

Socialist Outlook

WEEKLY

No. 56

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1952

3d.

Tribune Wishes 'Best of Luck' to the Weekly

I DON'T agree with many of the things that you say in "Socialist Outlook", but in accordance with good Socialist tradition which some Socialists seem to have forgotten I will certainly fight for your right to say them. No-one can read the history of the Labour Movement in Britain without realising what a vital part Socialist journals have played in building up the strength of the Movement.

This is all the more important today when almost the entire press is in the hands of our enemies. So from one of your competitors, *Tribune*, I wish you the best of luck.

Michael Foot.

Michael's Foot's letter of good wishes is a fine example of real democratic socialism in practice. It is deeply appreciated by all connected with the *Socialist Outlook*. Our paper is based on these same prin-

ciples of freedom of expression within the movement, and we assure Michael Foot that *Socialist Outlook* will fight against any attempts which may be made to silence the voice of *Tribune*.

PRESS LORDS FEAR EXPOSURE

THERE is nothing the newspaper millionaires fear so much as exposure.

A definite though temporary improvement was noted when the Royal Commission on the Press was set up shortly after the war. Just a coincidence, I suppose, but Lord Kemsley, for instance, stopped sending regular "directives" to the editors of his long list of provincial papers, telling them how to treat certain stories.

And exposure would result from the main recommendation of the Royal Commission which was that a Press Council should be set up, among other services, to report on the doings and misdoings of the newspapers.

Since then the Press proprietors have stalled. They took two years to give their views on the recommendations. Then they put forward a ridiculous proposal that the National Union of Journalists

being included on such a Council. The paper ignores the fact that the Press is not something which belongs to a handful of rich men. It is a matter of vital importance to everyone.

"What can outsiders know about it?" is its attitude. They know plenty. I can think of many a rank-and-file trade unionist who could ask some highly pertinent questions about present-day malpractices.

The Royal Commission itself consisted almost entirely of "lay members" and, after reading the 38 volumes of evidence they elicited from witnesses I say they showed no lack of acumen.

This evidence, though of great interest, was given hardly any notice in the newspapers. And the final report was misrepresented so as to appear as a vindication of Press conduct. Ye gods! If that was vindication I shouldn't like to see condemnation.

THE WEAKNESS

Here lies an undoubted weakness of a Press Council: that only a small body of citizens would bother to go to H.M. Stationery Office and buy its reports, which would be boycotted in most newspapers.

Therefore I urge that when a Press Council is at long last established it should be given funds by the government of the day to take advertising space in the newspapers to reprint sections of its reports which it believes the public should see.

This could be done in the way that the Food, Labour, War or Defence Ministries at present take advertising space.

If omission, distortion and biased selection of the news is not to hold back progress this is a battle to be won. It is as vital as any wage struggle. It will not be won unless the ordinary members of the movement use their power.

by Frank Allaun
MEMBER NATIONAL UNION OF JOURNALISTS

should be allowed only two seats out of 25 on the council, which they knew would prevent agreement being reached.

PRESS GAG NONSENSE

Conservative journalists are today trying to convince their readers that this is a sinister move by Labour to gag the Press. It is nothing of the kind. The original demand for setting up a Commission on the Press was put forward by the Manchester branch of the National Union of Journalists and later adopted by the national annual conference of the union. The N.U.J. has always been a strenuous upholder of a free Press.

"The World's Press News" the trade paper of the newspaper world, is protesting righteously against the proposal of four lay members (from the general public)

Aneurin Bevan Demands a Real Socialist Policy

Says 'Labour will not have War on China'

Reported by
EVI UNDERHILL

IT would have been easy for Aneurin Bevan to have used his packed meeting at the Princes Theatre last Sunday, to reply to some of the vicious attacks that have been made on him during the past few months. Instead he used this opportunity to call upon the new N.E.C. of the Labour Party to unite the movement around a real socialist policy. Let us concentrate on that, the main job, he said, and "put the more squalid events behind us."

There could have been no better and more effective reply to the

critics within his own party than this call for unity and his assurance that the Labour Party is alive and fighting fit.

There was no declaration of war, no personal attacks on Labour leaders but only a statement of policy which would have been nothing unusual before 1945. The only attacks he made were on the capitalist press and the Tory Party. But these were well directed and were, in fact, a challenge to the Right-Wing of the Party.

"We must organise an opposition in the House of Commons which knows its own mind," he thundered. "We must not forget that we are the majority party and we have a very great responsibility: to get this Government out

as quickly as possible." But, he continued, "nobody could vote Labour if it makes itself look as much as possible like the Tories. There is only one reason for people to vote Labour and that is because Labour is different!"

BALDWIN AND CHURCHILL

Labour must show the country that its policy is different from Churchill's which, he added, "should not be very difficult." Churchill presides over the economic decline of Britain in 1952 like Baldwin did in 1935 and "the longer he lives the more he looks like Baldwin". He then dealt with some of the Tory "achievements".

