

# Socialist Outlook



Vol. 3. No. 10

OCTOBER, 1951

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## IT'S HELL AND WAR IF TORIES WIN! Vote For Your Class... VOTE LABOUR!

Statement by the Editors

**T**HE Tories are cock-a-hoop at the prospect of returning to full power once more. Big Business is rubbing its hands in anticipation of even greater profits, and the mad scramble on the Stock Exchange which followed the announcement of a General Election shows clearly enough what private enterprise expects from a Tory Government. Meanwhile, all their little lieutenants in the factories—from the managers down—are eagerly looking forward to the protection of a Tory Government in settling accounts with militant trade unionists. Let's wipe the grin off their faces! Let's work with all our strength for the return of every Labour candidate. That is the only job for Socialists from now on until October 25th.

The "Socialist Outlook" didn't want this Election. We campaigned against it and our slogan—*Stay in Power but change the Policy!*—found, we think, an echo throughout the Labour Movement. We considered that Labour's majority—small though it was—should have been used to hold the pass against the Tories while the Party worked out a programme to transform this country from capitalism to socialism.

Our differences with the leaders of the Labour Movement are serious and fundamental but they do not prevent us from recognising the Tory Party as the main enemy.

The Tories are the party of the rich and the reactionary, the employer and the landlord. We can neither change their ways nor alter their policies. Either we shall exterminate them by abolishing the system which gives them life or they will exterminate us as an organised working class.

### Lest We Forget

The whole history of the Tory Party—personified in the person of the old buzzard who leads them—is a history of violence against the workers. It will surely do no harm if, during this pre-election period, we remind ourselves of some of the highlights of Tory history.

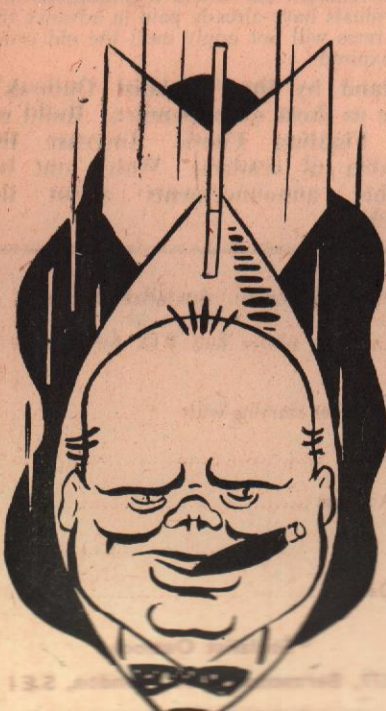
In 1911 they—and their miserable little Liberal allies—shot down the miners of Tonypany. They batoned, prosecuted, and jailed thousands of trade unionists who fought them for a living wage in the great General Strike of 1926.

They starved the unemployed in the Thirties—and then callously used the desperation of the workless to drive down even lower the living standards of the employed.

They have shot, hanged, and imprisoned hundreds of thousands of our fellow workers in India, in Ireland, in Africa, and throughout the Empire which they have looted to build their fine houses and their imposing City offices.

It is the memory of this Tory rule in the colonies which today inspires the great revolt of the colonial workers and peasants.

### ENEMY No. 1



ants which is sweeping inexorably across Asia.

The Tories—and particularly their leader, Mr. Churchill—used all the force at their command in an unsuccessful attempt to crush the young Workers' Republic of Russia in 1917. Today they are the loudest advocates of war against the peoples of China, Persia and Egypt who, in their own way are being forced to emulate the example of the Russian Revolution.

The Tories hate all progress because the existence of the wealth and privilege of the class they represent is bound up with the perpetuation of slavery for the vast majority of mankind. That is why they are the firmest allies and the most willing supporters of the American millionaires who are planning a counter-revolutionary war against the peoples of Russia, Eastern Europe and China. The Tories will never be happy—because they will never feel safe—until the Soviet Union has been dismembered and crushed and the whole world turned into a vast prison camp for the working class.

