

Socialist Outlook

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'Socialist Outlook'
will appear
WEEKLY
beginning
FRIDAY
Nov. 21st

For a Bevan Victory At 1952 Conference!

Let the Workers be heard at Morecambe

THE Left-wing at this year's Annual Conference of the Labour Party will be bigger than ever before. It is reliably estimated that more than eighty per cent of the Constituency Parties are, in varying degrees, 'Bevanite'—that is, they are in favour of cutting down the arms programme and loosening the ties that bind us to the capitalist United States of America.

We can expect, of course, that some of the big unions will still cast their block votes ruthlessly in support of the 'old guard' and the sort of policies which suit "socialists" who are "settling down at the stern". But even here there has been a change for the better—as Jack Stanley shows in his T.U.C. report on page two.

Important unions like the Railwaymen, the Engineers and the Distributive Workers, are now more or less firmly committed to a Bevanite policy. In fact, on one very crucial issue

Editorial

—the future programme of nationalisation—union block votes, if used in accordance with T.U.C. decisions, must ensure victory for those in the Party who champion the rapid extension of public ownership to all the basic industries and services.

For this reason, the mysterious association of New Thinkers—mis-named the "Socialist Union"—will fail completely in its efforts to drag the Labour Party into an open retreat to Liberalism. That alone is a great victory for the Left, and augurs well for the socialist future of our great Labour Movement.

Yes, the Left-wing is strong, but is it strong enough to secure a socialist policy for the Labour Party and a leadership capable of carrying it through? We believe it is.

LEADERSHIP

So far as elections to the N.E.C. are concerned, it is certain that Aneurin Bevan, and those candidates who support him in his fight against the Right-wing, will get a clear majority of the seats allotted to the Constituency Parties.

They already have four out of seven—Barbara Castle, Ian Mikardo, Tom Driberg and Bevan himself.

For our part, we hope Morecambe will see them sweep the board. For to do so they will have to remove Herbert Morrison and Jim Griffiths—both open exponents of the "peace through strength" theories of Mr. Eden—and that old 'middle-of-the-roader', Dr. Dalton. The replacement of all three by 'Bevanites' (despite the political elasticity which that label denotes) would be a real step forward for the Left-wing.

In the eyes of millions, Bevan is associated with a vigorous prosecution of socialist policies at the expense of rearmament. For that reason alone, a 'Bevanite' victory in the N.E.C. elections would be an enormous encouragement to socialists and anti-war forces throughout this country and, indeed, throughout the world.

If, on top of this, the Conference takes clear decisions on all

questions of policy it will have served well the cause of Socialism.

ENTER THE BUGABOOS

Here, however, things are not so cut and dried. A vote for a new N.E.C. must be taken, it is inevitable—but votes on policy questions are not at all guaranteed. And, to make matters worse, all sorts of false ideas are now circulating inside and outside the Party, bemusing and befuddling many people on the Left as to the real nature of party 'unity'.

These ideas come mainly from two sources. From the artful

(Continued on page 4, column 3.)

WATCH OUT FOR THURSDAY

The next issue of the "Socialist Outlook" will be on sale on **THURSDAY, Oct. 2nd.**

It will contain reports of the Annual Conference proceedings, as well as articles of interest to all socialists.

Look out for the sellers.
Make sure you get your copy.

THE WEEKLY IS A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT

A Word from Tom Braddock



'Socialist Outlook' Editorial Board

From left to right: Gerry Healy, Tom Braddock, Jack Stanley and John Lawrence (Editor)

Comrades,

In December of this year the "Socialist Outlook" will be four years old. The progress and influence of the paper during this short time is one of the most significant features in socialist journalism today.

For a paper to be able to live and extend its circulation and its frequency of appearance with no financial backing other than the pennies of its readers is a sure sign of the goodwill and support it enjoys.

All of us—Editorial Board and readers—were tremendously encouraged by the successful change from a Monthly to a Fortnightly. But, as you know, it has always been our intention that this socialist paper should be issued EACH WEEK. Now, following on the success of the fortnightly, we have

the greatest pleasure in informing you that the "Socialist Outlook" will appear WEEKLY beginning Friday, November 21st.

It is a great achievement, made possible by the support and sacrifice of many hundreds of comrades in all parts of the country. It is because we are confident this support will continue and increase that we have taken this tremendous step forward to a weekly.

I do not want you to think that all this has been easy. I am asking you now to carry on the magnificent efforts you have already put into the monthly and the fortnightly. Events are moving our way—but sacrifice is still needed.

Now there are many signs that even Labour members of Parliament are re-considering their attitude. Let us help them. A Parliamentary Labour Party should be in the forefront of the struggle. With a Weekly "Socialist Outlook" we shall get them there—and keep them there!

With complete confidence, comrades, I now ask you to make all necessary preparations for the sale and distribution of a Weekly "Socialist Outlook" as from November 21st. We can produce it alright—but your determined help is needed to SELL IT. We think

Face THESE facts

A Criticism of the N.E.C.'s Policy Statement

By
John Lawrence

AS a guide to action for the Labour Movement and the British people, the N.E.C. statement of policy, "Facing the Facts" is worse than useless.

The facts we are asked to face are not new. They merely describe what is now universally recognised—the decline of Britain as a great capitalist world power.

As stated in the N.E.C. document, the facts of this decline are, by and large, correct. But the conclusions drawn and the solutions offered—despite windy pronouncements about "our socialist faith"—are capitalistic through and through. They can be quite fairly

summed up as follows: **more production, harder work, rearmament for defence and (most pathetic of all) more foreign markets.** There is not a businessman in the land who wouldn't breathe a fervent 'hear, hear' to such a programme.

In showing us "the main signposts on the route" to salvation, the N.E.C. warns us that "there is no easy solution". This is truly a master piece of understatement. In reality, there is NO solution at all. At least, not on the basis of capitalism—"regulated" or otherwise. Unless, of course, permanent war and preparation for war is considered a "solution". Capitalism as a system is bankrupt.