Mr. Butler was proud, that the pound had increased in value, so had Baldwin been proud to put the pound back in its place at the expense of two million people on the breadline! This figure has not yet been reached under Butler, but that was mostly due to the employment of many people in military production.

Mr. Bevan laughed at the "sound tooting of international finance" where America was buying arms from Europe in order to put dollars into the pockets of people who lost dollars by making arms.

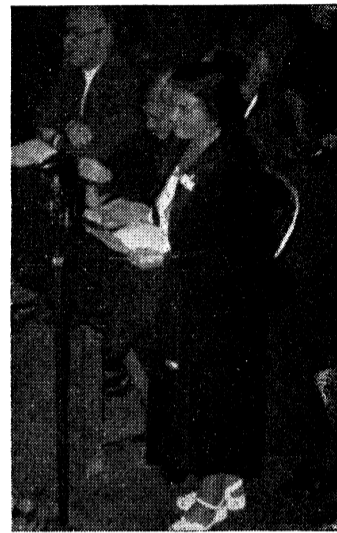
HOUSING "ADVANCE"

Mr. MacMillan's housing programme, he explained, was entirely at the expense of industrial development and other capital expenditure. "It is obvious what happened. Mr. MacMillan must have said to the Ministers of Supply and Education, step back a little boys, so it will look as if I am advancing".

"For five years we had the leadership of the Labour movement of the whole of the world," he exclaimed "we can get it again." He demanded further nationalisation: "It is not possible for British landlords to preside over ill-used, or unused, land. We shall have something to say about that, we shall also have something to say about Chemicals and I.C.I."

FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. Bevan thought it was time that the policy of America and of the Soviet Union were modified by the free voice of the rest of the world. "The war in Korea could be brought to an end in a few weeks, if the Americans could be brought to realise that the Chinese revolution is a fact" he



JENNIE LEE

"Looking for communists under the bed is the coward's way of evading the real problems which confront our movement."

said. Then he added, amid cheers: "We will not accept a solution which will involve an extension of conflicts in Korea against the Chinese nation."

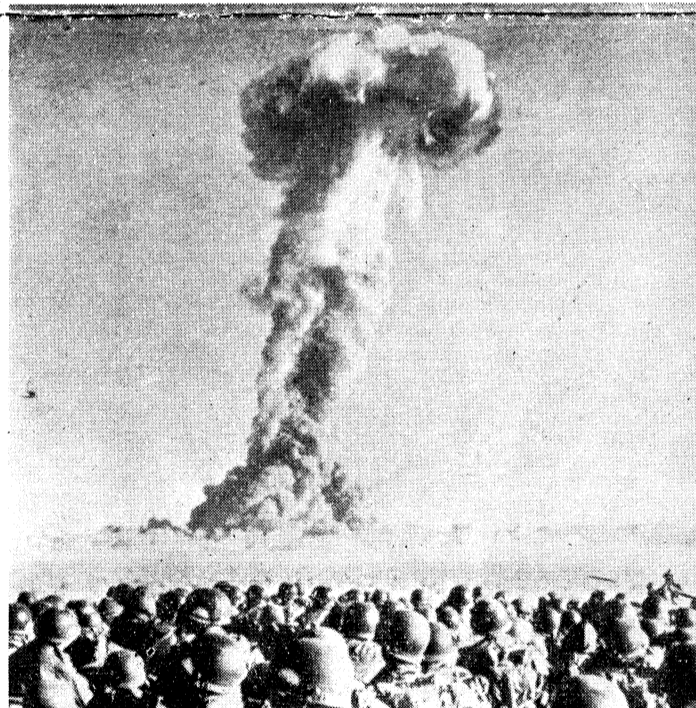
He deplored the money which is being paid to Krupp as a "desecration of the memory of those who died in the last war". He thought that America would be wise to show a little more respect for what Europe had to say.

He denounced the communist bogey as an "alibi". The revolutions which are sweeping the world, he said, "are revolutions in their own right". It is absurd to believe they were plotted in Moscow. "If British Labour does the job as it should be done, there will be no need for the Communist Party."

The warm applause at the end of his speech showed that the audience appreciated both his demand for a progressive socialist policy and the serious and conciliatory manner in which he had presented it. It also showed that the Parliamentary Labour Party is out of touch with the rank and file which every day endorses Mr. Bevan's vigorous opposition to Conservatism.

Other speakers were members of "Tribune's" editorial board—Jennie Lee, Bill Mallalieu, Ian Mikardo and Michael Foot. The latter made a vigorous defense of the freedom of the Press. Referring to recent attempts by certain elements in the Labour Party to shut down "Tribune", he ended "We will never, never surrender our right to publish our views in a free press."

The Challenge to Socialism



Atomic explosion. The Hydrogen bomb is a thousand times more destructive. (See Editorial below.)

Economics of the Hell Bomb

THE atom bomb pictured above—the bomb which killed outright 60,000 people in Hiroshima—is now obsolete. The United States has succeeded in exploding a bomb—the Hydrogen or Hell Bomb—estimated to be at least fifty, if not a thousand times as powerful as the atom bomb.

