

CHURCHILL'S WRECKERS PLAN A SMASH AND GRAB Road Haulage Thrown To The Bandits

AFTER robbing the workers of the free Health Service and forcing up the cost of living by cutting the food subsidies, Churchill's discredited Government now proposes a smash and grab raid on the nationalised industries—starting with road haulage.

Smash-and-grab is an exact description of this first of the de-nationalisation plans. The beginnings of centralised State planning introduced by the Labour Government is to be broken up and, from the wreckage, the most lucrative sections will be grabbed at knock-down prices.

An industry which cost the taxpayers £80,000,000 is to be sold back to private enterprise at an expected loss of at least £20,000,000.

Severed from the nationalised railways, the profits from road haulage will no longer go into a central transport fund from which to maintain and improve the less profitable railways but instead, will line the pockets of private investors. If this plan is allowed to go through, the prospect for railwaymen is grim indeed.

Why They Do It

From the point-of-view of efficiency, or economy, or of working conditions, a centralised transport system integrated with the nationalised railways has proved

Editorial

itself superior to the old anarchy of competing private contractors. Everyone—including Mr. Churchill's advisers—knows it. Why, then, do they proceed with a plan which, as one Sunday newspaper expressed it, could only have been concocted in Colney Hatch?

Because the Tories are not interested in efficiency... if to get it means undermining the bed-rock of their power—private property. And that is just what a nationalised road haulage system does. Its very existence is a permanent reminder that great national enterprises can be operated without the burden of the private profit-makers. That is why the Tories propose to de-nationalise it. For them it is a matter of principle.

No matter how modern techniques of production cry out for social ownership, the leading inmates of this capitalist Colney Hatch will never willingly concede it, for to do so is to admit their own social worthlessness and parasitical nature.

And just as they are compelled to smash up all attempts at social and economic progress in Britain, so also, and for the same reasons, they are preparing an atomic war to destroy social progress repre-

Continued page 4, col. 1

● **LABOUR REVIEW** ●
Quarterly—6d.
The Road to Workers Power and Socialism in Great Britain.
A full analysis of Bevan's new book
Order now 7½d. post free from
J. Pawsey, 61, Smedley Road, Manchester, 8.

'This Dud Parliament'

The past gives advice

THIRTY-THREE years ago, the editors of the "Herald" proposed the use of industrial action to bring down the expected Tory-Liberal coalition Government. The argument—which as promised in our last issue we re-print below—makes equally good sense today, even though today's "Herald" no longer puts it forward.

"... It (the expected Tory-Lib. Government) will regard itself as empowered, in spite of evasive and carefully-guarded 'pledges', to burden us with Conscription and with Protection; to impose heavy taxation upon the working class; to pass schemes of 'reconstruction' which will be but a re-inforcement of capitalism and a tightening of the shackles on Labour.

"It will claim authority for all these things. But we shall not recognise that authority. Were they done by a properly representative Parliament we would counsel acquiescence. As it is, we advise resistance by every means in our power."

"In the House of Commons relentless opposition. But that—

if Labour is in a minority—will not suffice. The Parliamentary Party will be voted down. Then they must look for, and must receive, unflinching support from organised Labour outside..."

"We have the power to do so. Organised Labour can exercise a veto more absolute than that of any House of Lords. It must when the need arises be used unhesitatingly and decisively—not to replace but to secure political democracy.

"If the Government's calculations prove correct—if they secure their fictitious and fraudulent Parliamentary majority, then to safeguard our liberties, to overthrow the usurpers, to recover our political freedom—get ready to strike."

Herald (December 21st, 1918).

Colonial Revolt Leaps to South America

'Free' Press Silent on Bolivian Events

A REPORT

A GOVERNMENT is removed by the actions of an armed working class—and that is what recently happened in Bolivia—yet the press is silent. Are they afraid the example set by the Bolivian workers will spread to Europe?

The Bolivian uprising broke out on April 9th. It was initiated by General Seleme, Minister of the Interior, who joined with the Revolutionary Nationalist movement (M.N.R.) to take power away from the ruling clique which had grabbed the government a year

ago, disbanded Parliament and set up a military dictatorship, backed by the mine-owners and big business interests.

WORKERS ARM

As soon as they learned that the army was marching on La Paz, the capital, to restore the dictatorship, the miners, textile workers and others pressed the M.N.R. to give them arms.

They fought heroically for three days, crushing eight regiments and defeating the counter-revolution.

During these battles General Seleme deserted and fled, leaving the field to the M.N.R. which formed the new Government. A prominent part in the fighting was also taken by the Revolutionary Workers' Party which called upon



FORCE THEM OUT!

LABOUR has won a resounding victory in the Council elections. Churchill's Government has thereby been served notice to quit—but it is not going to do anything of the sort.

Anticipating this defeat, the old reactionary insisted once again, in his radio broadcast, that the Tories would stay in power "for at least another four years."

Where do we go from here? asks the *Daily Herald* in its May 10th Editorial, "How can these victories (the Council elections) be used to prepare for a greater victory?" And the answer? "What Labour must do is to increase party membership, to build up strength and enthusiasm for the next test whenever and however it comes."

In other words, according to this right wing organ we must get more members, be enthusiastic—and wait for the General Election (which Churchill says will be four years from now!).

Such a policy is completely out of line with the feeling in the country and has nothing in common with a socialist solution to the present deadlock.

Is the Government Constitutional?

Those who demand a nation-wide campaign to bring the Tories down are branded by Morrison and Attlee as being "unconstitutional." What are the facts?

The Tories are in power on a minority vote. Their election pledges to improve the lot of the workers and middle class have been exposed as fraud and deception.

The Council election results show that the country is aware of this,

and that even the middle class which helped the Tories to power in the suburban and rural areas has swung back to Labour. Victories in places like Mitcham are proof of this.

