FRIDAY, JULY 11th, 1952

DON'T LET TORIES GET AWAY WIT

HAULAGE GRAB

Transport Workers are Ready to Fight

HE Bill to de-nationalise Road Transport will be presented to Parliament within the next few days. It will be a challenge—not to the debating skill of Labour M.P.'s-but to the ability of the Labour Movement to rouse all its great strength to resist this shameless robbery of the National Exchequer.

Mr. Deakin, the General Secretary of the Union most immediately affected, has declared that he will resist to the utmost of his union's capacity. This is no time for idle talk. What does "utmost of our capacity" mean? If it means everything short of a demonstration of Labour's industrial strength, then it will be treated by Mr. Churchill as mere empty chatter.

plan to hand back to private enter-prise £80,000,000, worth of public

They expect to lose £20,000,000 of public money on the deal.

That doesn't worry them, nor do That doesn't worry them, nor do appeals to the national interest, and national efficiency. They don't worry about such things. They worry only about private profit—and there's private profit in road transport. A powerful section of Mr. Churchill's supporters want that profit—and they are determined to get it.

NO GOING BACK TO BAD OLD DAYS

As you can read on page two, road haulage workers understand very well this employing class mentality. That is why they are ready to fight. Quite apart from being opposed to the backward step involved in handing over a great national industry to the vultures of private enterprise, transport workers know just what that will mean for them as workersa return to the bad old days of competition, sweated labour, bad conditions of work, unemployment for some and long hours for wothers.

Mr. Deakin did not exaggerate at all when he stated recently that never in his whole trade union experience had he known such bitterness to exist among road transport workers. If he—and the powerful Committee representing all three sides of the Movement which has been set up to fight this Bill— decide to organise a real demonstration against denationalisation it will be assured of a tremendous response from within the industry itself.

And what better help could the Parliamentary Labour Party hope for in their efforts to demonstate to the general public that this Bill is unpopular and certain to cause grave and continual unrest in the industry—as it will.

How stupid will the Tory Minister look on the day he presents his Bill if Mr. Attlee can point to the fact that no lorries a the road as a result! All the workers in the industry having decided to take a day off to demon-strate in organised protest meetings up and down the country. Action such as this alone will arouse the Movement and the country to a full sense of its responsibilities.

On Strike For More Wages



A section of the huge meeting of Briggs strikers who have decided that they won't take no for an answer to their wage claim of 9d. an hour increase. For a full report turn to page 2.

Unemployed Mill-workers say-

THIS GOVT. DOESN'T BELIEVE IN **EMPLOYMENT**

ON THE SPOT REPORT ON LANCASHIRE SLUMP BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

HERE'S a canal near Manchester known as "The Weaver's Rest". It was so named because of the number of cotton workers who ended their wretchedness in its blackened waters during the Hungry 'Thirties.

Today, twenty years later, mill workers are enjoying a grim little tale, strangely reminiscent of those times.

Three unemployed spinners, so the story goes, went down to the local canal to do themselves in. But when they arrived they found they were too late. For the canal was six deep with the bodies of other cotton operatives who had got there. There was no room left. Instead they found a police notice saying: "Diversion. Places for mill workers lower down the

Lancashire folk are more given to joking than to weeping in pub-lic. They look cheerful, even pros-perous, in Oldham, Bolton, Nelson, percus, in Oldnam, Bolton, Nelson, Persons and British Control of the Control of

NO HANDS WANTED

Take Albert Pennington of olton, for instance. He's 30, Bolton, for instance. He's 30, married, with a bonnie baby. During the war he was in the R.A.F.

Shot down over Germany, he spent three years in a P.O.W. camp. After the war he returned to the mill where he was a key worker in the card-room until Christmas. Since then, his mill has only worked a few weeks.

Albert's income dropped overnight almost, from \$9 a week to 52/- family dole. "And what can you do with 52/- at present prices?" his wife asked me.

"I haven't been out of work for a day since 1945 and it takes some getting used to", said Albert. "My old man used to tell me about the bad old days, but I never believed it would happen to me."

NOT EVEN IN THE PITS

Like tens of thousands of other

plishes the prain round the local park.

No skilled worker likes giving up his trade. But after going round the mills in vain, Albert applied for the mines. Nothing doing. The local pits now have a waiting list—mostly of young textile operatives without jobs.

Nearly half of the 320,000 cotton workers are either unemployed or on short time today. Thousands more have "voted with their feet" by leaving to become labourers in armament factories, at lower

And the slump is spreading to the woollen mills in Yorkshire, the boot and shoe factories of the Midlands, the clothing workshops of London, Leeds and Manchester and furniture works throughout the country.

It won't stop there. We are all in this. The other day I bumped into an old pal—a reader of the "Socialist Outlook" by the way. To my astonishment he told me that he, an electrician, had been out of work a month. Along with forty others he had been declared redundant by the North West Electricity Board. Because of the slump, fewer of this type of worker were needed to install and mainelectrical appliances people's houses.

It's no use trying to blame Japanese competition for all our industrial troubles. Since the war, four out of five cotton workers have been engaged on home

(Continued on page 4, col. 1)

Yalu Bombs: MacArthur peaceful settlement appeared possible. Rides Again!

'Quit Korea' is the only reply

staunchest Labour supporters of the Anglo-American alliance were shocked into protesting at the deliberate bombing by the Yalu River power stations. It was the biggest air-raid since the end of the Second World War and it destroyed plant which, it is now officially admitted, supplied one third of the electricity for Manchuria.

