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TODAY

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3d.

THE PRISON
HOUSE
OF SPAIN

(page 2)

Sabotage

The debate on State Trading in the House of Commons (3/6/54) brought forth a revealing contribution from Mr. Hind, Conservative M.P. for Newbury.

"Ministry of Food buying," he said, "could not continue in the way it had been experienced recently. It had been the easy way for farmers. Did the Labour Party really say that this sloppy trading at the taxpayers' expense should continue indefinitely? There had to be incentives and rewards for quality and marketing at the right time, and the idea that everything could be shovelled off on the State and financed at the taxpayers' expense did not make sense. He was a grower of barley, and he had been able to sell a lot of rubbish to the Ministry of Food. (Opposition cries of "Oh!" and "Shame!") Now he would not be able to sell it, but would keep it on his farm, and feed it to the pigs—(renewed Opposition cries of "Oh!")—and the country would benefit from it."

Here is a public admission of an act of sabotage committed against the policy of the past Labour Government. It is another illustration that the Tories will stop at nothing in the fight against Labour, even though some right wingers yearn for collaboration.

U.S. PREPARES RATION BOOKS!

Plans For War Drive

HIGH ranking military leaders of the United States, Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand are meeting in secret in Washington. According to their first communique they are discussing "security matters of common interest in the South East Asia area."

Their "common interests" are the interests of imperialist powers who for many years have exploited the populations of the Far East; who strive desperately now to maintain a toe hold in Indo-China where a war for national liberation is in process; who seek to build a front against the colonial revolution and prepare the ground for war against China and the Soviet Union.

At Washington now the military leaders are building the military framework for an Unholy Alliance—the South East Asia Pact. They are discussing the military forces available for such an alliance. They are discussing Indo-China and just where they can draw the line in Asia for the "containment" of the colonial revolution,

if they cannot push it back at this stage.

Once again it is being demonstrated that the South East Asia Alliance is not just being examined—as those who attacked Aneurin Bevan's resignation declared—it is being prepared.

How far the preparations have gone is shown by the fact that the Tory Government is already prepared with a commander for its forces in such a pact. General Templer is to use the experience gained in holding down the people of Malaya, by leading the forces to police the whole of Asia.

The War Office announced on June 1st he had been granted long leave while plans for his future in "an important military appointment will be announced later."

A United Press despatch from Washington quoted "military circles" there as saying "it is possible that General Templer is being kept in readiness to command combined British, Malayan, Aus-

tralian, and New Zealand forces that might be assigned to the South East Asia security organisation."

How to prevent these preparations for war is the most important question for the Labour Movement. The plans for the Unholy Alliance are scheduled to go ahead whether or no an agreement is reached at Geneva between the heads of the Big Powers. If there is no agreement there

Editorial

soon over Indo-China, then the possibility looms large that imperialism will intervene to its full capacity to reimpose French colonial rule against the opposition of almost the entire population. The demand for action in face of the victories of Vietnam is growing among America's rulers.

Senator Knowland last week called for "immediate action against the Communists in Asia." On June 6th he declared to a press conference: "Basic decisions will have to be made within the next thirty days." He suggested that President Eisenhower might request authority to blockade China, to send training forces and munitions to Indo-China on a much larger scale, and to use the American Navy and Air Force. It was his opinion that "a resolute American policy would be supported by America's allies."

Senator Knowland represents an important section of the

American ruling class. He is no less than the leader of the Republican Party in the American Senate. In fact, although he at this stage may be in the vanguard, America's rulers as a whole are growing impatient of further haggling at Geneva while the situation in Indo-China continues to deteriorate from their point of view.

Another of America's senators—this time a leader of the Democratic Party, Estes Kefauver—has stated that he understands the American Government has decided on a "concrete policy" in relation to "more active participation in the war in Indo-China." Plans are also afoot to place American economy on a war footing. Kefauver revealed that orders had been drawn up to "reimpose controls on industry and commodities" and it was planned to print ration books.

Once again, the only thing that causes American Big Business to hesitate is, that as Kefauver says: "they are fearful of the possible reaction among the people. There is no enthusiasm for sacrificing lives in the swamps and jungles of the Far East in the interests of French colonialism. There is no enthusiasm for the Third World War. Kefauver declares the "Office of Defence Mobilisation is holding up the printing of 200,000,000 ration books because of the fear of public reaction."

Nevertheless the situation grows desperate for imperialism in the Far East pushing it all the time to desperate policies. Should Vietnam liberate the whole of Indo-China it would be a victory for the colonial peoples which would have grave repercussions in

every imperialist possession. And the French troops alone face overwhelming defeat in a country which is mortally hostile to colonial rule.

The Labour Movement once again is being warned. There is only one way to defeat the war preparations; to defeat full-scale intervention in Asia now or to defeat the South East Asia Alliance which prepares it in the future. That is by a consistent struggle for the independence of the colonial countries; for the withdrawal of troops from Indo-China, for the recognition of the Ho Chi Minh government and for the withdrawal of Imperialism from the Far East.

In Memory of D Day

"SURE, there were lots of bodies we never identified. You know what a direct hit by a shell does to a guy. Or a mine. Or a solid hit with a grenade even. Sometimes all we have is a leg or a hunk of arm," said T/Sgt. Donald Haguall of the 48th Graves Registration.

"They all stink. There's only one stink and that's it. You never get used to it either. As long as you live, you never get used to it. And after a while, the stink gets in your clothes and you can taste it in your mouth. If you think about it too much, you go nuts."

"You know what I think? I think maybe if every civilian in the world could smell the stink of death for an hour or even ten minutes, then I think we wouldn't have any more wars. What do you think?"

"Newsweek," (7/6/54)

Locomen Deserve Praise

"Economist" Says "Slap Them"

RANK and file railwaymen will be interested to know there was prominently displayed on page one of last week's "Economist" an article entitled "Off the Rails" which took up the question of the lodging strikes.

The "Economist" knows of course what every railway trainman knows, that June 14th is "D" day for the Transport Commission, the day the new lodging turns should begin. From his leather upholstered chair the Editor of this defender of British capitalism, lectures railwaymen in general, locomen in particular, and their union leaders on the folly of their ways.

He also advises the Transport Commission to get tough over

By
Bob Shaw

lodging by giving the "hysterical" railwaymen a slap in the face. All that the Transport Commission wanted in return for the Xmas wage increase was a little efficiency, starting with a "small increase" in lodging turns, he declares.

After all the Editor argues, Railway finances demanded it, the country's well-being required it and above all the men's leaders had agreed to it. It was only "on the rock of the ordinary railwaymen's resistance that these efforts came to grief."

The "small amount" of lodging which is advocated by the "Economist" would be on all main line trains involving about 50 per cent. of all trainmen's time and for a large number of men would mean lodging every week. Rather more than a small amount, it turns out. In the rarified atmosphere of the Editor's office of the "Economist", such schemes might be possible, but real life is different—the Western locomen demonstrated that.