This Government represents nobody but the ruling clique (and its flunkies who will never be converted to socialism under any conditions). If the constitution is understood to mean anything in the Labour movement, it is that majority opinion shall prevail.

By PHILLIP WILLIAMS

How, therefore, can it be unconstitutional to fight to remove a minority government?

The Tories stand for war preparations at the expense of living standards. Union after union has declared opposition to the present arms programme and tabled substantial wage demands, but the right wing leaders do not want to fight on behalf of their membership. In practice they pursue a policy of collaboration with the Tories. Take the question of rearmament.

The A.E.U. National Committee's decision to demand a reduction in the present armament programme is, as everyone knows, a reflection of the widespread opposition in the ranks to the armament programme in general. How does Mr. Tanner propose to implement the wishes of his Union?

The T.U.C., under the chairmanship of Mr. Deakin, has agreed to collaborate with the Tory Government in a new version of the Essential Works Order to effect a manpower switch to armaments. Mr. Tanner plays an active role in this.

At Blackpool he listens to the mandate of his members, but in
Continued page 3, col. 2

Trade Union Democracy

WE are still receiving protests against the threatened proscription of *Socialist Outlook*—although, as most of our readers know, this rumour has now been scotched by a letter from the N.E.C. of the Labour Party.

Nevertheless, because it is good to demonstrate the fine spirit of democracy which exists in the movement and because we are extremely grateful for these expressions of support, we print below a letter received from a Branch of the T. & G.W.U.:—

"The members of the 1/161 Branch of the Transport and General Workers Union regard with alarm suggestions that the National Executive Council of the Labour Party are contemplating a proscription of the organ *Socialist Outlook*.

"We wish to place on record that we shall oppose with all democratic means any action by the N.E.C. directed against *Socialist Outlook*, which paper we regard as being in the vanguard of our fight against Toryism and war, and therefore of vital necessity to the working class and the Labour movement as a whole."

C. F. Berger, Secretary.
(Copy to Mr. Morgan Phillips).

the masses to defend and expand the movement.

POVERTY AND PLENTY

The workers needed little urging to respond. Bolivia is one of the poorest countries in all America, although one of the richest in natural resources. Even the Wall Street Journal admitted: "Most of the miners never get enough to eat from infancy to death". Over half the miners have tuberculosis.

Tin accounts for 70 per cent of the total exports and provides foreign exchange for food and other imports Bolivia needs. But tin production is in the hands of the "Big Three" foreign capitalists who own the major mines. These are the Patino, dominated by the U.S. whose rate of profit in 1950 was 43 per cent; the Hochschild interests controlled by Chileans; and the Aramayo mines, a Swiss concern with large British holdings.

The super-exploitation of these corporations in the midst of terrible poverty has time and again provoked resentment and rebellion.

Several years ago more than 1,300 miners were slaughtered at Catavi

Continued page 4, col. 4

'What is our Chieftain's Crime?'

ask Bamangwato leaders

TORY Lord Salisbury received a trenchant reply from the Bamangwato deputation at a packed meeting held in Denison House to protest the banishment of Seretse Khama for having married a white woman.

"We are ignorant of our Chieftain's crime," said the first speaker, Mr. Seleka, who, with other leaders had been sent by their tribe to demand the return of their acknowledged chief, Seretse Khama.

"Our tribe accepted his marriage to Ruth in 1949, and we also accepted the implications of that union." Continuing, Mr. Seleka said that the Secretary of State had not consulted the tribe on this matter and now advised them to "go back and elect another leader." This we shall not do, said the speaker, as it is contrary to our law and tradition.

Another of the Bamangwato deputation, attacking the undemocratic nature of Lord Salisbury's decision, stated—amidst great applause—that unless Seretse is returned to his people "there will be no co-operation between us and the Government."

A representative from the Convention Peoples Party of the Gold Coast, Mr. J. Appiah, shattered Lord Salisbury's contention that the African people were 'not interested in the Seretse affair' by reading a telegram from the African National Congress (representing 10,000,000 Africans!) and another from the South African Indian Congress.

Both messages deplored the arbitrary action of the British Government and expressed sympathy with Seretse and his tribe.

Amidst great cheers, Seretse himself declared that the African people "know their own minds and needs better than the white authorities" who, he pointed out, had tried to bribe him with a well-paid job as a Government servant in Jamaica.

Racial intolerance, said Seretse Khama, was not a purely Germanic phenomenon. "The British Government—whether Tory or Labour—was as guilty of racism in Africa as was Malan or Hitler."

Are you, as a nation, asked this victim of racial intolerance, prepared to side with the sixty million Africans or with the tiny minority of whites? He concluded with these words . . . "Parliament and the House of Lords have done nothing for me. I now turn to the ordinary people of Britain to see that justice is done."

Labour M.P.s spoke at the meeting in general support, and a collection of £200 was taken for the purpose of organising a mass petition to send Seretse back to his tribe.

ADVT.

● - ● - ● - ● - ● - ● - ● - ●
Come to the BRITISH



Sheffield Whitsun
SPORTS ● FILMS ● MUSIC ● CAMPFIRES
For Friendship and Peace

Send off this coupon today for all details to the Festival Committee, 174, Uxbridge Rd., London, W.12. Please send details to:-

Name

Address

CEYLON Independence a Myth

By M. BANDA

MOST Labour workers think Ceylon is an independent nation, granted her freedom by the late Labour Government. This is not true. Britain has armed forces stationed in Ceylon. Trincomalee is one of the most important of all British naval bases.

Furthermore, the internal affairs of the country are regulated by a British Governor-General, whose recent actions following the death of the Premier, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, underline once more the illusory nature of Ceylon's "independence".

When the Prime Minister died it was the duty of the officer administering the Government (Mr. Alan Rose, Q.C.) to call upon the next most popular figure in the House of Representatives to form a Government.

