at the prospect of an atomic war which would bring horror and devastation to a degree that the most vivid imagination could not conceive.

Britain's youth who will bear the biggest burdens and will make the biggest sacrifices in future Imperialist wars, their eyes being veiled from the causes of war by the well worn cliché of "defending freedom and democracy."

The Labour League of Youth must rent the veil and expose the rotten hideousness of the capitalist system and show them the full life they can inherit from the socialist society. But, under the present organisation and set-up of the League, the Right Wing bureaucracy do not allow Labour's Youth to discuss and formulate policy, although resolutions calling for discussion of Policy within the League of Youth were carried at the 1953 conference of the League of Youth.

Thus the League of Youth, which should be the vanguard of British working-class youth in the struggle against Toryism and war, is in fact an organisation suffering from frustration within its ranks.

As the National Executive Committee have failed to implement many of the decisions of previous conferences the time has come when the League must take extra action to bring pressure to bear on the National Executive Committee. It must take its demands to Ward, Constituency and Borough Labour Parties, to the regional conferences and to the Annual Conference of the Labour Party. It must organise a National petition within the Labour Party demanding Political rights for the League of Youth.

The following five points must be secured for the League if it is to become an effective youth movement for socialism and peace:—

Youth to discuss policy affecting Youth (and pass resolutions) at all levels of its organisation.

(2) That the National Consultative Committee of the League of Youth should be elected at the Annual Conference of the League of Youth.

(3) All Youth Advisory Committees to be elected at their Annual General Meetings.

(4) That two members of the League of Youth should have seats on the National Executive Committee with full voting powers. These members to be elected by the annual conference of the League of Youth. Two members to attend the annual conference of the Labour Party with full speaking power.

(5) Two members of the League of Youth with full voting powers to sit on the Executive Committee of the Regional Labour Parties, both members to be elected at the Annual General Meetings of the Youth Advisory Committees or Federations. Two members to attend Annual Regional Conferences with full speaking powers. These two members also to be elected at the Annual General Meetings of the Youth Advisory Committees or Federations.

(6) "Socialist Advance" to have an editorial board elected by the N.C.C. and responsible to it, but only on the basis that the N.C.C. be elected at Annual Conference of the League.

It is up to the League Branches throughout the country to make its full weight felt for its just demands.

### Socialist Outlook

59 FLEET STREET, E.C.4.

Editor: John Lawrence

(1) The right for the League of

## A Myth Exposed

**L**ABOUR'S post-war policy has been based upon a myth—the myth of a democratic America that, though capitalist itself, is an ally under whose sheltering wing democratic socialism can be developed in peace. Now it is time to face the America of reality; the America that has little left of Democracy except a figleaf.

This may be blown away soon by McCarthy's blustering winds or may be kept precariously in place by some such man as Stephenson; but it can never be more than a mere figleaf.

To follow the policy of the American Alliance with this America is to consolidate the division of the world into the McCarthyist and Communist blocks; separated by a no man's land already struggling to free itself from its own immature, liberal capitalism, but with its strong points already occupied by the military and financial forces of advancing McCarthyism.

Without the ideals of British Labour offering a third alternative (which it cannot do in alliance with America) both the spontaneous revolts against liberal capitalism and the genuine forward creep of the Communist border will be forced into the same mould of anti-McCarthyism and thus pro-communism.

Indo-China will become the classical case—first the genuine anti-imperialist revolt and its attempted suppression, then both McCarthyist and Communist intervention on an increasing scale, and lastly a straight fight between the major parties.

In this pattern the forces of revolt are so strong that the forces of McCarthyism must be slowly but inexorably pushed back.

Does anyone expect McCarthyism, now armed with the power to destroy life over a whole continent with a single explosion, to endure this creeping defeat for long without using the Hydrogen bomb?

Woodbridge H. Castens



## Unions

### 'On the Job'

**I** HAVE recently experienced an alarming lack of organisation in the building trade. On one large site where there are several hundreds working, there was no Committee operating. The only information I could get

was that there was a Card Steward who, I am given to understand, holds an unpaid official position in one of the Building Unions.

