

Socialist Outlook

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An Appeal to Our Readers

Editorial

“Socialist Outlook” to become a WEEKLY

Our answer to the Morrison line of Retreat and Compromise

WHATEVER the sacrifice involved, the Editorial Board is determined to develop the “Socialist Outlook” into a weekly paper. We know it is an ambitious step but two things encourage us to take it. The first is the wonderful response we have received from the organised workers since the paper was launched over 18 months ago, and the second is the urgent need to combat more effectively the policies of retreat and capitulation which are emanating from the Party leadership.

The Editorial in the first number of the *Socialist Outlook* was entitled “Back to Socialism.” In it we said . . .

“There is no doubt that the present Labour Government is faced with tremendous difficulties—not least of which is the pressure of the employing class upon our programme and principles. Surrounded by all the paraphernalia of the capitalist State, removed from contact with the working class and working class ideas, and daily mixing with and listening to the ideas of Big Business, there arises almost inevitably the danger that the programme and activities of the movement will become adapted to what is considered ‘expedient’.”

When that was written, in 1948, the danger of retreat and capitulation before capitalist pressure was apparent only to a relatively small section of the socialist rank and file of the Party. As for the capitalists, their Press was then full of denunciation of the Party leaders as “dangerous socialists,” the “forerunners of communism,” and the evil “destroyers of the great British way of life.”

To-day all that has changed. The danger has become reality. Almost the entire rank and file of the party is awake to the threat of retreat and capitulation which comes from the top.

Herbert Morrison has repudiated all further nationalisation measures in making what he calls “a new and wider definition of socialism.”

Morgan Philips is trying to base the Labour Movement on “Methodist principles”—at the same time as John Strachey is enjoying the “fascinating experience” of hunting half-starved colonial peoples in the Malayan jungles.

As the workers are dismayed at this degeneration so the capitalists are exultant.

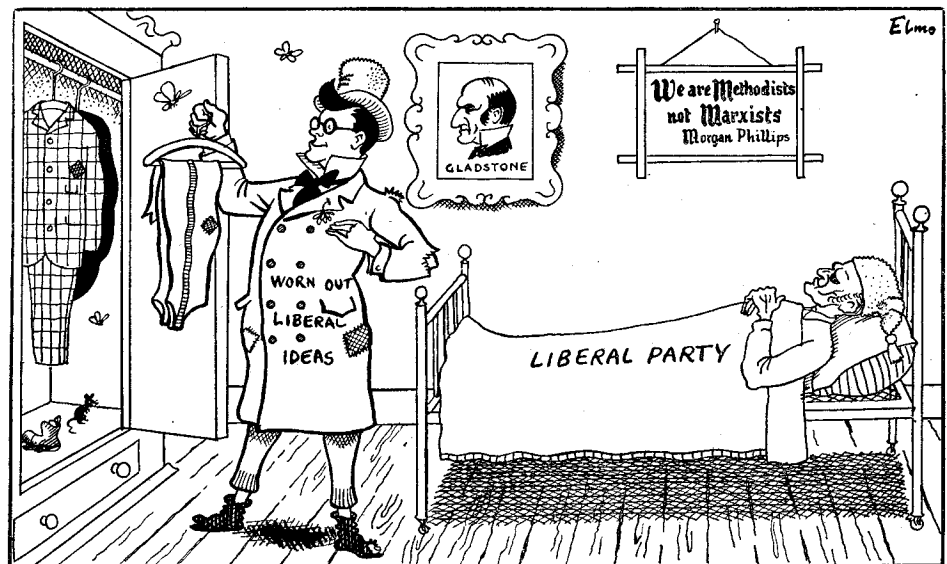
ram their “new definitions” down the throats of the Socialist rank and file. They are rightly apprehensive of the possible repercussions in the Labour Movement. And well they may be. We do not believe for one moment that this great organised working class will allow itself to be controlled, weakened, and disrupted by the capitulatory policies of its present leadership.

The supreme problem now for socialists is to find a way to halt the retreat, call the leaders to order, and place the Party firmly on the socialist road. It will require courage and determination but it can be done.

Socialist Outlook belongs to the socialists in the Party. As a weekly its influence for socialism—for the destruction of capitalism, for planning under the control of the workers, for colonial freedom, and for internationalism in foreign affairs—will be enormously strengthened. Give this practical answer to Herbert Morrison and Morgan Philips . . . **make the “Socialist Outlook” a weekly organ of the socialist rank and file.**

“Mr. Morrison soft-pedals Socialism” shouts the *Daily Telegraph*, approvingly commenting that if Socialism is as Morrison defines it then “we are all socialists now.” The *Times* notes with satisfaction “the new imperialism which has come to play so large a part in Labour counsels” and welcomes also “the shift to more down-to-earth policies at home.” In passing, it also gives a hearty ‘hear, hear’ to Morgan Philips’ attempt to separate the Party from Marxism.

The employers no longer doubt that leaders like Morrison and Philips have abandoned Socialism. What now concerns them is whether they have the necessary ability to



Morrison “Faces the Future”

The Wages War has Begun

By BOB SHAW (N.U.R.)



NO formal declaration of war has been made, but preliminary skirmishes have already commenced. Every politician, trade union leader, and newspaper editor, is now proposing his "solution"—and each is more hare-brained than the rest. Rock-bottom was reached by one national daily which proposed that the workers should receive a wage increase, not placed in the wage-packet but in the bank—payable in TEN YEARS' TIME! Such faith in the future prosperity of capitalism is really touching.

Then there is the proposal to lift up the bottom rate men only. This comes from all sorts of people, some of whom should know better.

First of all, as last month's *Socialist Outlook* pointed out, it should be realised that, in comparison with the employers, ALL wage-earners are "bottom-rate" men. The demand to give only the low-paid men an increase directs attention away from the robbery and exploitation of all workers which takes place every day. Secondly, this demand would lower the relative wages of the skilled man and thus squeeze him harder for the benefit of the capitalists.