It was an attack on China and Chinese soil as surely as if Peking itself had been bombed. More-over, the timing of the attack can leave little room for doubt that it was deliberately calculated to provoke the Chinese into breaking off the truce talks which were at last nearing completion at Pan-munjon. In fact, the American Generals make no secret of it.

"I wish the enemy would launch a major offensive against the United Nations," commented General van Fleet after the raid, hope he comes. I think such a battle would be decisive.

The conclusion is inescapable. The American Generals and the big businessmen they serve do not want peace in Korea. They want and they want it extended o China.

If these hopes have not materialised—if the Third World War

is not already upon us-it is due entirely to the restraint shown by the leaders of the Chinese people in face of the most brutal provocation from the United Nations

THE EVIDENCE PRESENTED

In the Commons debate which followed the Yalu raids, Barbara Castle enraged the Tories by listing some of the provocative

Editorial

actions which had been carried out by the United Nations always at a time, be it noted, when a

The branding of China as an "aggressor" ... the flagrant arming of Chiang Kai Shek on the island of Formosa . . . the exclusion of China from participation in the talks on the Japanese Peace Treaty the sudden announcement (since quietly dropped) of the alleged murder of 13,000 allied soldiers . . the brutal treatment of the Koje prisoners . . and now this latest provocation on the Manchurian border Manchurian border.

is a deliberate policy of avoiding peace and it has been systematically applied. As everyone now knows, General Mac-Arthur's advance to the Yalu River in 1950 provoked the Chinese into entering the war. That was its aim. Today, MacArthur's successors follow the same policy—this time to prevent China making peace.

This whole American strategy Continued page 4, col. 3

Still £13 short of our anti-Tory target

This is an URGENT Appeal

Most workers will, in the next few weeks, enjoy a well earned holiday. But others, hard hit by rising prices and growing unem-ployment as a result of Tory policies, will be unable to afford a holiday—except in some cases, a fortnight with the Army recalled as a reservist.

The gathering war clouds raise the question in every worker's mind—"Shall I get a holiday at all next year?

That's why our anti-Tory and

anti-War struggle must be intensified. The "Outlook" must pene-trate new areas. Its circulation must be increased. It must appear weekly instead of fortnightly. All these things can be done—BUT NOT WITHOUT MONEY.

...We MUST get at least £50 every month in our Fighting Fund Last month was our best yet but was still not good enough—we were still £13 short.

Look at the list of donations on page 3. For a small paper this is

yery encouraging. But we can't rest content, in these grim days, with a small paper. Until the £50 target is reached our plans for further development cannot be

We have said before and we re-We have said before and we re-peat it now—many of our readers do not yet realise our need. So we appeal with all the sincerity at our command, send in your doua-tions now. Don't wait till next week or even to-morrow. The need is urgent, DO IT NOW. If you are fed up with watching rising prices undermine your wages then . . .

This Strike at Briggs is YOUR concern

Ford Convenor writes ...

To the Editor, "Socialist Outlook".

In view of the contradictory and often incorrect reports that have appeared in many sections of the Press relative to the Ford Works dispute, we make the following statement :-

The Ford workers are not on strike for an increase in pay. The only issue for which we are on strike is the indefinite suspension, without pay, of several hundred workers, for causes completely beyond their control. Despite the Company's denial, this is a change of policy. A comparison with the Company's treatment of the men suspended during the 1947 Fuel Crisis confirms this to the

A resumption of normal working can take place immediately the Company denotes its willing-

- 1. Accept the return of all employees
- 2. Discuss, in line with the provisions of the Procedure Agreement, the dismissal of a shop steward.
- 3. Implement its offer to discuss outstanding items diately.

C. P. O'Keefe. Secretary, Ford Shop Stewards Committee.

DEAKIN PLEDGES RESISTANCE

—within limits

A REPORT

HAVE never known so much bitterness", said Arthur Deakin, "as that which exists among our men at the present time over the Tory proposals to dena-tionalise road transport".

He was speaking to several hundred road haulage workers in Hackney, on June 28th, and for once he had their full support when he said: "All we've got out of competition is low wages and rotten conditions." And he got another big cheer for his statement that the next Labour Government would renationalise transport "with only a token payment". port "with only a token payment".

He announced that a committee representing the Labour Party, the Parliamentary Labour Party, the T.U.C. and the Co-operative Movement had been set up to "create a public opinion against denationalisation" by means of "intensive propaganda".

However, it was clear that transport workers are not satisfied that the present campaign is either good enough or being pursued with sufficient determination. Mr. Deakin was peppered with questions which expressed this dis-

"Why do you deprive us of Labour's finest orator, Nye Bevan?" demanded one worker, obviously referring to the recent meeting at Hammersmith which was fully reported in the last issue of the "Outlook".

The most popular demand from the men was for a one day stoppage and a monster demonstration the day the Bill was laid before Parliament. "You book the Albert Hall", said one speaker amid cheers, "and we'll fill it".

But Mr. Deakin would have none of it and refused point blank to sanction what he called "industrial action". What the transport trial action". What the transport workers will want to know is how does this refusal square with the General Secretary's other statement, made at the same meeting, that "we shall resist denationalisation to the utmost of our capa-

HOUSANDS of pounds worth of space is being devoted by the Millionnaire Press in a desperate attempt to divert public opinion from the real issues involved in the Briggs and Ford Strikes.