To be sure, the Transport Commission would very much like to administer a sharp slap to the striking railwaymen, but they dare not. They must be a little more

subtle and talk about co-operation and consultation. Their measures are introduced by stealth in the name of efficiency, if possible with the union leaders' consent. That is why the striking locomen deserve praise. They were wise to the game and gave notice to Sir Brian Robertson and also, incidentally, to their own leaders, that there must be no return to the pre-war lodging heyday. Any attempt by the Transport Commission to get tough now and force through its measures would undoubtedly unite railwaymen in opposition and stop the job from one end of the country to the other, the "Economist" and other Tory rags notwithstanding.

The difficulties of the railway management are undoubtedly great, they must pay out £32 millions per year to the ex-shareholders; they must compete wastefully with Road Haulage and they must seek to modernise the industry with a pitiful capital outlay. But these are the difficulties of a decrepit capitalist enterprise which has been and still is being sucked dry by parasitical drawers of dividend, and which is weighted down with a Tory-minded conservative management.

The "Economist" and its like would have railwaymen throw over all they have gained, to save such a set up—shareholders' cut, Tory managers and all. This is, of course, what successive railway managements have been trying to get the men to do since 1948.

The union leaders have also gone some of the way to sell this line, hence their agreement to efficiency talks at Xmas and their "acceptance" of lodging turns without consulting the men who must work them. But the rank and file have said a definite NO to worsened conditions and have stubbornly obstructed all inroads into their rights. Without arguing out the theory of it they have said No Sale to the business of increased capitalist efficiency at the workers' expense, which is the only production drive the Tory knows.

The editor of the "Economist" considers railwaymen are hysterical when they stubbornly refuse to accept worsened conditions. The workers can only regard it as plain common sense.

The Labour Party nationalised transport so that it should serve not the capitalist, but the people. To make it do so requires a

socialist not a Tory policy. Suspend the compensation payments and use the capital to modernise the railways and batter the conditions of the men. Set up trade union committees in every depot to decide on what steps are necessary for greater efficiency. The leaders should listen to the rank and file in order to learn about efficiency.

Stop Badgering the Miners

Trouble in Upton

THE whole of the underground and almost all the surface workers are on strike at Upton Colliery Pontefract (Yorks) against the latest economy drive of the N.C.B.

On June the 1st an overman refused to pay the usual 10d. per foot extra to a unit of men engaged in a particularly difficult type of work known as "breasting." It has been a long standing custom to pay the extra 10d. per foot for this type of work. Six weeks ago in fact a difference arose between the men and the Management based their arguments on this very same argument.

by
R. Pennington

On Wednesday, June 2nd, the men of this unit did not go down to work and by 2.30 in the afternoon the rest of the colliery had joined them.

A meeting in the evening resulted in a decision to take strike action until this grievance and others of a similar type were put right.

The N.C.B. have since then refused to negotiate with the men until they report for work. Their union—the N.U.M. has refused to grant the strike official recognition, and also insist that the men return to work before negotiations begin.

Councillor George Gurst, who



These are the conditions they work under.

is secretary of the local N.U.M. branch said: "The men have put up with exceptionally bad working conditions where pieceworkers wages must depend a great deal on fair payments for work done outside of Contract. It was a fallacy for the N.C.B. to be appealing for an increase in production and at the same time carrying out a general attack on wages."

The president of the branch, Mr. Roland Charlesworth, said if these attacks were continued by the N.C.B. a county and even National stoppage would probably result.

The miners themselves feel strongly on the question. A group of them complained to me that these practices have been going on

for some four years now. T. Hinchliffe, a faceworker, cited cases of men waiting 2½ to 3 hours on pay day to get their wages because of differences over rates.

It is apparent that the Upton miners have, by taking strike action, resisted the attacks of the Coal Board otherwise the Colliery Management would have just imposed the cuts.

The incident at Upton Colliery is not an isolated affair, but part of a general plan on the part of the Tories to introduce "economies" into the mines. If the Government were really serious about economies they would slash the exorbitant compensation paid to the ex-owners and not attack the miners' living standards.

Anger in North-East

ON the North East Coast miners are incensed. Three collieries around South Shields—at Whitburn, Harton and Westoe, struck last February alleging that a fore-overman was "tyrannical and bullying".

They went back to work after three weeks so that an inquiry into their allegations could take place. The court of inquiry agreed that the fore-overman should be removed from his position at the Whitburn colliery. In the meantime, however, the N.C.B. demanded £63,000 from the men as damages and demanded they make up the damages by working extra shifts.

The men rightly feel that the findings of the inquiry justify the action they took last February. As reported in the "Socialist Outlook" of May 21st they rejected the N.C.B.'s proposal. Now, according to the "Northern Star"—the North East Labour monthly—they are threatened with the imposition of "certain pit working conditions which any impartial mining expert knows will be bitterly resisted."

"Northern Star" reports: "One of these conditions, it is understood, is the abolition of cavilling—the system whereby men ballot for their working places in the pit."

"This system is a fair and time-honoured method, for under it each miner gets his share of the good and bad working places."

The miners and the North East Labour movement are right to resist the N.C.B.'s vengeful attacks.

American Newsletter

Eisenhower and McCarthy

New York, June 6th.

by an
American Correspondent

THE McCarthy - Army hearings, which have kept millions of Americans glued to their television sets for the past six weeks, have dramatically revealed that America's would-be Hitler is involved in a serious power fight with the Eisenhower wing of the Republican Party, which has now been compelled to take a position against him.

Propelled into a fight they didn't want, the Eisenhower forces put the Army forward as the protagonist against McCarthy, undoubtedly with the view that the preferential Army treatment demanded for (and granted) McCarthy's stooge, G. David Shine, would prove a strong popular issue. And also, they very possibly hoped that this would present the Army before world opinion as a champion of democracy within the United States. Approaching the hearings in a timid and gingerly fashion, they have patently demonstrated that their purpose is to contain McCarthy—not to destroy him.

The most ominous fact to emerge from the hearings so far is that McCarthy has made substantial progress in welding together his fascist machine within the

government itself. By his own admission, he has a spy network operating within the Army, the State and Justice departments, and virtually every other important government agency. To the whimpering protests of Eisenhower and Attorney General Brownell as to the "unconstitutionality" of such methods, McCarthy has defiantly declared, "If any administration wants to indict me... they can just go right ahead."

The degree to which McCarthy forces the administration to speed up the witch-hunt in futile efforts to "outflank" him, and more particularly, to avoid his wrath, has been driven home afresh with the Atomic Energy Commission's refusal to reinstate as atomic energy consultant, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, "the man who built the first atom bomb."

Oppenheimer was dismissed by Eisenhower within days after McCarthy darkly announced over a radio and T.V. network that he would expose "treasonable" elements in high office who had blocked development of the H-bomb. The noted scientist, whose admitted leftist affiliation during the 30's are a matter of record, had been investigated and cleared on a dozen occasions prior to Eisenhower's action.

The sacrifice of Oppenheimer on the altar of McCarthyism does not bode well for Dr. Ralph Bunche, U.N. Trusteeship director, whose "loyalty" clearance by a U.S. board last week is being hailed in liberal quarters here as a vindication of both Bunche and American democracy.