One authority has stated that such a bomb dropped on London would cause devastation as far north as Cambridge, as far south as Brighton and even Cardiff in the west would suffer damage. One bomb! No wonder "Reynolds" has described H bomb warfare as "the point of no return".

We could fill this article with descriptions of the horror that this latest military monster can cause. But that would not answer the question: how to prevent such a catastrophe.

The Hell Bomb is being produced today to serve the interests of the rulers of capitalist society. For proof of that statement just look at the recent Parliamentary debate on the economic situation. It revealed that a new slump is upon us.

Only seven years after the destruction of the last war the period

Editorial

of so-called reconstruction is finished. Tory spokesmen described competition in the world markets as "fierce" and "cut-throat". They reveal that British production has declined by at least 10 per cent. over the last year. Unemployment is nearly half-a-million with many more on short time working.

Ominous references were made to the difficulty of competing with German and Japanese capitalism

where the wages are so much lower than in Britain! And the Tory solution emerged as the one tried in the thirties—cut the living standards of the people. Cheapen production by depressing wages and social services!

But ALL the capitalist countries are trying that. It is a solution concocted in a lunatic asylum for it reduces still further the ability of the workers to buy back what they have produced. And that is why the dreaded atom bomb appears on the scene. It is intended for a definite purpose—to blast a way into the markets of the world.

To capitalism it is intolerable that the peoples of China, of Eastern Europe and of Russia have broken free from capitalist domination. The capitalists want these countries back as fields of investment. They can only get them by war. So war they are preparing—and war today means war with the Hell Bomb.

That is the connection between

the coming slump and atomic warfare. The one is the inevitable outcome of the other. Both are the products of capitalism in this period of its decline. Neither is possible under socialism.

In face of this there need be no "paralysis of the will". The solution is fundamentally clear and simple. Labour must thrust forward its socialist alternative before a terrified world. In a loud voice we must tell the people that capitalism means the Hell Bomb. Unless we make a fight for socialism, all that lies before us is the miserable prospect of being converted into an American arsenal fashioning the instruments of our own destruction.

This is no time for half-hearted programmes. The whole productive machine which is capable of producing the marvels of atomic energy must be wrenched out of the hands of the Tories and Big Business. By nationalisation and planning of our resources, by socialist co-operation with the peoples

Make the 'Outlook' Mobile

HELP THE VAN FUND

Congratulations on the "weekly" are pouring in. Our difficulty is: how can we send the papers out?

Willing comrades in London have been trudging round to railway stations despatching YOUR papers, but a weekly can't continue on this basis. The papers must arrive in time or the wholesalers will not handle them.

Our appeal for £120 for a Van is meeting with good response. So

of the colonies whom we shall set free, work can be found for all. The standard of living can rise, competition can be replaced by co-operation. Permanent war can give way to permanent peace. That must be Labour's answer to the challenge of the Hell Bomb. There is no other answer known to mankind.

far we have received £65 1s. 6d. A kind friend in Birmingham sent a handsome donation out of his savings. A London engineering worker has sent £10 out of his compensation payment for an injury.

Three Cypriot comrades sent £1 1s. each, in recognition of the "Outlook's" contribution to international socialism. With this splendid start, our van is in sight. Your contribution, however small can make all the difference.

Besides being essential for deliveries, the van will be used for publicity and propaganda, and will be constantly in use helping the paper.

FIGHTING FUND IN DANGER (See Page Four)

Why Left Labour Opposes Witch-Hunting

by Phillip Williams

THERE is to be no let up on the witch-hunt. "The Times" Editorial (Nov. 18, 1952), cracks the whip about Communist Party "infiltration" in Labour's ranks. Close on its heels like a mongrel dog comes the "Daily Herald" with an editorial entitled "Pollitt on Infiltration".

Pollitt's article "is interesting" writes the "Herald", "because it explains so candidly the lines along which the Communists intend to pursue their tactics." Now reader, hold your breath and wait for the startling disclosure: Trade Union branches, screams the "Herald", are to be encouraged "to send militant delegates to the local Labour Parties!" So there you have it—every militant delegate, according to the "Herald" is a stooge of the C.P., and must be hunted down accordingly.

Anyone who opposes the high cost of living, arms expenditure and colonial wars, i.e., almost the entire Labour Party, must be hounded as "agents of Moscow". Here we can see in all its nakedness the reactionary nature of the witch-hunt. "The Times" and "Daily Herald" provide the platform, but the main speaker is Senator McCarthy.

Opposition to the Witch-hunt by no means signifies support for the Communist Party. The preserva-

tion of democratic rights is a vital necessity for all future progress. In Britain, the Labour Party and not the C.P. is the main weapon to achieve socialism. "Bevanism", i.e., Left Labour, is now stimulating this powerful force into action. Whilst the witch-hunt seizes upon the C.P. as a useful scapegoat, it is fundamentally directed against the rank and file of the Labour Party and trade unions. It is necessary to look more closely at what the C.P. says in relation to the Morecambe Conference.