It would be far better if the Building Workers went out to unite together into one Union. Wherever there is building going on they should have a Committee with elected Stewards on the job, and should attend the local branches of their Union. By what I have seen, Building Workers move about a good deal, this being one reason why there is weak organisation. But it is never too late to start, and if you have not got a Committee and a Steward, go ahead and agitate to get something done, and go out for 100 per cent. Trade Unionism.

**We must not forget the 40-hour week, which is long overdue. Australia and New Zealand have had the 40-hour week over ten years, so what about it Brothers?**

Its up to everyone of us to agitate along these lines. And, finally, let us not forget the demand that every worker have his fortnight's holiday annually.

Cheltenham J. Jennings



## I, Too Make No Apologies...

A few weeks ago, I wrote a letter to you saying that an article written by Banda on Indo-China used without knowing it a forgery from the French Foreign Office, in order to prepare the continuation of the war against the will of the French people. I said that we must be careful of all tricks of the ruling classes in their present conditions, and the recent attempts of Dulles are significant in the matter.

Banda answers to my letter saying "I make no apologies," which I did not ask him, and shows from the first word that he has not read my answer. Unfortunately, he writes also:

"If the 'relationship of forces' is in China's favour why doesn't she invade Formosa and drive the interventionists out of Korea instead of going to Geneva to settle these questions 'peacefully'?"

A man who to-day writes such a thing is utterly irresponsible. I ask no apologies for these words.

Paris P. Daulnay

## What Labour Did in Power

Mr. Allau's letter may appeal to the emotions of those incapable of serious reasoning, but must you waste space on such outpourings? The following list is more to the point as far as socialists are concerned:

### Eleven Things The Labour Party Did While In Power

1. Arbitrarily fixed a maximum for food subsidies.
2. Made no attempt to deal with rents, house repairs or leasehold properties.
3. Used labour and materials for building military installations at the expense of houses and schools.
4. Scrapped controls wholesale in a futile attempt to persuade business men that Labour had a sound economic policy, and permitted other controls to be ignored (e.g. egg-marketing).
5. Refused to grant higher old age pensions.
6. Refused to grant the rate for the job to women.
7. Imposed charges under the National Health Service in defiance of professed principles.
8. Embarked on an arms programme so fantastic and financially crippling that socialists resigned from the government in protest, and—for the first time in British history—introduced peace-time conscription.
9. Carried out the nationalisation (of part only) of the steel industry so that its return to private ownership was facilitated.
10. Tailed behind the American government.
11. Approved Southern Rhodesian racial legislation that might have been drafted by Dr. Malan.

Mitcham D. Roberts



## Mink Coats and Coal Mines

We read in the National Press that Princess Margaret visited Calverton Colliery on Wednesday, 7th April, 1954. Dressed in all her finery. But low and behold we see in the "Daily Herald" Saturday, 10th April, 1954 that some workers in that very same colliery found it necessary to go on strike! This dispute

is over Pay and Working conditions.

Here is the real problem facing the working-class in this capitalist world: Mink coats and what have you for the Property-owning class. Whilst the workers who are the real producers of wealth must toil for bread alone.

London, S.E.14 W. Barrett

## German Rearmament

Some confusion seems to have arisen within the left wing of the Labour Movement over the vital question of German re-armament. Here are the points around which the disputes seem to have arisen:

- (a) The attitude of the C.P. towards German re-armament.
- (b) The use of the term 'German re-armament'.
- (c) The Soviet Union's policy on Germany.
- (d) To oppose German re-armament is opportunist—we should oppose capitalist militarism everywhere.

Whilst we should have the right to criticise the C.P. it is imperative that we unite with the Communist Party on this issue. The fact that this party is opportunist at times should not act as a barrier to the ever-growing opposition to German re-armament. Another important factor is that however much we may disagree with the C.P. at times, the main point is that the C.P. is a 'workers' Party'.

The very word "German" causes greater emotional reaction than say the term British or American re-armament. A great deal of opposition to German re-armament may be based on past memories rather than on opposition to plans for World War III. The essential point for socialists to grasp here is that there is **opposition**. We should not worry too much about the origins of that opposition. This does not imply that we are anti-German. Quite the contrary; to fight against the plans to re-arm Germany is to battle for the **actual** interests of Germany.

