

Welcome To The Weekly 'Outlook'

by Tom Braddock

DURING the past fifty years I have written, I suppose, some dozen or so messages to welcome this or that local Socialist paper or news sheet. On the founding of the "Socialist Outlook" about four years ago I wrote another.

I regarded the paper then as one which would possibly do a useful job of work in putting over to members of the Labour Party some information on basic socialist principles. I didn't think at all about its future. Had I done so I am sure I would never have contemplated the paper occupying the position it does today.

It has become the only national paper that holds to the traditions which inspired the birth of our movement and at the same time recognises the force of Marxist criticism of the western way of life.

STICKS TO PRINCIPLES

It is the only paper that is applying those principles to the conditions and problems which face us in this age. An age of ever increasing tension between a dying capitalism and a socialism that is in a position finally to supplant it as our modern community.

As a result, "Socialist Outlook's" appeal and influence have grown at an ever increasing pace. Comrades all over the country have looked to the paper not only as a means of keeping in the main stream of Socialist thought and method. In addition, the paper has become a bastion of Socialist faith and power in a welter of confusion, mistrust and doubt.

"Socialist Outlook's" message, springing from the deep-rooted convictions of the rank and file of the Labour and Trade Union movement, has become a rallying ground for all who stand for the final victory of Socialism not at some distant date but **HERE AND NOW**.

It has had to grow, and now its message will be heard not at monthly or even at fortnightly intervals, but **EVERY WEEK**.

This is the first issue of the weekly. Comrades! We are facing the final struggle. Make this paper a stronger and keener weapon for use in the final destruction of capi-

talism here in this country.

We all know a Socialist victory is necessary to put this country in line with world events, and it is, of course some advantage to hear Socialist opinion coming from British people. But our power and our glory would be increased a hundredfold if those same opinions came from a Socialist Britain.

Socialism begins at home. Use the "Socialist Outlook" week by week to achieve that end. We have not got a lot of time left if Britain is to take its place as the leader of a Socialist world.

The Shame of Kenya

This is a picture of the indignities the Kenya people are made to suffer under the shadow of British bayonets. Rounded up . . . on suspicion only! Mau Mau terrorists? No! Just hungry workers who, living in abject poverty, want to make a living on the good land stolen from them by rich white settlers. We doubt whether Mau Mau even exists. Every people fighting for freedom has been falsely accused of "terrorism". Remember the Irish people in 1916!

The only terror in Kenya of which there is definite and irrefutable proof is . . . the terror unleashed by the armed white settlers against the unarmed Kikuyu people. Eleven thousand arrested, cattle confiscated, women beaten up, schools closed down and papers suppressed. It is shameful. Give the land back to the Africans. Clear out of Kenya and let the people live in peace. Don't allow the Tories to turn Kenya into another Malaya.



KENYA: Appalling Conditions

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P., back from a three weeks' fact-finding visit to Kenya has made the following statement for the "Socialist Outlook".

"Leslie Hale and I went to Kenya on the invitation of the Kenya African Union which has been recognised by Jim Griffiths as the most important and representative organisation of Africans in Kenya.

"The Government has arrested most of its local and national leaders, most of them have been rounded up not on charges of complicity, but as suspects for screening. The Kenya Government appears to have decided to screen the majority of Africans who have been active in politics in the hope that in this way it will be able to catch those who are responsible for Mau Mau.

"Two African members of the Legislative Council, Mr. Odede and Mr. Awori have stepped into the breach and become president and treasurer of the Kenya African Union. The new secretary is Mr. Joseph Murumbi, one of the ablest Africans I have ever met. I hope that he will shortly arrive in this country to help us give the facts of the situation in Kenya to the public.

"There is even a danger that the

Kenya African Union may be proscribed. This would be a fatal mistake and would drive more Africans into the Mau Mau. The Governor General, Sir Evelyn Baring, told us that he recognised the need for an African organisation, but the danger is that a stooge organisation will be created which would fail to reflect the grievances and demands of the African people.

"We must oppose every attempt to proscribe the Kenya African Union and must insist that the

BLESSINGS OF CIVILISATION IN KENYA

IN Kenya, in 1947, of about 160,000 adult male African employees in all industries except agriculture, more than 88,000 were in the group earning 30 shillings or under per month; 30,000 or more were in the group earning between 31 and 40 shillings per month, and an additional 17,000 earned between 41 and 50 shillings per month.

Thus, almost 136,000, or about 84 per cent. of all male African employees, earned 50 shillings or under per month.

(U.N. Survey "Review of Economic Conditions in Africa".)

appalling economic conditions of the Africans be urgently remedied. They are due to land hunger, starvation wages and probably the greatest increase of the cost of living in the world.

"The most hopeful thing we found was that among the more enlightened Europeans as well as among the Asians, Africans and Arabs there is a realisation that reforms to meet these grievances must be introduced."

Mr. Brockway described the initial hostile atmosphere which greeted him and Leslie Hale on his arrival as a "vicious atmosphere of criticism of the Europeans", but, after a personal meeting with Mr. Blundell, one of his most adamant opponents, he achieved some promise of co-operation with a view to finding a solution on these lines.

Mr. Leslie Hale managed to see a number of people who did not wish to meet Mr. Brockway, and both studied the legal aspect of the present situation.

They were not allowed to see Mr. Kenyatta who was imprisoned 400 miles away, but they did see Mr. Koinange, the ex-chief and arrangements have been made for his defence.

It is probable that an English

barrister will go to Kenya in the near future. Following Mr. Pandit Nehru's appeal, the Indian Bar at Nairobi has decided to give the ex-Chief every assistance.

Mr. Fenner Brockway feels that his trip has been very useful indeed. It will help him to carry on a constructive fight for the Kenya African Union in this country, and has enabled him to disprove many of Mr. Lytleton's statements.

Help Us Make a Workers' Paper

WE now have a Weekly newspaper—but we don't have a big staff of trained journalists. We can't afford it. But in any case, this is a Worker's Paper and must be WRITTEN by workers. We must have correspondents in every town where the paper is sold and read.

Send us your reports of the local Labour and Trade Union movement; what is being decided, what is being discussed, what the enemies of Labour are up to—anything which you think is of interest and value to the movement. Particularly news of the industrial struggle.