In their hatred of the Labour Movement the Tories have never wavered. From the very first appearance of an organised working class—way back in the days of the Chartists—they have been our violent enemies.

The massacre of Peterloo, the shooting of the Chartists at Newport, the battles of Birmingham's Bull Ring, the police charges in London's Trafalgar Square, the public hanging of Merthyr Tydfil's Dick Penderin, the shooting of the Tonypany miners, the broken heads on Glasgow Green—these are the battle "honours" of Mr. Churchill's gallant friends.

If the employers no longer stand at the factory gates and pit heads with whips in their hands—and that, let us not forget, is what they certainly used to do!—it is not because they have changed. It is because the workers have grown strong, they have organised themselves into a powerful Trade Union Movement, they have built a great political Labour Party which they have placed into power, and in this way have compelled a little more respect from the "other side".

### Friends of Reaction

Being the personification of reaction at home, the Tories and Liberals are naturally the friends of reaction abroad.

They cheered on Hitler's murderers of the German Labour Movement; their leader many times sang the praises of the brutal Mussolini; and "Bloody" Franco they called (and still call) a "Christian Gentleman".

There is really nothing surprising therefore, in the fact that present-day Tories are the friends and intimates of that assorted collection of reactionaries who gather at Mr. Truman's table.

A working man who gives his vote to the Tories or the Liberals is a pitiable object. He is voluntarily placing his neck on the chopping block.

### Keep 'em Out!

We have no hesitation in saying to our readers—and to every member of the working class—whatever your differences are with Mr. Attlee and the leaders of the Labour Party, you have a duty to your class, to your women and children, to KEEP THE TORIES OUT. Nothing whatever must prevent us during the next few weeks from exerting the maximum effort to return a

### REMEMBER THIS!



The Tories have had centuries to house the people but . . . .  
**THIS is what they gave us**

## America's Millionaires want Churchill to win

### A Special Appeal to Labour's Left Wing

**T**HE election of a Tory Government would bring forward the date of the Third World War. On the other hand, a Labour Government, based as it is on the support of a strong Labour and Trade Union Movement is a serious obstacle to the full mobilisation of this country for war. It is the widespread understanding of this fact which may well give a rude shock to the Tory gentry on October 25th.

World reaction wants to get rid of the Labour Government because the kind of war effort now demanded by the American monopolists and their Generals requires the complete destruction of all the reforms introduced since 1945. Not just false teeth and spectacles—but the whole of the National Health Service. The Generals are demanding more and still more British men and women for the armed forces, and they are insisting that British economy be placed on a full war-time basis. That is the price of their dollar "aid". And they are deaf to all pleas that it means the catastrophic lowering of our standards of life.

Washington recently sent Mr. Gaitskell home empty-handed because he wasn't pre-

pared to pay this price. Not, we think, because he was reluctant to sacrifice his socialist principles—after his last Budget we suspect that he doesn't have any—but because there are limits to which even a Right Wing Labour leader can go AND STILL REMAIN A LABOUR LEADER.

### What is at Stake?

That is why the Americans are backing Churchill and not Attlee in this Election. They know that the Tories will readily agree to the conditions laid down by Wall Street. They know that they are, in fact, only too eager to smash up the reforms introduced by the Labour Government and are ready and willing to use force if the workers protest.

The class interests of the Tory Party here beautifully coincide with the class interests of the American millionaires.

That is what is at stake in this Election. It is not a friendly fight between two rival sets of politicians—it is a bitter struggle between two classes.

Mr. Churchill—who is nothing if not class-conscious—understands this very well. Immediately after the announcement of the date of the Election he said:—

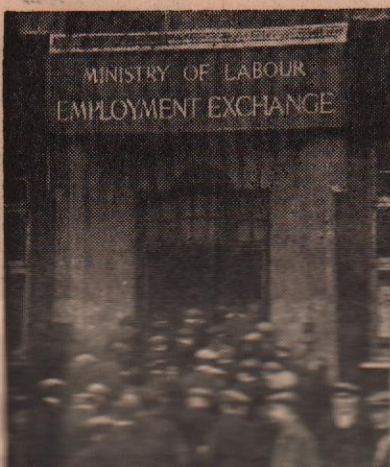
"This is the nation's big opportunity. It can if it chooses, place in power a Government which will try to solve our many problems at home and abroad [that is, prepare for war (Editor)] without being biased by privilege or vested interest."