The November number of "Communist Review" finds George Matthews, the assistant secretary of the C.P., in a complacent mood. Speaking of Morecambe, he says: "Without our Party and the 'Daily Worker' it is impossible that there could have been such a transformation." The opposite is the case.

NO NEED FOR C.P.

Morecambe was the outcome of the worsening economic and political situation for British Imperialism, and the growing political maturity of Left Labour. To suggest as Matthews does that because the delegates fought against the rising cost of living, against colonial wars and armament expenditure, they got their line from the "Daily Worker" is absurd.

The Labour Party is not a collection of right wingers and backward lefts.

On the contrary, Labour's Left Wing is in many instances much more politically advanced than members of the C.P. Take one instance, the question of perspective.

WHICH WAY FORWARD

Left Labour believes that the only Party which can achieve socialism is the Labour Party. That is why it fights the right wing tooth and nail for a socialist policy. Morecambe was a great victory for this policy. It demonstrated that the right wing could be beaten and the Labour Party rescued for socialism. More and more members will be attracted to the L.P. as a result.

The C.P. is a separate Party. Its very existence is a denial of Left Labour's perspective. Whilst there are many good workers in the C.P., these are isolated from the main fight. The "Daily Worker" on occasions talks very left, but this does not mean very much in practice, because the people who are really fighting the right wing are those who are members of the L.P. It is not possible for a militant trade unionist to struggle politically unless he does it through the Labour Party. The Labour Party is the historical political expression of the Trade Unions.

Left Labour fights to build the Labour Party—the C.P. fights to build itself at the expense of the L.P. There is the world of difference between the two positions.

A DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

Left Labour passionately defends internal democracy in the Labour movement. A minority must have the right to convince the majority without fear of reprisals. Can this be done inside the Communist Parties?

Morecambe marks a sharp contrast to the Congress of the British C.P. At that gathering not one speaker dared oppose the line of the leadership or for that matter utter a sharp criticism. Does this mean that the C.P. leadership is infallible? The isolated existence and marked decline of the Party's influence in itself should have been the occasion for much straight talk, but nothing was said.

A glance at the "goings on" in the C.P.s of other countries provides a clue. Take the case of Marty and Tillon in France—one a veteran from the days of the Russian Revolution, and the other an outstanding Resistance Leader. They developed differences and now they are branded as renegades, deserters, etc. Take the case of Rudolf Slansky, one-time Moscow's number one in Czechoslovakia.

He apparently had some kind of differences (nobody knows very much about these). Now he stands

branded as an agent of imperialism with the go-between, according to the C.P., none other than Konni Zilliacus? Zilli was at one time always welcome at functions in the "New Democracies", until he supported Yugoslavia. According to the "Daily Worker" he is now an "agent of imperialism".

Small wonder there was no criticism at the Congress of the British C.P. When one reads and hears the terrible accusations against past critics, it is understandable. There is in fact more than a strong similarity between the methods of the right wing Labour leaders and the C.P. leaders such as Matthews. They attack each other but always couple such attacks with attacks on "Trotskyists".

QUEER UNITY

When he returned from Morecambe, Herbert Morrison made a speech at Lewisham in which he said that one of the main jobs was to unmask the Trotskyists in the L.P. This is a "devil-devil" word used by the C.P. against all those who disagree with its policy. Morrison has a queer bed-fellow in no less a person than George Matthews himself.

"It will be increasingly necessary" says Mr. Matthews "for the movement to be on guard against Trotskyist influences". Here we have the right wing speaking the same language as the C.P.

And who are the Trotskyists? Let the teachers of George Matthews from the Soviet Union speak: "Tribune" says the Soviet propagandist Mr. A. Leonidov is a "two-faced-centrist. Trotskyist splinter group" ("Neue Welt"), Stalin's paper in East Germany.

Thus we see Morrison and Matthews indulging in a bit of the same type of witch-hunting. In both cases it is directed against the free democratic expression of the will alone of rank and file. Left Labour is fundamentally opposed to both tendencies politically. It will continue the fight to transform the Labour Party into a Socialist Party, and neither Morrison nor the C.P. will prevent

Speaking my mind On... Will Morris & Socialism

by TOM BRADDOCK

"The instinctive feeling towards Socialism has at last touched the working classes, and they are moving towards the great change; How quickly it is not easy for us, who are in the midst of the movement, to determine; but the instinct is not leading them to demand the full change directly; rather they are attacking those positions which must be won, before we come face to face with the last citadel of Capitalism, the privilege of rent, interest and profit."

William Morris in "Why I am a Communist".

(Published by James Tochatti in 1894.)

THE above words written by William Morris contain an opinion which must be of interest to all of us living today. The question is, have the positions which Morris says "must be won" been so won, and are we now, the years having passed, face to face with the last citadel of Capitalism, i.e., rent, interest and profit?