Twenty thousand men are pictured as senseless sheep following glib-tongued communist shop stewards. Even the fact that the Ford Convenor lives in Bevan Avenue is given a special feature.

They do not tell their readers that up until 1943 Fords and the subsidiary Briggs would not recognise any form of Trade Unionism—that workers were till then liable to be put off at a moments notice; that it is Fords re-introduction, without any consultation,

of this 'right' to put off a worker at a moments notice that has precipitated the dispute.

The reasons for this attitude of the capitalist press are not hard to find. Throughout the country the rising cost of living is forcing Union after Union to lodge claims for increased wages. And despite the fabulous record profits that have been piled up during recent years these wage claims are being opposed tooth and nail by the employers and the Tory Government. And so long as workers are pre-pared to take "No" for an answer, that is the answer they

But now a big group of workers has accepted the challenge. After seven weeks of getting nowhere with discussions and adjournments they have struck work for a settlement.

The eyes of the whole country-

indeed the whole world—will be on Briggs. If the Briggs workers can prise an increase from this action—they will settle with a single blow the fate of all other wage claims at present pending. If the Ford management can defeat the Briggs workers—and they can only do this by spreading dissension, communist bogeys and the like—they will have strengthened the will of the whole capitalist class to resist other claims.

That is why this is an important dispute. That is why the Trade Union Executives must be forced to give these workers support. That is why the Briggs and Fords men deserve every ounce of help other workers can give them. Never could a body of men on strike more truly say "Our fight

Spokesmen for 23,000 strikers state their case

* Briggs

Our claim for an increase of 9d. an hour to combat the high rise in the cost of living was first tabled before the Briggs Man-agement on April 22nd.

After seven weeks of discussion around the claim, we failed to get the management to even agree to some basis of an offer to enable negotiations to be continued with a view to securing final settlement of our claim.

Our negotiating committee made it clear to the Management that unless an offer or solution was forthcoming on these lines there would be trouble in the factory.

The Briggs Management state that our claim is too high and that we have come forward too soon. This does not go down well with workers who for the past eight months, since our last wage increase, have had to shoulder continually rising prices of essential commodities—a burden that is going to be even heavier when the full impact of Butler's Budget becomes more apparent, and which evidently was intended to fall most heavily on the shoulders of the working class.

The Briggs workers staged a day's protest stoppage as expression of their dissatisfaction at the Management's refusal to negotiate a settlement at this stage, and have supplemented this by token de-monstrations in various depart-ments, including a ban on over-

Arising out of the fact that no progress had been made on the wage claim following this course of action, the workers decided to withdraw their labour.

The Shop Stewards committee are agreeable to discussion with

This article is compiled from official statements issued by the Strike Committees of Ford's and Briggs and elaborated in personal talks with Our Industrial Correspondent.



Jack Mitchell-Briggs Convenor -addressing a mass meeting of strikers

the management providing the talks are along the lines of negotiating settlement of our claim.

The Briggs workers appeal to all workers to assist them by

- 1. Pressing the various Trade Union Executives to officially recognise the strike.
- 2. Taking collections in the shops and sending us financial help.

All contributions should be sent to the Treasurer of the Strike Fund—S Harraway, 26 Holly Rd., Romford, Essex.

* Fords

The Ford workers submitted a The Ford workers submitted a claim for 9d. per hour increase based on high profits (£10,000,000 for each of the last two years) and the rising cost of living which has reduced the value of wages by some 5d. per hour since 1947. It was 'suggested' by the management that this claim be deferred—conthat this claim be deferred-consequently an overtime ban was imposed.

Our neighbours, Briggs Bodies had some time earlier submitted a similar claim which was rejected. Briggs conducted an independent campaign and after various token actions decided to strike.

This immediately affected the supply of bodies to our assembly lines. Ford Management seized the opportunity to suspend, without pay, several hundred workers. They were not prepared to attempt to find these men work, or assist them financially.

The Ford workers were not pre-pared to see their brothers treated worse than slaves and thrown onto the streets as soon as they ceased, through no fault of their own, to make profit for their fabulously rich employer. They are deterrich employer. They are determined not to go back to the conditions of the 'thirties' when work was doled out at the whim of the employer.

District Officials tried to bring about a settlement of the dispute, but were rudely refused a meeting when they insisted that the pre-sence of the Executive of the Shop Stewards Committee was necessary. Credit is due to these officials for their sense of duty to the workers.

The eyes of the industry are on our dispute. A victory for us will be a victory for you. Ford workers

Rising Prices -the Cause

Before making their wage claim last April, the Briggs Shop Stewards made a thorough investigation on the actual costof-living rise. They found that for an average family of four the cost-of-living had risen by 33/- since their previous wage increase. Thus their claim for 9d. an hour does no more than keep them at the same level as last October. The following as last October. The following table gives some of the increases on essential items in the family budget and was compiled in collaboration with workers wives, shopkeepers as well as the official estimates

5 10 2 6 1 8 Milk, Bread, Meat ... Vegetables ... Bacon, Cheese, Flour Cereals, Biscuits ... Fish, Eggs Tinned foods, Soup, Preserves, Coffee,

Salt, etc. ... Supplementary foods Canteen increases ... Official estimate of further increase through

Fuel, Gas, Light ... Soap, Cleansing items

and other items too numerous to give space to here but which every housewife will be familiar with.