To be sure, under socialism, wage differentials will become less and less until they finally disappear. But by that time there will be an abundance of goods for all and the capitalist will be a museum piece. The workers will be receiving the full fruits of their labour in social services and a much higher and more stable standard of life.

The wages system will, in other words, have almost disappeared.

Meanwhile, however, we still work and live under a system of capitalist exploitation. We do not yet have Socialism. There is still a class of people who live, and live very well, off the wealth produced by the workers. To-day, therefore, workers are not paid for what they produce, but for what they are. A skilled technician is paid more than a labourer because he costs more to produce. He probably served an apprenticeship or did a course of trade-training at a very low rate of pay. He is, as it were, a more highly-finished-product, a more expensive article, and he consequently commands a higher price in the labour market. To reduce all workers to the same level would simply serve the interests of the employers allowing them to squeeze more out of the skilled worker. Thus, from the purely economic point-of-view, this demand to raise only the bottom grade worker plays straight into the hands of the bosses.

There is also the fact that the adoption of such a wages policy would spell chaos in the trade union movement. Worker would fight worker, the unions would lose prestige and membership, and the employers would rub their hands with glee.

What Is To Be Done ?

Clearly, the man "living" on 87s. 6d. a week is the one who feels most the pinch of rising living costs. His wages must be raised as a first priority. And it will need more than 5s. or 10s. a week. At least £1 a week to begin with. And all other grades should be raised either in proportion or by the same amount. That is the only way to raise the standards of the low-paid men without playing into the hands of the employers and without endangering trade union unity.

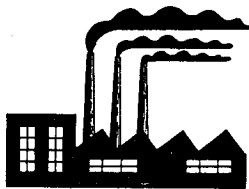
"Fantastic," our leaders will say, "the capitalists would never give it without a struggle." "It is downright immoral" the Government will say. Nevertheless, to proceed on any other course is cowardice and a desertion of the workers' cause.

If our Labour movement will demand drastic inroads into inflated profits, the suspension of the burden of compensation payments to the "dispossessed" owners of the mines and railways, and a reduction in the huge armaments programme, the capitalists can be made to pay for ALL-ROUND WAGE INCREASES. If they plead poverty, then let them throw open their books to the workers who will then be able to decide what can be afforded, because we shall then be able to see just what happens to the wealth we produce—how much of it benefits the producers, and how much is squandered by the employing class.

Workshop Notes

Double "Talking Points" on Wages

By NORMAN DINNINGS (A.E.U.)



THE Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions representing nearly 3,000,000 workers, has advanced a claim for a £1 a week increase for its members. Our spokesman, Brother Brotherton, put it quite bluntly to the employers that we want a share of the "loot," and he produced abundant evidence that the "loot" is considerable. The employers answered, not unexpectedly, that to argue that wages could be increased by slashing profits was foolish. And this employers' argument has been reproduced almost word for word by the Labour Party's pamphlet, *Talking Points*, which says "it is foolish to argue that a slash at profits would enable us all to have substantial wage increases."

As proof it quotes Sir Stafford Cripps as saying at the 1948 Trade Union Congress . . . "We have only to look at the figures of distributed corporation profits and compare them with the amount spent on wages and

salaries to know that there is no substantial relief to be obtained from that quarter . . ."

But I have before me a speech which Sir Stafford made in the House of Commons in May, 1949. Here, on the contrary, he expressed the opinion that there is relief to be obtained from profits.

"One of the reasons prices are so high," he said, "is because profits have been so frightfully high over the last few years. There is latitude within profits . . . very large compared with pre-war . . . for a considerable reduction in prices . . ."

So we have two voices from the same leadership. One addressing the workers urging restraint because profits hardly exist, and the other addressing the employers saying that profits are "frightfully high."

"Our" Recovery

Another piece of double-talk from *Talking Points* concerns the so-called "company

reserves." It is argued that wage increases cannot come from these reserves because "the sums that companies put aside to reserves are performing an essential function in our programme for recovery."

Yet Sir Stafford Cripps has said (House of Commons, May, 1949) that "over and above the payment of dividends, debentures, interest, and so on, of £730,000,000 . . . £1,215,000,000 was put to extra reserve by companies. These are extra profits over and above what were distributed. It may be that some proportion of this is required for capital investment . . . but there are cases where, by a reduction of those profits, a reduction of prices could have been made . . ."

In other words, the Chancellor says that not all these reserves are "essential to our recovery."

But in any case, the use of the word "our" is entirely misplaced. These huge reserves are used for capitalist recovery, for the expansion of capitalist firms, for the covering of future risks, and to maintain dividends in the future. To make this recovery really "ours" it is necessary for the working-class movement to fight to take industry, and all its reserves, out of the hands of the capitalists, thus establishing common ownership. Until that is done the trade unions cannot agree to any plan for the "stabilisation" of wages.

"SPEAKING MY MIND"

By TOM BRADDOCK

THE statement, "EUROPEAN UNITY," issued by the N.E.C. of the Labour Party, will come as a shock to those who have accepted the foreign policy of this country during the past five years.

It is a document which accepts the failure of European policy and having accepted that failure has not one single new proposal to make. It is completely negative and will leave what is left of Continental Socialism in despair and a willing convert to militant Communism.

What Does It Say?

In the very first line there is a false statement: "Since 1945 the Labour Party has been guided by a firm conviction that the peoples of Western Europe must work closely together." This is quite untrue. In 1945 we declared our intention to work with ALL Europe, with special mention of the U.S.S.R. "The left understands the left" were the words used among others. The Western Europe stunt came along with the Marshall Aid Plan and we took the lead in introducing it to Western Europe. *We refused to accept or even consider the Russian proposals for the organisation of such aid.* It was a dangerous mistake and terrible in its consequences. Had we co-opted with Russia in the proposals made by Molotov it is quite likely there would have been no Marshall Aid, but we should have known then, and the world would have known what we have now learnt by bitter experience, that the price of American aid is that that aid is to be used in war preparations directed against the U.S.S.R.