Don't worry too much about the grammar. It's not very important anyway. Put into print all those ideas and views which you express

IN less than four years the "Socialist Outlook" has grown from a monthly publication into a national weekly newspaper. At a time when numerous weekly papers are closing down, this is a tribute both to the policy which our paper has consistently advocated and to the buoyancy of the Labour Movement from which it draws its inspiration.

This, the first number of the weekly, is an appropriate time to re-state some of the basic aims of our paper.

First of all, the "Socialist Outlook" has no aims separate

and distinct from the aims of the great majority of Labour Party members. Those who produce the paper are themselves all active members of the Labour Party. We believe in Labour. We believe that it can do the job for which it was founded—to finish off this Tory-ridden system of wealth, privilege and the ugly pursuit of private profit.

We started the paper in 1948 because we were alarmed at the complacency being shown by so many of the leaders of our Party. Their talk of putting off further nationalisations in order to "consolidate the mixed economy" angered us as it angered so many other socialists inside the Party. We wrote against these Morrisonian proposals in almost every issue of our paper. Now the argument has been settled.

REAL CONSOLIDATION

The Morecambe Conference—and the T.U.C. before it—decided unanimously to press on with further nationalisation. In fact, the new N.E.C. has been instructed to draw up a list of basic industries to be nationalised for inclusion in the Party's next Election Programme. The workers have decided to consolidate in the only realistic way—by extending public ownership at the expense of private property.

Morecambe also put paid to the argument over the Free Health Service which was Labour's greatest achievement as a Government. Mr. Gaitskell and his fellow right-wingers attacked the Health Service in the interests of stepping up a frightening arms drive. Mr. Bevan resigned from the Cabinet in protest, and this paper supported Mr Bevan's action.

Now the Party Conference has declared that the next Labour Government must not only restore all the cuts made in the Health Service—it must extend both the scope and the value of this great social service. Mr. Bevan's position has been overwhelmingly en-

in the workshop, in the canteen and in the pub. Make your paper a real workers' paper and . . . thereby make it live. Send in articles as well, keep them as short as you can—but send them in. This is YOUR paper. You like it, you sell it, you finance it, now you must . . . WRITE FOR IT. You won't get paid—but you will be helping the socialist cause.

A word on the Fighting Fund, comrades. Every month we shall now need £68 to keep going. We have no revenue from advertising. We rely entirely on the generosity of our friends and readers to see us through. Don't let us down. Send in that donation—however small—RIGHT NOW. Thank you.

The Editor

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WEEKLY

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1952

3d.

To Knock Out The Tories - Lead With Labour's Left! The Slogan for Victory

dorsed by the rank and file of the Party.

WORKERS CONTROL

"Socialist Outlook" has consistently championed the cause of workers control of industry. We have maintained that ex-owners, Tory generals and City brokers are not people to be trusted to run great public services like the Mines or the Railways. That, too, is now agreed. Conference decided to train workers in administration and has instructed the next Labour Government to bring in legislation "to increase democracy in the workplace."

We have also argued in these columns against the policy of paying huge sums of compensation to the ex-owners of the nationalised industries. We believe the interests of the producers should come before the interests of those who previously exploited them. On this question, too, the Annual Conference took big strides forward.

Contrary to what many people have been led to believe, Morecambe carried unanimously a resolution which flatly opposed the paying of any further sums of

Editorial

compensation in the industries to be re-nationalised, and also decided that "the basis for compensation in the newly-nationalised industries shall be fair to the consumers and the workers."

VIGILANCE NEEDED

All these and many other decisions of Morecambe must now be weaved into a coherent programme with which to beat the Tories. That is the task of the new N.E.C. It won't be easy. The Old Guard, by their vicious attacks on Mr. Bevan and his supporters, have shown that they are more concerned about crushing the Left than beating the Tories.

But a vigilant rank and file—supporting the Left Wing members of the N.E.C. in every attempt they make to interpret the Morecambe decisions in a bold and socialist manner as desired by the membership—can frustrate all the Gaitskell's, Deakins and Lawthers.

The existence of "Socialist Outlook"—and indeed of all the other papers which some of the Right Wing want to close down, "Tri-

(Continued on page 4, col. 1)

URGENT

Your "Socialist Outlook" is now on sale through the Newsagents.

No matter whether you want one copy or a bulk supply you should place your order with your local Newsagent NOW without any delay.

The newsagent will in turn order from his wholesaler who will be supplied by us. If you do not place your order immediately there is a danger of some delay in receiving copies of the paper.

If you have any difficulty send us the name and address of your newsagent, together if possible with that of his wholesaler, to Business Manager, 177 Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1.

Africans want FREEDOM — not

'Federation'

Says M. Banda

NOBODY in Central Africa wants "Federation" — nobody, that is, except the copper monopolists. The entire African community—chieftains, civil servants, shopkeepers, workers and peasants are opposed to this reactionary scheme.

Mr. Attlee himself admits that "few Africans are prepared to support or even to give reasonable consideration to Federation". "It is dangerous", he continues, "to carry through Federation against the weight of African opinion." ("Daily Herald," 8/9/52.)

There are two main reasons why—dangerous or not—Messrs. Huggins, Lyttleton, Welensky and Co., are so eager to push "Federation".

THIS is Labour's policy - it MUST be applied

"The Labour Party aims at removing all forms of discrimination between the peoples. It believes that men and women of every colour, creed and country have the same right to enjoy those freedoms which are necessary to the dignity of man. It believes that all forms of exploitation whether economic, social or political, must be ended."

(From "Labour's Foreign Policy" passed by the Morecambe Conference.)

adherence to a foreign power or State."

The North Rhodesian Government has already anticipated this clause by deporting Simon Zukas, the European leader of the African National Congress.

In case anyone might think that 6 African stooges could not influence the decision of 29 Whites, Huggins and Co. have contrived a clumsy fig-leaf to hide their naked dictatorship. This is the African Affairs Board whose ostensible purpose is to "protect" the interests of the Africans. It consists of seven people—a Chairman appointed by the Governor General on the approval of the Secretary of State, three Europeans, and three Africans, all nominated by the Governors of the three territories.

This completes the farce—and this is what Mr. Huggins and Hopkinson mean by "Constitutional Safeguards for African Interests". As Mr. Attlee has said: "Recent

actions of the Union Government have cast doubts on the effectiveness of constitutional safeguards". ("Daily Herald", 8/9/52.) They certainly have! And the function of this African Affairs Board is not to prevent, but to complicate and obscure, the passing of reactionary laws in a haze of legalities.