In an astonishing report which found him both "loyal" and "discreet", the commission upheld Oppenheimer's firing on the grounds that he failed to reverse his one-time opposition to building the H-bomb in a sufficiently "enthusiastic" way, and that he "exercised an arrogance of his own judgement with respect to the loyalty and reliability of other citizens." This point was substantiated by such "evidence" as dining with a man accused of communist affiliations a dozen years ago!

The Oppenheimer affair is the latest demonstration that it doesn't mean very much to be cleared just once if you are marked for the kill by the witch-hunters. Despite all his previous clearances and his record of service to the government, the McCarthyite axe still descended unerringly on Oppenheimer's neck. It is not at all rash to predict that the witch-hunters have not yet said their final word on Dr. Bunche, who was placed in the U.N. to symbolize the "advance" of the American negro.

ECHOES ON WORKERS CONTROL

by
Bernard Dix

TO hear some of the present day trade union leaders attacking those who advocate some greater degree of workers' control in industry one would gain the impression that, since the very beginnings of the Movement, the leadership has opposed this particular line of thought—that talk of workers' control has always been heresy.

This is far from the truth—just how far is clearly shown when one studies some of the earlier publications of the movement on the subject.

Thirty years ago—in 1924—the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party collaborated in publishing a book entitled "The Waste of Capitalism". It is worth quoting fairly extensively from this book in order to show the change which has taken place over these thirty years.

THEORISTS

One of the main criticisms levelled against advocates of workers' control is that they are merely "theorists" and are—in some way or another—divorced from the day to day thought and activity of the ordinary worker in industry—this is a criticism frequently made by certain trade union leaders against the members of Constituency Labour Parties. It appears that such an argument was also current in 1924 and the

T.U.C. and the Labour Party then had this to say:

"It may be true that the average worker does not go deeply into the philosophy of his feelings and desires nor elaborate them into a theory, but vague and formless though they may be, they exist, and they exercise a profound influence on his life and work. No observer of industrial conditions during the past few years can have failed to notice this passionate desire, on the part of young workers particularly (though the older ones must by no means be excluded from this statement), for a greater share in determining the conditions under which the industrial machine works, for more responsibility, more recognition, more power, as an indispensable factor in production... Hence the demand, reduced to a philosophy by theorists, perhaps, but present in the minds of the workers themselves, certainly, for 'workers' control'."

That is what "The Waste of Capitalism" had to say thirty years ago and it sounds strangely applicable today.

THE WORKERS' VIEW

Closely linked with the criticism that advocates of workers' control are merely "theorists" is a parallel trend of thought which alleges that no apparent reason exists for changing the present system of industrial organisation. This school of thought states that the workers are perfectly happy with the present order of things—that they "couldn't care less" about changing it and that it seems to work perfectly well. "The Waste of Capitalism" advanced several good reasons why there should be workers' control and in doing so it gave a brilliant analysis of the workers' position in the industrial structure of capitalism. One quotation will suffice:

"The average employee to-day has little or no interest in his work or in producing maximum output partly because the work itself is so often uninteresting drudgery and partly because he sees the organisation, in whose power he is, producing goods the quality and quantity of which someone else has settled, the mode of manufacture of which someone else has settled, under working conditions someone else has settled—all in order to make profits for someone else!"

This was said in a book published by the T.U.C. and the Labour Party thirty years ago—anyone making similar utterances to-day stands a good chance of being for ever damned into the wilderness!

JOINT CONTROL

A lot is heard today of "Joint Control" a scheme whereby the workers and the management—who are acting on behalf of the capitalist class—co-operate in securing the efficient running of industry, this is often posed as an alternative to workers' control. "The Waste of Capitalism" did not take kindly to this suggestion when it was made in 1924 for it said:

"Works Councils and, in fact, the entire structure of Whitleyism, serve the purpose of providing the opportunity and the means of settling by mutual agreement a multitude of questions affecting the health and welfare of the workers... Such 'joint' bodies do not concede the workers' claim, for the employers always retain the right of ultimate decision in their own hands. 'Joint Control,' as it is called, is simply (under present conditions) employers' control plus workers' advice—which may or may not be taken. The worker cannot be expected to take any interest in production so long as he is denied the elementary right to determine, in co-operation with his fellow workers, the conditions under which he labours."

There is nothing ambiguous in that statement—it is quite clear in its understanding of the situation and the real problems involved.

THE SOLUTION

Having, at some length, quoted from "The Waste of Capitalism" in a manner which it is felt will answer some of the contemporary critics of Workers' control it is necessary, in order to be quite fair, to quote what this book offered as a solution. If this is not done it will be alleged that quotation is being made out of context and without regard to the changed circumstances.

So here, in conclusion, is the solution offered by the T.U.C. and the Labour Party in 1924, and the italics are in the original!

"No solution will, therefore, be satisfactory which does not give the workers a real power of control over all the factors necessary to production."

Socialism For Dukes!

"SOCIALIST COMMENTARY," which has hitherto enjoyed a limited prestige in the more intellectual orbits of the Labour Movement, suddenly found itself the centre of nation-wide publicity when it published Herbert Morrison's attack on Bevan in May.

All this seems to have gone to the head of this once modest publication. Dizzy with success, it has now set itself up as an authority on "real socialism" as against the "blind dogmatism" of the Labour Left. The June editorial in "Socialist Commentary" on "Left or Right", has won for itself a laudatory article on the leader page of the "Times" (June 1.). This, surely, is the very pinnacle of fame!

"Socialism," says the editorial, "is not a set of dogmas which hold that a particular economic system will, of itself, work miracles. It is rather, a body of principles, the most basic of which is respect for the dignity of every human being, irrespective of race or creed or birth..."

This definition of socialism is so wide that there is hardly a political party anywhere in the world which could not, at least verbally, subscribe to it. By this definition the Conservative Party could well claim to be a "socialist" party.

Above all, "Socialist Commentary" rules out the specific role of the working-class as the main force in the struggle for social-

ism. What other meaning could be attached to the words "irrespective of... wealth and birth..." Socialism is for all—the Duke in his mansion as well as for the humble crofter in his tumble-down cottage!

The article goes on to state: "To say... that one member of

By
C. Van Gelderen

the Labour Party is more socialist than another just because he blindly (?) demands more nationalisation or more controls or more power for the state, no matter what the shape or form, is not only stupid but dangerous..."

Quite clearly the writers of this article have little conception of the basic, principled reasons why socialists demand more nationalisation. It is not a case of nationalisation for its own sake but because, in order to transform society from capitalism to Socialism it is necessary to wrest all power, political and economic, from the hands of the capitalists and vest it, in the first instance, in the State.

Not the state in any "shape or form" but the state firmly under the political control of a working-class party pledged to carry out a socialist programme. That is why we have a LABOUR Party! How the pundits of "Socialist Commentary" must regret the name!

From re-defining socialism, the editorial goes on to expound its conception of what a socialist foreign policy should be.

The policy which emerges is hardly distinguishable from the foreign policy at present being pursued by the Tories. That is hardly surprising in view of the "Socialist Commentary's" conception of socialism. The basis of its foreign policy is hostility to the Soviet Union, China and the non-capitalist world and firm adherence to the United States alliance, N.A.T.O. and E.D.C.