But since the government Party, the United National Party, was in the throes of a violent factional struggle for the Prime Minister's mantle, Mr. Rose abstained from his constitutional duty and instead of calling upon the leader of the Socialist Party—the biggest opposition group—to form a government he waited for further instructions from the Governor-General who was in Whitehall.

It was therefore no surprise to the Ceylonese public that the ex-Premier's son and heir should have been appointed in his father's place by Lord Soulbury, the Governor-General.

This arbitrary act has been condemned by the Socialist Party which has demanded the scrapping of the Soulbury constitution together with the secret "defence" agreements which was the price the Ceylonese Government paid for its "independence".

In place of this the Socialist Party has demanded a complete break from the Commonwealth and the summoning of a Constituent Assembly independent of imperialism. This is the only way to real independence and freedom for the Ceylonese people.

What Shall Take the Place of Fear?

A review of Aneurin Bevan's new book

"In Place of Fear" Heinemann. 6/-.
By JOHN LAWRENCE

THIS is an exasperating book. It promises so much, and gives so very little. It is full of excellent ideas which lead nowhere. The very title—clear, simple and challenging—encourages one to expect an equally bold and clear description of what the author thinks should "take the place of fear". But it doesn't happen.

You will find excellent descriptions of the material basis of socialist ideology (Mr. Bevan has certainly not forgotten his early life as a South Wales miner) and you will come across fine passages which effectively expose the jungle nature of capitalist society. None of it is very original (except in the high-flown style employed) but it is all very stimulating and guaranteed to whet the appetite for the ultimate conclusion, the programme of action, which you feel is bound to follow.

Hopefully you read on to the end, but the great question posed in the title remains unanswered . . . what IS to take the place of fear?

Facing Both Ways

Perhaps it is "democratic socialism"? If so, the author's explanation of that much-abused term doesn't help us much. Judge for yourselves (on page 170).

"Democratic Socialism is the child of modern society".

"It seeks the truth in any given situation knowing all the time that if this be pushed too far it falls into error." You don't understand? Perhaps the next passage will explain?

"It struggles against all the evils which flow from private property

yet realises that all forms of private property are not necessarily evil."

Now either Mr. Bevan is here restating (in an extraordinarily pompous manner) the simple socialist truth that we seek to abolish all forms of private property in the means of wealth production (my old boots, for example, though private property, are certainly "not necessarily evil")—or, his double-talk is meant to justify the theories of "mixed economy" so beloved of the Right Wing leaders of the Labour Party.

I incline to the latter belief, having with me a vivid recollection of Aneurin Bevan, at the 1949 Annual Conference, eloquently defending what he called "healthy competition between private and public enterprise".

Other passages in the book appear to contradict what I have written above. On page 117, for example, we read . . . "To steer a wholly private enterprise economy in a given direction . . . is practically impossible." But the book is full of such worthy statements . . . lying side by side with such "advice" as "don't push the truth too far" or "all private property is not necessarily evil".

Who Will Aid Whom?

The most glaring example of muddled thinking occurs in the section of the book dealing with the colonial revolution. Mr. Bevan, as distinct from the average run of Labour leaders, really understands something of the nature of the great social forces which are at work today in Asia and Africa.

To the colonial revolution he concedes historical justification and admits it is aimed at imperialism. (But this, incidentally, doesn't prevent him supporting the wars in Korea and Malaya and approving

the rapid despatch of British troops to Hong Kong to "defend our treaty rights"!).

However, having recognised the nature of the colonial revolt he then proceeds to plead with its arch enemy, imperialism, to give it aid! Such aid, he writes on page 42, "will tax the idealism of the developed nations."! Indeed it will!

Without a blush, Mr. Bevan then informs us that "The United States has already made a contribution." Where? In Korea? In China?

Workers and Leaders

On pages 20 and 21, Mr. Bevan reveals the inside story of the shameful betrayal of the Triple Alliance in 1919 by J. H. Thomas, Robert Williams and Bob Smillie. The whole thing, he explains, took place behind the backs of the workers in the private sanatorium of David Lloyd George. If you strike, you'll win, said the Welsh Wizard and . . . "from that moment on", said Bob Smillie to the young Aneurin, "we were beaten and we knew we were." What an incredible admission of bankruptcy!

And what conclusion does Mr. Bevan draw from this shameful incident? That the workers need leaders that do not indulge in secret diplomacy behind the backs of their class, and who are ready to go to the end, to the creation of a workers' government? Not at all. His conclusion—one could almost call it the theme of his book—is that industrial action is useless and must be replaced by a "dynamic parliamentarism". (How Mr. Deakin will love him for that!)

"The workers and their leaders", writes Mr. Bevan, "paused even when their coercive power was greater than that of the State." Why did they pause? Because "the will (to seize power) is attendant upon the traditional attitude of the people toward the political institutions which form part of their historical heritage."

The truth is that the workers didn't pause at all. They didn't know what was going on. They were betrayed. But Mr. Bevan is compelled to place his fellow miners in the same mental category as the contemptible capitalist lackey, J. H. Thomas, otherwise he will have to admit that his reverence for Parliament (a reverence he shares with the rightest of the right wing) is NOT shared by the British working class.

And even if the workers did have an exaggerated respect for parliamentary institutions, the task of a leader is not to erect these illusions into some fantastic theory of "dynamic parliamentarism", but to explain the limitations of Parliament (as a sole and only means of struggle for socialism) thus preparing the best workers for the day—not far distant—when those limitations become more apparent.

Aneurin Bevan has, deservedly, won an enormous popularity in the Labour Movement for his vigorous defence of the Free Health Service, and, more lately, for his insistence on a reduction in the huge and ruinous re-armament programme. Thousands of his supporters—and all socialists will support him against outright imperialists like Shinwell, Morrison and Attlee—will turn to this book for a programme and a guide to the future. They will, I'm afraid, come away disappointed.