Labour can play an important role in smashing this conspiracy against the African people by agitating, both inside and outside Parliament, against these proposals; by refusing to support any of the repressive measures now being used against the African peoples in any of the British Colonial territories; and by recognising the historic and inalienable right of the African people to land, liberty and equality.

Not Federation—but "Immediate freedom for the African peoples". That must be Labour's slogan.

WEALTH THEY WANT

In 1948, Africa produced 98.4 per cent. of the world's output of diamonds; 80 per cent. of the total output of Cobalt; 58.9 per cent. of gold; 35.5 per cent. of the phosphates, approximately 30 per cent. of the chrome and manganese, and 18 per cent. of the copper. 68.3 per cent. of the world's cocoa; 69 per cent. of the palm oil; 75.5 per cent. of the sisal; 40.4 per cent. of the hard fibres and 15.3 per cent. of the coffee.

There are considerable deposits of uranium ores and concentrates—both indispensable to the production of atomic bombs.

These facts are taken from the "United Nations Review of Economic Conditions in Africa."

Having lost a considerable section of her overseas investments in Asia and Latin America during and after the last war, British Imperialism is now hastily trying to make up the loss by a more efficient and more intensive exploitation of cheap labour and raw materials in Africa, and in Central Africa in particular. That is the economic basis for Federation.

SOCIAL STIRRINGS

But the African himself constitutes a political obstacle to this economic scheme. As "Labour's Foreign Policy" says, "Africa too is feeling the same deep social stirring as has come to full expression in Asia". That is why a WHITE dictatorship has become vitally necessary for British and American Imperialism. They see it as a barrier to the further progress of African Nationalism, which is today threatening to undermine the whole basis of Imperialism throughout the vast continent of Africa.

The proposals for Central African Federation are designed to fulfil precisely these two conditions.

SERETSE KHAMA:

Sacrificed to Appease Malanzis

AN excellent little pamphlet* published by the Seretse Khama Campaign Committee proves beyond all doubt that the banning of Seretse was part of an appeasement policy towards the racially minded South African Government started by the Labour Government and since continued by Churchill.

Churchill, when in opposition, asked whether "this chief was being treated fairly"; and spoke of his having been "enticed" out of the country and "a point of honour" being involved. Now, in office, the Tory Government have

* "Seretse Khama and the Bamangwato People". Seretse Khama Campaign Committee, 17, Bishop's Bridge Road, W.2.

Socialist Outlook

177, Bermondsey St., London, S.E.1.

HOP 4554

Editor: John Lawrence

The preface to the report on Federation states that under this scheme "The most efficient use . . . of the capital resources of the whole region in finance, raw materials, power, labour and technical skill would be promoted" and moreover "such a unity would be stronger from the standpoint of defence".

In order to achieve these ends, a Federal Government is proposed—whose legislative power would reside in the Legislative Council consisting of a Governor General, representing the Crown, and a Federal Assembly. This Assembly will have power to legislate on such matters as External Affairs, Defence, Customs, Railways, etc.

Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would continue "under the special protection of Her Majesty" to have separate Legislatures responsible only for territorial and local matters.

LEGAL ROBBERY

The Federal Legislature will, according to the sponsors, have power "to make provision for the compulsory acquisition of land for Federal purposes subject to the provisions of the particular orders in council." This is a convenient loophole for depriving the Africans of their remaining land.

The Assembly will consist of 35 members: 26 elected members, 7 elected members for African interests, and 2 appointed members for African interests.

Of the nine members representing African interests only six will be Africans. Their election, however, will be decided by the Governors of the three territories—who have the power to decide which body of Africans is representative and which is not. In other words, democracy for the stooges only!

The qualification for African members is especially severe. Paragraph 8 states "No person will be qualified to be elected as an elected Member for African Affairs who— (a) is by virtue of his own act, under any acknowledgment of allegiance, obedience or

announced that Seretse's banishment "must be confirmed and made final".

When a delegation of Bamangwato leaders visited London in April 1952, to protest at Seretse's exclusion, they not only went back empty handed but shortly after their return many were gaoled. In May, a new Kgotla re-affirmed the decision to have Seretse as Chief and decided to end all co-operation with the British Administration.

The Administration replied by using tear gas and batons on a crowd made up mainly of women—imprisoning 167 people (40 of whom were women) and passing severe gaoled sentences on them.

There have since been ominous reports of police and troop concentrations and serious allegations have been made about the prisoners' cruel treatment. To crown all, the tribespeople have been penalised by banning sales of cattle to South Africa, which is their only source of income.

The Campaign Committee, appeal for money to help the Bamangwato people in their fight for their own form of Government and the return of Seretse Khama.

White Man's Terror!



What the colour bar means in South Africa is seen in this signpost displayed on a white man's farm, facing the main road leading to Vereeniging, Transvaal.

White settlers in Kenya, the Rhodesias, and Bechuanaland would like to be free to deal with the natives in the same way, and it is against the spread of such terror that the Africans are determined to fight.

Anzio Memories

By Harry Shindler

A Butcher Goes Free

March 1944. I was outside Rome at the time. A soldier in the "anti-fascist" war. We had broken out of the Anzio beach-head and were attacking the outskirts of Rome itself. The German army was retreating.

Italian Partisans were active in Rome, and German soldiers were dying at their hands. So the German General acted. He ordered reprisals. But against whom? Soldiers? An opposing army. No—against civilians, men, women and children.

Three-hundred and thirty-six of them were herded together and taken to the Ardeatine Caves outside Rome. There they were manacled with barbed wire and each one was shot in the head. The cave entrance was then blown in, and the miserable Fascist General moved north with his army. Later

KEEP 'EM IN THEIR PLACE, SIR!

ACCORDING to Sir Ernest Guest, President of the White Settlers' Rhodesia League "It has been very unwise of the British Government to seek the views of Africans on federation. We (the settlers), are better judges of what is best in the interests of the Africans than people who live 7,000 miles away."

It simply does not occur to Sir Ernest and his pals that the people who know best what is good for the Africans might even be the Africans themselves!

the cave was discovered and Rome mourned its dead.

But the General was not finished yet. 170,000 Italian Partisans were now in action, engaging 14 German divisions. Partisan casualties were 26,000 killed and 23,000 missing. Again the Fascist General ordered reprisals—and again the reprisals were against civilians.