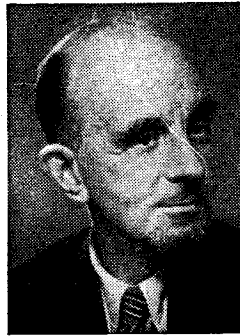
The Results

Quite naturally, and as anybody but a bemused cabinet minister would have seen, American influence and dollars, once it got its grip on Western Europe, stifled Socialist influence and the possibility of Socialist planning. The workers of Europe have no place in Europe's governments, they have been driven into the Communist parties. *The foreign policy of the Labour Government has made Europe a fertile ground for Communist penetration.*

The Labour Government now finds itself isolated in Europe, it has not got a single friend either in the East or West and is now blethering about being the "banker to the Sterling area." What a comment on British Socialism in 1950.

Western Europe is now demanding that the British Labour Party and its Government shall throw to the wolves of Capitalism its last remaining achievements of Socialist Planning, full employment and a measure of social justice and join the free market economies of Western Europe and the U.S.A.

From this prospect the N.E.C. recoils for the time being. They are surprised to find themselves on the edge of such a horrid abyss even though they have marched there with flying colours and covered with self-satisfaction; any warning voice has been regarded as a stab in the back. Do not be surprised, dear reader, to learn that the *European Unity* statement itself is another stab in the back inflicted when the Foreign Secretary was lying helpless in the London Clinic.



Its Advice to Western Europe

Having handed Western Europe over to Yankee Capitalism the N.E.C. turns round and says in effect "Provide full employment, social justice and economic stability, otherwise we have no use for you." Also, "Since 1931 America has pursued a more advanced policy than most European countries, therefore, dear comrades of Western Europe, we stand with the U.S.A. and you can take a jump at yourselves."

What's Cooking?

Surely it is quite clear the Schuman plan has been devised by German and French capitalists to satisfy the American demand for an intensive Franco-German arrangement against Russia.

The Labour Government is in a cleft stick; either they submit to the Schuman plan or

they stand by their statement, but what does the statement say? "We believe that our over-riding aim in the present age must be to unite all the non-Communist peoples in a single system." This is at the top of page 5, it has been carefully omitted from the popular version published in the *Tribune*, or did Jenny and Michael cut it out?

If this be the over-riding aim why object to the Schuman plan? As a matter of fact, Attlee has already stated that *European Unity* is not Government Policy, but if it is the policy of the Labour N.E.C. why is it not the policy of the Labour Government. Why not, indeed! The reason is all too clear; the Tory Party don't like it, therefore Attlee toes the Party line. Unless we see a revival of Socialism in the N.E.C. they also, I think, will toe the Schuman line in the near future.

What's the Alternative?

It is too late to organise a third force, the N.E.C. are quite right about that; also, an uncontrolled Capitalist economy can function only at the cost of conflicts between nations and classes which may be fatal to civilisation in the atomic age. We have that uncontrolled Capitalist economy in the U.S.A. and Western Europe, but not in the U.S.S.R., China, or in some countries in Eastern Europe. What, therefore, is to be done? **WE HAVE GOT TO FACE IT, COMRADES.** We must make common cause with the workers of those countries that have abolished the Capitalist economy; by doing this we shall encourage the workers of America and Western Europe to join us and so finish the danger of conflicts between nations and classes and the use of the atomic bomb.

Yugoslavs Accuse Czech Police

By G. HEALY (Chairman, Streatham Labour Party)

I BELIEVE that socialists who take their socialism seriously will protest against police brutalities wherever they take place. Particularly when these outrages are committed by a so-called "People's Democracy" against citizens of a country like Yugoslavia which, after incredible sacrifices, has eliminated capitalism and laid the basis for a socialist economy.

The Yugoslav Embassy in London has released details of the murder of Yugoslavs by the Czechoslovak police. "On April 28th, 1950," the report states, "the Chairman of the People's Front, the organisation of Yugoslavs residing in Czechoslovakia, died in the prison of Brandis on the Elbe." He had been arrested "as far back as December 17th, 1949, together with other prominent members of the People's Front." He died after the most inhuman tortures.

This man was a life-long socialist who had lived in Czechoslovakia for 25 years and who, during the Nazi occupation, spent a long time in the notorious Nazi jail of Terisin side by side with many Czech patriots.

The Embassy report then describes the death of another Yugoslav, the 60-year-old Josip Plese who, together with his wife and 27 other Yugoslavs had been arrested by the Czechoslovak police.

The mutilated body of Josip Plese fell from the fifth floor window of Usti-on-the-Elbe Czechoslovak prison.

The Yugoslav Government, in an official note to the Government of Czechoslovakia "places on record that the Czechoslovakian Ministry of Foreign Affairs still has not to this day answered the concrete accusations . . . concerning the brutal methods of force, maltreatment and torture, to which the late Dimitrije Dimitrijevic (Chairman of the People's Front) was subjected by Czechoslovak police officers finally dying as a result of these without any medical attention being given him . . ."

The Yugoslav Embassy report ends with these words . . . "The fate of many Yugoslavs still languishing in Czechoslovak jails for no other reason except that they refused to become traitors, is causing great anxiety in Yugoslavia. Mass protests are being held in towns and villages throughout the country . . . We call upon the democratic opinion of the world to join us in our protest and together with us condemn these ghastly crimes and those responsible for them."

These police murders violate all the principles of internationalism and bring discredit upon the noble name of socialism—in particular, they cynically mock the efforts of those sincere people who are participating in the Peace Campaign in which the Czechoslovak Government plays so prominent a part.

Editorial

European Unity

The Tasks of the Labour Movement

THE Schuman Plan for pooling the steel and coal resources of Western Europe is in no way a step towards the sort of unity so desperately required to maintain and improve the welfare of the European peoples. On the contrary, these proposals are the first moves in the establishment of a capitalist steel and coal cartel to limit production, keep up prices and profits, and reduce wages to the level of our unfortunate German fellow-workers.