Nevertheless, the book should be widely read. Even if it doesn't give many answers, it at least poses serious problems in a serious way. To his credit, Mr. Bevan acknowledges his debt to Marx and Engels. If his own book is studied in conjunction with the works of those two great founders of scientific socialism, it can provide the starting point for a real forward movement in the theoretical understanding of the British Labour Movement.

Imperialists Planning Fascism for Middle East

By ABOU HASHEM
—Egyptian Socialist

could rally the people round this party, and in turn round the allies, was a (sham) policy of democracy and national emancipation.

After the war the British government was at a loss. Between the discredited feudal lords and the national capitalist class who were too much entangled with "democracy and independence" to be trusted any more, there was not much choice.

There followed five years of Palace administration—martial laws, concentration camps, corruption and profiteering—until it became apparent to everybody that the country was on the verge of revolution. So the repentant Wafd (Party of Nahas Pasha) was allowed back to power in 1950.

Yet, like any other capitalist leadership, when the political lords of the Wafd found the mass pressure of the people mounting tremendously, they panicked. Their policy during the recent Suez canal fight was a classical example of oscillation between mass pressure and class interests.

DEMOCRACY OUT

Every attempt at pacifying the Egyptian people has now been abandoned as futile. Millions can no longer be deceived. Only military fascism can now help imperialism in the Middle East. Already martial laws govern what is not governed by direct military administration.

The constitution is remoulded by Farouk's advisory clique and handed over to a puppet Prime Minister to enforce on an imprisoned nation. Trade Union organisations and freedom of the press are absolutely abolished. Yet the British press applauds

"the heroic attempts of Farouk at reform" . . .

ENTER FRANCO

Franco, the most devoted defender of fascism, has been asked by his American supporters to come to the rescue. The Spanish Foreign Minister talked in Cairo of the "unity of purpose and tradition" between his master, Franco, and Farouk.

The Egyptian (censored) press is now talking of replacing Anglo-Egyptian relations with American-Egyptian—which is not surprising, for the American Ambassador is already openly controlling the policy of the pro-Palace cabinet. Even the British Ambassador has to report to him, in person, before and after each contact with the Egyptian authorities!

The notorious "informed circles" in Cairo are very hopeful of the outcome of this new policy. As they put it, "America will not only supply a policy, but also the means to fulfil it—Franco and Arms!"

WHY WE FIGHT

It is a new and dangerous stage of imperialism's shameful policy in this part of the world. Not only exploitation—but now active aggression, abolition of all traces of democracy and the establishment of systems of military fascism to suppress the people.

The Four Power proposals are not for the defence of the Middle East, but for the defence of fascism in the Middle East.

The theatrical negotiations now being staged in Cairo are only a bargaining about the price demanded by Farouk for his alliance with the defenders of the "Free world"—Franco-American militarism and, very lastly, British imperialism.

That is why we Egyptian people fight it. That is why we ask you to fight it too.

We now appear Fridays FORTNIGHTLY

NEXT ISSUE
FRIDAY MAY, 30th

Speaking my mind

By TOM BRADDOCK

MR. CHURCHILL got his election; why? He was known to be a reckless and dangerous character, nevertheless Mr. Attlee gave him his chance.

He warned us at the same time that he would bring unemployment, war and starvation, but the British way of life includes Mr. Churchill, so in he came.

Now, Mr. Attlee says he is to go. Mr. Churchill does not agree, and as Arthur Deakin says "no pressure except in the House of Commons" it is difficult to see how Mr. Attlee's wish is to be carried out. Moreover, we do not yet know what Mr. Attlee would do if he were in Mr. Churchill's place!

A RETURN to pre-election conditions would be of little use to a new Labour Government. All the difficulties were in evidence then; the deterioration and discontents that followed devaluation and rearmament have merely continued under Mr. Churchill. There is still no essential difference between the members of the two front benches, all we get from them is a wrangle as to which lot will most effectively carry out the dangerous policy with which they both agree.

If we are to have our throats cut it is only a question of party loyalties as to which set of leaders are to carry out the operation.

This was well illustrated by the comic amendment put down on Mr. Churchill's defence policy; agreement was accorded to the policy but its author was judged to be incapable of carrying it out! This was altogether too much for 57 members of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

HOME and Foreign policy must go together; we cannot disagree with the Tories on home affairs and agree with them regarding foreign and colonial questions. World conditions settle the sort of lives we are to live at home.

You will agree that this is true, but I am afraid you will be forced to realise that, when we get down to the day to day conduct of our political struggle, official party policy seems to assume that our internal standards can be maintained, or even improved, under a Labour Government while at the same time we support armaments, wars and imperialism.

This is, of course, a nonsensical way of proceeding. We have got to make our political plans line up with the realities of life.

WHAT suggestions do we get from our front bench leaders?

Most of them keep pretty quiet. Mr. Attlee gives us some bits of fun at the expense of Mr. Churchill and his band of peers, all good clean stuff but a little unreasonable. If Mr. Attlee could not make capitalism work with the assistance of Lords Pakenham and Ogmone, how can he expect Mr. Churchill to do it with Lords Woolton and Leathers?

Let us keep some sense of values in these matters. Unfortunately, fun is no substitute for policy, and of that we get no hint from Mr. Attlee.

Perhaps we ought not to be surprised. After all, under the modern dispensation, a Labour member or candidate has no mind of his own, he obeys, and Mr. Attlee will wait, the voices will come to him as to the rest of us. There will be a week-end conference and the oracle will speak. Heaven help us if we get another revelation like the last two.

Mr. Herbert Morrison is rather more forthcoming. He has to be, he is in the line of succession and somebody has got to stand up to Bevan; Von Shinwell and Woodrow Wyatt have made a poor fist of it. What do we get from our Herbert?

He still thinks assistance will come from an enlightened capitalism; he calls upon the profit-maker to acquire a sense of public duty and to take pleasure in service for the common good. In fact, the experiences of 1945-50 have taught Herbert nothing, we are to have the mixture as before so far as he is concerned.