I think we are, but it may be argued that since only a part of our economy is operated as a public service the time is not yet ripe; since it has taken us so many years to take over, say, one fifth, we must expect another 100 years or so to pass before we finally abolish rent, interest and profit. (Hereafter referred to as R.I.P.).



First of all, it must be said that the prospect of going through another 100 years of the sort of experience we have had for the last 50 or more is not one that can be faced with equanimity. We just can't stand the racket. An influence has impinged itself on our social and economic structure that was probably not taken into account by Morris or the early socialists who were his comrades. The date when the speech containing the above quotation was published was a few years before I myself first joined the socialist movement. Morris had not been

despotic heel of a Tsarist state we expected to have to assist them, when our fight was over, to socialism and freedom. In fact we regarded fully developed capitalism as an essential and necessary phase that had to be gone through before socialism could develop.

Morris, his comrades, and those I knew and worked with in those days were wrong, or rather world events intervened and made us wrong. There is still however, a lesson for us in Morris's words. At the time they were spoken, industry and production in Britain were owned, controlled and managed by men who were intimately, directly and day by day engaged in such control.

The joint stock company had not arrived as we know it today and the salaried director, manager and technician had not appeared; the owner of the concern did these jobs himself; if a profit was made he had it. Today in all essential and basic industries the profit-taker and the management are separate; it is possible to own and take profit from a business without having the slightest knowledge as to its processes or how it is run. Have we not therefore reached the stage when we come face to face with the last citadel of Capitalism, rent, interest and profit?

Taking it by and large, the people who get R.I.P. do nothing else, or, if they do, their work could just as easily be done by someone else or by themselves without the addition of R.I.P. This being the case, and taking into consideration that we just can't enter into a third world war to save the remnants of capitalism now skulking in the United States of America, we must, I think, throw over Capitalism, rent, interest and profit, and thereby free ourselves from all obstacles in achieving the Co-operative Commonwealth. Then and then only shall we be in a position to work with the peoples of the world who have already driven capitalism off their lands.

BILL MURPHY'S CORNER

The Labour candidate was earnestly addressing the electors when one, a Tory, shouted, "I wouldn't vote for you if you were the Angel Gabriel." "But," retorted the candidate, "If I was the Angel Gabriel, you wouldn't be in my constituency."

THE MYTH OF RACE

THE first world war was "nothing to compare with the fight for freedom which black and brown and yellow men must and will make unless their oppression and humiliation and insult at the hands of the White World cease".

This prophecy of the Negro leader Dubois, uttered thirty years ago, is full of portent for us. Let us workers in the oppressing countries arm ourselves to combat the great lie by which millions may be drawn into slaughter—the lie of "White civilisation against the barbaric hordes of Africa and the East".

As socialists we know that the barbarians are to be found in the jungle of "free enterprise", but we have two hostile forces to fight in the field of ideas—British insularity which breeds prejudice, and the "scientific" jargon with which the agents of reaction build up theories of race and blood to justify the oppression of a "Master Race".

UNO is an organisation whose function is to uphold this oppression; but out of UNO comes UNESCO, and UNESCO has produced some useful booklets on "The Race Question in Modern Science". The latest, written by a dozen leading anthropologists and geneticists, deals with the scientific aspect of this problem of races, or ethnic groups.

There are no pure human races. We are all descended from a single stock, but in the course of history, through five complex processes, three great groups developed with differing physical characteristics—the Caucasoids, Mongoloids and Negroids. Through migrations and inter-marriage these groups are distributed all over the globe and have developed different characteristics in different geographical conditions.

The scientists find no evidence that any race is superior to another. The conception of "bad blood" has no scientific basis: inherited characteristics are in any case transmitted through the genes, not through the blood; and peoples of all races can be found in each

of the four groups.

Tests are quoted showing that intelligence does not depend on race, but physical and mental development are both greatly influenced by environment. Social groups differ in their cultural development, and this is not a matter of biological constitution. None of the great civilisations of the past developed in isolation, but all gained from an admixture of other peoples.

It is, in fact, among the most mixed peoples today (American, White South African, British) that racial hatred is whipped up. The real conflicts of society are submerged in an emotional response to anti-Semitic or Anti-Negro slogans.

"What Is Race?" provides a graphic answer to the mumbo-jumbo of racialism. Every point is illustrated by coloured graphs and charts, and presented with the utmost clarity. The lucid exposition of the theory of reproduction—"The Gene Story"—will appeal to all those interested in the dialectical development of Home Sapiens.

We can make use of UNESCO'S books to counter myths about race, and go forward with confidence to the time when united mankind freed from white domination, can develop a great new world culture.

Eva Boul.

"LANDSLIDE" FOR WALL STREET . . . IN GREECE

FIELD MARSHAL PAPAGOS won a "landslide" victory in the recent Greek general elections. How this reactionary militarist got into power with the trappings of "democracy" is revealed by C. L. Sulzberger, foreign correspondent of the "New York Times". Writing from Athens before the elections, he remarked with candour as well as cynicism:

"The United States has sought to avoid any open interference in the current political situation. This effort has not been 100 per cent. successful . . . In addition to inspiring certain remarks and press articles, the United States has officially expressed its viewpoint by diplomatic action."