DANGEROUS ILLUSIONS

With full stomachs, nice houses, neat little cars, friends in the business world, and even in Court circles, many of those who have risen to the top of our movement may find this simple fact of capitalism's bankruptcy hard to accept. To them socialism is, no doubt, a 'jolly good idea'—like birth control.

Yet at heart there is a touching belief in the stability of British capitalism. It needs, to be sure, a little "regulating" here and a little "restricting" there—but fundamentally, if we all "pull our weight" and show a "proper sense of responsibility", we shall survive—Queen, Lords, Household Cavalry, Lord Mayor's Show and all. It is this belief in the utter indestructibility of the established order of things which oozes out

of the front page of the "Daily Herald".

Take only one example, from the section of the document entitled "Public Ownership" (and this, by the way, is the best part of the whole statement). Here we are told that "Labour believes in public ownership" (I should think so, too!) and further believes that public ownership "must step in wherever private enterprise fails the people."

Why is that word "wherever" inserted? Is there some doubt about it? Are there perhaps some sections of private enterprise which HAVEN'T failed the people? Has the full employment of the last twelve years bred illusions in the minds of some of our leaders as to the real nature of private enterprise? It certainly looks that way.

LEST WE FORGET

Go back to the 'hungry thirties'. Not just to get material for a pretty election speech—but to taste again the evil on which our movement was nurtured. Factories, pits, shipyards—all owned by private enterprise, all idle, shut-down, many of them deliberately destroyed. Millions of workers rotting in the dole queues. Statistics piling up of malnutrition (starvation) among men and women who cried desperately for work. That was capitalism in the thirties—purgatory for the working class.

An experience we shall never forget, an experience which has eaten into our hearts and made socialism—the abolition of the system of private enterprise—the hope of millions. It was then we learned that to live we must destroy the system of private enter-



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Details on page four.

KEEP IT UP!

we shall get the retailers to take the paper—but they can only sell if YOU have convinced people to BUY. Ideas on this subject will be conveyed to you in subsequent issues by the Business Manager.

Meanwhile, I appeal to every reader most earnestly to increase the volume of our Fighting Fund. More sales and more money, please. In the wicked sort of world we live in, money is, unfortunately, still necessary. As William Morris said—over sixty years ago—"The cause alone is worthy, till the good days bring the best."

One last word: We hope that the successful launching of our Weekly on Friday, November 21st will leave only a short period of continued success for laying the foundation of our great objective—a real socialist DAILY paper for the British workers.

With good wishes to you all.

Yours fraternally,
Tom Braddock.

THE T.U.C. SWINGS LEFT

Progressive demands defeat platform

By Jack Stanley

THE 1952 Trades Union Congress has been played up in the press as a great triumph for the General Council whose "sanity and solidity" are alleged to have prevailed over the "reckless advocates of class warfare out to wreck the national economy".

For those who had the chance to view the proceedings at first-hand and estimate the results of the chief issues in dispute, the situation was not like that at all. On the contrary, compared with other post-war Trades Union Congresses, the domination of the right-wing has weakened while its opposition has grown more pronounced. There has been a swing to the left.

The three big contests between the General Council and the opposition revolved around rearmament, social ownership, and wage-restraint. The General Council report insisted upon full-scale rearmament, and the four-to-one vote in its favour caused rejoicing all the way from Whitehall to Washington. But the success was not so sweeping as it appears at first glance.

A PAPER VICTORY

Nearly two million votes were cast for the motion, moved by myself, calling for a definite reduction in arms.

Moreover, the block vote of the big unions, which defeated the motion, cannot really be called a true reflection of the opinions of the membership. The entire miners' vote, for example, went for the General Council, but it is well known that the Scottish and Welsh miners' Conferences had voted against rearmament.

Interesting in this respect is to see how the dockers' votes were

STANDARD'S 'TRY IT ON'

E.N.V., P.R.V. Fairey, and now Standard Telephones. Yet another engineering firm has deliberately faced its workers with the choice—fight or be smashed.

On the 10th September, the A.E.U. Convener at Standard Telephones, Woolwich, was suspended, and later sacked, for leaving the factory to meet Union officials half-an-hour before knocking off time the previous day.

Over half the factory downed tools at once, but on the advice of their Stewards returned to work pending a Works' Conference. This Conference dragged on for five hours—discussing only what the terms of reference of the Conference should be.

Reporting this back to the men on Tuesday, 16th September, the Shop Stewards Committee recommended a total stoppage till Thursday morning, when work would be resumed and the position reviewed. This was accepted.

That same afternoon the Convener of the other Standard factories at Southgate, Fooks Cray, and Croydon tried, without success, to meet Sir Thomas Spencer, head of the Standard Combine. Despite the fact that nearly 4,000 men were on strike, this "great man" had "other matters to attend to".

The Stewards recognise that if the management can 'get away with it' the attack will spread from Woolwich to the other Standard plants, and other Stewards and leading Trade Unionists will be for the "chopper".

used. Those represented by the T. & G.W.U. went in favour of rearmament. Those represented by the small Stevedores' Union were used against rearmament. Which vote reflected the dockers' real feelings? We can't know for sure—but we do know that the Stevedores, unlike the T. & G.W.U., were mandated by the dockers themselves.

Following this came the motion to prohibit the use of Bacteriological Warfare, which was calmly, but none the less effectively moved by Dr. Brian on behalf of the Association of Scientific Workers.

Sir Vincent Tewson, in his anxiety to see the motion defeated, went almost purple, but all to no effect, the motion being carried by 3,797,000 to 3,528,000, the majority in favour being 269,000. This, in my opinion, was a major defeat for the "Big Noises", and represented the opinion of all people of sanity and humanity. It definitely proved that the right wing are not so powerful as formerly.

'NEW THINKERS' REJECTED

Another defeat was in store for the General Council and their faithful supporters. Bryn Roberts, of the National Union of Public Employees, submitted a composite motion on Social Ownership,

which was supported by the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen, the Miners, Foundry Workers and the Chemical Workers.