WHAT of the Trade Union side? On this field there is something not far removed from a dictator-

PROTECT YOUR WAGE WITH A SLIDING SCALE

EVIDENCE shows that Mr. Butler intends to ask the T.U.C. and its affiliated unions for another 'wage freeze' which shall include the suspension of existing sliding scale arrangements which already cover more than two million workers.

This reported demand by the Tories follows a big swing in the unions towards the idea of 'sliding scale' clauses to ensure that wages rise AUTOMATICALLY with every rise in the cost of living. The effects of the re-armament drive and the slowness of wage negotiations have given a big impulsion to the demand.

In their 1951 Conference, the Executive Committee of the Union

of Post Office Workers presented a plan for automatically increasing wages should the cost of living rise.

The Amalgamated Engineering Union, at its recent Conference, referred to its Executive Committee a demand for automatic wage increases based on cost of living rises, the forthcoming Conference of the Electrical Trades Union will debate a composite resolution from five branches calling for a sliding scale of wages to meet the increasing cost of living.

PROTECTION NEEDED

Straight wage increases have been presented by more than five million workers recently, including miners, engineers, agricultural workers, and

railwaymen. But realisation is fast growing that, by the time these demands have gone through the usual procedures, the cost of living increases will have swallowed up any money rises that are eventually obtained. The facts prove it conclusively.

Wages rose by 9.4 per cent between March 1951 and March 1952. Retail prices for the same period rose by 11.8 per cent. This

By S. GOLDBERG

means that the 11/- increase gained by the engineers last year has been swallowed up by price rises. And it will get worse.

Higher fares and higher food prices, the prospects of higher rents due to the rise in the Bank rate, are all working against 'normal' wage increases being a final protection against the Tory's inflationary policy.

The only realistic defence is proving to be the 'escalator' clause which gives automatic wage increases corresponding with every increase in living costs. This does not substitute for rises in the basic rate. But it protects those rises against further skyrocketing of prices.

The Electrical Trades Union will have the opportunity at its forthcoming Conference of giving a lead to all other trade unionists by adopting this "escalator" clause as a supplement to its new wage demand and to all existing wage agreements.

DON'T TRUST TORIES!

The Chairman of the T.U.C. (Arthur Deakin) is reported in the national press as having counselled wage restraint providing the Government will stabilise the cost of living and "freeze" profits. This is absurd.

The purse that the Tories said they were going to mend is that of the profiteers, and the profiteers only. That much is clear enough. Gross profits for 475 companies increased by 15 per cent over last year according to the *Economist's* index.

To entrust such people, and their friends in a Tory Government, with the responsibility of stabilising the cost of living is patently ridiculous.

Until the trade unions have put into office a Government which sets about planning in the interests of the producers, the chief task of the unions is to safeguard the standard of living against price increases by fighting for... a Sliding Scale of Wages.

Force them out! (from page 1)

London he is already practically committed to the Tory policy of speeding up its arms programme.

Such trickery goes on all the time. Mr. Deakin not only supports Tanner, but goes further. He is not in favour of 'widespread' wage increases, because this will cause "inflation". Deakin puts the blame on the rank and file for "inflation" and defends the armament programme expenditure which is the real cause.

"Relentless Struggle"

In Parliament it is the same story. Bevan and his friends claimed they could prevent the passage of the Finance Bill. This might have brought the Tories down, but a few days ago it was announced that, together with Attlee, the 'Bevanites' have agreed to permit the Bill to go through! A funny kind of 'relentless struggle,' Mr. Bevan.

The right wing of the T.U.C. and L.P. ignore the real wishes of their members in the most unconstitutional fashion. At the same time they call upon us to permit an unrepresentative Tory Government to continue in office as long as it thinks fit. That is the logic of the Attlee-Deakin-Morrison policy.

What To Do

Two things stand out clearly in Britain today—a rising tide of industrial unrest coinciding with increasing support for Labour on the political field.

The Rail Unions have demanded a 10% wage increase and additional overtime pay for work on Saturday afternoons. This claim will undoubtedly be rejected by the Tories, who, at the same time, are preparing to sell off at a heavy loss

publicly-owned road transport undertakings with something like £20 millions profit for the private capitalists!

No wonder the *Manchester Guardian* remarked on May 10th: "The political signals on the railways are clearly set for danger."

They mean danger for the Tories because... the workers are preparing to fight! Labour needs a clear programme if it is to take political advantage of this situation.

(1) All industrial struggles for wages and/or against denationalisation must have the full support of a united Labour and trade union movement.

(2) If workers choose to strike against Tory policy they must be given Labour's wholehearted support. Away with this nonsense about "constitutionalism".

(3) The Labour Party should immediately start a nationwide campaign of large rallies in all important centres, backed up with suitable publicity, demanding that the Tories resign. In marginal constituencies held by Tories, house-to-house petitions should be organised.

(4) In Parliament, Labour M.P.s should obstruct in every possible way the legislation of this unrepresentative government.

These are but a few of the steps that can be taken. Naturally Labour will do everything possible to increase its membership, as the *Daily Herald* suggests, but with the purpose of prosecuting the struggle, and not for marking time. The main item on the agenda now is to get the Tories out!

'Cut the Bond-holders interest to reduce fares'

SAYS LONDON BUS DRIVER — BILL PUNT

AS a London bus driver, let me say at once that I consider the latest fares increase to be an unjust imposition, and I can add that the majority of my colleagues are sympathetic to the travelling public on this issue. Haven't you noticed how the conductors now go out of their way to suggest cheaper ways of travel?

However, for once I must agree, up to a point, with Bro. Arthur Deakin when he says that the public must not expect cheaper travel at the expense of the passenger workers. £7 4s. 6d. does not compensate a driver for a 6-shift week which starts and finishes any time between 3.30 a.m. and 1.30 a.m., and disrupts our social and

ship. Deakin stands with Churchill, as he stood with Bevin, on foreign policy. His Union holds no conference this year; so Deakin stands this year where he has always stood. Lawther, Tanner and Williamson will, if left to themselves, be with him.