The increase of 3/- in the family allowance and relief on income tax was also taken into account, but has been more than offset by the inadequate assessment of Butler's estimate of 1/6d. per head increase in food prices under the Budget

Many experts have estimated this figure as being more in the region of 5/- a head, which has been substantiated by more food increases since our case was compiled.

know they can count on your sup-

Funds are urgently needed to meet cases of hardship and dis-tress, as well as for correcting distortions and attacks on our case

Please send all contributions to: J. Adams, 246, Bennetts Castle Lane, Dagenham, Essex.

Briggs reply to Press Lies

Despite the distortion and misepresentation of the facts in our dispute which have appeared in the Press, the issue at stake is clear and simple—negotiation for a settlement, and not discussion for delay.

We have been labelled tyrants and dictators in the Press, also that we are keeping our members out against their wishes. At our mass-meeting we gave every facility for two speakers to come to the platform and urge the meeting over the mike to vote in favour of a resumption of work on the Management terms. The two speakers in urging this acceptance qualified it by indicating that if the meet-ing with the T.U Officials was-unsatisfactory, then the workers could come out again.

This was a fairly conducted meeting and everyone was free to vote according to his own con-

We challenge anyone to contradict or disprove this. The result was 40 people out of approximately 8,000 voted to return to

We also challenge these pedlars of distortions and self-styled "Champions of the Workers" to come to our platform and tell our workers they are "sheep" and are being muzzled and misled by a bunch of tyrants.

J. H. Mitchell.

Convenor-Briggs.

IS A QUEEN WEDTH MORE THAN AN

One of the blessings of de- likely to make in the employer's mocracy, I suppose, is that Queen and "commoners" alike have their incomes assessed in The worker at the public. wage tribunal and arbitration board—the Royal Family by a Select Committee. But there the similarity ends.

The decision on a worker's wage claim is by no means based on his needs—but on the hole it is

Do you want to know what

rank and file Dockers think

Dock Labour Board?

The Tory Government?

Portworkers'

Clarion

ORGAN OF THE MERSEYSIDE PORTWORKERS' COMMITTEE

Order from:
DAN BRANDON
9, Exmouth Street, Birkenhead

Price 2d.

Mr. Arthur Deakin?

about the

No such consideration applies in the judgement on a "royal wage Here the national exclaim". chequer knows no bounds. Look at the Civil List which has just been published. In record time, the Queen herself received a wage increase of thousands of pounds making her own income up to £475,000 per year—and her husband's up to £40,000.

You are all familiar with these enormous figures—the upkeep of this and that palace, provision for this and that relative (and future

Bv MRS. JANET ALEXANDER

relative!) No other job in the world offers such a return and such security. And not for one person alone, but for a whole group—and based not on ability, but on birth!

And what do we get in return? After all, we know exactly what we get out of an engineer, a miner, a docker, for his £7 to £10 a week. Can any sort of case be made out for paying the Royal Family a higher rate than productive workers in industry? Of course it can't-at least, not if you are

a socialist.

Miss Jennie Lee, M.P., however, supports the institution of monachy. She thinks it is no more expensive than a President. Strange arguments from a socialist-and a left wing one at that.

In the first place, socialists don't oppose the monarchical system because it's expensive (although that is quite an item!) but because it represents heredity and privilege. President-however expensiveat least is elected and can be re-

It is good to see that at least two Labour M.P.'s—James Car-michael and Emrys Hughes—have put down a motion to reduce substantially the present wages of the Royal Family. This is an oppor-tunity for socialists to do what they are very, very rarely called upon to do . . . support wholeheartedly a wage cut!

We now appear Fridays **FORTNIGHTLY**

NEXT ISSUE FRIDAY, JULY 25th

Danger! Ethical Men at Work

The socialist deserters are getting official support

ORGAN PHILLIPS has written a letter to all Constituency Labour Parties urging them to read a pamphlet called Socialism—a New Statement of Principles, written by a group of anonymous people who all claim to be members of the Labour Party but whose identity is a deep secret. Isn't this all very strange?

Other party members—honestly and in their own names—have and in their own names—have attempted recently to re-state socialist principles and look what happened. The "Socialist Fellowship" was banned, the "Socialist Outlook" is frowned upon, Bevan's policy statement "One Bevan's policy statement "One Way Only" is most unpopular in high places . . . but this "new" statement is officially blessed by Mr. Attlee, highly recommended by Morgan Phillips, and issued under the august patronage of under the august patronage of Jim Griffiths who writes its foreword. Why?

The answer is, I'm afraid, only too clear when one reads the pamphlet. It is an attempt to justify the betrayal of our movement by leading it into another and even more dangerous armaments race while continuing the present under-cover coalition with the representatives of capitalism in this and other countries.

THE FIRST FALLACY

Jim Griffiths introduces the pamphlet by informing us that ".. as security removed the fears of yesterday, there emerged a longing for something more than mere security." Why so contemptuous of "mere" security, Mr. Griffiths? And in any case, where is it?

Even under a Labour Government we were preparing for war, reducing living standards for that reducing living standards for that end, showing the Tories how to tinker with the Social Services, emasculating our election programmes and, finally, giving the Tories another election which they won. Does Mr. Griffiths really think that all this proved the workers had at last gained "security"!