The statement by Arthur Horner of the National Union of Mine-workers, that his Union was pledged to give full support to any organisation that was prepared to resist Tory attempts to de-nationalise any industry, must have shaken all the "constitutionalists".

It was a direct challenge to those who are against industrial action on a political issue.

Here again, despite all the artifices of the Chairman, the General Council were defeated and the motion carried by 4,542,000 to 3,210,000, a majority of 1,332,000.

The resolution declared:

"Congress reaffirms its faith in the principles of social ownership, but recognises that if their application remains restricted to a limited number of industries and services; the full advantages of social ownership will be lost. It therefore welcomes the Labour Party's declaration that it will extend social ownership."

Some right-wing leaders spluttered like bacon in a frying-pan in trying to defeat the motion, but

(Continued on page 4, col. 1)

Denationalisation fight needs some teeth in it

says FRED EMMETT

SPeAKING at a London Labour Party Conference on September 7th, Alfred Barnes M.P., who was Minister of Transport in the Labour Government, called the Tory plan to denationalise road haulage a "vicious political action".

They were forcing through this bill, he said, "against experience against results, against the transport personnel, against public opinion."

Nationalised transport was just beginning to show its advantages. Conditions of the road haulage workers had been greatly improved and it was making a profit. Further development along these lines would soon discredit private enterprise.

The Tories knew this. They also knew that the railways, separated from Road Transport, would be at a tremendous disadvantage and unable to run profitably. They hoped thereby to discredit the whole conception of nationalisation. For them, it was a political principle.

It was our bounden duty to prevent this bill from becoming law. It would be a test of our ability to introduce the system we stood for, Mr. Barnes maintained.

But how to prevent it becoming law? No-one will disagree with Mr. Barnes and the

other speakers who have been telling similar conferences to "rouse public opinion to demand the withdrawal of the Bill".

The Tories however, have not shown themselves very sensitive to "public opinion" so far. As Mr. Atlee said last week, the Bill was being criticised by Road Hauliers and Chambers of Commerce—and a Tory M.P., Sir Ralph Glyn, had made the most effective speech against it to date.

If Churchill will not listen to this opinion, he will certainly not be convinced by any reasoning put forward by Labour M.P.s. The Labour Party has, in fact, already begun to adopt different tactics. For what is the threat to "renationalise without compensation" if not an attempt to "coerce" the Government.

It is doubtful if even this will deter Churchill, for if the Tories are acting for a "political principle" Churchill will give the lorry away if, by so doing, he can discredit public ownership.

TELL 'EM STRAIGHT!

Fortunately however, the working class movement has stronger arguments at its disposal. The lorry drivers have made it clear they will not return to the bad old days without a struggle. The Railwaymen and Miners have pledged their support in any action undertaken by the drivers, seeing in the threat to one part of nationalised industry a threat to themselves. Jim Figgins at Nottingham recently pointed to the strikes of 1918 as an example of what railway workers in particular could do to make their views felt by the railway bosses. This readiness to fight must be harnessed in the campaign against denationalisation.

Churchill must be given a solemn warning. If you proceed with this Bill, in defiance of public opinion and for your own political ends, you must face the inevitable consequences of industrial action. The workers involved will protect their living standards and working conditions from the worsening which they know will result from a return to the chaos of private enterprise.

The Labour Party stands for social ownership and will therefore give its complete support to such action with the object of removing the Tory Government and replacing it with a Labour Government pledged to bring the whole economy under social ownership in the interests of the vast majority of the people.

ONE WAY ONLY

A visitor to the Foreign Office looking around, suddenly asked in astonishment "What kind of telephone is that on your desk? There's an earpiece but no mouth-piece."

"If you must know," replied Anthony Eden, "that's our direct wire to Washington."

BENEATH THY WINDOW

A Liverpool reader sends in this tit-bit:

When the Bevanite "Brains Trust" visited Liverpool this month, one of the questions asked was, "Where should the Red Flag be sung?"

A. J. Irvine, M.P. for Edgehill, Liverpool, replied, "Under Bessie Braddock's window."

ing this rotten, parasitic system of wage-slavery and war.

Earwig: Rubbish, sir!
C.S. (ignoring this outburst): As socialists we should aim at replacing the British Empire—the world's biggest sweat-shop—by a socialist commonwealth of nations based on voluntary co-operation and not on coercion and exploitation.

Under such a system the advanced countries of the West—particularly Britain—would provide capital equipment, interest, free credit, and technical aid to the "under-developed" areas, who, in turn, would use this assistance to develop their resources, diversify production and raise their standard of living. This would expand the world market for machinery and industrial products immeasurably. A socialist Britain would have nothing to fear from such a policy.

A voice—ALL CHANGE!
(The conversation was continued that evening—and will be reported in our next issue on 3rd October.)

Pride and Prejudice

Colonial conversation piece—By M. Banda

(The scene—a third-class compartment in a train going to Morecambe. Seated near a window and facing the front of the train is a young man reading "Tribune". Next to him is a mysterious-looking fellow with dark glasses, muffer and black waistcoat. His hat is pulled over his eyes. On his lap is a copy of "Socialism—A new statement of principles". He might have been a Tory—or perhaps a secret member of the "Socialist Union". He never revealed his identity, so he is referred to throughout as "Earwig". Opposite to them is a young colonial student.)

The "Tribune" reader looks up and catching the eye of the student he nods. They begin to speak.)

Colonial Student: You going to Morecambe too?

"Tribune" Reader: Yes, I'm looking forward to the conference.

(The mysterious gent steals a furtive glance at them.)

Colonial Student: It's bound to be interesting. I see most of the resolutions are on foreign and colonial policy.

"Tribune" Reader: Yes. The Labour Party is becoming increasingly aware of its international responsibilities. (Earwig frowns.)

C.S.: High time it did. Bevan's criticism of American domination is quite progressive and should be supported by all true socialists.

T.R.: I agree. As a Bevanite myself, I think that well-intentioned criticism like Mr. Bevan's will have a restraining influence on the American administration.