Among things included in this action, he reports, was pressure to change the electoral system, to set a given date for the elections and to prevent the old government from releasing interned "Communists".

"In view of the vast amount of money and energy spent in Greece . . . the United States felt an especially intimate concern in the events," Mr. Sulzberger explains. So, making sure that Leftist political leaders were kept in gaol, forcing the old "Centre" govern-

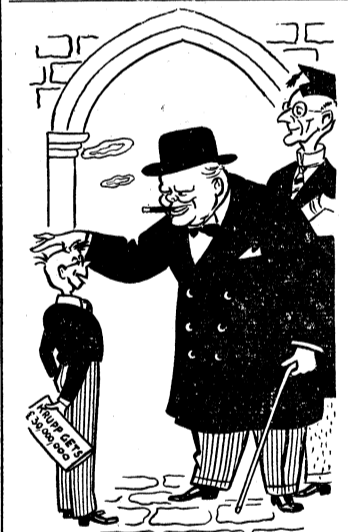
+ WORLD NEWS + in Brief

ment to abdicate and giving all-out backing to Papagos, Wall Street obtained a landslide in Greece. It now has a fitting military puppet in Athens for its military headman in the White House.

SOCIAL UNREST IN MIDDLE EAST REACHES THE "HOLY LAND"

AFTER Iran and Egypt, social unrest of mass proportions now has overtaken Transjordan, which contains the old city of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and other Biblical landmarks. Demonstrations in four cities last week demanded the resignation of Premier Tewfik Abul Huda, regarded as a reactionary and known for his pro-British leanings.

In Jerusalem, police had to cope with two demonstrations in the Arab-held part of the city. In Bethlehem, the police refused to act against the demonstrators. Arab Legionnaires, trained by British Brigadier John Glubb



And what are you going to be? A Prime Minister? No! A War criminal. The pay is better.

politicians than engineers". Their real purpose was to arouse anti-Bolivian feeling among U.S. investors who "did not know that the attitudes and actions of the tin barons were hazarding their investments."

He said that his government intended to honour its pledges of compensation to small shareholders, and were in a better position to do so than the former owners. The companies "did not dig the ore from the ground," he said, "the Bolivian workers did that, and will continue to do it. They will work more willingly for their government than they did for the tin barons."

Compensation would be paid, the Bolivian government recently declared, after the deduction of accumulated taxes which the former owners had evaded by various ruses.

WITCH-HUNT OVER THE U.N.

GENERAL Secretary Trygve Lie resigned from his United Nations post with a public declaration that he did so in order not to stand in the way of a Korean armistice. He had been persona non grata to the U.S.S.R. ever since he lent his services to the hasty mobilisation of U.N. machinery for intervention in

Korea in June 1950.

Senator Pat McCarran, head of the witch-hunt committee now investigating American "subversives" in U.N. employment, publicly disputed Mr. Lie's contention. He said the resignation was due to some sensational new "revelations" his committee was about to make, and claimed credit for Lie's "scalp".

Even as McCarran issued his boast, Mr. Abraham Feller, General Counsel to the U.N. and close friend of Trygve Lie, took his life by jumping out of a 16th floor window in New York City. Feller is described by the "New York Times" as "one of the authors of the original Security Council resolution condemning the Communist aggression in Korea". He had been harassed, Lie explained, in trying to defend U.N. employees against "indiscriminate smears and exaggerated charges".

The reactionary anti-Communist witch-hunt has a logic all its own. It does not spare even those who render the imperialist cause the greatest services. It demands abject surrender of every liberal sentiment and complete submission to its purpose. In the case of the U.N., this means a "world organisation" which will be an unvarnished tool of Wall Street.

Socialist Outlook
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HOP 4554
Editor: John Lawrence

Ceylon Breaks U.S. Trade Boycott of China

THE capitalist Government of Ceylon, reluctantly and only under great pressure from the people, has opened up trading relations with the Peoples' Republic of China. The result has been entirely beneficial for the ordinary working men and women of Ceylon, ending the disastrous rice shortage and bringing full employment to the rubber plantations.

China has now offered a five-year trade pact under which she will purchase the whole of Ceylon's rubber output at eightpence a pound above world prices, and will supply Ceylon with some 300,000 tons of rice a year.

The Ceylon Minister of Commerce has admitted that if the pact is ratified, the gain for Ceylon will be in the region of 92 million rupees. Nevertheless, under American pressure, the Government is trying to back out of the pact. But the people of Ceylon, realising the advantages of trade with China, have embarked upon a tremendous agitation for the ratification of the China pact.

Result—cheaper food and work for the people

no longer be under America's thumb. In the field of rice we shall no longer be at the mercy of our old suppliers . . .