When the S.S. murder gangs had finished their barbarous killings, 17,243 Italian civilians, including women and children had been slaughtered—11,881 of them in mass executions!

It was at this time that the same German Fascist General issued an order to his commanders. It read as follows:—

"I will protect any commander who exceeds our usual restraint in the choice and severity of the methods he adopts against partisans."

The name of this monster—as you have probably already guessed was . . . Kesselring.

At the end of the war he was sentenced to death for his crimes. That was soon commuted to life imprisonment and today he is free as the air. Free! And using his freedom to terrorise the German people again with noisy demands for the release of all his cronies of the German General Staff who are still in jail for their crimes against humanity.

I have friends in Italy, people who fought in the partisan movement. They write to me and say "If Mussolini had lived he too would now be freed and crusading with his friend Franco for 'our Western way of Life!'"

Speaking my mind

On . . . Party and Leaders

by TOM BRADDOCK

WE do not accept a dictator-type of leadership: "Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do or die." This was alright for the Charge of the Light Brigade, but it does not suit the British people.

We are democrats, and each has a say through the ballot box—at least that is the theory. But does it work out in practice? Well, yes, perhaps—but not in a very satisfactory way when we are muddled about things. But if we are clear about what we want, where does our clear thinking come from?

Obviously from writings or arguments. Therefore, the people who so write and argue must be . . . leaders. But not in an undemocratic way. No orders are given, we take their advice or we leave it. We have freedom like the Ministers of the Crown taking advice from the Civil Service Chiefs.

But are we really so free? We seldom get more than one alternative, proposal A or B. This is obviously very limited, and even that is not the full story. There may be nothing more than a difference of emphasis between A and B and, in these circumstances, our freedom of choice means very little indeed. And this is especially true in politics.

Within the living memory of most of us who are older than 45 or thereabouts, political choice was for years confined to a choice between Tory and Liberal. Both stood for the same things, there was no real choice, it was 'one way only'. It seems, therefore, that unless we want to remain in a perpetual state of indecision WE MUST FIND A DEFINITE LEADERSHIP.

That is an inevitable conclusion. How does it affect a political party like ours?

As a Party, we are faced with the duty of qualifying ourselves, first to fit the role of leadership thrust upon us, and then to justify our position in the eyes of the working class.

I can imagine a feeling of impatience rising in the minds of my

readers at this point. You will say: Of course we know all that—it is what we are, and have been, doing. But have we? Have we provided our class with a clear lead since 1945?

Over a wide section of our national life there has, up to now, been no distinction in the House of Commons between the Tory Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party. On foreign policy this unity of policy was even welcomed by our leaders!

On home affairs, it was soon agreed that nationalisation should go no further. We were asked to "consolidate" our victories and from then we started to love the "mixed economy". Indeed, many of us got so bemused by all this, that we thought the objectives of our movement had at last been realised!

Labour members of Parliament fell down and worshipped the outward ceremony of parliamentary life. A frequent expression heard in Westminster was . . . "The House was with you, comrade." The "House" might have been—but more often than not, and for that very reason, the workers were not!

In fact, it was this attitude that lost us the support of the electorate which means, in substance, the working class. Presented with the day to day spectacle of members of Parliament behaving like gentlemen, many workers lost confidence in us. The Parliamentary Labour Party lost its way—it failed to lead—and, although the workers followed out of loyalty, a majority of the electorate, faced with this choice between 'Tweedledum' and 'Tweedle-dee', decided to turn to the Tories. We lost the election because we had stopped LEADING.

Can we recover the confidence of the workers? Of course we can—but to do so the Party must recover its sense of direction. Morecambe was a big step forward in that respect. It showed that at least the rank and file want LEADERSHIP. Yes, leadership in the sense I have tried to describe it, does matter. Its essential quality is confidence first in oneself and the Party, and then in the working class as a whole.

There are too many comrades going around saying that, "the workers have got what they deserved for voting Tory", that it will be a lesson to them and that in future they will vote Labour having seen the error of their ways.

This quite overlooks the fact that the Labour Party is itself largely responsible for the position. It can be overcome if it is realised that leadership is required all the time. Otherwise it will be but a short step from a present gentlemanly House of Commons to a fascist dictatorship. And that, of course, is the negation of all leadership.

As a member of the Labour Party, the responsibility is on you, comrade. You are destined to finish off the Tories for all time. There is nothing to stop you achieving this great objective which will indicate that the capitalist system is finished. Give a lead. DARE TO BE A LEADER!

Do you want to know what rank and file Dockers think about the

Dock Labour Board?
The Tory Government?
Mr. Arthur Deakin?

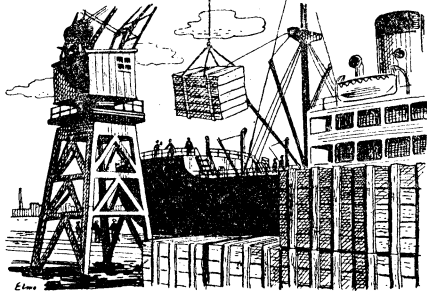
Portworkers' Clarion

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The 'Bad Old Days' Return For Dockers



THE employment position in the docks is going from bad to worse. In some ports shipping hasn't been so bad for thirty years. Unemployment figures, which have been mounting for many months are now in the region of 20,000.

This serious situation in the British Ports is the outcome of bad Government policy.

Their wagon hitched to the American star, the Tories have followed a policy of deliberately restricting imports which has, inevitably, resulted in falling exports. If this policy is permitted to continue, then we are due to witness the greatest slump Europe has faced for many years.

Redundancy in the docks will be the prelude to redundancy throughout industry, followed by wholesale attacks on working class wages and conditions.

Dock unemployment has now been given top level discussion, but not because anybody is interested in assisting the docker. How to economise at the people's expense is the only and the priority, consideration of the Government.

WHY THE SECRECY?

According to a report in the "South London Press", one would think that the Dock Labour Board and the Unions were running a secret service! They report that the Dock Labour Board will give details of the numbers regularly drawing attendance money only if the information is requested by Parliament! It goes on to say that the Unions actually discourage any dockers' M.P. who thinks about asking the Minister of Labour for the figures.

Why all this effort to discourage elected members of Parliament from finding out the true position. It is an unhealthy sign, and a very dangerous one.

One would have thought the Unions would have been eager to expose the Tory Government's role in this very serious matter, which

Meeting of 500 London port workers met in Canning Town Hall on November 16, to discuss unemployment.