C.S.: It is not enough to criticise the Americans. I think the time has come to give a lead to the rest of the world by adopting a socialist foreign policy which would clearly separate you from the Yahoos in the Pentagon. (The Earwig is visibly agitated.)

T.R.: Such as?

C.S.: By conceding to the colonial peoples the same principle which you defend against the Americans. I mean the right to independence without any pernicious restrictions or conditions, whether political, economic or military.

T.R.: I agree with you on drawing a line of demarcation between us and the Yanks but I cannot agree with you on the policies and methods to be adopted—although I recognise the fact that the Asian peoples are engaged in an historic revolution against foreign exploitation and domestic poverty.

C.S.: Then you will vote for immediate colonial freedom?

T.R.: Well, I don't know. We cannot ignore the fact that our sudden withdrawal from the East would leave the door wide open to "Communist Aggression." Our

task is to replace Imperialism by a true partnership with the colonial peoples based on social, economic and political reforms. We must make haste slowly.

Earwig: I protest—this is rank nonsense. The darkies can never govern themselves. They can't even speak English! They must be kept in their place!

C.S. and T.R.: Please don't display your ignorance in public.

C.S.: (resuming the conversation with T.R.). So you don't think the time has come for the British troops to get out of Korea, Malaya and Egypt?

T.R.: On the contrary! Our troops are there to defend freedom from aggression. In Korea we are upholding the moral authority of the United Nations and the principle of collective security.

Earwig (interrupts): For once I agree.

T.R.: (continues, somewhat embarrassed): In Malaya we are



protecting a frightened and innocent people from marauding "Bandits". (Earwig nods approvingly.) In Egypt we are defending the world's most vital waterway on which rests the fate of British trade and commerce. Similarly, in Hong Kong we stand by our Treaty Rights.

I would like to qualify the last statement by saying that I accept the Chinese Revolution as an accomplished fact.

C.S.: Where on earth has this "historic revolution" of yours got to? It seems to have got lost amidst a tangle of "Bandits", "Waterways", "Treaty Rights" and "collective sanctions." You accept the Revolution only when it is "accomplished". You refuse to support it when it is being accomplished, as in Korea and Malaya.

T.R.: But don't you agree there is aggression in Korea?

C.S.: The war in Korea is a civil war and every civil war is an "aggression" of the oppressed classes against their oppressors! The American Civil War—which the present day rulers of America would prefer to forget—is an instructive example of "aggression" by one class against another. Just look at these facts. In Korea, as in China, the peasants were terribly exploited and oppressed, and still are in the South. According to United Nations statistics, two-thirds of the rural land was owned by 2.5 per cent. of the population

while 50 per cent. of the farming population was absolutely landless. Rents absorbed 55-60 per cent. of the peasants' total crop. How would you like to give 60 per cent. of your weekly wage to your boss? Not bloody likely, eh?

T.R.: And Malaya?

C.S.: In Malaya there is a military dictatorship led by Gen. Templer, who is responsible only to Whitehall for his actions, which, incidentally, include head-hunting.

The people do not fear the "bandits" because the bandits, surprisingly enough, stand for some of the things which you, too, will be defending at the Morecambe conference: "the extension of public ownership" to include the tin mines and rubber plantations and the distribution of the land to the tiller. If this is "banditry" then I must be a bandit too, and so must you!

T.R.: I do not approve of Templer's methods. They are contrary to British notions of justice.

Earwig: Dashit Man! Templer must be given a free hand. He knows what is best for the Malaysians. If we get out we'll lose our dollars and the Welfare State will collapse like a pack of cards. It's no joke to get your throat slit in the middle of the night, you know!

C.S.: Well, it all depends on whose throat is slit. Savage methods of repression invariably provoke savage methods of defence. The real question is: What class is prosecuting this war and for what reasons? Neither you, nor "Earwig" here, have the courage to answer this question.

T.R.: I must protest at your linking me up with this repulsive specimen. I am a left-wing socialist.

C.S.: It's not me who linked you up—you have done it yourself by refusing to lift a finger to withdraw the troops from Malaya. You and Earwig are united on this question—however much you may differ on other things.

T.R.: Well, I'd never looked at it like that before—but you haven't answered the part about Britain going bankrupt without Malayan tin and rubber.

C.S.: It's not true. Look at the Soviet Union. The first thing Lenin did after the Revolution in 1917 was to grant self-determination to the oppressed nationalities and to relinquish all the Czarist concessions outside Russia. Yet today Russia is the second strongest power in the world.

Of course, British capitalism—if that is what you mean by the Welfare State—will collapse like a pack of cards if you get out of the Colonies. But none of us, I hope, has any interest in maintain-

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Wallasey Tenants Fight Their Tory Council

Demonstrate Against Rent Increases

Reported by Alf Rose — photos by Dick Murray

WHEN the Wallasey Council assembled for this month's meeting in the Town Hall, hundreds of corporation tenants demonstrated outside against a new rent scheme.

The scheme raises the rents of 3,517 council houses from November 3rd, by 3/4d. to 7/6d. a week.

Presented as a plan for rent rebates, it does nothing to relieve the burden of high rents for post-war houses and is, in practice, a contrivance for all-round rent increases.

Labour has only eleven members on the 64-strong council of this prosperous borough which includes large dormitory areas and the pleasure resort of New Brighton. For some time the Tory representatives of these strong local business interests have been examining means of relieving the rates of a £9,000 housing deficit. Their latest cumbersome device, described by Mr. Gerald McKean, of Ivy Lane, Moreton, as "a racket—something I've seen coming for years," is calculated to yield £56,000-£47,000 for a pool to give rebates to tenants who prove that they cannot afford to pay the new rents.

Angry tenants say this will involve a means test. Many also doubt whether the council would really introduce a complicated system with an annual turnover of £100,000 merely to profit by £9,000.