"The trade pact is helping to advance world trade and also world peace. You cannot cross the Cold War barriers for trade and keep them erected as firmly as before in respect of politics. Trade relations which are mutually advantageous, as the present trade relations with China are, are bound to advance friendly political relations."

"It is up to the people of Ceylon to push this hesitant and reluctant Government further along this path. More of independence in our foreign policy and less subordination; that is our demand for this UNP (capitalist) Government."

This sort of agitation—which we in the British Labour Party might well emulate—has already resulted in 80,000 tons of rice coming into Ceylon from China. And what Ceylon has done, British Labour also can do—if there is less subordination to America.

EXTEND TRADE

The Ceylon socialists are now carrying their agitation further. An editorial in "Samasamajist" says:

"The public must maintain its vigilance and its pressure until this Government actually puts pen to paper and ratifies the five-year pact. The reaction must be foiled all along the line."

"The advantages of trade with the Soviet sector must be obvious by now. Apart from China, the rest of the 'iron curtain' countries also offer favourable terms of trade. For instance, the Government recently purchased a quantity of white sugar from Poland at roughly £48 per ton, whereas Mauritius raw sugar and United

Kingdom white sugar cost the Government £62 and £75 per ton respectively."

"Life itself is proving the L.S.S.P.'s (Ceylon Socialists), contention that in the context of the looming economic crisis Ceylon can ill afford to refrain from trading with nearly half of humanity . . . The struggle must continue for the extension of our trade with the rest of the Soviet sector."

The Morecambe Conference decided on a policy of promoting East-West trade. Agitation for this policy, agitation which will mobilise the whole Labour Movement, can either force this Tory Government to resign or . . . bring work to Britain's docks by trade with China and the East!

East-West Trade is Party Policy

THE Morecambe Conference decided unanimously to foster "international trade on a basis free from restrictions imposed by political differences especially in the undeveloped countries and the negotiations of long term exchange agreements wherever possible . . ."

Another unanimous resolution pledged the Labour Party to "the promotion and expansion of East-West trade".

In other words, the new N.E.C. is instructed to do what the Ceylon people have done!



It is huge mass meetings like the one pictured above which have compelled the Ceylon Government to open up trading relations with China and thus brought food and work to the people of Ceylon.

Trade Bans Keep British Dockers Unemployed

EVERYBODY is suddenly showing a great interest in the dockers. All the National Press is writing about the mass unemployment which is now a feature of British ports. But the object of all these investigations is in most cases, not to improve the lot of the docker and his family. Oh, no! It is to discover how economies can be effected at the expense of the portworker's livelihood.

The general solution that is offered is . . . sack about 10 to 12 thousand dockers! That's what all the "solutions" boil down to when the wrappings are removed. But this is a "solution" that won't be accepted in dockland. As one old docker told me recently, "If the Tories think they are going to sling thousands of men out of the industry just because it now suits them, they have got another think

By "SOCIALIST OUTLOOK" REPORTER

coming!"

Dockers are vitally interested in the greatest amount of international trade. They know that trade is declining through no fault of the men and, while that is the case, no-one in dockland is going to accept sackings as a solution.

A mass of evidence is now accumulating about the effects of the contraction in international trade. A vast amount of shipping is laid up, and many more are coming home in ballast. Less shipping

When IS a Docker Unemployed?

WE have received many enquiries regarding the dockers' guaranteed wage. For instance, a Birmingham reader asks, "How does it arise that an 'unemployed' docker gets less than he would on the 'State'? Workers cannot understand how this works out". Our Industrial Correspondent replies:

An unemployed man with one child, paying £1 rent receives £2 9s. 6d. unemployment pay. He can claim £2 4s. 0d. (approx.) from the National Assistance Board. **Total £4 13s. 6d.**

The port worker, who is subject to the Regulation of Employment Act 1947, receives 8/- for every attendance. He makes eleven attendances a week (twice a day, once on Saturday), and receives £4 8s. 0d. less National Health Insurance. **Total £4 2s. 3d.**

The "unemployed" docker cannot claim National Assistance because he is considered "fully employed"!

with cargo is calling at British ports.

A statement from the Chamber of Shipping indicates that twice as much tonnage was laid up in British ports on October 1st, as against a year ago. Three quarters of these vessels are British. The amount of ships to call at home ports between July and September was 5 per cent. lower than in the previous year—and most were not carrying full freights.

Ships arriving in full ballast increased by 18 per cent. Showing an increase in the number of tramp ships being brought home by their owners for lack of profitable business in the world's markets.

From this fact one can deduce that the decline in trade is world-wide and affects every industry.

Instead of the 3 per cent. RISE in production which Chancellor Butler provided for in his last budget, there has been a 10 per cent. DECLINE below the level of last year. Of exports, textiles and consumer goods dropped first, but the mass production manufacturing industries are beginning to feel the pinch. For example, the Government set an export target for cars at 80 per cent. of all car production. Today, motor manufacturers are hardly selling even 54 per cent.