The meeting unanimously agreed to fight for the following:

1. Immediate negotiations for trade with all countries.
2. Restoration of £600,000,000 import cuts.
3. Increases in wages—"fall back" guarantee and attendance money more in line with the cost of living.
4. One call a day.
5. A decent retiring pension.

Who Owns 'Socialist Outlook'?

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All the officers of the Society are elected at the Annual General Meeting of the Society as well as the Committee of Management. The Editorial Board of the "Socialist Outlook" is appointed by the Committee of Management.

The Chairman of the Society is JACK STANLEY, General Secretary of Constructional Engineering Union. TOM BRADDOCK is the Treasurer. TOM MERCER is the Secretary. JOHN LAWRENCE is the Editor.

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Men say "Union must act"

"What happens in dockland today happens in the rest of industry tomorrow," said Alf Robens in a recent speech in Parliament.

This is the second 'Socialist Outlook', report on the growing mass unemployment among British dockers.

will ultimately concern the livelihood of many thousands of workers outside the docks industry.

A bitter pill for most dockers to swallow is the payment of National Health Insurance whether they are employed or unemployed. Unlike other unemployed workers who sign on at the Labour Exchange twice a week, the docker is forced by law (Regulation of Employment Act 1946) to sign on eleven times a week! And to make matters worse, most unemployed dockers are drawing below the National Assistance rate paid to the unemployed in other industries.

Many whom I spoke to were bitter towards the T. & G.W.U. All were agreed that the Union could have done something to ease the burden, if only they forced the issue with the Dock Board for "one call a day" instead of two as at present (8 a.m. and 1 p.m.). Dockers told me they hung around the streets from the early hours

of the morning until after they had signed on at 1 p.m. Some of these men had up to nine miles to travel home.

In wet weather this must be a soul-destroying business. One old docker said to me "this is almost as bad as the hunger days of the thirties, and still the Union does nothing".

WHO PAYS WHOM?

I was surprised to learn that the Ministry of Labour is not responsible for the Dockers' unemployment pay. Quite rightly the docker asks, what happens to the contributions paid every week?

The unemployment register is maintained by a levy of 22½ per cent. paid by the employer on all wages paid by him for labour hired. Many people I spoke to, suggested that the Ministry of Labour should contribute to the maintenance of the unemployed port-workers. These same people could not give any reason why unemployed dockers must pay Na-

tional Insurance contributions out of their own low unemployment pay.

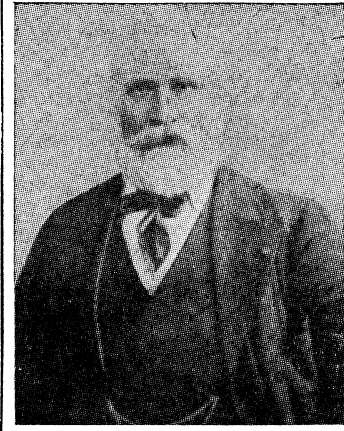
Everybody seems convinced that it is time for the Dock Board to be overhauled. There is a very strong feeling that the Board is being used as a medium to regiment the port-workers and that it is collaborating much too closely with the employers.

The overall impression I was left with was that the whole industry is in the early stages of revolt. When it was suggested to some members of the T. & W.G.U. that they should move resolutions through their branches and get things done constitutionally, the reply came: "It doesn't take a resolution to know that the country's main industry is being deliberately brought to a stand-still by Tory Big Business!"

The dockers' don't want to smash the Dock Scheme. They want it cleaned up from within. More humanity must be shown, stupid restrictions imposed by

THE 'DUMB DOGS' OF WESTMINSTER

by KEIR HARDIE



CONTINUING our reminders of the sort of ideas held by the pioneers of the movement, we publish below an extract from an article by Keir Hardie written for "The Miner" in July 1887!

"... I have contempt for the men who, knowing what should be done, are yet afraid to proclaim it from the housetops if need be. It is the half-heartedness of the present leaders which keeps our cause from progressing."

"If respectability be maintained by silence regarding the suffering people, then away with it. If it be not possible for Parliament so to legislate as to enable an honest, temperate and industrious workman to spend his working days in plenty and his old age in comfort, then Parliament is rather a hindrance than a help."

some local port officers must be lifted and the attendance money for signing on eleven times a week must be increased to at least £6.

Dockers mention that port welfare, particularly in London, is non-existent. Year after year these same problems keep cropping up. The public is led to believe that the Union, the Government, and the Employers are about to solve the problem, then up comes the same problem again, little or nothing having been done.

No wonder the British Docker is angry, discontented and on the point of revolt.

"But what difference will it make to me that I have a working man representing me in Parliament if he is a dumb dog who does not bark, and will follow the leader under any circumstances? There is something even more desirable than the return of working men to Parliament, and that is to give working men a definite programme to fight for when they get there, and to warn them that if they haven't the courage to stand up in the House of Commons and say what they would say in a miners' meeting, they must make room for someone else who will."

And what was Hardie's programme? It was very simply put forward in the same article.

"The age is emphatically scientific, but the production and distribution of wealth are allowed to proceed in helter-skelter fashion without direction or guidance. Labour, which is the source of all wealth, is compelled to stand idle, while the people starve."

"The only possible remedy is a new economic departure in which our entire industrial society shall be worked on the principle of one vast co-operative camp. This would mean the advent of economic socialism, which is demanded alike by reason and equity."

Away with the dumb dogs who neither bark nor bite! That's not a bad slogan for our present movement either, come to think of it.

'Herald' no longer Labour's Voice

Says Herbert Feilden (Southport C.L.P.)

IN 1945, Mr. Attlee obtained an enormous majority. The electorate were demanding socialism and popular rule. This was an unparalleled opportunity to carry out the wishes of the people, but Mr. Attlee, by his subsequent actions and reactions, threw away all the hard work of years put in, on the platform and in the press, by the rank and file of the Labour Party.

The prime minister threw it all away by pandering to the Tory principles with which he began his political life.

The basic mistake was this. Too many members of the Labour Cabinet tried to graft socialism upon Tory and Liberal stock. They forgot that it had been tried before by Ramsay MacDonald and had been proved an utter failure.

A typical illustration of this during the last Labour Government was the creation of peerages for tame Labour stooges. It did enormous harm to the cause of socialism—especially since so many of

the newly created "Labour" Peers quickly settled down to the life of all the other lord and ladies! ladies!