ANGRY PROTEST MEETINGS

A number of protest meetings held by the Municipal Tenants' Association, which claims over 2,700 members, have revealed strong feelings against the scheme. More than 600 people jammed themselves into the hall at Somerville School, and classrooms were flung open to accommodate part of the overflow. Mr. E. J. Hardie, chairman of the Association, promised another meeting for those left outside.

Mr. Hardie announced that the chairman of the Housing Committee had refused an invitation to attend. In the absence of this worthy the meeting decided to send a deputation to the Mayor and the Housing Committee to demand the abolition of the higher-rents-with-rebates scheme and instead proposed an all-round increase of a shilling a week for one year.

A more complete meeting of the association, held in the open-air on Leasowe Common the following afternoon, withdrew the offer of a weekly shilling and decided to support its deputation with a demonstration to the Town Hall.

BILL MURPHY'S CORNER

On Merseyside they're talking about Arthur Deakin's effort to find out what the dockers really think about him. Carefully disguised he went into a Birkenhead Bar and struck up a conversation with a portworker.

After a few drinks he casually asked the docker how he really felt about Deakin. The docker looked around the room, then beckoned his drinking partner to follow him out of the bar and down the street. When they were out of sight, the worker looked round once more to be sure no-one was listening, then whispered softly into Deakin's ear: "I'm in favour of him."

The demonstration, augmented by tenants carried in specially-run buses from the outlying post-war estates, waited outside the Town Hall while a seven-man deputation presented a petition to the Mayor.

LABOUR GROUP WALKS OUT

After a wait of nearly three hours the deputation was allowed to state its case in the chamber.

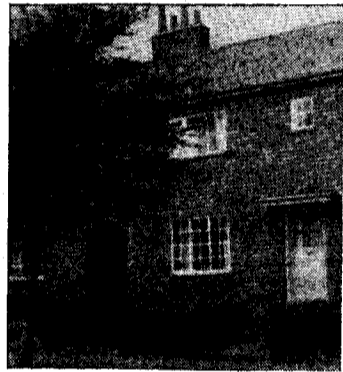
When the deputation had withdrawn and the Housing chairman rose to speak, Alderman B. G. King, leader of the Labour Group, objected that the Labour Party had not been given the right to reply.

The ten Labour members present then walked out.

Councillor W. T. Clements saying afterwards "The proposal for only the housing chairman to speak was steam-rollered through. We felt bound to express our disgust at this undemocratic privilege."

Meanwhile the Housing Chairman said that it would be impossible to withdraw the scheme. He would promise only to consider it again in committee with the deputation the following week.

This meeting revealed that less



Council houses, Woodstock Road, Wallasey. Rents to be raised by 7/6d. in November?



Part of the tenants' demonstration at Wallasey Town Hall.

than half of the forms sent to tenants for details of income had been returned.

This attitude of the Tories will not satisfy the tenants. The housing chairman pleaded that the so-called rebate scheme will give poor people a house at a rent they can afford and quite overlooked that it will not lower the rent of a single house! Meanwhile there is widespread dissatisfaction with the way in which rebates are to be calculated.

HARD WORK PENALISED

Stan Platt, of Meadfoot Road, Moreton, one of many dockers in the area, is especially concerned at the way in which the rebates are to be assessed at quarterly intervals.

He complains, "If my assessment is made on thirteen weeks during which I've been earning good money, I might have to pay the top price during the next thirteen weeks which might include several when I draw only my guaranteed wage. That's only £4 8s. Stoppages of 6/1d. leave only £4 1s. 11d. That's no incentive to work harder. The harder you work, the more wages you get, the more rent you pay."

And for Stan, this might mean a rent increase from 27/- to 34/6!

Mrs. Hardman, a housewife of Woodstock Road, Poulton, voices another typical grievance. She says, "I've brought up eight children during hard times with very little help—2/- dole for each. Now that they've grown up my husband

and I ought to have a little more pleasure but because two of the youngsters live at home I shall have to pay more rent."

Gerry McKean sees another angle to this: "The council is falling down on the job of building houses for our young married people so that we have to give them room. Then the council charges us extra for doing it! And those who have been offered a house have been asked what rent they can manage to pay, anyway. Now they're in the house the council raises the rent."

AN EXPERIMENT?

Perhaps, as Gerry points out, with such overwhelming numbers on the council and a 17,000 majority for Mr. A. E. Marples, their local M.P. and Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Housing, the Tory caucus feels that, even with a few rebels, it can rely on steamroller tactics to

make an experiment in Wallasey.

"They can solve the housing problem by raising rents so that fewer people can pay them. Some people would stay in rooms rather than pay such rents. It was like that before the war," says Gerry.

What if this tactic is used in other parts of the country? If many councils raise rents won't the government be able to use that as an excuse for setting the private landlord free of the Rent Restriction Act?

Certainly this rent-struggle is of more than local significance. The Council Group of the Wallasey Labour Party have issued a statement that "the Labour Group moved ten amendments, each designed to rid the scheme of many of its inequitable and unjust features. Not one single amendment was accepted. If a rent rebate scheme is to be the only solution to the present acute problems of council housing finance such a scheme should be humane in character, based upon need, not means."

THE BURDEN OF INTEREST

Perhaps locally, every council could devise a rebates scheme which might, for instance, do something to reduce the immense difference in the rents of pre-war and post-war housing. But even then the overall problem of housing finance will be "solved" only at the expense of worker-tenants so long as dividend-drawers, through the banking houses and investment trusts continue to take their toll of interest.

The interest on a housing loan costs more than the material and the wages of the men required to build the houses concerned.

If the rate of interest was reduced by as much as Mr. Butler has increased the Bank Rate it is very unlikely that the Wallasey Council would face an "acute problem" of £9,000.

Good Heavens! Mr. Evans

"Broadly speaking, the position is that we all pay for each others' wages", declared Mr. Lincoln Evans at the recent Trades' Union Congress.

Now I know! The little brown packet I get every Friday doesn't come from my employers. Brother, it comes from you—you old skinflint. I pay your wages, you pay mine. The question now is—who pays the employers? It's obvious

we must pay them too. But they don't come to us for their rises.