The U.S.S.R. has a Socialist economy, therefore she wants peace. Hence any suggestion she makes on Germany must be towards this end. The Soviet Union, in contrast to the Western

Powers, is **against** a revival of German militarism and has on several occasions put forward quite reasonable proposals for the withdrawal of all occupational forces from Germany.

In regard to the Soviet Zone of Germany, whatever criticisms would be levelled against the East German Government, it cannot be denied that this Government has carried out certain socialist measures and its policy has been definitely anti-fascist—one does not find leading Nazis in key positions as in the Western Zone.

Whatever faults we can find with the present Soviet regime, one fact stands out very clearly and that is that the U.S.S.R. and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe are opposed to German re-armament and therefore we must look on them as allies in the struggle.

It is possible to enter the movement against German re-armament whilst retaining our position as socialists opposed to arming for war whether German, American or British. Indeed, we have the opportunity to direct the movement against German re-armament into a mass anti-war front, opposed to **all** arming and all war preparations.

We have to decide now. The imperialists are driving us to war at a terrifying pace. Shall we join forces with the mass—or shall we stay outside? That is the position. There is no third choice.

Keighley M. Evans



## Oppose All Armaments

The reason given for German re-armament is that Russia is expansionist and preparing for aggressive war. I believe, on the contrary, that Western Capitalism is preparing for war against the East. The economic contradictions of capitalism make war inevitable. Outlets for surplus production must be found (N.B. "surplus" production in capitalist phraseology does not mean everybody has got enough. It only means enough has been produced as it is profitable to produce—more would bring down prices).

Such outlets are (1) **arms**, which need to be piled up indefinitely; (2) **bombs, bullets** etc., which are used immediately and need replacing; (3) **new markets**. In past wars capitalists have fought each other for markets. In the coming war they are united against the non-capitalist world and seek to open up first China and ultimately Russia to capitalist exploitation—and, of course, to hold down the colonies.

Labour members must follow their ideas to their logical conclusion. The Tory Party does not serve the workers' interests. Those who believe that the political tools of the American and British big business should be in the Tory Party.

But, if you agree that capitalist

economy can only survive by war, you cannot argue that Molotov, Eden, and Dulles can come to terms on Germany—that capitalism and non-capitalism can co-exist peacefully. Nor can you treat German re-armament in isolation. German re-armament is only part of a world development including Franco, Chiang Kai Shek, Syngman Rhee, Bao Dai, Churchill and Eisenhower—these are the "defenders of democracy."

Let us not be fooled by talks of "no democracy in Russia". Accusations of forced labour, rigged trials etc., are justified, but what do these people care about "freedom" and "democracy"? What about British Guiana and Jomo Kenyatta (7 years hard for being a leader of a T.U.)? The point is that the economic system in Russia does not impel it to war as does the system in the capitalist west.

This is a world-wide build up. It is not a case of Germans being an evil race. German workers suffered as much in the last war as did British workers—and British capitalists made fortunes out of it.

We cannot expose German re-armament alone—we must expose the whole of the Western war plan. If we don't we haven't a leg to stand on. When the Right Wing say German re-armament is an essential part of Western "defence", they are right. German armament is only wrong if these so-called "defence" plans are wrong.

So, if you believe in power talks—you've got to talk the West into giving up the whole of its foreign and colonial policy. But without this capitalism cannot exist. Do we expect capitalism to be talked out of existence—to give up without a struggle? That is fabianism—it is misleading the workers.

Leeds J. Gale

## Grimsby Rent Meeting (from p. 3)

the house, leaving £16-8s. a year to be pocketed by the landlord. The increase in rent will mean that the landlord can still spend £21 a year on the house in future on repairs, and still pocket his £16-8s.

Thus, the tenant is being made to foot the whole bill for repairs so that the landlord's profit remains untouched. Moreover, to achieve this position the landlord has to have spent £21 on repairs in the preceding 12 months. This £21 will have been repaid by the tenant in the subsequent 18 months, after that the landlord can pocket the increase as well as the original rent, until such time as the tenant is able to get a sanitary certificate showing that the house has once more fallen into disrepair.