Once one accepts the idea that socialism is a matter of ethics and not of economics then, of course, it is no longer necessary to recognise that Russia has the basis of a socialist economy. The point of departure becomes that the American Constitution recognises the "dignity of the individual" while in the Soviet Union the individual is submerged in a soulless state.

It follows, therefore, that America, despite Wall Street and Senator McCarthy, despite its support of Chiang Kai Shek and Syngman Rhee, despite its pact with the butcher of the Spanish people Franco, is more socialist than Russia. What more natural than an alliance between our Welfare State and the United States?

From this to support of German re-armament is a short step. Not, of course, that the Germans should be allowed complete equality and the same freedom to arm as capitalist Britain or America. The editors of "Socialist Commentary" share with others a belief in the fundamental wickedness of the Germans. The Germans must be re-armed—yes—but only within "a larger Western

"SOCIALIST OUTLOOK" XMAS BAZAAR

A committee is being set up to organise a bazaar to assist the funds of "Socialist Outlook."

It will be much appreciated if any reader of the paper who can assist this venture in any way, would get in touch with the organiser: George Ellis, c/o "Socialist Outlook," 177, Bermondsey Street, S.E.1.

framework where they may be submitted to some control."

In other words, in the opinion of "Socialist Commentary", it is good socialist foreign policy to re-arm a capitalist Germany, but only if guarantees exist that the arms will only be used in defence of the capitalist world, misnamed the "free world".

Fortunately, there is little danger that the rank-and-file of the Labour movement will fall for this silly nonsense masquerading as socialist wisdom. The average working man and woman in this country have no illusions about the real aims of American foreign policy. They know full well that America is not constructing atom bomb bases all round the world in defence of "the dignity of the individual" but in preparation for launching World War III. Such a policy is the very antithesis of a socialist foreign policy and no amount of elegant writing will make it otherwise.

The Left, wails "Socialist Commentary," supports revolutions just because they are revolutions." This is simply poppycock. The Left gives its support to the revolutions which are taking place in Asia and Africa because they are aimed at overthrowing the rule of imperialism. Whole continents

are on the move, emerging from the backwardness into which they were plunged by centuries of feudal and imperialist oppressions and taking up their posts in the vanguard of history.

The Left support these revolutions even though they are often critical of those who are at present leading these movements.

This support of the colonial and anti-capitalist revolutions is the very foundation of a socialist foreign policy. What is more, it is in the very best traditions of our great Labour Movement which, while often disapproving of much that took place in Russia, gave unstinted and loyal support to the workers of Russia as they set about the task of building the first workers' state in the history of the world. The same instinct which led British dockers to refuse to load the "Jolly George" is now urging them to oppose the imperialist drive to war against the non-capitalist world.

Those who do not understand this know little of the real meaning of socialism.

Sant Sturgess Strike

WORKERS at Sant Sturgess, Park Royal, West London, have now been on strike for over seven weeks. There are 125 workers involved, members of eight different unions. They came out on strike when the management declared a number of workers redundant including the chairman and three members of the work's committee.

A recent statement issued by the strike committee declares: "The management have now launched an all-out attack upon the Trade Union organisation, by declaring that all members on dispute were sacked and that certain selected workers could return to work under what is known as the Open Shop Principle.

"The workers view this as a Blacklegs Charter and have rejected it completely and are determined to fight for the most elementary of Trade Union Principles, the right to organise for 100 per cent. Trade Unionism, and the right to full negotiation on all issues."

The workers are more confident than ever that they will win complete victory and ask for "the assistance of all our Brothers and Sisters in the Trade Union Movement in totally blacking all work and supplies to and from Sant Sturgess."

Wage Structure Again

IN the issue of the "Socialist Outlook" (21/5/54) Harry Finch stressed a warning on the Engineering Wage Structure. Like myself he is on the job and knows only too well that the Engineering Wage Structure is "jerry" built and like all jerry-built structures at one kick near the foundation it will collapse.

The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions issue to Shop Stewards a book called the Handbook of National Agreements, it has 640 pages and mine is dated 1949, since that date we have had further agreements. November, 1950 gave us the infamous Arbitration award which fixed a ceiling clause and took money out of our packets which we had won locally by bringing pressure on the job.

In my factory we lost 7/4d. which our management had conceded eight years previous and when they were outside of the Employers' Federation. Part of this was regained by action of the men on the job but it did not go on the rate. The Bonus Scheme was amended to take in the slack.

During the last wage negotiations the Employers drew up what they called a more correct index of wages. Craftsmen of my industry were credited as getting "on average" 4/10d. an hour. As the actual rate was 3/0½d. my people were rather amazed at this figure. You see that this word "average" plays a very important part in wage agreements. It brings the most whopping lies into the sanctity of truth.

The 1950, November agreement and all subsequent agreements carry a clause that no one shall benefit by more than the amount stated and believe me how the

employers dig in behind that clause. Our own leaders should stand up more and refute such clauses being inserted in the agreements. Bitter resentment is being expressed by the rank and file.

In 1938 in my own industry a craftsman on piece-work working 47 hours normal and 6 hours overtime, would earn on average £5 5s. 0d. If he were married tax would be negligible. The firm would be considered fortunate to declare profits in the region of £50,000.

To-day a piece-work craftsman on a 44-hour week and 6 hours overtime would average in my district about £9 0s. 0d., after tax and insurance have been deducted, the craftsman would get in cash for 50 hours work about £8 0s. 0d. Profits have gone up. Cost of living is about 300 per cent. higher than in 1938. Is it any wonder we are disgruntled?

The female section of our industry is even more exploited. We, the male section, cannot continue to be mere onlookers at their struggle for equal pay. We must weld their cause to ours and fight for a proper living standard wage.

D. BURGESS

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CHEAP RATES FOR TOURISTS: JAIL FOR TRADE UNIONISTS

The Prison House of Spain



Civil Buildings are Guarded

British holidaymakers are encouraged to tour Spain at exceptionally low rates. Unfortunately they are sometimes not very concerned about the terrible things that are happening in that country. The revolting fact is that even members of the Labour Movement have been known to take holidays in Spain. Holidays in Spain are only cheap because in reality they are paid for out of the tears and sweat of the unfortunate workers and peasants.

It is to be hoped that everything will be done this year to see that no support whatsoever is provided for the hated Franco regime.



Civil Guards are Everywhere

NOBODY knows how many political prisoners languish in the jails of Franco Spain. The country itself, under the heel of a fascist terror machine unequalled for its terror and violence, resembles in many respects a giant concentration camp

Our Labour movement has a long and friendly association with the Spanish people. It is deeply disturbed at the outrageous treatment meted out to fellow trade unionists. In recent times several delegations have gone to Spain in the hope that something would be done to help our imprisoned brothers.

Returning from Madrid on April 2nd, Captain Mark Hewitson, M.P., declared:—

"Everything which I have seen and witnessed during my stay in Spain and in particular the circumstances surrounding the trial which took place within the space of one week of 17 Basque trade unionists and a further 35 Spanish democrats at Ocana, Madrid, has emphasised in the strongest possible manner the urgent necessity of continued intervention by the British Labour and Trade Union movement on behalf of our Spanish colleagues who are undergoing such cruel persecution.