Now, as to you paying my wages and me paying yours. I've got an idea. Let's stop this business of paying each other. Let's just pay ourselves! So, if you're working in an engineering factory like me, we can each take home these parts we made today.

But what do we do if the gate-keeper stops us and sets the law in motion? The fact that we all merely pay each others wages means nothing to him. It will mean nothing to the magistrate, either.

They will argue that what we produce belongs to the boss—he's paying us for it, they will say. Which only goes to show what a new and advanced thinker Bro. Evans is, coming into conflict with established law and order. Saying we pay each others wages. The very idea! Why, that means that all we produce belongs to all of us. And that's Socialism, or against the constitution, or something horrid.

Now let's be serious for a minute. What Mr. Evans is really trying to get us to believe is that an increase of wages benefits nobody, because all other workers pay for it in increased prices.

The trade union movement, however, was built on the belief that workers could better their standards at the expense of the surplus they produced for the employers. Today that surplus is divided by decisions of employers and Tory Government into dividends, reserves and taxation mainly for rearmament. Out of that the workers can be paid their increases.

Of course, the employers will try to pass on increased wages in increased prices, and thus avoid encroaching on profits. But, when they can do so, they increase prices even though wages remain stationary. Must we accept the situation, stand by and watch prices soaring—too scared to ask for an increase because we accept as inevitable that employers will add it on to prices?

We have a vast and powerful trade union movement, more powerful than at any time in its history. Surely, we can use our strength, not only to secure wage increases, but also to secure a Labour Government which would build a Socialist economy and ensure that the surplus we now produce for employers would be distributed in the interests of the people.

Then all workers would be paying each other, but ONLY EACH OTHER.

Bill Hunter.

LESSONS OF FAIREY STRIKE

By HARRY RATNER

(Well-known Manchester Shop Steward)

MANCHESTER Trade Unionists have followed with great interest and concern the successful eleven-week strike of the Stockport Fairey Aviation workers to reinstate their two leading Shop Stewards.

Two previous disputes in this area—the Metro-Vickers West Works strike earlier in the year, and the Crossley Motors strike in 1950—had this much in common with Fairey's, they all began after Shop Stewards, under one pretext or another, had been sacked.

At Crossley Motors, after a five week struggle, the workers went back defeated without their convenor. At Metro-Vickers West Works the strike was called off, the case went through procedure, and Bro. Rothman, the victimized Steward, is still not reinstated.

No doubt encouraged by these successes, the employers at Fairey's "tried it on" also. The management, as previously reported in the "Socialist Outlook", "deliberately and cold-bloodedly provoked a showdown with the object of smashing the Union organization in the factory" by sacking the chairman and convenor.

Had the employers succeeded—

for the third time running—the rot would have spread throughout the district. No convenor or militant Shop Steward would have been safe. But thanks to the solidarity, determination and self-sacrifice of the Fairey workers, who stuck out for eleven long weeks, many on less than £3 a week, the rot has been stopped.

The Fairey victory was, therefore, a victory for workers everywhere.

LESSON NUMBER ONE

There are some important lessons to be drawn. First, that single factories cannot be left to fight the whole might of the Employers' Federation on their own.

The District Committee of the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions is to be congratulated for calling a mass meeting of all Stewards in the district to discuss support for Fairey workers. The response to the call for financial assistance—a minimum of 1/- levy per worker—though by no means sufficient, was a distinct improvement on the past.

There was no apathy among the rank and file as shown by the response where the Stewards explained the issues. The weak spots

were where the Stewards themselves were inactive.

It became clearer, after nine weeks of deadlock, that the financial assistance given, by itself, was not sufficient to win the strike.

It was the threat to call a general strike throughout the district that spurred the Ministry of Labour, after ten weeks of inaction, to intervene and open the way for a settlement of the dispute.

This is lesson number one.

STRIKE PAY

In this dispute, as in others, the problem of strike pay assumed great importance. The Strike Committee, the District Committees, mass meetings of Shop Stewards and numerous branches, all called on Union Executives to increase strike benefit up to the district rate. It is my opinion that the Unions must seriously take note of this question of strike pay, which continually crops up. The same problem was raised by the E.N.V. dispute, which was fought for thirteen weeks and through the Christmas period.

The Fairey strike was a small scale rehearsal for the big fight that the employers, by their blunt refusal to grant any wage increases, are forcing on the Unions nationally.

Like the other stubborn strikes which have occurred during the past few months—Briggs and Fords, Park Royal (London), E.N.V. (London), all reported in "Socialist Outlook"—it has shown that there is nothing wrong with the workers' readiness to struggle.

However, the strikes have also revealed defects in the Trade Union machinery, which must be overcome if the whole resources of the Unions are to be mobilised for the battles that lie ahead. With strong and virile organisations, from Executive Councils to rank and file, the spirit shown at Fairey's can be our guarantee of victory.

Briggs Workers Show the Right Spirit

The following statement from the Briggs Joint Shop Stewards was given to all delegates to the recent Trades' Union Congress.

THE Trade Union members of the above establishment have already been engaged in active struggle with their Management in an effort to stem the attack of the capitalist class on the workers living standards.

In fighting this independent bat-

tle we found ourselves not only engaged in a fight with our Management but also with the whole of the organised strength of the Employers, supported by the reactionary Tory Government.

We wish to make it known to the Delegates to this Congress that we intend to intensify the struggle for our just demands and at the same time fully support the affiliated bodies of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering

Unions in their militant attitude to the £2 per week claim.

We therefore call upon Delegates to press with all the power at their command, to force the General Council of the T.U.C. to drop their milk and water outlook on the question of wages, reminding them of their responsibilities to their members and adopt a militant policy on behalf of the workers that they represent.

Readers Forum

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

WIDOWED MOTHERS

I saw in the "Daily Telegraph" the heading "Plea for More Foster Parents". I wonder if anyone ever thinks about a "Plea for Widowed Mothers" who have to keep their children on 10/- a week.