Yet the main argument of the pamphlet which Griffiths recom-mends is based on the fallacy that security has been achieved and we can now indulge in ethical con-templations on . . . "human dig-nity". "Despite our successes—or perhaps because of them—we are conscious that the society we hoped to build still eludes us." This we learn on page 11 of this pamphlet, which there continues . . . "The easy confidence of the past is gone and our way forward is beset with difficulties. It is not only that we hesitate whether this or that measure should feature in our next election programme We are re-considering the very foundations of our faith."

JITTERS ABOUT DESTINATIONS

What are we to make of all this? If our proposals in the 1945 Election Programme had failed in practice there might be some in the passage quoted b. But the success of "Let Us Face The Future" is admitted so why cast the faith that inspired our successes? The members of "Socialist Union" may have themselves lost confidence, they obviously have, but that does not entitle them to pass on their jitters to other party members (at 3/- a copy!).

The unionists tell us that "Socialist ideas have advanced from propaganda to practice; power and achievement have put the creed to the test." Then, without showing us where our ideas have failed, our anonymous authors suddenly exclaim "we cannot ex-

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Audrey Wise, 22, Bulwer St., London, W.12

warns Tom Braddock

'HOW LABOUR IS ROBBED'

This cartoon was drawn more than sixty years ago to illustrate William Morris's little pamphlet "Monopoly—or how Labour is robbed." Its clear-cut message is as true today as it was then. To get to the fruits of our labour we need—not ethics—but the removal of capitalists, landlords, policemen and soldiers. No wonder the "new thinkers" don't think much of William Morris.

pect to foresee our exact destina-

What is wrong with our present destination as defined in our Party Constitution: "to secure for the producers by hand or by brain the '? I sugfull fruits of our labour' gest that this objective will keep us pretty busy for a few years, so why start discussing our "exact" destination,,, or have our unionists got atom bombs in mind?

ENTER ETHICS

Our nameless re-staters of principles admit freely that they are confused and, on page 23, they say . . . "this confusion must be cast out . . . no particular method must be defied, each must be reexamined to see how far it can be trusted to lead us towards our goal." And what is that goal? It is, my friends, nothing simple like the ending of capitalism but is, in fact, something which can be described "only in terms of

We are then informed that "the scientific dogmas of the past are

broken reeds" and only by answering the question "to what end?" can we provide ourselves with the "key to future advance". We are urged to look for a "particular evil" which is then defined for us rather unexpectedly as . . . exploitation!

Now the founders of our movement were well aware of the existence of exploitation and they set about revolutionising society so that this particular evil should no longer exist. We have since been carrying on that job not too badly, but now, say the unionists, we must stop and contemplate exploitation in an ethical manner. This is to be no easy job, for a few pages on, we learn that ploitation in its crude sense no longer exists in Britain". Why "Because today the workers are organised in powerful trade unions. We have a long period of full employment"

ANOTHER FALLACY

This statement is just as fan-tastic as Mr. Griffiths' idea that

Exploitation in its crude form does exist because ALL exploitation is crude: the worker is rob-bed of the fruits of his labour. That is why, incidentally, we have created "powerful trade unions". As for full employment, the Labour Party came into existence to end exploitation and not to see that workers are given full-time exploitation. Or perhaps our new unionists have forgotten (if they ever knew) that exploitation takes place on the job, in the factory, in employment!

'security has now been achieved".

However, having condemned ex-ploitation and at the same time proved that it no longer exists, our authors are then, by some mysterious means, able to get what they call "a focus of protest against capitalist society". You think they will now propose to end capitalism? You'll be very disappointed if you do.

OUT OF FOCUS

Their "focus" undergoes a series of remarkable changes on pages 30, 31 and 32: first it is an "ethical conception", then it becomes the "dignity of man" which is later refined again into "equality of opportunity" and finally, to "a single familiar phrase... to lead a full life." All of which boils down to the need of "living in freedom and fellowship".

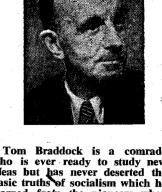
Readers will remember that William Morris discovered this idea some 60 years ago and put it into eight words: "Fellowship in the state of Fellowship in the state of the state o life, lack of Fellowship is ath". In 1952, we do not need a 3/- pamphlet to tell us what Morris and his comrades knew long ago and which we have all understood ever since. Strange to say, our authors really know about William Morris. They actually William Morris. They actually quote the following from his pamphlet "Monopoly—or how Labour is robbed."

"Those . . . that labour in order to live, and who have to ask leave of others for the use of the instruments of labour, are not free men but the dependents of others... for, the commodity they have to buy of the monopolists is no less than life itself."

MORRIS KNEW THEM

The unionists apparently approve Morris' description of exploitation. What a pity they didn't reprint the whole of this old pamphlet, sparkling and clear-cut, instead of their own turgid three shillings worth. For, unlike the unionists, Morris drew solid conclusions from his understanding of exploitation—conclusions which were far too "crude" and frank for our flossy-pink unionists. For example, Morris ended his work on "Monopoly" with this unambiguous declaration: ". . no orguous declaration: "... no programme is worthy the acceptance of the working classes that stops short of the abeliater." stops short of the abolition of private property in the means of production. Any other programme is mesteading and dishonest; it has two faces to it. . . . "

What is the basic conclusion of the new statement of principles?