"The sending of British observers to be present at the trials of Spanish democrats and trade unionists is, in my opinion, one of the most effective methods of both saving the lives and securing reductions of the prison sentences

imposed on opponents of the Franco dictatorship by Franco's military tribunals."

The Basque trial was based on an accusation drawn up by the Public Prosecutor and dated 4th February, 1953. 15 of the accused had been arrested on or about the 7th May, 1951, immediately after a strike which had broken out in Vitoria in protest against the high cost of living. The remaining 3 men eventually surrendered to warrants for arrest and one of them, who only surrendered 8 months ago, Felix de Sarasqueta, was still in prison at the date of the trial. Of the remaining men, that is 17 in all, 15 had been released on "Conditional Liberty" (one of whom, Antonio Urrestarazu, subsequently escaped to Paris) after one year's imprisonment, and two more were on what is known as "attenuated liberty."

Penalties were demanded by the Prosecution which ranged from the maximum of 21 years imprisonment and fines of 200,000 pesetas against the six chief accused to a minimum of 2 years and 7 months in prison and fines of 20,000 pesetas.

Sentences were inflicted as follows:—

For the offence of illegal association, as principals. Angoita, Uttutia, Sarasqueta, Acosta and Gamarra, 3 years imprisonment and a fine of 2,500 pesetas, and eight years deprivation of civil rights.

For the offence of illegal association, as accessories, Agote, Larrea, Grajales and Miner, three months imprisonment; as an accessory with aggravating circumstances, Goicoechea, five months imprisonment.

For the offence of illegal propaganda, Angoita, Urrutia, Agote, Goicoechea, Larrea, Beracochea, Andoin and Quadrado, three months imprisonment and a fine of 30,000 pesetas.

For the offence of preparing for a workers' strike: Gamarra, Miner, Urrutia, Grajales, and Angoita, five months imprisonment.

Acquitted, Aguirre, Olavarria and Basterra.

Absolutely discharged, in spite of the above penalties, Miner, Grajales and Varona.

Manuel Robles-Arangis, who is shortly to be brought to trial by civil court at San Sebastian was arrested in June, 1953.

He is a former president of the Catholic Basque Federation of workers and was a member of the Spanish Cortes from 1936-9. Prior to his election as a deputy he worked as a linotype operator on the Bilbao paper — "El Liberal."

He returned to Spain in 1952 under the illusion that Franco's proclaimed amnesty for political opponents would be honoured. In a few months he was arrested for alleged activities in connection with the re-organisation of the Basque opposition to the Franco regime.

The powerful National Union of Mineworkers has protested to the Spanish Government at his treatment and has expressed its concern at the sentences demanded in the past by military tribunals against Spanish trade unionists.

Eighty-six Labour peers and members of Parliament added their signature to a telegram of protest which was sent to the Spanish Minister of Justice.

Mr. Jack Stanley, General Secretary of the Constructional Engineering Union and a member of the Editorial Board of the "Socialist Outlook," has condemned the arrest of Manuel Robles-Arangis on behalf of his union. His letter to the Spanish Ambassador voiced the protest of his organisation "at the manner in which this persecution is being continued" and stated his union "understood that the political amnesty proclaimed in 1952 would be honoured and feel that it is outside the bounds of common justice that these men should be held from that date to this, not knowing what the future is likely to be. They therefore trust that clemency will be exercised and the amnesty honoured."

In reply the Spanish Ambassador expressed "surprise that you should concern yourself with the liberty of an individual in Spain whilst supporting the Trade Union Movement in this country, which, if reports in the British Press are to serve as a guide, would appear to deprive the ordinary working man of his liberty, by imposing a closed shop and deprive him of his means of earning a livelihood unless the dictates of the Union are unreservedly carried out.

"It would therefore seem commendable that you should first attend to the setting of your own house in order before interfering in the affairs of other countries."

To this, Jack Stanley very properly made the following comments in a further letter to the Spanish Ambassador:

The Spanish Ambassador, 24, Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1

18th May, 1954

Dear Sir,

I received your letter of May 13th and must point out that a "closed-shop" does not deprive the working-man of his liberty and keep him incarcerated in prison awaiting trial when his only crime is supporting the Trade Union Movement and fighting for

the liberty of the subject to express what in any democratic country an ordinary subject has the right and means of doing.

We, as Trade Unionists, consider our house is in order, especially in the direction indicated by yourself, but under no circumstances can we consider anything in order which deprives the subject of his liberty and endangers his life for the causes which he believes are justified and democratic.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) Jack Stanley,
General Secretary,
Constructional Engineering Union.

Readers of "Socialist Outlook" should do everything possible to publicise this case in local Labour Parties and see to it that resolutions demanding clemency are sent to the appropriate places.

The more protests that are forthcoming from the Labour Movement the more lives that can be saved in Spain today.

Crisis in Pakistan

There is a crisis in East Pakistan. The Government, elected at the beginning of this year has been suspended. General Mirza, who has taken over as Governor has said he will take "ruthless action." The administration is being re-organised with the aid of 40,000 police. This article gives the background to the crisis in a country where the U.S.A. is seeking to establish a base on the Indian sub-continent. It is a crisis born out of the desire of the people of Bengal (East Pakistan) for national self-determination.

FRIDAY, March 14 witnessed the most terrible riots in Pakistan's Labour history. They broke out at the Adamjee Jute mills at Narayanganj near Dacca in East Bengal. Four-hundred battered corpses were retrieved from the gutters of the town.

This tragedy was the tragedy of India, vivisectioned by scheming Imperialists with the connivance of unprincipled and reactionary nationalist politicians. That operation resulted in a monstrosity. Pakistan came through in two pieces 1,000 miles apart. The only

cent of that capital was West Pakistani. Soon also the investors began to think of East Pakistan in terms of a colony.

The Central government attempted to force the Urdu language on the East in place of the native Bengali. Riots broke out. The Centre also meddled and interfered in the life and death questions of the Jute export trade; the allocation of foreign exchange for imports and trade with East Bengal (India's part of Bengal). It imposed a ridiculous passport and visa system to prevent the free adjustment of populations in the same part of Bengal. It refused to devalue the Pakistani Rupee.

Equally resented by the East Pakistanis was the permanently "provisional" constitution of the Dominion. Elections take place almost every year either in East or West Pakistan but never simultaneously. So, however revolutionary the changes resulting from such elections, they are treated in the nature of local or provincial elections, and not as a general election.

The grievances found their natural expression in the formation of an autonomist movement, the JUFTA (United Front), led by the ageing Fazlul Huq, and his colleagues, many of whom have experienced work in close collaboration with Indian Bengali leaders in pre-partition India. This United Front called for the abolition of all the grievances which I have already mentioned and for the complete autonomy of East Pakistan except in matters of Defence, Foreign Policy and Currency.

In the elections at the beginning of this year the United Front swept the reactionary and corrupt Muslim League from power. Out of a total of 309 seats 223 went to the Front. The Muslim League won only ten! The closest runner-

Continued on page 4

By
A. Banda

connecting link between each part is a 3,000-mile long sea route. With the geographical division the Jute industry is likewise vivisectioned. The raw materials remained in Pakistan and the mills for processing it in India.