It says in the "Telegraph" that it costs £1 8s. 10d. to board one child out and £5 5s. 1d. to keep one in a home. How do they think we manage on 10/- a week allowed for a pension? Why cannot we be allowed more for our children. We strive hard to bring them up properly, whilst the biggest part of the "Homes" Children have been neglected.

A good many mothers have lost their husbands after serving their King and Country, like my husband who had served over 5 years. What do we get in return? Is it not time something better was done for us?

Sheffield. Mrs. Clark.

PUTTING THE BRAKE ON

I congratulate you upon your fine article on Mrs. Braddock. I am afraid some people's personal ambition outweighs (with all respect to Mrs. B's avoirdupois) the popular interest.

She has had a tough fight in Liverpool and it seems a great pity to see such a doughty woman "putting the brake on".

It is all out or nothing now if Socialism is not to be discredited. I cannot imagine her namesake (Tom Braddock) trimming his sails.

Bravo Tom, keep it up!
Southport. Herbert Fielden.

TORIES IN OUR PARTY

Referring to Mrs. Braddock's "Daily Herald" articles it is difficult to understand how members of our party whom we considered "Socialist" can lend themselves to such abusive comments on the progressive elements of our Party. The fact that Communists as well as we, agitate against the capitalist employers battenning on the backs of the workers and also denounce War as a means of settling international disputes does not brand us as "Communists" or "Communist dupes".

Our leaders should re-read "Fifty Years March" and in particular the chapter where Keir Hardie, hungry and a mere child in Glasgow, had to stand in front of his employer's family at breakfast and be lectured on slothfulness. He had been up all night nursing his dying brother. This was Tory-

★ T.U.C. (from page two)

to no avail. The Congress has decisively repudiated the reactionary gospel being preached by "Socialist" Unionists, and other 'new thinkers', that nationalisation of industry is not essential for the construction of a Socialist economy or for "the good life".

DOUBLE-TALK ON WAGES

It must be said that the controversies at the Congress over the wages issue had an air of unreality about them. The General Council was the chief shadow-boxer, though a number of others also failed to face up to the real situation. They did not dare come out openly against wage claims—and for obvious reasons.

The outrageous Tory policies are so resented, the demands of the workers for increases are so justified, and the wages movement has become so widespread that the General Council had to trim their sails to the wind. So they took cover in double-talk and in the formula that "moderate and restrained" wage claims to meet in-

ism in all its viciousness. A viciousness that Socialist Leaders, real Leaders, rallied the workers to fight.

Bessie would be better employed searching out the Tories who have dug into our Party. Recently the Salford Labour Party found a number of Tories in key positions in the Division. These "Tories" are more extensive in our Party than is generally realised. Whether Bessie feels better now she is qualified for a mention in Comrade Attlee's prayers is a matter for speculation; the Angel who watches over our N.E.C. may shed for her benefit a "Feather" (not a Red one I hope), or just a tear for another Socialist that was.

Flixton, Lancs. D. Burgess.

'LODGER TAX' IN LIVERPOOL

On behalf of the "Litherland Tenants' Defence Association" we wish to show our disgust at the local Labour Councillors who all voted with the Tories for the introduction of a 'lodger tax'. To viciously attack those members of our community who can ill afford any rent increases is unforgivable. We must explain this iniquitous tax.

If a tenant in a council house sublets to a married couple, thus helping the housing shortage, the rent is increased by 5/- per week. These sub-tenants and lodgers are usually relations of the tenant. The 'lodger tax' is 2/6d. on the rent.

The council's excuse is that the repair fund for council property has run low, but surely the Labour councillors could have devised a more fair and fitting scheme.

Various members in the local Labour Party who did not agree with the scheme moved a motion asking for a full debate on the issue, but were informed that the councillors had made the decision and it was not open for discussion by the rank and file.

On behalf of the Tenants of council houses we presented a petition, signed by approximately 860 people, to the Labour-controlled housing committee who placed it in that category 'to be noted'; how proud they must feel having saved the Tories a job.

It was because of this affair of the 'lodger tax', and other incidents, that we formed a "Tenants' Defence Association"

A. G. Goodman, Chairman
D. Humphreys, Secretary
T. Cousins, Treasurer

creased living costs were in order.

It cannot be said that the Congress decision places much restraint upon any of the Unions with wage claims pending.

Stevens of the E.T.U. pointedly asked whether the miners who supported the General Council thought their 30/- a week claim was being moderate—and whether the engineers' demand for £2 was in order. Of course, none of the Unions could or would admit that their demands were in any degree unwarranted, as indeed they are not.

Another very important composite motion, embracing seven resolutions on the question of unemployment and trading relations, resulted in several speeches of merit, especially from those who had a clear-cut policy in the direction of expanding East-West trade. This motion was carried unanimously.

NOW FOR MORECAMBE

My general impression of the T.U.C. was that the hard facts of life under a Tory Government are forcing many Unions to the left, but some of the leaders are, in their wisdom or otherwise, adopting the line of least resistance, and thereby lining up with many of the policies which are now being put forward by the present Government. This is not in conformity with the principles of the Trade Union and Socialist Movement as I have long understood them.

The testing time will be the National Labour Party Conference at Morecambe, where the rank and file delegates, I hope, will not this time let themselves be bamboozled as they were at Scarborough last year.

Facing Facts (from page one)

prise root and branch—all of it, not just 20 per cent. of it!

"Wherever it fails the people", indeed! Why, its failure was scarred into the lives of a whole generation, frustrated, diseased and made prematurely old. And nothing that has happened since has changed the nature of the enemy. He has not become mellowed with age.

CURE BY DEATH

Capitalism overcame that crisis in the only way open to it—by preparing for war! Only then did economic activity revive, only then did the dole queues lessen and skilled hands find work to do. Having destroyed its 'surplus' products, capitalism prepared for destruction on a scale never before

witnessed in human history. And in due course the war came.

For six long years full employment reigned. The wheels turned, again, the factories hummed with activity—and the employers lined their pockets with gold. But did it raise the level of material wealth of mankind. It did not—it failed again.