Tom Braddock is a comrade who is ever ready to study new ideas but has never deserted the basic truths of socialism which he learned from the pioneers when he entered the Labour Movement some 40 years ago. It is there-fore very appropriate that Tom should, in this article, unmask those anonymous people who are trying to revise our socialist ob-jectives. His loyalty to the socialist ideas contained in the old cartoon we reprint on this page may also possibly explain why Tom Braddock cannot get endorsement from the N.E.C. as a Parliamentary Labour Candidate.

On page 27 we read: "It was not the simple fact that the means of production were privately owned which led to exploitation. If this were so, then only a complete were so, then only a complete system of common ownership would eliminate it, AS MANY SOCIALISTS HAVE MISTAKENLY ASSUMED" (my emphasis—T.B.). So the unionists are clearly against common ownership; as William Morris said sixty years ago, their programme is "misleading and dishonest; it has two faces . . . it is sham socialism.

WHAT'S COOKING?

Why do the unionists want to throw over all the old ideas? Be-cause, according to them, the "Labour Party is a national party in which many diverse interests find a home". But who are these members of the Labour Party who represent interests diverse from the workers by hand or by brain? Are they the members of the Socialist Union and those who sup-port them? Let us have some names please, so that we shall know on whose behalf we are to change the nature of our Party.

The new statement finally concludes with a section called "The Way Forward". And this, not unexpectedly, resolves itself into an appeal to support the armament programme and to increase production. What a triumph for the new ethical approach! Greater production and armaments—that is, work for waste. Strange, these are also the watchwords of the Tory Party, that organisation of pious ruffians which is also chock full of "ethics". Are these the "diverse elements" who are to find a home in our Party? The Socialist Union is keeping queer company. It had better watch its

I could say a lot more about this pamphlet, but I think I have said enough to show the highly dangerous character of this very suspicious "New Statement of Principles" so highly recommended by Mr. Morgan Phillips.

Army Education is biased

LABGUR

LANDLORD

T the recent Labour League of A Youth Conference, Bob Pennington said that education in the forces was in the hands of Colonel Blimps, whose main object was to put over anti-Russian, anti-colonial and anti-working class propaganda.

Some people who have not had the pleasure of serving in H.M. Forces might have thought this league of Youth delegate exaggerated. I assure you he did not.

Only a few days ago the men in my unit were given a lecture. The speaker, an officer, opened by saying that these lectures were "unbiased" and given purely to stimulate interest. But, he added, we were essentially a fighting force and our enemy was Russia!

Why were we in the forces? Why were our brothers being called up for Z reserve, and our fathers joining the Home Guard? Because, said our unbiased lecturer, we had to be prepared for a Russian attack! He went on to tell us how, in the seven years since the end of the war, munism had started three wars of conquest in China, in Malaya, and

in Korea.

Emphasising that speakers on current affairs were impartial and simply 'experts' giving us an all round view, our particular 'expert' closed after 15 minutes and no questions were

If the Labour Movement wants to protect its sons and daughters from being cannon fodder for future imperialist wars against the Soviet Union, action must be taken to protect the youth from such insidious propaganda.

As a first step let us have Lab-our and Trade Union speakers

as part of the Army Educational system: people who will give us the working class point of view; who will explain to young sol-diers the truth about China where the people have risen to overthrow Chiang Kai Shek, whose corrupt regime was backed to the hilt by American dollars. The truth about the "Terrorists" in Malaya, who were armed by us to fight the Japanese and were promised their independence at the successful conclusion of the war.

Give us in the armed forces the democratic right to hear all sides of the question

A Conscript....

... and this is why

TEWS has just been released—and nowhere denied—that British troops stationed at the Habbaniya air base in Iraq on June 8th opened fire on a strikers demonstration.
...Several strikers were killed and

many others wounded. The strike was for higher wages.

To get British workers in uniform to shoot down in cold blood

their fellow workers on strike for higher wages is only possible under a military system that teaches young conscripts that "all foreigners are devils", that the "reds are our enemies" and other poisonous nonsense.

This bloody incident tragically underlines the need for working class education for conscripts.

FIGHTING FUND

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sey St., London, S.E.1

THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Will there be an extension of the war in Korea eventually enveloping the whole world? This is a problem troubling the minds of all thinking people who dread the thought of atom bombs falling on large towns and cities and ing on large towns and cities and exterminating thousands of men, women and children in one hell-ish blast. But lacking political clarity on the laws of capitalist society, many people fall easy prey to opportunist and reactionary

Peace and the capitalist system are mutually exclusive. To talk of peace under capitalism without attacking the system itself is playing right into the hands of the war-mongers. The Peace Movewar-mongers. The Peace Move-ment is therefore opportunist. It attracts those of a sentimental and emotional nature who ardently desire peace but are not prepared to up to the implications involved in a real fight for peace.

The struggle between nations for markets, raw materials and spheres of influence where the financial barons can profitably invest their surplus capital eventually leads to war. A real fight for peace involves sustained propaganda among the common people against the capitalist system showing how it breeds war. The real warmongers are those who make profit out of the slaughter of the com-mon people and by means of war hope to extend their opportunities of making more profit.

The Peace Council's reply should be the propagation of in-dustrial action by the organised workers for political objects. Peace will not be obtained by signing petitions, but by the elimination of the capitalist system on a world scale.

John McLaren. Glasgow.

KOREA AND FRANCE

As a former member of a French trade union, I should like to impress on your readers the urgency of what is happening in

The refusal of the French capitalists and their Pinay Govern-ment to provide decent living conditions for the French people; the banning of demonstrations and other traditional forms of public propaganda; the arrest of leading members of the Communist Party

and Trade Unions and other working class organisations; all this coincides with the arrival of General Ridgway, whose record in Korea this government are trying to make their own.