He wasn't, of course, referring to the vested interest of Big Business. Only imbeciles could believe that. The Tory Party and vested interest are one and the same thing.

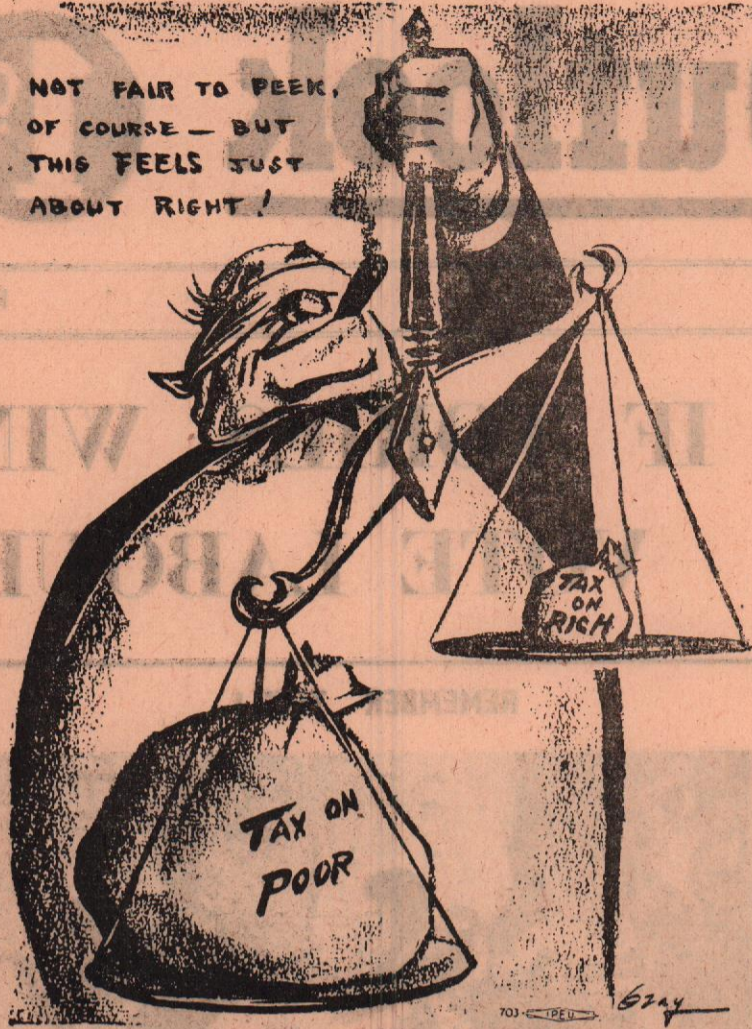
Fifty-seven of the present collection of Tory M.P.s hold between them directorships in 256 companies, including such vested interests as Vickers, I.C.I., B.S.A., Standard Telephones, Lucas, Midland Bank, Westminster Bank, Dunlop Rubber, Associated Electrical Industries, Courtalds, Kemsley Newspapers, and John Lewis's.

During the 1950 Election a man called Rupert Newall who is a director of the vast asbestos concern of Tameside and Newall's, gave the Tories a cheque for £20,000—and he didn't do it to encourage Mr. Churchill

### The only Tory "incentive"



NOT FAIR TO PEEK,  
OF COURSE — BUT  
THIS FEELS JUST  
ABOUT RIGHT!



"A Conservative Government is an Organised Hypocrisy".—DISRAELI.

## U.S. Capitalist supports Tories

(Continued from page 1)

the tide doesn't have a bias towards coming in and going out.