Sufficient warning that nothing progressive can emerge from this cartel is contained in the fact that the proposals have the support of the Ruhr industrialists—the Krupp family, Thyssen, and Hugenberg—the French steel kings organised in the Comite des Forges, and the monopoly capitalists of the United States. If British steel interests have so far adopted a very reserved attitude towards the proposals it is not, of course, because they have any principled objections to international cartels, but because *this particular cartel* is directed straight at the heart of their most vital interests—the protected markets of the sterling area.

This lucrative market is provided by Britain's huge indebtedness to the various countries of the "Commonwealth"—debts which cannot be paid in cash convertible into other currency, but which are paid in exports to the countries concerned, in this way providing a safe market for British industrialists. *It is this arrangement which is immediately threatened by the Schuman Plan.*

The Re-birth of International Competition

These rivalries and conflicts between the capitalist powers are a sure sign that international competition is once more beginning to plague the lives and threaten the security of the workers of the world. Competition has now reached the point when we are again faced with that tragic absurdity of modern society—a crisis of "over-production."

It has been estimated by U.N.O.'s Economic Commission that the year 1953 will see a European steel surplus of over 8 million tons. All the European powers are, consequently, increasing their efforts to find markets *outside Europe* for the goods which their own peoples are too poor to command.

The trouble is that the possible markets of the world have been drastically reduced by the results of the war. China has been torn out of the grip of the Imperialists, and those countries which were previously good markets for manufactured goods—Canada, Australia, and South Africa—have been forced by the exigencies of the war itself to develop their own resources and industries.

Furthermore, the basic world antagonism between the Soviet Union and American Imperialism has greatly aggravated this crisis of markets. The cold war policies of America forbid the export of heavy industrial goods through the "Iron Curtain" for fear of strengthening Russia's war potential.

This virtual ending of trade between East and West is a condition of the Marshall Aid which is provided to all the European powers.

The effect of this shrunken world market was not felt too seriously while the industries of German and Japan lay practically in ruins. Now, however, Germany and Japan are no longer prostrate but, on the contrary, have

recovered sufficiently to be already a serious threat to British interests in many of the world's markets.

The German Problem

Of course, if German industry could be laid waste and sheep set to graze in the industrial valleys of the Ruhr, that would be one way of removing this dangerous competitor and, in fact, in the first flush of victory, the American State Department did adopt this policy of reducing the German people to abject misery and starvation. They called it the "pastoralisation" of Germany. It was abandoned, not out of any humanitarian regard for the fate of German men and women, but because it would undoubtedly have called forth a German revolution which would, in all probability, have detached Germany for ever from the Imperialist camp.

American policy was therefore revised and, with the help of the Marshall Plan, it was decided to rebuild a CAPITALIST Germany as a partner—a very subject partner to be sure, occupied by foreign troops, split and dismembered between the Great Powers, and compelled to pay cruel reparations—a partner, nevertheless, in the worldwide capitalist front against the Soviet Union.

But this policy of rebuilding a potential rival has had frightening consequences for all the other European capitalists. From being a mere pawn in the hands of Anglo-American Imperialism, Germany is rapidly becoming a power in her own right. She attempts to break loose from the Allied control and even threatens to recover her old traditional markets in Eastern Europe which have been sacrificed to the needs of the cold war.

To prevent this catastrophe (from the capitalist view-point) the Schuman Plan has been devised and underwritten by the American State Department.

It is hoped to force the British capitalists to open up their Empire markets to the products of German and French industry, by compelling them to accept cartel "agreements" to share the markets of the sterling area.

If they refuse—the combined resources of French and German heavy industry, backed by American dollars, and based on the terribly low wages of the German workers, will be thrown into a cut-throat competition with British exports throughout the world.

The American capitalists support the cartel for two clear reasons. The first concerns their long-term plans for war against the Soviet Union, plans which demand that the industrial strength of Germany be on the "democratic" side and firmly geared to the production of war material.

The second serves the *immediate* economic interests of Wall Street. By breaking down Britain's control of the sterling bloc, this vast market will be opened to American capital

which is already feeling the effects of economic "recession."

The Dilemma of British Capitalism

That the British capitalists have no illusions of what is in store for them in this Plan is shown by their initial refusal to have anything to do with it—a refusal which brought from the U.S.A. an immediate threat to cut off all Marshall Dollars forthwith!

British capitalism finds itself in a very real and serious predicament. If they enter the cartel they risk losing their precious sterling markets. If they stay out they risk losing Marshall Aid which, in the long run, amounts to the same thing, because, without this "Aid" they will be unable to purchase the necessary materials with which to produce the goods they are at present supplying to the sterling markets.

It is this dilemma which was the cause of all the initial confusion in British industrial circles—a confusion which was faithfully reflected in the Labour Government's reserved and very cautious attitude towards the Plan.

Second Thoughts

The international tension caused by the Government's refusal to enter the cartel is beginning to die down. Sir Edwin Plowden—the chief of "State Planning"—undoubtedly represents the opinion of Big Business when he recommends that Britain should now enter the proposed cartel. "The political advantages of Britain joining the merger," he said, "now outweigh the economic disadvantages."

The "economic disadvantages" are clear enough as we have tried to show.

What are the "Political Advantages"?

In the first place, there are no fundamental disagreements between Britain and America on the need for a world-wide united front of all the capitalist powers against the Soviet Union. Marshall Aid, Atlantic Treaty, witch-hunting—all these institutions have been established in the world with the complete agreement of the British capitalists. In the words of Morgan Philips who here speaks, not for the Labour Party at all, but for the entire British capitalist class . . . "We in the Labour Party utterly reject the idea that Europe should be neutral in the global struggle against Communism!"

The British capitalists, no less than the American, are anxious that Germany should not break away from the "Grand Alliance." To hold the front intact it is clearly necessary that some sacrifice should be made by the British partner (this is the "economic disadvantage") but, in return, there is the "political advantage" of a united capitalist front in Europe, the maintenance of the flow of Marshall dollars to Britain, and the organisation of Europe's heavy industries for the production of armaments which it is hoped will offset to some extent the loss to Germany of certain civilian markets. Finally, the cartel will provide a method of keeping up prices and profits by restricting production if, despite the stepped up armaments programmes surpluses begin to appear in the world markets.