The number of votes these four have the power to use will go a very long way towards deciding whether this country is to be blasted with atomic bombs or not.

The fact is, of course, that Churchill's foreign policy, inherited from Bevin, is not approved by the rank and file members, even of the Unions these four men represent, but, unless energetic action is taken to stop them, they will throw the whole of their membership into the scale to weigh it down in favour of Churchill's war, Churchill's imperialism and Churchill's unemployment policy.

domestic life.

THE ALTERNATIVE

The 1948 Act states that London's passenger industry must be "an economic unit." Therefore, rising costs in fuel, spares, electricity, etc., mean either the staff cannot look for improved conditions or higher wages—except at the expense of the consumer; or the consumer cannot have cheaper travel—except at the expense of the operators who must work longer spells with more journeys.

This latter will mean higher accident rates (exit safety first!) rougher rides, frayed tempers and... a shorter life for the busmen.

Is there no way out of this impasse? A subsidy won't solve the problem, because it will only return to the public in the form of some tax or other. There only remains the income of the ex-shareholders.

PARASITES

Every year, before a penny is granted for travel facilities or improved working conditions, London Transport must find £3,800,000 to pay the interest on the 3 per cent Bonds held by the ex-owners of London's buses. We can't afford it any longer.

I agree it would be unfair to deprive the "widows and orphans"



of their small annuities derived from this source—provided it was their only means of a living. But how much stock is held by this type of person? Not very much, I'm sure.

Thomas Tillings original £1 investment, after being watered several times, was exchanged for SIX B.T.C. 3 per cent Bonds! Bearing in mind the number of dividends previously paid, it would seem that even if only the original £1 was returned, they still showed a handsome profit.

An attack on this £3,800,000 is long overdue and is something that both passenger workers and the travelling public should support.

To reduce costs and fares without attacking bus workers, suspend payment of that huge slice of unearned income known as interest payments on compensation... except, I hasten to add, in cases of genuine hardship which have been approved by committees of working men.

NO ILLUSIONS

The Tories can't be expected to do that... so they must be forced out of office. Will Labour do it?

Only if we compel them to, and compel them also to extend nationalisation to all those industries supplying the passenger services

Got Your Card, Brother?

Five Pounds a month is required to keep the *Socialist Outlook* in the fight to get the Tories out and a new Labour Government in.

Read the letter sent by a T.G.W.U. branch printed on page one. The *Outlook*, they consider, is of "vital necessity to the working class and the Labour Movement as a whole".

Appreciation takes on a solid form in the "Fighting Fund". £30 for last month was our best yet, but it's still not up to the target of £50.

Many a reader is only too willing to help with (say) threepence a week—but to buy a 2½d. stamp in order to send in 3d. is obviously a dead loss. Put it on a collecting card—passed round at work, during a canteen discussion at dinner time or after the branch meeting—and the coppers soon mount up to pounds.

So who'll take a collecting card round? All collections will be acknowledged in the columns of the paper every mid-month issue.

To the Business Manager, *Socialist Outlook*, 177 Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1.

I will help to raise the "Fighting Fund". Please send me a collecting card.

Name

Address

Firemen know why Tories rage

AS an example of Trade Union solidarity, over 800 Firemen from all parts of the country (including Scotland and Wales) marched through the City of Nottingham on the bitterly cold afternoon of March 30th.

They were marching in support of the Nottingham firemen's demand that five of their comrades, reduced in rank for their part in the "spit and polish" demonstration, should be reinstated.

Outlook readers will remember that over 16,000 firemen, members of the Fire Brigades Union, took part in this demonstration last November to support their claim for parity of pay with the police.

At the meeting in Nottingham's Old Market Square following the march, Labour Councillors and prominent Trade Unionists spoke in support of the firemen's cause. The broad theme from the rostrum "Let justice be done" should find an echo in every lodge and chapel, at every branch meeting and conference, for this is an issue which affects us all.

The writing on the Nottingham wall may well find itself repeated elsewhere. The blind insensate victimisation perpetrated on these men was an example of Tory fury at militant Trade Unionism. It should be a matter of supreme importance to our Movement to ensure that its like can never be seen again.

Let us not forget that in the past the firemen's hoses have not always been used exclusively for extinguishing fires.

Can it be that the fierce Tory opposition to Trade Unionism in the Fire Service is fostered by a realisation that they can never again call upon the British Fireman to quench with his fire streams the spirit of the British workers?

A new unity prevails in the British Fire Service, banded together as we are under the banner of the Fire Brigades Union, a unity which the Tories have served to strengthen by these vicious attacks upon our members.

Nottingham Fireman.

with such things as paper, tyres, paint, fuel, spares, etc. Until this is done, a good proportion of your twopenny fare will still find its way into the pockets of the private profit-makers instead of into improving passenger workers conditions and wages.

Readers Forum

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

Spanish Persecution

After four years of imprisonment without trial, 27 Trade Unionists of Barcelona are still awaiting their fate. Their trial, scheduled to be held in April, has once more been postponed. When the prisoners were visited by an Army Colonel at the end of April and asked to be allowed to choose defending Counsel in place of the officially appointed lawyers, the officer replied that such a transfer would be irrelevant, since they would be condemned in any case.

Meanwhile, one of the prisoners, Saturnino Sans, has broken down under the strain and on April 17th attacked Miguel Haro, his cell-mate, in a fit of madness, inflicting serious injury. This is the second case of a political prisoner losing his reason as a result of years of detention without trial.

Antonio Nunez Perez and Dionisio Ruda, members of the National Confederation of Labour in Seville, condemned to death by a Military Court on December 14th 1951, are still awaiting execution in the central prison here. Other prisoners sentenced to terms ranging up to 30 years are shortly to be transferred to prisons in various parts of the country. All were sentenced for their alleged participation in the organisation of a secret escape route for Trade Unionists and other opponents of the regime threatened with arrest.