We must therefore understand the parallel as it appears to the French workers—under the pre-tence of "containing Communism" the "plague general", as he is known in France, and his associates have slaughtered hundreds of thousands of ordinary Koreans, laid waste their country and wrecked the industrial achiev-ments of the Korean Peoples' Government.

Under cover of the arrest of the acting General Secretary of French Communist Party-Jacques Duclos—and other pro-minent working class leaders, the Pinay Government, acting under American orders, are waging a war against the whole French people, and are likely to intensify their terroristic methods in the efforts to crush the French working class.

By their fight against the ban-ning of the Communist Party the Australian Labour Movement struck a blow against Australian Faries. We must realise that the fight for the unconditional release of Duclos and the others is not fight for Communism; it is a fight for the maintenance of democratic liberties in France. It is a class fight against the Vichyist Pinay Government, the Gaullist fascists and the domination of the plague generals; a fight on behalf of the working class and the whole people.

French Socialist. London.

SOCIALISTS AND BEVAN

The recent criticisms of Bevan The recent criticisms of Bevan and Bevanism in the columns of "Socialist Outlook" are no doubt justified. However, anyone who has studied "One Way Only" and contrasts the policy presented therein with the present official Labour Party policy, will surely realise that Bevan's policy is much pearer to real socialism and more nearer to real socialism, and more deserving of the critical support of socialists than Attleeism, which has dominated the party too long. Socialists must make the best of the available materal while striving for a real socialist policy.

Liverpool. J. Granville Marsh.

'Don't Ratify This War Plan'!

Urgent appeal from W. Germany

Westfalen, June 19th

WHEN the democratic world fought fascism in World War 2, their statesmen said "Victory for democracy is essential". But you British people who fought to destroy the cruel system of concentration camps and gas chambers of the Hitler regime, were betrayed.

All the soldiers were betrayed. Their sacrifices were in vain—for today, the American and British imperialists are preparing a dark, Hitler plan for exploitation and aggressive subjugation of the

And they are using Hitler's slogan to do it: "We defend world peace and western civilisation against Bolshevism!" Just like Hitler, they are spreading lies and rumours to divide the people. It must be stopped.

The German people will not fall for these lies which come right out of the fascist dictionary. That is why we resist—in great demonstrations—the ratification of the so-called Contractual Agreement.

But we need your support. **NEVER FORGET DACHAU!**

Ratification of the Bonn Treaty means the re-armament of Western Germany, and the come-back of all the old fascist Generals who fought the battles for fascism and led their armies in a trail of terror across Europe. Never forget Dachau, Auschwitz, Lidice, War-saw and Coventry!

And never forget that these horrible acts were all carried out under the pretence of "making the world safe from the danger of Bolshevism"!

The Soviet Union suffered much

General Van Fleet in a speech

made in January of this year, "Korea has been a blessing. There

had to be a Korea either here or some place else in the world."

LABOUR'S CENSURE

futile was the motion of censure moved by Mr. Noel-Baker on

behalf of the Parliamentary Lab-

our Party. In the mildest of terms—almost apologetically—the

Tory Government was "censured"

consultation prior . . . to certain

the raid itself—not a whisper of a suggestion that the bombing was

a deliberate attempt to sabotage the possibility of a successful con-clusion of the Armistice talks. No wonder Mr. Churchill in his reply to what he called "the excellent

speech" of Mr. Noel-Baker, jubi-lantly exclaimed . . "We, the Government of the day . . had

hardly a word of criticism direc-

Fortunately, however, people like Noel-Baker represent a diminishing force within the Labour

applause they received from the

Labour benches, show clearly enough that a large number of

the entire rank-and-file of the Party!—is thoroughly sick of this

coalition with the Tories and their

American masters on foreign

THE LAST FENCE

this growing opposition from assuming real leadership in the

Party, and that is the continued

acceptance of the idea that the war in Korea, despite the "mistakes" of the Generals, must still command our support on the

grounds that it is a war against

Wedded to this false idea, the

opposition—good speeches though

aggression".

Only one thing now prevents

The speeches of Michael Foot and Barbara Castle, and the

to say nothing of almost

ted against us"

Not a word of condemnation of

"failing to secure effective

Against this real background to

Yalu River bombings, how

They are bitterly opposed to another war. They are pre-occupied with tremendous projects of peaceful construction. have no mad, Hitler dreams of world conquest.

from brutal fascist aggression and her people remember the terrible losses in human life and property.

A NEW ENEMY

Yesterday it was the armies of itler which threatened the Hitler which threatened the peoples of Europe and Asia. Today it is the guns and atom bombs of the United States. Man-kind is struggling towards tomorrow, and the armed forces of the U.S.A.—the defenders of the "American way of life"—become the defenders of that which was. Like their counter-parts in Germany and Japan, they are preparing to make war not only against the world . . . but against the

And to fight their war they are making us all pay in higher taxes, higher prices, and lower wages—all to support a horrible re-armament programme. The rulers of America claim to be the "only friend" of Britain—but they don't help to raise your standard of living. On the contrary, they are forcing it down lower and lower. The only help they will give is guns to make us all killers—killers for imperialism.