We are far from saying that all the rivalries and conflicts among the "democratic" powers have now been resolved. On the contrary, they still exist and always threaten to break up the so-called unity. But the common desire to unite against the Soviet Union compels a reluctant sort of "unity." And, in case the internal tensions threaten to disrupt it, there is always America's ability to cut off dollars to whip the dissidents into line.

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The Colonial Struggle

Malaya—A Solution

By H. E. COSTENS

[This is the conclusion of the article, "Class Conflicts in Malaya," which appeared in our June issue written by a comrade who has spent 25 years in the Malayan jungles.]

TO-DAY'S appeal, on a policy of political democracy only, has not succeeded, and to-morrow the same appeal will be indignantly rejected. Indeed, no policy will have a chance of acceptance unless it contains not only plans for a parliament, but also plans (which can be put into operation at once) for creating a far, far, more egalitarian society. If it is also going to meet demands that must arise insistently before long, it must contain plans to ensure that when autonomy is granted, the country is as free from potential foreign domination as some inevitable dependence on foreign technicians, supplies and markets permits.

It must, in short, plan to create a largely socialist society, in which the capitalist remnants are owned only by Malayan citizens.

We can work quickly towards this end by a policy which sets out to nationalise at once activities that are mainly foreign owned. First are the plantations and the tin mines, then the financial system and the import and export trades that milk off into other foreign buckets much of the wealth that the rubber and tin creates.

There can be no fear of an effective boycott by skilled staff. The miners and planters

are not staying at their posts because they love their owners or hate the rebels, *but because they need the pay.* There will be plenty of redundancy in nationalised industries for those who want to go, and plenty of local talent which has been overlooked because of shareholders' prejudices in favour of white skins. The City will thunder, but it will not make lords of a thousand planters.

There will, of course, be thunder outside the City, as well as in it. Remembering that the (Socialist) Burmese Cabinet was murdered while the British were ruling and keeping "law and order," we might expect some lightning, too. Nor is there any reason to believe that all the rebels would be morally or physically disarmed by such a moderate policy of progressive socialism. But we should have a good chance of obtaining the backing of the bulk of the people in Malaya, and thus reducing the trouble at the extremes to the dimensions of a police problem.

Outside Malaya, we should have a chance of regaining the backing of the peoples of the whole colonial world. And, because we are trustees for the peoples of the colonies, and not for the owners of their wealth, we shall be doing right.

only phrase in the much-discussed N.E.C. pamphlet, *European Unity*, which aroused the wrath of the Capitalist Press on both sides of the Atlantic was the following:

"... the Labour Party's socialist principles demand that the movement towards European unity should be such as to permit the continuation of full employment and social justice in Britain and the extension of those benefits over the rest of Western Europe."

The reaction knows only too well that such a stand, taken seriously, could win the support of millions of European workers—and not only in the West.

We do not believe that the authors of that phrase meant it to be taken seriously because it was flatly contradicted in almost every other sentence of the pamphlet. Nevertheless, this "unfortunate" phrase, accident or no accident, **MUST BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY BY THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.**

We must not allow it to be repudiated—either in word or in deed. On the contrary, we must demand **ACTIONS** to suit the words. We must show our leaders that "socialist principles" are not some convenient smoke-screen to be used in the diplomatic game, but the very basis of the Labour Movement.

The timing of this statement was NOT "unfortunate" as Mr. Attlee has said. On the contrary, it was most opportune—**IF IT IS NOW TAKEN SERIOUSLY BY THE RANK AND FILE.** If Mr. Dalton meant what he said

[EDITORIAL COMMENT]

Whilst we largely agree with the analysis of the present situation in Malaya made by Comrade Castens, we think that in his conclusions he evades what is the most important and most urgent task for our movement—namely, the immediate withdrawal of all British troops and administration authorities from Malaya.

With all due respect to the sincerity of Comrade Castens and his obvious desire to assist the Malayan people, the idea that we are "trustees" for the colonies is false through and through and reflects the arrogance of the white imperialists towards the coloured peoples.

BOMBS AND BIBLES

Japanese people are still going blind—five years after the dropping of the atom bombs which wiped out a quarter of a million human beings.

On the same day as this report appeared in the Press the London *Evening Standard* informed its readers that "nearly half-a-million Bibles have been exported to Japan since the end of the war."

Only one thing can convince the colonial peoples that Labour has broken with Imperialism—the immediate withdrawal of all its instruments of oppression from the colonies.

We are confident that after such a withdrawal there would inevitably arise a Constituent Assembly, a Parliament, call it what you will, to which a British Labour Government could and should give all possible aid in its progress towards socialism. To such an assembly could be handed over the tin mines, the plantations, and the rest of the British investments as Comrade Castens correctly suggests.

when, in his Press interview he announced that the only basis for European unity was a *Socialist basis* he will join with us in demanding the actions to suit those bold words.

Actions such as the immediate withdrawal of all troops from Germany, the repudiation of the policy of reparations, accompanied by a statement to the German Labour Movement that we are with them in their struggle to rid their country of its capitalist overlords. The refusal to participate any longer in the cold war which keeps millions of people in hunger and misery so that arms can be piled up for the next world war. The refusal to be a party to the patriotic defence of "national sovereignty" which means in practice, the defence of the City of London's vast investments throughout the world. Not the defence of Britain's colonial empire but the immediate granting of independence to all the colonial peoples must be the action of socialists who take their principles seriously.

The British people can have no interest in capitalist cartels for the limitation of production in a world in which millions are without food, clothes, or shelter. Nor can we have any interest in what Morgan Phillips shamefully calls "the global struggle against communism."

The workers of Europe are looking to the British Labour Movement for a determined lead for the only solution to the European problem—the **SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.** Let us see to it that they are not disappointed.