Mrs. S. V. Clements,
195 Bickenhall Mans., London W.1.
Hon. Sec.,
"Save Franco's Victims Committee"

Grimsby Workers Protest

A letter carrying the unanimous opinion of the Grimsby Trades Council has been sent to the Spanish Ambassador and reads in part as follows:

"The continuing refusal of the Franco regime to release militant workers—some under sentence of death—will increasingly cause such regime to be listed among free workers all over the world as the vilest form of administration inflicted on mankind."

"On behalf of the Grimsby and District Trades Council—the representative body of some 16,000 organised workers in this area—I

The Socialist Outlook associates itself completely with this protest and urges all readers to do the same.

have to protest most emphatically at the arrest and imprisonment—and in some cases the imposition of the death penalty—of our fellow workers who participate in just strikes in Spain and request you to convey to your Government my Council's demand for the release of all such workers immediately. And, that this persecution be ended forthwith."

H. Kirwin,
Secretary.

A New Herald?

I congratulate you on your Editorial for May Day, 1952. A

Editorial: (from page 1)

sented by the collectivised property of the Soviet Union. Fundamentally, it is this class opposition to nationalisation and social ownership which makes the present Tory Government, and all other Governments which uphold private property, utterly and completely reactionary.

Labour's Reply

By demanding from the Labour Party a firm declaration that it will re-nationalise all the de-nationalised industries WITHOUT COMPENSATION, the recent conference of an important section of the National Union of Railwaymen has given the correct answer to Mr. Churchill's wreckers. Such a declaration—linked as it must be to a determined offensive to force the Tories out of office—will throw into confusion the plans to auction off the State-owned haulage industry.

Even City speculators will hesitate to risk their money if they know it will be only a matter of months before they lose it all. Yet even this is not enough.

A Sharp Lesson

So long as the upholders of

Parliament has no right to govern with intrigue and corruptions. We have become aware of this in history.

After two world wars we have had our lesson. Korea was our Labour Party leaders' war, the result of over-confidence in dollar graft. In the years to come secrets may come out that will enlighten us concerning our most innocent-seeming neighbours.

The time is overdue for a daily newspaper to replace the *Daily Herald*. Its lipstick and beauty parlour journalists would be more at home with a Sunday leg show sheet. Vigilant and others are great, hunting with the hounds and running with the fox. It is pathetic. Rossendale. W. Maxwell.

Poverty and Plenty

Unemployment with all its misery is spreading in the cotton, wool, clothing and furniture trades. Unsold stocks are growing fast.

Why? Is it that people don't want to buy these goods? Obviously not. It is that they lack the money. What we are experiencing is a return of the old, familiar, under-consumption crisis.

Profit, interest and rent come out of wages. Since the worker does not receive all he produces he cannot buy back the abundance that modern methods create. So we have poverty in the midst of plenty once again.

When Labour wins the next election—as it certainly will—it must transform the capitalist system which causes such tragedies. Manchester. Frank Allaun.

JACK STANLEY

Our readers will be pleased to learn that Jack Stanley is on the way to recovery in Manor House Hospital. He hopes to be at the Caxton Hall for the Annual General Meeting of the Labour Publishing Society Ltd., of which, of course, he is the Chairman.

Making Music

Reading J.A.'s poem in the current issue of the *Socialist Outlook*, we are prompted to ask "Where are Labour's Songsters?" J.A. might be one of the lyricists our movement needs today.

With a view to encouraging the writings of songs of social significance, the Workers Music Association has organised a Song Workshop. It will make available to members the guidance of professional colleagues, give opportunities for lyric-writer and composer to get together and learn something of the requirements of each other's craft, and arrange discussion and performance of works so produced.

Sessions are held at monthly intervals and details will be gladly sent on application to W.M.A. Songworkshop, 17 Bishops Bridge Road, W.2.

J. Horrocks, Secretary.

The Slump: Experts baffled as always!

By BILL HUNTER
A London Engineer

THERE is increasing world competition for shrinking markets. Cyril Osborne, Tory M.P., calls it the 'world crisis of capitalism'. The pottery industry is following textiles into a slump and the recession threatens to spread through the whole export trade.

The *Observer* of April 13th pleads with the Government to give some serious consideration to the problem:—

"Very little attempt has been made to work out the right economic pattern for Britain generally in the light of world prospects. All the signs are that radical departures from the existing pattern will be required."

A fine thing to tell working people who have responded to appeals for production during the last eight years; who have lived in the middle of a stream of speeches, lectures, articles and pamphlets assuring them that more production and more exports would bring economic recovery!

PRODUCTION FOR WHAT?

Now, when exports have reached their target of 75% above pre-war and the bottom begins to fall out of the market, *The Observer* says: "Very little attempt has been made to work out the right economic pattern!"

In other words, the whole crew of economists, professors and Government advisers didn't really know where it would all end! We were working for nothing!

A frenzied capitalist export drive was supposed to solve Britain's troubles. Then came Korea. "Had it not been for the Korean war and the re-armament drive forced on us, Britain would have been well on the way to recovery." How often have we heard that in the last two years? Yet now the 'city' columns express their apprehension of the end of the Korean war!

It is clear that, contrary to what we have been told, without the re-armament drive there would have been mass unemployment already!

THE DRIVE TO WAR!

But even the arms programme cannot maintain full employment. Products of the armaments industries are not exchanged for imports of raw materials or food. It is the sale of exports which buy these. So to get the raw materials for the arms factories exports must be maintained. That means, for Toryism, the old remedy—cutting labour costs.

A drive to cut wages, backed by the growing dole queue is inevitable, even while prices continue to bound under the pressure of the arms drive. The future is indeed

FIGHTING FUND

We gratefully acknowledge the following amounts, mostly consisting of collections of threepences and sixpences on the special Fighting Fund Collecting Cards taken round by enthusiastic supporters. Thanks comrades.