What must a world which is fast moving towards popular rule and independence think of "democracy" which elects a House of Commons subject to an un-elected body of Big Business and Land-owning interests!

At Morecambe suggestions were made for the ending (not the mending!) of the House of Lords—but they were strongly opposed by Mr. Herbert Morrison speaking for the National Executive Committee. Yet this policy should have been one of the first objectives of the Labour Government. It still remains an urgent task of the Movement. Until this unrepresentative institution is abolished, we only pay lip service to socialism.

Another fatal weakness of the Attlee Government was its attitude to the socialist press. Of all the tools necessary to the building of socialism, none is more important than a one-hundred-per-cent socialist press.

A socialist paper, enthusiastic for our socialist cause, and welcoming new ideas, could have gained, after 1945, the biggest daily circulation in the history of this country. Instead of which, the tame "Daily Herald" has failed socialism, discouraged the younger generation and the members of the League of Youth, and remained merely the mouthpiece of Right-Wing Cabinet Ministers. The workers have passed their verdict on the "Herald". Its circulation has dropped.

OUT OF TOUCH

A docile "Herald" may have suited Mr. Attlee and his public school friends—but its docility has aroused the greatest indignation amongst the socialist rank and file of the Labour Party, who have been deprived of a voice to utter their socialist aspirations.

The "Herald" is right out of touch with Labour opinion. The Morecambe Conference proved that conclusively. Although that Conference recorded a big swing to the Left—and elected new

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leaders more representative of the new mood in the Party—the "Herald" was utterly unprepared for these events. No glimmering of these changes had ever appeared in "Labour's Own Daily" because it had for many years ceased to reflect the true feelings of the rank and file.

The anti-socialism of the old Labour Government, which gave both Home and Foreign policies such a pallid blue perspective, permeated its columns. Plenty of space for the doings of Royalty, for the crime stories, the sex, and the witch-hunts against the Left

but precious little space for the socialist desires of the rank and file.

No wonder its circulation amongst Labour supporters has fallen. I doubt whether anything can be done about it—especially as it is owned in a majority by a capitalist concern, Odham's Press—but in any case this much is clear. Socialists everywhere must support their own paper, the "Socialist Outlook", as a weekly—and from there carry it forward to the greatest Daily Socialist Paper that Britain has ever possessed.

Conference Demands a Socialist Press

Mr. Feilden raises here what is uppermost in the minds of many Labour supporters, namely, the decline of the "Daily Herald" as a socialist force. Much as we are determined eventually to make the "Socialist Outlook" into a Daily, we are equally determined to throw our whole weight in the move to rescue the Herald from its present plight. It would be false to write the Herald off without a fight. We need all the socialist dailies we can get!

As a start to that fight, we print below a composite resolution which was not discussed at Morecambe but which was "referred" to the new National Executive for its study and opinion.

DAILY HERALD

(Composite Resolution)

"That this Conference places on record the help given by the "Daily Herald" to the Labour Movement over a long period. It is, however, seriously concerned at the failure to put in the forefront the views and activities of the Labour Movement. More space should be devoted to reports on Parliament and particularly to back bench speakers."

"Adequate space should be given to contributors from within the Party regardless of their opinions, permitting them to say what they think. More foreign correspondents should be maintained abroad."

"Activities of Constituency and Local Labour Parties and Branches of the League of Youth should be more widely reported and once a fortnight a column should be devoted to this purpose."

"Conference views with concern, the appalling lack of Scottish

editions and is of the opinion that the need for this service to the Scottish public is long overdue."

"Conference therefore urges that the "Daily Herald" should strive more consistently to give a constructive socialist lead, especially during the present period of Tory rule and if this can only be achieved by the National Council of Labour taking over 51 per cent. of the shares, now held by Odham's Press, then such action should be taken."

This resolution stood in the name of the Wiltshire Federation of Labour Parties, St. Pancras (North) C.L.P., Isle of Wight C.L.P., and Hamilton C.L.P.

Nottingham Readers

Hear

John Lawrence (Editor "Socialist Outlook")

A Socialist Policy For Labour

Cosmopolitan Debating Society - Nottingham

Technical College, Shakespeare St.

Sunday, Nov. 30th 2.30 p.m.

8 CORRECT DRAWS AGAIN

(5th time in 11 weeks)

On Saturday, November 8th, "Topwin" Treble Chance selections AGAIN INDICATED 8 Correct Draws. The method has now indicated 8 Correct Draws on five occasions during the past 11 weeks. It may sound unbelievable, nevertheless it is true (proof this paper). Correct draw bankers have now indicated, in only 11 weeks, 226 Winning Lines on the 3 Draws Pools. Personal successes in the past 10 weeks now total 49 Dividends including 17 Dividends THIS WEEK on Treble Chance, etc. Earlier this year, I won 3 FIRST DIVIDENDS ON A TREBLE CHANCE POOL. My personal entries for the past 10 weeks have won EVERY WEEK. (No losing weeks.) The Method is simple to operate and requires NO PERMUTATIONS. Suits all pockets—in fact it is the ideal method. Congratulatory messages continue to pour in making it obvious that the "Topwin" Method is a proved success for all types of Pools entries. If you too wish to win regularly, don't delay, send to-day.

A S.A.E. will bring free details

To TOPWIN (Dept. 7), 17, LINKS ROAD, BLACKPOOL Stop Press! Again Nov. 15th—4 DRAW BANKERS, 5 AWAY BANKERS and 10 HOME BANKERS CORRECT.

CORONATION WASTE

HUGE sums of ratepayers' money are to be wasted on Coronation festivities. Old age pensioners especially are disgusted.

Mr. E. Welsh, an old-age pensioner of Romney Buildings, Millbank (London), asked at the Forum Group Abbey Community Association whether the Coronation would not prove "too expensive for the country".

"I have tightened my belt so much that I can't tighten it any more... The Westminster City Council is to spend £150,000 on decorating the streets. Yet people in council flats are told to decorate their own homes because the Council can't afford to do it themselves."

He added that the Government could not afford to give an extra half-a-crown to old age pensioners, yet they could afford to give £40,000 a year to the Duke of Edinburgh.

Westminster. A. Kirkby.

LEFT-WING UNITY AND THE C.P.