What Mr. Churchill is really talking about is, of course, the "vested interest" of the working class . . . THE TRADE UNION AND LABOUR MOVEMENT. He knows that the Labour Government cannot help being "biased" by the feelings inside the Labour Movement for it is that movement which gives it life.

### Labour and Classes

These Tories know what is good for their class, and they know that a Labour Government isn't. They may be, and they are, personally very friendly with many leading personalities in the Labour Government but they never forget that behind Mr. Attlee and Sir Hartley Shawcross stands THIRTEEN MILLION WORKING CLASS VOTES, a great trade union movement, shop stewards and militant workers, and thousands of good socialists.

So the Tories—and especially the American Tories—reason to themselves: how can such a Government based on that kind of support, safely carry through plans for world war which involve the destruction of the working class movement. How can a Labour Government consciously destroy itself?

Even Mr. Deakin, who has agreed to many things which are against the interests of the workers, will never willingly agree to the destruction of the Transport and General Workers Union—and the reason, if we are to come right down to earth, is that the T. & G.W.U. pays him his wages!

Of course, a Labour Government may go a long way with the Tories in many things but this inevitably gives rise to socialist opposition in Labour's ranks. That is what is happening now. As the last Trade Union Congress showed—and as Scarborough certainly would have underlined if the Election had not turned it into an Election Rally—the opposition even bids fair to take over the whole Party. The longer Labour stays in office the more the danger increases, from the Tory point of view, of the "safe" men being replaced by men who will refuse to go along with the United States and will be supported in this by the entire working class.

That is why the Tories want to get rid of the Labour Government and that, surely, is why every worker—and especially every Left Wing worker—will want to see that they don't succeed.

If we have seemed to dwell rather long on this aspect of the coming Election it is because we feel that the past policies of the Labour Government may have obscured for a lot of people the fact of the essential class struggle nature of this contest between Tory and Labour.

### Tory Government means War

Yes, the Tories want a Government which will have no "bias" towards the Trade Unions. They want a Government which will be quite indifferent to the views of the organised workers because it derives no support from it. They want a Government which will not have to defend its policies before an Annual Conference of the Labour Movement—a Government which

will be quite free to drive down our living standards in preparation for war.

There is only one party which can form such a Government, and that Party is the Tory Party. A Tory Government, representing the interests of Big Business, would be the perfect tool of American Imperialism, the ideal instrument for carrying through the destruction of the "Welfare State". It would be a Government absolutely free from any "bias" in crushing and policing the working class movement. It would be a Government ready and willing to lead the British people into the Third World War. That is why the workers must spare themselves no effort to KEEP LABOUR IN POWER.

We don't ask you to give your vote as a vote of confidence in the present leaders of the Party—we can't have confidence in people who have sent workers out to the Far East to kill our fellow workers in Korea and Malaya. But we ask you to vote and work for Labour as an expression of your confidence in the workers' ability to govern this country, to learn from past mistakes, and to act so that the Labour Government will destroy capitalism, destroy the Tory Party, and create a situation in which faint-hearted leaders will no longer find a place in our great Labour Movement.

## Working Class Women Marching to the Board of Guardians for 'Relief' under Tory rule



That's why on Oct 25th they'll be marching to  
**VOTE LABOUR!**

# TRADE UNIONISTS and the ELECTION

An appeal by Jack Stanley

(General Secretary,

Constructional Engineering Union)

Trade Unionists, especially those inclined to the Left, must be viewing the coming Election with great concern and wondering what effect it is likely to have on wage applications.

Big Business is already cashing in, anticipating that a Tory Government will remove the Dividend Ceiling, which was already well "plastered" with record profits. They want unlimited profits and that means—lowered wages.

This Election will prove an intensification of the class struggle between the "Haves" and the "Have-nots". The rejuvenation of Capitalism with all its repressive measures, or a policy of progress under New Leadership which Trade Unionists can respect and work with and for.

Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, not forgetting the U.S.A., should be a warning of things to come under a Tory Government.