And they are making Britain their atom-bomb base and supply base so that your country will be a target in the war that they are

Comrades of Britain! This is never a war for democracy! It is a war—like Hitler's war before it for the exploitation and subjugation of the common people! We in Germany will fight against it. Help us all you can and see that your Government is not allowed to ratify the first step towards war the reactionary Bonn Treaty!

Friedrich Jaeger

it makes-will always crumble into frustration whenever the direct question is posed: what other course do you propose?

There is no way round it. There is only one effective reply which will free our hands for a real fight against Mr. Churchill and his allies within the Party, and that reply is . . . Withdraw all British troops from Korea!

A mass of evidence now exists —the Yalu bombings are only one example—to prove that, whoever was the aggressor two years ago, there is only one aggressor now: the Wall Street millionaires who issue the orders to their Generals to frustrate all the efforts of the Koreans and the Chinese to obtain a peaceful settlement.

It is a dirty war-a war against a people fighting for its national independence and for freedom from domestic exploitation as represented by the bestial regime of Synoman Rhee. In our opinion it has always has been such a war. That's why we have refused to support it right from the start.

But for those who still have doubts, we urge a reflection on General Van Fleet's ominous words quoted above . . . "there had to be a Korea". If there HAD to be a Korea, is it not safe to assume that those who now plot, scheme and deceive the people to plotted to START it.

(from page I) * KOREA

of prolonging the war was correctly described by Michael Foot, speaking in the Commons debate on the recent bombings, as one leading inevitably to "a futile, wretched and bloody invasion of the Chinese mainland." It is also, the Chinese mainland." It is also, he might have added, a policy which perfectly coincides with the plans of the rulers of America for world domination.

WHO PROFITS?

Without the war in Korea, the dictatorship of Rhee would long ago have col-lapsed; Chiang Kai Shek would now be left stranded without pro-tection on the island of Formosa; the Americans would have great difficulty in preventing revolu-tionary China from taking her rightful seat on the United Nations; the Japanese Peace Treaty which resarms the militarists and crustes the workers could never have been signed; the people of America could not have been panicked into this ruinous arms drive nor the people of Britain persuaded to turn their country into an American atom bomb base; there could have been no West German rearmament for there would have been no "red aggression" to point to.

And finally, without this war in Korea, American economy— already bursting at the seams— would by now have exploded into a slump of such proportions as to make 1931 look like the last word in prosperity.

Stated frankly and brutally by

COTTON SLUMP (From page 1)

orders, and the home market has dried up. Vast stocks of unsold goods lie on the shelves of warehouses and shops.

Why? Is it because people don't want shirts, frocks, sheets, curtains, shoes or furniture? Obviously not. It's that they haven't the money to buy them.

That the slump should be occurring during a colossal arms programme is an indication of the depth of the capitalist crisis.

PALLIATIVES NO GOOD

During the "Seven Good Years" which followed the war, less attention was paid to the question of nationalising the mills. There were tremendous improvements. Many believed the bad old days had gone for ever. They failed to appreciate that the better wages and hours, the five-day week and the fortnight's holiday with pay were due less to any change of heart among the employers than to full employment.

Mill owners knew that to threaten workers in the pre-war ways merely meant he walked across the street to another job waiting for him. For once, the cotton employee was enjoying the greatest freedom the working man can have—the freedom to tell an unjust boss what to do with his

Full employment has gone. Perperhaps the cotton unions and the Labour movement will now realise that palliatives are not enough. There must be a fundamental change.

WHAT NEXT?

The National Executive of the Labour Party is at present considering what programme the next Labour Government should adopt. It is a job in which every local Labour Party, every Trade Union Branch, should participate.

A big extension of State ownership must be a key part. And high on the list of industries for

nationalisation should be the cotton industry.

It was advocated by the cotton 11 was advocated by the cotton unions and by the T.U.C. in the 32-page plan issued in 1935, by the T.U.C. with a foreword by Walter (now Lord) Citrine. It was roughly along the lines later adopted by the coal industry and in some directions, went further. It stated, for example:

"Workers' Councils should have the right to nominate candidates with the necessary capacity and experience for consideration in appointments to the Sectional Boards."

ACTION WANTED

I have personally encountered a new attitude in Lancashire since Christmas. Not one of hopeless ness such as was widespread in the long pre-war depression but one of determination.

"The government must act or go" they are saying up here. They have no intention of being forgotten men this time. They have tasted full employment and are not going to relinquish it without a struggle

That is why the Tory defeats in the local elections this spring were particularly heavy in the North West. For the first time in history Labour swept into control of the Lancashire County Council.

Everywhere I find the government being blamed, even by people who have been hitherto little interested in politics. "They are deliberately driving us out of the mills into arms jobs", some unemployed workers are saying.

Whether or not the government planned the "recession" there is a widespread suspicion that the Conservative leaders are not terribly displeased to have "11 men for 10 iobs" to use one Tory M.P.'s historic phrase.

"This government doesn't really believe in full employment, it makes the workers too indepen-

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dent", I have heard mill operatives

say. It is certainly true that the government is doing little to help end the slump. WORKERS ARE RESDY

In my own view the two immediate tasks for militant Socialists

1. To organise a tremendous campaign throughout the country to get this government out before worse disasters befall at home and abroad. There should be shock tactics and spectacular moves. How about an unemployed march on London, for instance?

2. To commit the annual conference of the Labour Party at Morecambe to a policy of transforming Britain's eco-nomy in its next five years

The workers are ready for both

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