The long period of "sweat and toil" brought great steel birds flying over all the cities of Europe, sending little children whimpering and cowering into deep holes in the ground. Towns were destroyed, houses were destroyed, factories, ports and railways were destroyed, and . . . countless millions of men, women and children were destroyed . . .

And this country was not by any means the worst sufferer. Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Poland, Russia, China—all were laid waste. That was capitalism's "solution". Guns, tanks and planes disposed of the 'surplus'; and blasted thereby a new re-division of the world market.

IT WILL HAPPEN AGAIN . . .

UNLESS

Then came the "peace". With their German and Japanese rivals in ruins, the victorious powers could give their tired machines, and even more tired working

people, work to do repairing some of the damage. A seller's market and charge what you like! Paradise indeed for private enterprise! But not for long. The market was even more limited now by the advent of the great Chinese revolution and the collapse of capitalism in Eastern Europe.

By 1947 that ugly 'surplus' began once more to reappear—and again this wretched system prepared for war. This time against the most progressive peoples in the world—those who have thrown off capitalism or are in the process of doing so—and this time with atom bombs, jet planes, chemical and bacteriological weapons.

That is capitalism. That is private enterprise. Prosperity (on short rations and in over-crowded houses) limited to the brief intervals in which are prepared new and even bigger wars.

CHANGE COURSE!

Against this fact—the most fundamental part of all—how mouse-like is the fussing of the N.E.C. with its "balance of payments problems". How ridiculous is their tremulous declaration that they will interfere with private enterprise "only where it has failed the people"! How pitiable too, is their assurance that although the way will be hard ("Labour makes no extravagant promises"! . . . "the burdens will be equitably borne by all".

When the whole train is rushing to destruction, it is no comfort to the passengers to know that first class carriages have been abolished!

What is required is to STOP THE TRAIN. To do that we must first change the driver—and then change the direction. In other words, instead of discussing how best we can make capitalism work, we must mobilise all the strength of the movement to get rid of this Tory Government and then, under a new Labour administration, tear the fate of the people out of the hands of private enterprise and its profits system.

We haven't the space to detail a precise programme of action. In any case there is no need. In the resolutions from Constituency Parties are contained all, or most, of the essential measures required: a break with the American war alliance, freedom for the colonial peoples, the extension of nationalisation to ALL the basic industries, and control of industry in the hands of the workers.

A socialist programme can emerge from Morecambe—if the rank and file is allowed to decide it.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTS.

(Rates—1/- a line, minimum 3 lines.)

MORECAMBE, Sunday, Sept. 28. Public meeting. Alhambra Theatre 7.30 p.m.

William Gallacher, J. R. Campbell, Leo McGree, Lancashire and Cheshire Dist. Communist Party. LONDON "Socialist Outlook" readers are invited to a meeting at Holborn Hall, October 12th at 2.30 p.m. where plans for the weekly will be outlined. More details later.

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MORECAMBE CONFERENCE DIARY
Delegates and visitors should note these dates and times.
Saturday, September 27th.
2.30 p.m. Standing Orders Committee.
Sunday, September 28th.
7.30 p.m. Conference Rally. Winter Gardens Ballroom.
Wednesday, October 1st.
8 p.m. Bevan Meeting. Winter Gardens Ballroom.

★ EDITORIAL (from page 1)

dodgers looking for votes from both Left and Right, and from middle class politicians to whom a combination of 'the right people' at the top is always better than a good socialist policy that comes up from the bottom. In this latter category must be placed "The New Statesman"

In an editorial on August 18th, these lordly advisers of Labour inform us that "The most extreme views on both sides must concede something to the essential electoral need for party unity". Which, being translated, means . . . Live and let live! Some for the war, some against. Some for nationalisation, some against. Some for German rearmament, some against. Some for freeing the colonial peoples, some against. Some for socialism and . . . SOME AGAINST!

The children of this kind of reckless union are a pretty horrible sight. "Facing the Facts" and "Labour's Foreign Policy", are typical of the breed. If these are the kind of policies desired by the 'unity-mongers'—why go to all the expense of holding a Conference at all? Why invite the rank and file to make policy if, as in "Facing the Facts" all socialist ideas are to be "conceded to the essential electoral need for party unity?"

Far less expensive would be a policy-making committee consisting of Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevan—with Dr. Dalton to see fair play for both sides!

DELEGATES MUST BE ON GUARD

When talk of this kind of 'unity' is abroad, you can rest assured that it is the Left, the socialists, the workers who will be expected to do all the "conceding" by agreeing to WITHDRAW THEIR RESOLUTIONS.

There is a big experience on this kind of procedure. It has, in fact, been adopted at every conference since 1946. The intervention of the rank and file is limited to an "expression of opinion"—to be duly noted by the N.E.C. of course

FIGHTING FUND

Streatham readers £3; Enfield Engineers £4 15s. 2d.; Tottenham readers £8 15s. 5d.; Nottingham readers £1; W. London readers £6 10s.; South Hackney readers £1 2s.; J. Fairhead 7/6d.; Birkenhead readers £1 10s.; N. Hackney readers £1 10s. 6d.; Leeds readers 8/-; Islingtonians 16/-; Bethnal Green readers £1 9s.; J. Jennings 1/-; J. Grose 5/6d.; Chester readers 7/-; ENV workers 7/6d.; Manchester readers £4 1s. 8d.; Platts (M/c) workers 17/3d.; Sunderland 2/-; Norwood readers 15/-; Edgbaston readers 9/6d.; J. Davis (B'ham) 5/-; J. Walsh (B'ham) 5/-; F. Dannreuther 10/-; A. Cooper (B'ham) 10/-; W. Pickett 1/-; Salford readers 2/-; R. T. Shelley readers 18/6d.; Fulham readers £4 19s.; Manchester engineers 9/9d.; S. Ldn. Teacher £1; N.G. £1; Bermondsey readers 14/-; Twickenham readers 3/6d.; Busman 10/-; Edmonton printers 17/9d.; Westminster readers £5.
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