Questions and discussions followed Mr. Hunt's address and it was unanimously agreed that the committee to assist tenants affected be set up immediately, and that, letters be sent to both the Grimsby and Cleethorpes Town Councils urging them to protest against the Bill as a completely bad measure which fails to secure the aim of improvement in housing. And, that a resolution be sent direct to the Minister of Housing calling for a withdrawal of the Bill.

# Once Again on the Tory Rent Bill

**R**UTHLESSLY and relentlessly, albeit slowly and by stages, the Tory Government is smashing the whole structure of rent control. The pivot around which this action revolves is the Housing Rents and Repairs Bill.

It is important that the goal of the Tories—the abolition of the Rents Restriction Acts—be understood and combatted with speed.

Emboldened by the relative quiescence of the Labour Party and the T.U.C. General Council,

### Continued from page 2

national and social gospel was set out in the proclamation of 1916:

"We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible..."

As the news swept through Ireland of the grim, relentless shooting, one by one, of the leaders and finally of the badly wounded Connolly, who had to be strapped to a chair, a wave of anger rolled over the nation engulfing even those who had hitherto remained aloof.

From the quicklime graves a flame shot which soon burst into a mighty blaze in which within a few years perished Britain's centuries-old rule over three of Kathleen Ni Houlihan's four green fields.

The Tories are adding more clauses to their Rents Bill. These go further than the first draft—where the very first paragraph gave as one of the purposes of the bill "to amend the enactments relating to housing and rent control."

In a previous article I drew attention to the threatened end of rent control for tenants in houses owned by housing associations and trusts six months after the Act is passed. There are several hundred thousand of such dwellings.

Now, a new clause excluding from the Rent Acts dwellings erected, or provided by conversions after the bill comes into force, was added to the Bill by a majority of seventeen. The Tories admit freely that this clause is aimed at rent control. Listen to Mr. Powell (Tory M.P., Wolverhampton South West). He said: "the clause went a stage nearer the time when we could do without the Rent Restriction Acts."

The clause has another important effect. MacMillan has fixed the housing programme at 300,000. Every house now built for sale, or for letting by private landlords is one less for the local authorities. In London the Minister is slashing local authority housing. Lambeth, a typical metropolitan borough, has just been informed that its requests for Ministerial approval for 730 dwellings this year will not be met. Consent has been given for only 463.

The pattern of Tory housing policy is becoming clear. It is to

increase the proportion of subsidised dwellings being built and which will now be outside rent control—the next target of the Tories may very well be the national subsidy itself.

The Tory offensive on housing is broadening. The friends of landlordism are getting bolder each day. Why should they hold



Cllr. D. Finch

back their offensive when opposition is confined to words—in the best Parliamentary style? Why should they think twice when threatened only by advice bureaux and applications for certificates of disrepair? The landlords will finally have the County Court to uphold their "rights" in most cases.

A vigorous debate at the recent London Labour Party Conference

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indicated the way out. Even on a card vote one-third of the conference was in favour of a campaign which, among other things, threatened withholding rent increases. The A.E.U., E.T.U. and N.U.V.B. delegations were among those subscribing to the idea of a real fight against the Bill. We have from none other than MacMillan that a refusal to pay increases is **legal!** "...but if he (the tenant) refused to pay the rent", he said on the 25th of February, "all that the landlord could do would be to take the matter to the County Court so that the question would be judged by the county court."

If there was a national movement of resistance the outcome would be victory for the tenants. In any case it is not for the movement to debate the finer points of law, but to fight with every weapon in the arsenal. Bevan recognises that once the bill becomes law a movement of opposition will develop. He declared last month: "As soon as the first landlord claims his increase the whole of the area in which it occurs will be ignited and local tenants' committees will be set up to try to protect the tenants against bad landlords."

This movement must be prepared, organised and led by the Labour Party. Without leadership and co-ordination, the movement will be stillborn.

A real fight against the Bill would restore much of the prestige of Labour lost by the poor opposition demonstrated by the Labour Party and T.U.C. leadership since October, 1951.