Labour's Task

Continued from page 4

We said last month, and we shall keep on saying it, that it is the duty of the Labour Government to denounce the Schuman Plan for what it is—a capitalist cartel whose aim is the limitation of production in the interests of profit, except where production is for war purposes. This clear denunciation of the Plan must be accompanied by an equally clear call to the workers of Europe to unite their forces in the struggle for the only possible alternative—**THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.**

The goal of the socialist unification of Europe would not be the limitation of production *but its expansion to the utmost.* Its driving force would not be the fear of falling profits and over-production, *but the will to provide millions of poor people with all that is necessary for a new and happy life.* It would not have the aim of capturing foreign markets and holding the colonial world in slavery. *It would instead equip the millions of poor farmers in the colonies with the tools capable of winning the most urgent of all wars—the war against hunger, misery, and disease.*

So far as we know, the *Socialist Outlook* is the **ONLY** tendency in the British Labour Movement which has issued this clear call for the Socialist United States of Europe. Nevertheless, we believe that millions of workers—on both sides of the Iron Curtain—will rally to such a call from the British Labour Government. It was not accidental that the

News of the Socialist Fellowship

Drive for Socialist Education

STAINES AND CHERTSEY Back Eight N.C.L.C. Classes

Fellowship members have been very successful in urging the local Labour organisations to undertake educational work. Already five National Council of Labour Colleges classes are under way in the area, and three more are projected.

Following formation of the Thames Valley S.F. last November expansion was such that after the General Election it was decided to divide the branch as follows:

Slough and Windsor; Staines and Chertsey.

The Staines and Chertsey Branch has now been inaugurated with **Bill Doran**, local secretary of the N.U.A.W., as chairman; and **Sheila Chandler**, of the Chertsey League of Youth, as secretary. Members of this fellowship did well during the local elections. **Bill Pearson** retained his seat, **Charlie Minnet** gained a seat for Labour, and **Don Turland** made a magnificent fight, increasing the Labour vote. A conference will be addressed by **Fenner Brockway, M.P.**, and **Karl Westwood** at Fire Station Hall, Egham, on 8th July, as a result of which we hope to double our membership.

Discussions are held at all meetings. Supporters of the Fellowship in the Spelthorne and Chertsey Divisions or in Wraysbury, Byfleet, Woking, Walton and Weybridge are urged to get into touch with **Miss S. Chandler, 81 Church Road, Addlestone, Surrey.**

BIRMINGHAM To Run Classes

Educational Classes are to be organised for the Birmingham S.F. Branch in the near future.

At the June meeting the Fellowship and *Socialist Outlook* groups were fused, there being no fundamental disagreement between them. It had been found that much the same topic was being discussed at both meetings.

NOTTINGHAM Calls For Anti-Fascist Rally

Two Fellowship groups have been formed during the last month, one in **N. West Division** and one in **Central Division**.

The latter sponsored a resolution deploring the failure of the Labour Party to contest a ward in the municipal elections where the Tory candidate was the Lord Mayor elect, and called for a review of this "gentlemen's agreement" with the Tories. The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Fellowship has also taken the initiative in calling upon all the local working-class organisations to unite in the organisation of a mass anti-fascist demonstration in answer to the public propaganda meetings of the Fascists.

In an effort to boost "Socialist Outlook" sales, squads of sellers are arranged to cover all major public meetings.

SOUTH NORFOLK Enters Show Business

Leading members of the local Fellowship are going into show business to boost the funds of the Thetford Labour Party. "*Rock and Roll*," a revue with a political slant, will

open at the **Breckland Hall, Thetford**, at the end of September.

With a cast of 30, mainly drawn from the Labour League of Youth, most of the sketches are taken from the Unity Theatre revues "What's Left" and "What's Next." Arrangements are being made for parties to come by bus from all over this huge division.

The comrades have some surprises up their sleeves in connection with this lively musical show. The producer, **Paul Greenwood** (Fellowship chairman), assisted by joint stage managers **L. H. Watling** and **J. F. Heap**, hope to take the production on tour in East Anglia.

PRESTON Play Big Part in Elections

The newly-formed Preston Fellowship played a vital and in some cases decisive part in the municipal elections. **Jimmy Atkinson** won Trinity Ward for Labour. He is chairman of the Preston *Typographical Association*.

Mrs. Greenwood missed election by only 109 votes, while **Sid Whiteside** put Labour on the map in a Tory stronghold.

The Branch has made plans for a propaganda and organisational campaign to: (1) Strengthen the Labour Movement; and (2) Recruit more Fellowship members.

All interested should write **W. G. Tyler, 22 Elizabeth Street, Preston, Lancs.**

Ninety Delegates Attend MERSEYSIDE Conference

Ninety delegates from 35 unions, Labour Parties, and Co-ops., and a

number of visitors were present at Merseyside's first regional conference.

Mr. Ronald Chamberlain, formerly Labour M.P. for Norwood, reminded them:

The next important venture of the Merseyside Branch will be a one-day school to be held jointly with the Liverpool College of the N.C.L.C. at the Bromborough Community Centre, Wirral, on Sunday, 9th July. The subject will be "Democracy and the Nationalised Industries," and the speaker, Will Ballantine, Organiser of the Liverpool District N.U.R.

Alfred E. S. Rose, 565 New Chester Road, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead.

EAST LONDON Out for Members

East London Branch of the Fellowship is contacting Labour Comrades in the **Stepney, Poplar, and Shoreditch** constituencies to increase the membership of the Fellowship. Already a constructive resolution on Direct Labour Building has been put before the National Council and a two-hour discussion on the nationalisation of the land has taken place.

A resolution on the dock group trade unions is being formulated and docker comrades have been invited to discuss the matter with their East London comrades. Any information as to meetings, etc., will be gladly supplied by your East London Secretary, **C. Fleet, at 256 Old Ford Road, Bethnal Green, E.3.**

Long live the working-class movement.

The Female of the Species

By Mrs. RAY HUNTER (East Islington Labour Party)

ANYONE who imagines female Tories are a gentler breed than the trousered variety should study the reports of this year's Tory Conference.

On June 6th, having given 'nanny' instructions about the children and given cook her orders for a late dinner, 2,700 of them left their Mayfair flats, country houses, and prosperous suburban villas, and descended on Westminster's Central Hall.