### WAGES AND THE ELECTION

What was the reason for the sudden decision, if it was sudden, to hold an Election? Was the Prime Minister afraid to face the issue of rising costs, wage demands, and opposition to the ruinous policy of armaments? Did Blackpool dominate the issue?

Even the steam-roller of the Block Vote could not blind the Government to the fact that, on the issue of dentures and spectacles; Franco Spain; the Defence Programme; Wages, Prices and Profits, the rank and file of the Trade Unions were not behind them. Blind loyalty has gone by the board.

The stifling of criticism by Witch-Hunts and purges has done much to alienate the support of sound and real Trade Unionists from the Government. Ministers don't know where they are going. Imagine Alfred Robens, Minister of Labour, stating "This election is going to be a fight for our lives", and continuing, "whose finger do you want on the triggers: Mr. Churchill's or Mr. Attlee's". This is the "Trigger Happy" mentality under which we of the working

class are suffering.

The problem Trade Unionists now have to face is this. A Labour victory with a continuance of the present ruinous policy—or the Tories, with vicious repression of all critical elements, backed up by precedents emanating from the Labour Government, or, which to my mind is a greater evil than either of the two mentioned, the prospect of a Coalition Government as in the Thirties.

The "Observer" states their belief that "an election, however strenuous, should be viewed, not as a war of extermination, but as a fair fight amongst Friends". Heaven protect Socialists from these friends!

The answer for Trade Unionists is to vote Labour and then work to reform the present leadership, and prevent a repetition of the mess we are in at present.

## Liberals are as bad

Writing after the Tonyandy incident, the great socialist pioneer, Keir Hardie, had this to say about the Liberals . . .

"The last time that men were shot down by the military was at Featherstone when Asquith was Home Secretary and a Liberal Government was in power. Once more the Liberals are in office and Asquith is Prime Minister, the troops are let loose upon the people to shoot down if need be whilst they are fighting for their legitimate rights. They will give you Insurance Bills, they will give you all kinds of soothing syrup to keep you quiet, but in the end your Liberal Party, like your Tory Party, is the party of the rich and exists to protect the rich when Labour and Capital come into conflict."

... watch out for Churchill's allies, the Liberals!

## THE FUTURE OF YOUR PAPER

### STATEMENT BY THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

THIS issue of the "Socialist Outlook" is half the normal size and price. By this means we hope to reach double the number of readers and thus aid the Election fight against the Tory Party. But—the November issue of the paper is going to cost you 3d. Enormous increases in all printing costs, now followed by greatly increased postage rates, have compelled us to take this step. A few details will perhaps help to show the real seriousness of the situation.

The great bulk of the papers are sold to Trade Union and Labour organisations who, because we want to help local funds through the sale of the "Outlook", receive a 25 per cent discount. That means that they actually pay only 1½d. for each copy of the paper. But the bare cost of printing works out at a fraction MORE than 1½d. When you add the costs of distribution and the normal running expenses you can see that we are selling the great bulk of our papers AT A LOSS.

That is a situation which cannot continue indefinitely. Either the paper will drift into bankruptcy and then cease publication—or we MUST ask you for that extra penny.

We have no real choice in the matter, comrades. There is no salaried staff to pay, most of the work of despatch is done by the voluntary labour of socialist supporters, and, being a WORKERS' PAPER, we get little or no revenue from advertising.

The capitalist press long ago raised its prices, but it costs just as much to make socialist propaganda as it does to print the lying nonsense of the Fleet Street journals.

We are confident our readers will stand by us, pay the extra penny and thus keep socialism in the fight.

The new rates will be:—

Annual Subscription (12 issues)

4/6 post free

Bundle Orders of 12 or more

2/6 a dozen post free

These new rates will come into operation in November—but where organisations and individuals have already paid in advance the new rates will not apply until the old order has expired.

Stand by the "Socialist Outlook". Give us those extra pennies. Build up the Fighting Fund. Increase the number of readers. Watch out for further announcements about the Weekly.

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