Mr. Harry Pollitt speaking at Manor Place Baths, Southwark, had the following to say on the question of Left Wing unity: "The outstanding weakness in the Labour movement is that the Left itself is not united. One of the tests for active workers in the labour movement is how quickly they can help all sections of the movement dissatisfied with the policy of the Right-Wing Labour leaders to get together now to work out a common programme that can effectively answer Butler's and Eden's challenge... It was time to drop sectional and personal quarrels. There was no power which could prevent a united working class at the next General Election from obtaining a decisive victory over the Tories and electing a new kind of government that could put into operation a new kind of policy."

May I end by saying that, though relations between Russia and the outside (above all the Western) world have been almost uniformly bad since Peter the Great, the Russians have managed to live in peace most of the time. London, E.5. A. Super.

EDITORIAL (Contd. from Page 1)

bune", "New Statesman", and "Reynolds"—is the best guarantee of a vigilant socialist membership. In the fight for the freedom of the Press, for freedom of expression within the Party and against witch-hunting in every form, the "Socialist Outlook" will continue in the forefront.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

We have always held that foreign policy is, fundamentally, determined by the policy adopted at home. The reason why the last Labour Government got itself so tied up with the United States war plans was because the leaders tried to build a Welfare State at the same time as they tried to prop up British capitalism. It didn't work, and it couldn't work.

British capitalism is based on overseas possessions. It is crazy (and non-socialist) to attempt to use the wealth extracted from Malaysians, Persians and Africans... to finance a Welfare State here at home. Quite rightly, the colonial people objected. They, too, wanted a little welfare! In the inevitable clashes which followed, Mr. Attlee showed that he preferred war AGAINST the colonial people rather than socialist co-operation with them. We actually had the indecent spectacle of Mr. Morrison sending a gun-boat up the Persian Gulf to collect the dollars needed for the Welfare State!

With such a policy we soon found ourselves ranged with Truman, Franco, Syngman Rhee et al, against the great mass of humanity in Asia and Africa. And from this it was but a short step to a full-blooded alliance with the U.S.A. and a war programme directed against the Soviet Union and all the colonial peoples.

All that followed—atomic research, arms drive, American occupation and, finally, the destruction of the Welfare State itself... was the result of trying to build "socialism" and preserve capitalism at the same time.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

But now that Morecambe has decided on a socialist home policy



of the Party is prepared to fight for this 'new' policy against the pro-capitalist policies of the Right-Wing. This is the significance of the Bevan movement which, insofar as it aims at mobilizing the ranks against the Right-Wing, transcends all "sectional and personal quarrels".

It is only through the defeat of the Right-Wing and its policies that the road will be open for the election of a real Labour government following a truly Socialist policy. This is the ONLY government and the ONLY policy which can secure the interests and express the hopes of the British working class.

It is, therefore, the duty of every progressive who is genuinely concerned about working class unity in the struggle for socialism, to be IN the Labour Party helping to build the left-wing and return a socialist government in the next General election.

Streatham. M. Banda.

RUSSIA AND BRITAIN

It is, of course, true that this country (and not only this country) tried intervention in Russia after the Revolution. It is true that we treated Russia with much less consideration in the pre-1939 years than the Germans showed her. It is also true (and it is surprising how few people seem to know this) that for at least 250 years Russia has pursued a steady policy of expanding her borders to the warm seas, especially to the E. and S.E. of Asia.

Further it is a fact that Great Britain and the U.S.A. disarmed to a considerable extent very quickly after the War. Personally I think they were right to do so, and I deplore the present rearmament, but I'm not sure that I would welcome a disarmed Great Britain and a heavily armed Europe.

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HOW could so sinister a crew of capitalist reactionaries ride to power in the United States?

The wise men of the press are saying that the election is far more a personal triumph for Eisenhower than for his party. They point to his unprecedented six-and-a-half million majority in the popular vote, while his Party, the Republicans, secured control over the two houses of Congress by the slimmest of margins.

Obviously, many millions of exasperated Americans looked toward Eisenhower as "the strong man" who could be depended upon to "clean up the mess in Washington". They have been taken in by the propaganda from the top-most councils of Big Business and High Finance which have been grooming the General for this post since 1948.

THE SMILING FRONT

The "We Like Ike" campaign was cleverly promoted by professional publicity experts to put over this smiling front for the Big-Money Boys. They depicted Eisenhower not only as a victorious commander, astute diplomat and able administrator, but as a homespun man of the people, with Mamie by his side, whose heart throbbed for the common folk.

His Democratic opponents had themselves earlier taken a hand in this build-up. Truman several times offered to support Eisenhower for the presidency and a number of labour and liberal leaders implored him to run in 1948.

This personal popularity coincided with an irresistible demand for a change in the White House. The masses were fed up with the Democratic regime on many counts. Their grievances included

Report From America

Why Eisenhower Won

By American Socialist

the high cost of living and heavier taxes, the exposures of corruption in the highest offices, the Democrats' failure to fulfill their promises to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and remove discrimination against the Negroes.

The deepest source of dissatisfaction however, was with the Korean War, the most unpopular war in American history. They felt that Truman's "police action" was either a mistake or miserably mismanaged. Many families have been hit by the casualties which are well over 130,000. Others see

SOLDIERS DON'T LIKE GENERALS

"Mr. Eisenhower's election was taken very quietly by American troops serving in Korea. Generally speaking, the result was popular among regular officers, but unpopular among reserve officers and enlisted men."

(News item from "Daily Telegraph")

their sons taken away for the Korean front when they reach 18. They have become suspicious of the prolonged negotiations.

The American people hoped that Eisenhower might cut this tangle in some way. He played his trump card by promising to go to Korea and see if he could stop the war. Although he did not guarantee to do so, his vague promise won wide support.

The hope of ending the Korean war was far stronger than fear that he would start a Third World War.

If the Democrats sowed seeds which the Republicans harvested

in the case of Eisenhower's candidacy, they did the same in respect to the anti-Communist issue. After Truman had initiated the Cold War with its heresy-hunting atmosphere and measures, the Republican pack, headed by Nixon and McCarthy, howled that Truman's administration was too soft. If Communism was so serious a menace, they were able to clean up the country far more vigorously and thoroughly. While the liberals bleated that the Democrats were "doing well enough", the McCarthyites replied: "let's finish the job in a ruthless manner by cleaning up the New Deal along with all the rest."