They were very, very, angry about "robbers." Two kinds of robbers—the kind they imagine is waiting to waylay them in every dark street to steal their Bond Street furs and jewellery, and the even more menacing kind that imposes death duties on them so that "it is impossible for anybody to leave money when they die." On this latter kind of "robber," **Viscountess Davidson, M.P.** said "they are destroying the most stable elements in the country—US" Loud and prolonged applause.

As for the more primitive kind of robbers, they could hardly bear to discuss it. "Whip

'em, birch 'em, flog 'em!" they cried. Some traitor said she was in favour of giving them some "training." They howled—literally howled—her down and carried a resolution which asked for birching of both adults and juveniles for crimes of violence. Only 10 out of 2,700 voted against it and the conference rose, cheered, and snorted its approval of a **Mrs. Lovibond**—who is, I was horrified to discover, the *Chairman of the Uxbridge Juvenile Court!*—when she said "We women (?) think that stripes will do a lot of good"!

Tory women would birch young children who have been driven desperate by society's failure to offer them any security or future in life. Working class women would alter society so that fat, well-dressed females shall not live luxuriously off the labours of others. All shall work and all shall share in the commonly-owned wealth. "Robbers" will then vanish as will child-birching women magistrates.



"Help" for the L.L.O.Y.

The influence of the central bureaucracy of the Party on the Labour League of Youth, undesirable as it is, remains largely negative. Interference from local officials can be very different. I give two examples from our own experience.

One Ward branch of the League decided to issue a periodical, and articles were sent into the editors; but the latter were somewhat surprised to find that the Divisional Party Secretary intended to look over all articles before publication. Their content was passed on to other Ward and Divisional officials; as a result, attempts were made to suppress an article explaining the Marxist conception of Socialism.

Paternalism does not stop here. The Divisional Party Executive recommended that the G.M.C. appoint an Organiser to the League of Youth. L.O.Y. members opposed this, particularly since they had not been informed as a body; they were, however, assured that "Organiser" was a misnomer, and that in fact, the post was one of Liaison Officer. After appointment it became obvious that "Organiser" was no misnomer, and Leaguers were soon told as much.

The crux of the issue is, of course, the dependent status of the L.L.O.Y., which leaves it open to interference from not only "Fairy God-Mothers," but wreckers also.

The moral is obvious.

J. R. Beckett.

Chairman,
Northwood L.L.O.Y.

Youth Rally Condemns Organiser

The Southern Region League of Youth Rally held at Hoddesdon on Sunday, June 18th was laid on specially, it would seem, to enable the supporters of the campaign for a National Conference of the League to expose the National Youth (?) Officer for the high-handed individual that he is. Many Leaguers who, until then, had heard nothing of the case of *Wandsworth Central League of Youth* (see page 8) were struck by this arrogant attitude of Williams, and asked many pertinent questions about the whole affair of the disbanding of this League of Youth.

Williams' holiday-speechmaking was devoted partly to attacks on Marxism, partly to getting excited about the disbanded League, and protesting his innocence on the question. The heavy barrage of criticism fired at him from the floor culminated at one point in half the audience standing up in support of the Wandsworth Central League, themselves present in strength. It drew from Williams the statement that he would talk with any Leaguer afterwards about any Youth matter.

Over 120 Leaguers, therefore, gathered on the lawn outside the hostel and invited Mr. Williams to state his case to them. But he refused to do this, saying that he could please himself to whom he spoke . . . and this from a paid official of the Labour Party! **So incensed were the Youth that a motion of no confidence in the National Youth Officer was put and carried by 60-6.**

Bert Penfold. *Wandsworth Central League of Youth.*

★ Correspondence should be as brief as possible and addressed to The Editor, 6 Station Road, London, N.11

Appointment Boards

Can any of your readers give me any data or facts to prove that the *Appointment Boards* under the Ministry of Labour have helped working-class applicants, especially those over fifty years of age?

I know of one Socialist who was placed on the Appointments Register at Manchester in the category of "Clerk of Works" in November, 1947, and is still waiting to be placed, but I can count at least a dozen people in that period who have been found positions immediately one post finished—but they were all Tory Stalwarts and supported Big Business first and last.

Mary Greenwood. *Sec., West Ward, Walton-le-Dale Trades Council and Labour Party.*

* * * *

Old Age Pensions

I am an Old Age Pensioner age 75. I was an I.L.P. member until they seceded from the Labour Party. There is no doubt that the I.L.P. was a "Socialist Fellowship" and was leading the Labour Party towards a real Socialist policy and programme. I regretted their action in leaving the Party Although I could not follow them.

Yet their work remains in what is Socialist policy in the Labour Party. I welcome therefore the formation of the new Socialist Fellowship. I joined up as an unemployed Old Age Pensioner and am glad the Socialist Fellowship has made room for such as me. I am Secretary of an O.A.P.A. which takes most of my spare time, but I know that only Socialism can give justice to the Old Age Pensioner.

I notice in your Editorial on the Budget a number of items necessary for the workers, and amongst them you put family allowance for the first child. But we old people who have no other income but the 26s. and 16s. for a wife, feel that your programme does not state anything of our needs. We claim the right to live in comfort in old age, and as a Socialist I would claim the same pension as a policeman.

We old people, with no other income, go short of real necessities for we have to pay the same price as everybody else for our needs.

We are at present tied to the limits of the payments laid down in the Insurance Bill. We feel the Old Age pension should be raised to £2 a week for all at 65 with the same 1s. or 2s. rise for each year for those who continue to work until age 70. Can we ask the *Socialist Outlook* to take up this claim for us? We have offered to accept a compromise of 30s. each person with the Assistance Board rent allowance, but the £2 each person would do away with the supplementary pension while there would always be room for an Old Age Pension Welfare Council. Can you take up our cause?