The existing internal road and rail communications became ridiculously impracticable overnight. Outlet ports for Pakistan went to India and vice versa. Everything had to be re-routed, or duplicated — roads, railways and ports. Countless millions of rupees have been sunk in the process.

On top of this came the war with India, which served to swell the City populations with refugees (from 300,000 to 1,000,000 in Karachi alone), dislocated the jute industry, and saddled Pakistan with a fantastic arms expenditure of 60 per cent. of the whole budget!

West Pakistani capitalists poured their capital into East Pakistan especially into its Jute Industry, which is the third highest dollar-earning commodity in the Sterling area. Soon, 90 per

an attempt to suppress the Tunisian Army of Liberation. President General Pierre Voizard, in a radio address from Tunis, declared he would maintain order at "all costs."

He said the French had been actively fighting against the "fellaghas" since last October, when special light mobile units were organised and sent into action near the Tripolitan frontier. Forty-eight combat groups armed with automatic weapons would be stationed in the forty-eight areas colonised by the French, he announced.

SIAM is a country of declining living standards for the mass of the people. The cost of living rose 30 per cent. and the value of currency fell 50 per cent. during the last 18 months. A loan of ½ million U.S.A. dollars has just been used to install a television transmitter in Bangkok.

MOUR VOIR HOUSE, M.R.A.'s luxury hotel at Caux in Switzerland costs, according to M.R.A.'s own figures, around £1,200 per day to run. M.R.A.'s accounts and therefore the source of this not inconsiderable amount are private and consequently not open to inspection by the public.

IN BUGANDA 8 chiefs were dismissed on June the 3rd. by the British Administration.

IN HOLLYWOOD last week a couple of millionaire newly-weds threw a party costing thirty-thousand dollars (nearly £11,000). They took over one of Hollywood's most expensive nightclubs — the Mocamba — at 100 dollars a plate.

The couple were Mr. and Mrs. Gilliland celebrating the beginning of the second month of their marriage. The finest imported champagne spouted in a steady stream from an iced fountain. The hungry guests ate pounds and pounds of caviare at 28 dollars a pound.

Mrs. Gilliland said: "I think it's wonderful. People should do this more often." ("New York Herald Tribune." June 4th).

+ WORLD NEWS + in Brief

THE AMERICAN OFFICER, GENERAL WILLOUGHBY, who was General MacArthur's director of intelligence during and after the war, has written an article advocating the use of atomic bombs "to create a belt of scorched earth across the avenues of Communism to block the Asiatic hordes." Admitting that this action might bring the Soviet Union into war, he observed that in the Far East Soviet Russia happened to be extremely vulnerable, because her troops were dependent on a single supply line which could be reached by American aircraft from their present positions.

The chairman of the American Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Radford has stated that if the United States intervened in the Indo-China war it should be prepared to use atomic weapons. ("Times", 2nd June, 1954).

IN THE UNITED STATES at the end of last month, the Attorney General announced the arrest of 11 leaders of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico on charges of "seditious conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government." Six of the arrests were made in Chicago, four in New York City and one in San Juan, capital of Puerto Rico.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS last week Mr. S. S. Awbery (Lab. Bristol C) asked the Colonial Secretary if he would hold a public inquiry into the methods used by the police to disperse students in Singapore on May 13th. Mr. Lyttelton refused the request.

Mr. Awbery stated that 35 school-children were injured in a baton charge by the police on

1,100 students. The students were going to give moral support to a delegation which was going to interview the Governor, after pupils in Singapore schools had petitioned for exemption from National Service as it interrupted their studies.

IN GERMANY on June 3rd the Social Democratic Youth Organisation published a pamphlet on French recruiting for the Foreign Legion in the Federal Republic.

232,000 Germans have been recruited for the Legion since the war. The greater number of these, some 150,000 were enlisted from prisoner of war camps in the first three years after the war. Since then between 10,000 and 18,000 a year have been recruited from the West German population and from the refugees who have entered West Germany from the East. It is believed that 46,000 German Legionnaires have been killed in Indo-China and that a further 33,000 are missing, prisoners or deserters.

The Social Democratic Youth condemn the methods of recruiting and state not only the French Government, but the other occupying powers must bear responsibility because of their association with France in the Allied High Commission. They reproach the Federal Government of Germany with apathy or negligence in failing to prevent this scandal.

IN COLOMBO, Ceylon, Theodore C. Streibert, director of the United States Information Agency, stated on May 31st that his Agency is concentrating on South and East Asian countries in an effort to make the United States' foreign policy "more understood."

IN TUNISIA the French are increasing their military forces in

Readers Write...

Eden and Peace

The article, "Can Eden Bring Peace" (28th May), was timely, since several members of the Labour Party, even some on the left, are supporting Eden's actions in Geneva.

In their column in the "New York Herald Tribune" last week, the Alsop brothers shed some light on this peace-loving, non-interventionist Eden. Of his meeting with Dulles (another well-known peace-maker) in London on April 10th, they say:

"First, Eden agreed to the principle of united action to save Indo-China, if an acceptable settlement could not be obtained at Geneva. Second, Eden put teeth in this agreement by promising that Britain would join in immediate discussion on the ways and means of united action."

This would no doubt please our old friend of the doctor's waiting-room, Mr. Punch, who depicted Eden as another Neville Chamberlain.

The Alsop brothers say "the real explanation seems to have lain in British politics. The Conservative government greatly fears its own public opinion, at a time when a general election impends." Certainly since April 10th, the Tories have been made aware that the majority of the Labour Party would not follow them into war—by Bevan's resignation and statement of opposition to war in Indo-China or

China. The Tories recognised that this view was widely supported in this country.

In other words, it was action by the left of the Labour Party that halted the hand of the Tories—but only temporarily. Eden can no more be trusted to speak for Britain now than he could on April 10th. The only hope for peace remains as before—no trust in Toryism, and a Socialist policy for Labour.

Worcester Park R. C. Coggan

Rent Control

In this district, which in the past has been a Conservative stronghold, the Rents Tribunal reports in the local paper on the cases which are brought before it. In some cases you see the Rents Tribunal has made as much as a fifty per cent. reduction in the rent.

Furnished and unfurnished apartments should be placed under the control of local councils. Those with apartments to let should register them. The Rents Tribunal could then fix the Rents.

If Rent Control Committees were formed in towns they could assist and help tenants. It is surprising what benefits could be got by a few activists spending a few hours weekly, visiting houses, finding out what accommodation is available and seeing that fair rents and conditions are obtained.

Cheltenham J. Jennings

This Mum Gets Grey Hairs

THE cost of living is a serious problem for all workers, as Ray Bradbury said last week, but what puzzles me is—how do the really lowly-paid workers manage at all? My husband is a skilled craftsman in the printing trade, earning £10 a week, and we have two sons, aged 8 years and 4 years. We are therefore more prosperous than many, yet when our youngest child starts school in September, I am determined to look out for a part-time job to help out financially.

Here is our weekly budget, averaged out as well as I can get it. My husband gives me £7/10/- a week for all the housekeeping. It costs him the rest of his wage to go to work, eat there, and smoke. Neither of us drink, and we never go to any place of entertainment. I also have 8/- a week family allowance.