T.U. LEADERSHIP FAIL THE WORKERS

The Republican victory was not only a defeat for the Democrats and their liberal supporters, but also for the policies of the trade union leaders.

Ignoring the tremendous popular discontent, they backed both the domestic and foreign policies of the Truman administration. The three leading union bodies, the AFL, the CIO and the United Mine Workers, endorsed Stevenson and worked for his election. What, then, could the dissatisfied workers, Negroes, housewives and mothers do to register their opposition?

Suppose the Liberal Party had ruled England for 20 years and the people had grown sick and tired of it. Then, in line with their Liberal-Labour policy, the union leaders called upon them to give this party their confidence for another four years. The frustrated workers could then only turn to the Tories in desperation as the sole effective means of protest. Something like that happened in this election. The labour leaders offered nothing, but a continuation of the same old thing.

If they had issued a call for the formation of a national Labour Party, the whole political situation and outlook would have been different.

TERRIBLE RESULT

Even if a Labour Party based upon the unions did not elect its national candidates, it would have opened up an entirely new road. Their failure to do so has given the United States its most reactionary administration in modern times.

Behind the Five-Star General in the White House will be the Old Guard Republicans entrenched in Congress. Taft at the head of the Labour Committee, McCarthy in charge of the Committee on Government Operations, Jenner, Chairman at Public Works and Millikan at Finance, with Nixon presiding over the Senate.

The sight of this gang of anti-labour cut-throats in power is bound to provoke some serious reconsideration of their policies in

labour circles; it will surely bring about a big shift in the relations between the national government and organised labour.

For the past 20 years the labour movement has been accustomed to view the White House as more or less friendly, despite the treacherous blows delivered at times by its occupants. Now the union leaders—and even more the workers—know they no longer have to deal with a false friend but with an open enemy.

The Republican victory is bad news for the English and European nations. Almost everyone has recognised that. It brings the dangers of a new war, or a new depression, much closer. The capitalist dinosaurs among the Republican Old Guard make Churchill look like a liberal. They look upon even the Right-Wing in the British Labour Party as no better than "creeping Communists". They will try to squeeze Britain mercilessly while demanding that it fulfill all its military obligations—or else!

Just as the Republican sweep is forcing American labour to reconsider its past course so it should make British Labour and its leaders pause and reflect just where the Atlantic Alliance, towed by the ultra-reactionary representatives of U.S. Big Business, is taking them.

B'ham Wants Action

BIRMINGHAM Trades' Council at its November meeting showed its determination to fight the Tories. It carried overwhelmingly the following resolution:—

"That this Birmingham Trades Council, recognising that the Tory Government obtained office by lies and deceit and being well aware that it is using its parliamentary majority to smash the Social services and to depress the standard of living of the working class and that in general it is conducting a struggle against every progressive force of the twentieth century, request the Trades Union Congress (a) to approach the National Executive of the Labour and Co-operative Parties with a view to organising monster demonstrations against the Tory Government demanding its resignation and, (b) also to request the T.U.C. to support the Trade Union Movement when it is forced into industrial action to defend the living standards of its members with the object of rallying the entire working class for the early return of Labour to power."

Attempts on the part of some delegates to delete item (b) were also overwhelmingly rejected!

The Fruits of Arbitration

THE Government and the Employers organisations have given a great deal of thought to this problem, and have decided that, for the moment, the magical figure is about 7/6d. per week.

No matter whether the Trade Unions have applied for "substantial increases", for a percentage increase, or for a set sum, whether large or small, the results of the various claims taken through arbitration have been very similar.

Table with 3 columns: TRADE, CLAIM, RESULT. Rows include Engineers (£2 a week), Busmen ("substantial"), Farm Workers (5/-), Railwaymen (10 per cent.), Road Haulage ("substantial"), Electrical ("substantial"), Shipbuilding ("substantial"), Gas ("substantial"), Miners (30/- a week).

The notable exception is the Miners. They will not be satisfied with this result, and neither will the workers and the rest of industry.

leaders, that desire must triumph in the Party. 'Lead with the Left and Beat the Tories!' That is the message of this first number of the Weekly "Socialist Outlook".

End Piece

The Patriot

"YES," said Councillor Herbert Turnipnose puffing contentedly on his pipe, "I suggest that with our surplus £10,000 we put our town on the map."

"We can illuminate our Parks, Town Hall, Public Buildings, Cathedral, University and Art Gallery. With such a blaze of glory even Blackpuddle's famous lights will appear dimmed in comparison."

His eyes took on a far away look as he contemplated this ambitious scheme for the forthcoming celebrations and the credit which would be his. However, his flight of fancy was cut short as the voice of the youngest member of the Council enquired, "Could a small fraction of this surplus go to meet the dustmen's wage claim?"

Councillor Herbert's jaw dropped. He stared in amazement at the young offender. "The dustmen's claim", he echoed. "Are you serious? My dear young colleague, you must tell the dustmen that on such an auspicious occa-

sion as this, when every town, village and hamlet is preparing, they must not put self first. Citizenship and patriotism are at stake. Tell them how beautiful our town will look—tell them anything."

"I've tried all that," replied the youthful Councillor, "but they say that their wives and kids can't eat honour, or live on duty. I suggest you tell them yourself—remember you are coming up for re-election next May."

Turnipnose stroked his chin thoughtfully. "H'm—yes" he said, and after a pause—"well, we must tell them that this is being done in their name for them and their bonny children."

"We could have illuminated tableaux on road safety for the benefit of the children." He began to brighten up at this new prospect of gaining honours without losing the support of his constituents. "Why", he announced, "we could even organise special tours of our illuminations and charge for them. The money will help to keep the Rates down."

At that moment the Town Engineer walked into the Council Chamber and handed Turnipnose a slip of paper. He studied it carefully and his face took on a sad expression. He looked up thoughtfully, then tersely rapped out, "Gentlemen, we must think of the dustmen. Their need is great. I vote that we give them their wage increase."

Even the hardened old Councillors were flabbergasted by this sudden summersault. They could think of nothing to say—except to agree with the proposal. Then Turnipnose and a few others left the Chamber to meet a dustmen's delegation. A little while later, the puzzled young Councillor heard a shout from outside—"Good old Turnipnose!"

He walked over to the waste paper basket and fished out the Town Engineer's note. It read: "Illuminations not possible in July next. Not dark until 11 p.m." A smile spread over the face of our young Councillor, "Yes," he thought, "we must put honour and duty first."

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