T. R. Caren. *Hon. Sec., Birkenhead North Old Age Pensioners' Association*

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Labour League of Youth Page

Inspiring Meeting rallies Youth in demand for ITS OWN NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Reported for 'Socialist Outlook' by MOIRA McCOMBIE

THE fight for the National Conference of the Labour League of Youth was carried a big step forward at this most inspiring London conference. 300 young people, representing FIFTY-NINE Leagues of Youth from London and the South, gathered in the Holborn Hall on Sunday, June 25th, to demonstrate their determination to fight right through to the end to secure their democratic rights. They were roused to a great pitch of enthusiasm by the knowledge that the Wandsworth Central League of Youth which had been disbanded by local party officers for organising this conference, had since been reinstated by the General Management Committee of the Wandsworth Labour Party.

Seven London Labour Parties sent sympathetic observers to the Conference and a message of support was read from Fenner Brockway, M.P.

The Chair was taken by Yvonne Rideout, an active member of the now famous Wandsworth Central League.

The aims of the meeting

The first speaker, Jack Hamilton of the Westminster League and member of the London Youth Advisory Committee, opened with a clear statement of why the meeting had been called. "This meeting wants to know," he said, "are we to be given a conference this year or not." He reminded the delegates that the National Consultative Committee of the League had recommended this course to the N.E.C. of the Party over seven months ago—but still there was no answer from the Party tops.

Bill Holdsworth from North St. Pancras League struck a serious political note. "It was not only for our benefit that we were trying to get a National Conference, it was for the furthering of socialism throughout the world."

The present isolation of provincial Leagues of Youth was expressed by the delegate from Southampton, Alan Cropp who said that an Annual Conference of the League would end the feeling of being cut off from the main body of the League.

Support from the North

Next platform speaker was Ted Morris bringing a message of solidarity from the North "In Manchester," he said, "we condemn the disbanding of the Wandsworth League as being the answer of Transport House to the expressed desires of the great majority of Leaguers."

"We have a cast-iron case," he concluded, "and we should fight for it in the Wards, the Divisions, and in the Trade Unions and Co-op. parties as well."

Bevin and Youth

Jean Holborn of the Slough League of Youth then brought the house down by reminding the delegates that the demand for a National Conference was considered so correct and constitutional in 1927 that it had been strongly supported by... Ernest Bevin!

"The Trade Unions and the Women's Sections have their own Conferences," she said, "so why shouldn't we." We are the ones who will have to go into the factories and the armed forces in the event of another

war and we have, therefore, an absolute right to decide what policy is to be put forward for the future."

Next came the point of view of the Middlesex Federation, one of the strongest Federations in the country. It was presented by Pat Hennesey who said that her Federation was strongly in favour of a Conference, but thought that it should be confined to the discussion of organisational matters affecting the Leagues.

Adult support

Also on the platform was Mitcham's popular parliamentary candidate, Tom Braddock. Tom was there to bring the support of the *Socialist Outlook* and to express the sympathy of adult socialists throughout the Party. His fine speech, coming from a man who had served the Labour Party loyally for nearly 40 years, really moved and inspired the young delegates. "Loyalty to Transport House," he said, "prevents many of the adult members of the party giving their complete support to the present Youth Campaign. But Transport House have already partly given way to the Youth in deciding to reaffiliate the Wandsworth League." He concluded with this message to the Youth of the Party:

"Go forward! If you keep pressing for the demands of the National Status Movement you will not only get these

THE RESOLUTION

This meeting of the League of Youth is seriously disturbed by the failure of the N.E.C. to implement the official policy of the League of Youth and arrange an Annual Conference this year.

It deplores such action as the disbanding of the Wandsworth Central League of Youth and, now that it has been reinstated, hopes that such mistakes will not be repeated. They can only weaken the common struggle against the Tories.

The meeting pledges itself to speed up the campaign for the Annual Conference—inside the League, the Trade Unions, and the Adult Parties. For this reason it decides that all Leagues present should keep closely in touch with one another in order that victory be achieved and, accordingly forms a Campaign Committee consisting of a delegate from each of the 59 Leagues represented at the meeting.

just demands granted, but you will also do a whole lot of good throughout the world."

The Resolution and discussion

Jack Dipple of the Middlesex Federation then moved a resolution pledging the meeting to carry on the struggle for an Annual Conference of the League of Youth. (Printed in full elsewhere on this page).

Space does not permit a full report of the long and lively discussion which followed. The only difference which developed was between those who thought that no more good could come from action *inside* the Party, and those who were convinced that the Party *could* be mobilised to grant the Youth its rights.

The first viewpoint was expressed by a delegate from Holborn and South St. Pancras League who proposed an amendment calling on the meeting to forward an ultimatum to the National Executive demanding that it convene an Annual Conference and that an answer be given one way or another within four weeks.

Stick to the Party

Henry Kendall of the Wimbledon League strongly opposed this amendment. "What if they reject such an ultimatum?" he said. "Should the League then turn its back on the Labour Party? It is certainly not enough to just go back to the branches and pass resolutions... the best thing to do is for the 58 Leagues represented at this meeting to nominate one delegate from their branch to form a representative committee to fight for National Status in the Southern Region and throughout the country. Get support in every Federation and no one will stop us from being successful."

The loud applause he received showed clearly enough that the great majority of Leaguers, although they are in a fighting mood, have absolutely no desire to separate themselves from the Party. On the contrary, they want National Status in order to strengthen the Party against all its enemies. This position was underlined also by the large number of delegates who sharply criticised the non-socialist policies and actions of the Young Communist League.

The "ultimatum" amendment was heavily defeated. Only 16 out of 300 present voted for it. The resolution was then carried—all votes against 6!

The last speaker was Bert Penfold, the popular organiser of the National Status Movement and the comrade who has drawn most fire from Transport House in this battle. "The Wandsworth League was reinstated mainly because of the support you in the audience have given us," he said. "Carry on with that spirit, and we shall get our National Conference."

Appropriately, the meeting ended with the singing of the Red Flag and the formation of a Campaign Committee, representing the 59 Leagues, pledged to struggle for the National Conference.

The fight goes on and needs the support of every true socialist in the Labour Party.