E.N.V. workers 6/10, Manchester readers £2, Leeds readers 7/6, Manchester readers £2 15s., H. Lane 4/9, W. Punt 6/11, B. Mills 8/-, Nott'm readers £1 13s. 9d., J.L. (U.S.A.) 10/6, A. Winter £1, N. Dinning 17/-, F. Cooper 2/-, K. Driver £1 7s. 9d., Tottenham readers £2 1s. 9d., M. Black 6d., J.F. 5/-, Bermondsey reader 1/6, Birkenhead readers 10/-, Manchester readers £1 6s. 8d., E.N.V. workers 10/-, A. Cooper (B'ham) 6/-, S. Goldberg (B'ham) 10/-, W. Pickett (B'ham) 5/-, J. Walsh (B'ham) 5/-, J. White (B'ham) 5/-, J. Davis (B'ham) 5/-, F. Dannreuther (B'ham) 5/-, O. Finch (coll. card, Saltley readers) 6/6, H. Finch (coll. card R. T. Shelley readers) £1 2s. 6d., Hackney readers £1 0s. 6d., Nott'm readers £1 2s. 3d., A.F. 4/-, Norwood readers 16/-, Central readers £1 6s., J.F. 6/-, Bethnal Green readers 18/6, Streatham readers £2 10s.

TOTAL £30 7s. 10d.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Annual General Meeting of the Labour Publishing Society Ltd.—the owners of *Socialist Outlook*—will be held in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W.1, on Saturday, May 24th, at 3 p.m. Shareholders are urged to attend and discuss the plans for the new Fortnightly. Visitors will be welcomed but only shareholders will be allowed to vote.

grim for workers in a capitalist Britain.

And the grimmest fact of all is that, as the struggle for world markets grows fiercer, so must the drive to war.

That is why it is an urgent question to get a Socialist programme in operation in Britain to solve the slump in the textile industry and the threatened slump in other trades.

The Tory Government will never create the right economic pattern for Britain. The right economic pattern can only be a socialist one. First of all, it means the removal of the Tory Government and the return of Labour.

The new Labour Government must break with the capitalist international policies, including the alliance with U.S. imperialism. It

must establish planned long term trade with all countries willing to participate, including the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China. It must introduce a new free relationship with the colonies, based on their independence and aiding them to build up their economies and standards of living.

On this basis it will find a market for its produce and create the solid goodwill necessary for long-term planned trade. Such a policy would allow of deep cuts into the present ruinous arms expenditure which is imposing intolerable burdens and pauperising the working people.

How NOT to Fight—

"Trade union leaders and employers have agreed on basic plans to set up a joint Productivity Council to help the greater output drive."

Daily Herald, May 9th, 1952.

BOLIVIA: (from page 1)

when they struck for union recognition and living wages.

NATIONALISATION

No slogan is more popular among the workers than nationalisation of the mines and railroads, and it was raised from the first day of the revolution.

When the new President Paz returned from exile in Argentina, he promised the huge crowds who greeted his arrival at the airport that he would take immediate steps to nationalise the tin mines. Since then however, he has somewhat changed his tune and spoken of appointing a commission to study the problem, adding "if possible we want to reach an agreement with the mineowners".

RIGHT AND LEFT

Meanwhile, becoming impatient, the workers have organised themselves into a Peoples Militia embracing 10,000 armed men. On April 20th they set up a Central Organisation of Bolivian Workers which has demanded speedy nationalisation of the mines and railroads, agrarian reforms and the repeal of all anti-Labour laws.

The class struggle within the country is reflected in the deepening division between the right and left wings in the cabinet of the new M.N.R. Government. The Right wing fears to offend the mineowners and imperialists and hesitates to satisfy the demands of the people. The Left wing is headed by Juan Lechin, leader of the militant Miners Union and Minister of Mining and Petroleum, and German Butron of the Textile workers, Minister of Labour.

WORKERS' DEMANDS

The first issue of the paper issued by the Central Organisation of Bolivian Workers called for workers control over production, general wage increases, expulsion of the "Yankee mission", a state monopoly over foreign and domestic trade and an agrarian revolution.

Meanwhile the railroad workers have forced the government to order the expulsion of the British personnel director of the Antof-

gasta Railway. After stoning his house, the workers insisted that he be sacked and sent out of the country because he had attacked them and questioned their worth.

The Bolivian workers have voiced solidarity with the Korean, Indo-Chinese, Egyptian and Moroccan "warriors for independence".

British Labour must answer this solidarity with their own. We must make sure that Churchill keeps his hands off Bolivia's fight against imperialism.

BIG BUSINESS HOWLS

American Big Business is starting to howl against the new Government in Bolivia because that Government is under pressure from the masses in revolt who threaten the profits and properties of the big corporations and want to establish democratic control over the wealth produced in their own country.

Washington, we can be sure, already is conniving to halt any measures against the mine corporations.

But there are also British capitalist interests in Bolivia and Churchill is almost certainly preparing to defend them against the Bolivian people. The silence of the British Press may very well conceal that ugly fact.

NOW that *Socialist Outlook* is a fortnightly and its sales—almost entirely inside the Labour Movement—are increasing, why not use it to advertise your meetings, publications and matters of interest to workers?

Rates: Small Ads, 1/- a line (minimum 3 lines). Displayed Ads, Rates on application.

Does your T.U. Branch Take the Outlook?

2/3 a dozen
Post free

Your own copy sent to you each fortnight by post
Fill in this form now

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Please send a copy of the "Socialist Outlook" by post each issue

for issues to:—

Name

Address

for which I enclose postal order value £ s. d.

Send to "SOCIALIST OUTLOOK" 177, Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1.

Rates:— 3 months (6 issues) 2/3
6 months (12 issues) 4/6
12 months (25 issues) 9/-