If a calamity occurs, as it did this week, when John, our youngest, broke the electric bowl-

heater, which I am still paying for, and a washing machine (paid for). I also had to buy a new gas cooker from the corporation, which costs 3/- a week.

We find that it is not the regular, known, items which cripple us, but the "croppers up." Christmas, bonfire night, birthdays; they are great fun, but each one adds a sprinkling of grey hairs to Mum and Dad. Holidays—we should not really be having one this year, but the "printer's devils" will see the sea on the remains of Dad's overtime from last year. He was on nights, but that has gone,

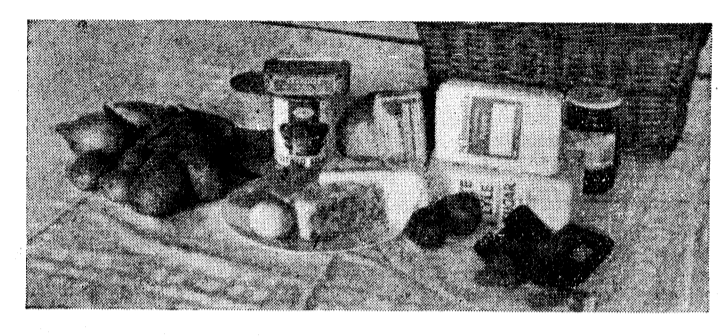
Here is my budget.

Rent, Rates, Water (Council House) ...	16	9
Electricity ...	8	0
Gas ...	7	0
Coal, briquettes ...	7	6
Insurance ...	6	9
Milk, eggs ...	12	0
Groceries, cleaning materials ...	2	0
Fruit, veg. ...	10	0
Meat, bacon ...	15	0
Papers (including comics) ...	5	0
Clothing, repairs, replacement of sheets, etc. ...	1	0
Fares, postages, etc. ...	5	0
Sweets ...	5	0
Total ...	7	18

Electricity and gas are high because we have an immersion

heater, which I am still paying for, and a washing machine (paid for). I also had to buy a new gas cooker from the corporation, which costs 3/- a week.

We find that it is not the regular, known, items which cripple us, but the "croppers up." Christmas, bonfire night, birthdays; they are great fun, but each one adds a sprinkling of grey hairs to Mum and Dad. Holidays—we should not really be having one this year, but the "printer's devils" will see the sea on the remains of Dad's overtime from last year. He was on nights, but that has gone,



What we need is what lots of other workers need—a job for Mum or a rise for Dad.

PRINTER'S WIFE

People, Places and Politics

By Cassia

SPORT OF KINGS

FLEET STREET AGAIN

WEDNESDAY, June 2nd, was a very important day in Britain, there was a fever of excitement in the air and the columns of the daily newspapers were crammed to bursting point with news of a very special event—an event which was much discussed in widely differing circles and from a large variety of angles. This extremely important and special event was a horse race which is run annually and which is known as THE DERBY.

Now, personally, I have nothing against horse racing as such—although I don't own a string of thoroughbreds myself nor have I any ambition in that direction. Neither have I any particular objections to people wagering small sums of money on the possibilities of one horse or another reaching a particular place before all others. On the other hand I do think that in the scale of social priorities horse racing and gambling come a very long way down the list. There are many things which are more important—and which are much more essential to the well-being of the community as a whole—than bookmakers and racing tipsters. There are, of course, many people who disagree with me on this matter, notably the afore mentioned bookmakers and racing tipsters, but it appears that Sir Winston Churchill—who is neither a bookmaker nor a tipster—also disagrees with me!

On the day THE DERBY was run Sir Winston decided to call his "boys" around to number 10 and hold a Cabinet meeting. In order that they should not be deprived of their sport, however, it was arranged that this Cabinet meeting should terminate at a time convenient for the members to reach Epsom, and should re-assemble in the evening after accounts had been settled with the bookmakers.

So the next time you require an afternoon off to watch a mid-week football match don't be bullied by the foreman's threats concerning the penalties for "absenteeism"—tell him you are prepared to arrange your work to fit in with the match and quote the Cabinet action of June 2, 1954, as a constitutional precedent!

IN this column last week I dealt with the manner in which several of Britain's leading newspapers had handled the recent strike of locomen against lodging turns—I have since learned one of the reasons why some newspapers displayed such a lively interest in the speedy settlement of this strike—in their own peculiar fashion.

It appears that because of the strike the delivery of daily newspapers to the West country was severely handicapped and much difficulty was experienced in securing transport of newspapers to this area. Loss of circulation means loss of revenue and loss of revenue means lower profits—thus the railwaymen were hitting the newspapers in a place where it really hurts. No wonder they were upset!

I hear that one "enterprising" national daily managed to overcome this problem by hiring motor coaches to transport the newspapers which had been held up by the strike. This was not reported in the particular paper concerned—doubtless because there is a nasty word which is sometimes used about people who do this sort of thing!

SHOOTING A PARTY LINE

Last April the British Communist Party organised in London "A Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties Within the Sphere of British Imperialism." At this conference, which lasted four days, the C.P. debated and discussed the situation in various colonial and semi-colonial countries—it also listened at great length to the C.P. authority on colonial affairs R. Palme-Dutt.

I have heard that, when dealing with Ceylon, the C.P. expressed the opinion that the Lanka Samasamaja Party is "avowedly Marxist, but in practice it acts for the imperialists."

Readers may recall that in the "Socialist Outlook" of May 28 there was a despatch from Ceylon, dated-lined May 13, which reported how the Lanka Samasamaja Party had held a magnificent meeting in the Town Hall at Colombo protesting against the use of bases in Ceylon by the British and Americans. This meeting heard Colvin de Silva, one of the leading members of Lanka Samasamaja, say: "Withdrawal of every imperialist soldier from Indo-China, that is the only basis on which to conclude a settlement."

If this is what the Communist Party calls "acting for the imperialists" then I must say that, as I long for the day when similar statements are expressed in the British Labour Movement, I no doubt qualify for the title of "a miserable peddler of imperialist propaganda and a hidden agent of the Fleet Street barons!"

QUOTE FOR THE WEEK

You had the Bible—we had the land,
Now we have the Bible—you have the land
Zulu proverb

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Tory Aim: Free The Landlords

by Cllr David Finch

IN mid-August the Rents Bill will probably be law and in operation. The L.P. leadership has so far confined the fight to parliament and has refused to mobilise the rank and file, with the result that the Bill is now returning from its travels through Parliamentary Committee and House of Lords strengthened in the landlord's interests. Is it too late for the Bill to be defeated? What should be done to minimise its effects?

Two lines of action are advocated. The L.P. advocates local advice bureaux be set up by the constituency labour parties to inform the tenants of their legal rights. The C.P. concentrates on setting up tenants associations, which would advise mass applications for certificates of disrepair as the main campaigning point. Is either, or both of these methods, likely to be successful?

So far as advice bureaux are concerned they can only have a limited value. The Bill is weighted throughout against the tenants and advice must be confined to clutching at straws—breaches of procedure laid down in the Bill. Consider just one aspect of the bias in favour of the landlords that is the essential basis of this legislation.

Supposing the tenant believes that the value of the repairs done by the landlord are less than that required by the Bill. He must then go to the County Court within 28 days. If this is not done for whatever reason (sickness, holidays, domestic difficulties etc.) he can never challenge the amount. Furthermore, no subsequent tenant can challenge the value of the work done.

East Pakistan

Continued from page 3

up to the United Front secured only 27 seats; the C.P. a bare 4.

The victory had a deeper significance. East Pakistan contains 56 per cent. of the total population of the whole Dominion and therefore, Huq, interpreting the election results as a vote of no-confidence in the Central government, called upon it to resign. Premier Ali refused. "There is no constitutional provision under which the Constituent Assembly could be dissolved, nor is there any reason why it should dissolve itself," he declared. Be patient, wait until the new constitution is framed by the existing government (His government) and then perhaps we could consider elections in 1955.

The riots broke out only a bare month after the elections. All the facts seem to indicate that Huq's government did everything in its power to reconcile the opposing groups of workers before the riots. The charges levelled against the government are, that it obstructed the course of police intervention; that a person arrested for leading a march on the local jail was taken into Huq's cabinet; that Huq played down the role of the Communists and that his government was generally negligent.

The Moslem League Jingoists are whipping up a patriotic hysteria, alleging Communist conspiracies, Hindu plots and subversive activities.

If, however, a certificate of disrepair by the local authority is granted, the tenant will not pay the increase, but the landlord may challenge the certificate anytime within a period of six years. If the County Court annuls the certificate the tenant is responsible for back payments from the initial date when the landlord applied for a repairs increase!

Naturally no-one can object to setting up advice bureaux and/or tenants' associations, or advocating mass applications for certificates of disrepair. But without a complementary struggle very little progress will be made. Tenants will be reluctant to take legal action, others will find that even though they have waited for months, or even longer, to have their premises registered as not in repair, the sanitary inspector will not issue a certificate and they have then to make retrospective payments.

On the other hand, as mentioned above, even if certificates are issued the landlord may himself challenge this in County Court and many of the "successful" tenants will not be prepared to risk costs. Mass applications for certificates of disrepair, would only postpone the fatal day of eventual rent in-

creases (retrospective for most tenants) unless this policy was part of a general campaign against the Bill. So far in any case, there is little evidence that tenants are prepared to apply this method.

The opposition which was seen in the movement when the Bill was first mooted is likely to rise again once the measures in the Bill begin to operate. The task still remains one of reviving and developing this feeling and organising the movement of opposition. There is still a little time to prepare. The L.P. as a start, can issue a statement that on its return to power the Rents Bills (England and Scotland) will be repealed.

It could decide that local authorities should not be responsible for slum and semi-slum property and should instruct labour-controlled local authorities not to operate the relevant sections of the Act.

Mass certificates of disrepair could only be a practical proposition if the N.E.C. organised a national campaign which began in every locality. The constituency labour parties working with the T.U. branches could organise tenants to make application, but tenants must be told that even if

unsuccessful they should not pay the increases. By rallying the support of the whole movement in the localities if legal action is then taken against the tenants, the landlords could be beaten and the New Act defeated. It was this type of campaign which stopped rent increases in 1915 and brought about the first Rent Restriction Act. Without a real campaign led by the L.P. applications in any case, will be made by a limited number of tenants only and will be of use only if further action is prepared for when the sanitary inspectors get around to inspecting the premises and possibly refusing certificates.

If the N.E.C. will do none of these things, the left of the party has still a little time to introduce these ideas in motions and amendments for the Party Conference in October—so that a coordinated campaign could be launched from Scarborough.

In the interim period it is hardly likely that workers will be prepared to pay up willingly, even if the advice bureaux tell them (in some cases) that the landlords have fulfilled their obligations and are entitled by law to the increases. Will they, despite the constitution, and despite all advice, decide for action—either against rent increases or for wage increases? Should they do so, it is the duty of the Labour Party rank and file to support them unambiguously.

Tory Aim: Free The Pound

by Tom Mercer

THE aim of the Tory's economic policy is to return as quickly as possible to a "free" economy; to re-open the commodity markets, end state control, the allocation of raw materials, and bulk purchase of food and materials on the world market.

They want to end all control over the export of capital and goods through the licensing of credit by the Bank of England. They aim to carry through sterling convertibility.

The programme has to a large measure already been carried out. Even the convertibility of sterling, it is expected will be put over at the next meeting of the International Money Fund in September.

On May 30th the infamous Section 92a of the Government of India Act of 1935 (literally a page out of Imperial Tyranny that was incorporated in Pakistan's constitution) was proclaimed. This meant that the popular government was suspended and the Central Government installed as caretaker. The governor of East Pakistan was sacked and replaced by a major general. Mr. Rehman the person who led the march on the jail was arrested.

By June 7th, 564 arrests had been made. They included eleven members of the Assembly, the pick of the journalists of the Left, and after much scraping of the bottom of the barrel, eleven Communists. A pre-censorship has been clamped on all Dacca newspapers. There was quiet for a day or two but on June 3rd came news of the derailment of trains. The resistance begins.

During the war the state had itself to take control of all raw materials and allocate them to the different industries and enterprises in order that necessary war production could be carried on and luxury production abolished. The needs of capitalism as a whole made it imperative that this be done.

The state had also to take to itself a virtual monopoly of foreign trade. International exchange of goods had to be operated by a form of barter: bulk buying by the state.

To prevent "private enterprise" being too enterprising, liquidating their holdings in British industry where possible and investing the proceeds, together with their other liquid capital resources, in dollar countries—the capitalist state was forced to prohibit the export of sterling, except under license.

There was no longer a "free" economy. People could not buy dollars or francs as they wished. Prices no longer fluctuated according to the financial manipulations of the exchange. The Bank rate became a fiction and no longer controlled the level of production and employment.

In 1951, when the Tory Government came to power, this wartime makeshift "socialised" system was still more or less in being, together with its corollary—"equal shares." The Labour Government had not moved very far towards building a socialist order, nor had it torn down the wartime compromise. The Tories did.

The Tories have pursued a policy of ending controls. Commodity markets have been opened in tea, wool, rubber, tin, copper,

zinc, jute, sisal, shellac, nickel, gold, silver, cotton, etc. In fact, in less than three years, commodity markets in almost every field are operating. The half-hearted attempt to allocate the available raw materials to the various industries and enterprises in accordance with a national plan has been ended. There is only one thing lacking. There is no free money market in sterling. Freedom to buy and sell through the world commodity markets is restricted so long as there is no freedom to convert sterling itself.

The "free enterprise" capitalist is to a great extent free to do as he pleases within the sterling area and to a lesser extent within the European Payments Union. There is now only one type of transferable sterling.* But until sterling is freely convertible there cannot be a "free" market, even in the limited form of the between-the-wars period.

The financial press, particularly the "Financial Times", has recently been full of talk of convertibility. So also has the press of Germany, Holland, Belgium and the U.S. Butler's recent visit to Bonn was in connection with this.

* Under the licensing system of the Bank of England in its strict form Sterling held abroad could only be used to finance purchases from within the Sterling area. There was a relaxation after the war and it was made transferable into other stated currencies on conditions. There were several different types of Transferable Sterling in the past.