Although shipping tonnage is less compared with a year ago, the clearance of ships from British ports rose by 5 per cent., the highest point since 1939. The employers would have us believe that this is due to unemployment, to the ugly fact that there are now about five dockers for every four jobs. Other employers in other industries think this an ideal state of affairs and no doubt long for the day when they are in the same happy position.

Do not be deceived. The docker has ALWAYS worked hard, and

TORIES DETERMINED TO INCREASE RENTS

Reported by ALF ROSE

WALLASEY tenants who expected their Tory controlled Town Council to heed their protests and scrap its rent-increase-with-rebate scheme, have been disappointed.

As reported in a previous issue of "Socialist Outlook", the rent rebate scheme at first provided for an increase in rents ranging from 3/4d. to 7/6d. per week—unless tenants proved that they could not afford to pay more.

Tenants objected both to the size of the increases and to the 'means test' which they involve. The Council's amendment ignores these complaints by retaining the 'means test' whilst fixing the scale of increases from 1/6d. to 4/-.

At its October meeting it rejected a Housing Committee resolution for a fixed scale of increases ranging from 5d. to 2/- a week, although, as Mr. L. Squire, Secretary of the Wallasey Municipal Tenants' Association observed, "the vast majority of tenants find it infinitely more desirable than the rebate scheme".

At its November meeting the council turned down yet another resolution of the Committee which recommended, that the latest scale of increases be further reduced from nil to 2/-. This would have brought in sufficient money to meet the anticipated £9,000 housing deficit.

Why are the Tory leaders of the Council so anxious to meet the deficit which the Housing Committee thought to cover so much more favourably? Tenants of pre-war houses have already paid enough rent to pay for the whole cost of materials and labour needed to build their homes. It is the payment of interest on housing loans which still burdens Council and tenants with continuing costs.

Certainly the Council has not spent much on repairs. Bill Kieran, who lives in a bungalow in Pasture Avenue, complains "This house has been done up only once inside, and twice outside in 21

years. We hadn't been in the house more than 18 months before the bed fell through the floor into a pool of water."

When the ceiling fixture to the electric light in the kitchen of Gerry McKean's house in Ivy Lane recently crumbled away, he himself was presented with the demand for the 12/- cost of repairs.

No wonder that Mr. Squires declares "I think the Council's decision is disgusting. We intend to carry on fighting this scheme." He adds that the Tenants' Association will take its complaint to Parliament if necessary.

Local action has won Wallasey tenants some relief but a complete solution of the hardships of high rents can be won only at national level.

For this we need a Labour government with a socialist programme, to end the misdirection of national resources to unproductive and useless purposes like armaments, and to abolish the private ownership and control of finance and materials, which are now made available to the people only upon the payment of enormous profits (to rings of manufacturers and contractors) and of interest (upon housing loans) thus greatly inflating rents.

HANG OUT THE FLAGS

Is your Council spending money On the crowning, on the crowning
Are the lamp-posts being painted Painted red and white and blue
Are they treating you to bunting Yards of bunting, lovely bunting
Flags and streamers, paper hats too Some for me and some for you.
* * * *

And the bomb site round the corner
Is it still there, is it still there?
Broken bottles, rusty iron
Bricks and mortar all askew
Will they trim that up with bunting
With some flags and with some streamers
Will they make it look a garden
For an hour or maybe two.
* * * *

And the flats up on the hill top
Still unfinished, still unfinished
With the building held up months now
Held up for the lack of dough
Will they do them up with bunting
(While the waiting list grows longer)
With some flags and with some streamers
So that they can make a show.
* * * *

Gad man, don't you know you're British
Where's your pride sir, where's your pride, sir?
Don't you know what's due to Kings and Queens
And all the Royal crew
Oh, we didn't mean to grouse, sir
But we'd rather have a house, sir
You can keep your lovely bunting
And the flags and all the streamers
And if you don't like them sentiments
You know what you can do!

have closed down the schools. At least 21,000 little African children are now deprived of even the most elementary education. Education is . . . subversive!

The late Ernest Bevin, in pleading for a decent standard of living for the dockers in 1920, said . . . "It is no use to give us knowledge if we are not to be given the possibility of using it, to give a sense of the beautiful without allowing us ever to have a chance to obtain the enjoyment of it. Education creates aspirations and a love of the beautiful. Are we to be denied the wherewithal to secure these things? It is a false policy. Better to let us live in the dark if our claims are not to be met."

'Back to the dark!' say the white lords of Kenya. But it is too late, Mr. Lyttleton! The people have seen the light—and they will fight on for the means to realise their aspirations—their land. British Labour can help them by demanding the removal from Kenya of all the instruments of repression, police, troops, dogs, and polo-playing white settlers as well.

KENYA: Back to the Darkness!

FOLLOWING "Operation Cowboy" in which 6,000 head of cattle belonging to the Kikuyu people were rounded up and confiscated by the Kenya Government, there has now been launched "Operation Polo".

White settlers mounted on their precious polo ponies and supported by troops, police, dogs and spotter planes are hunting down the African people.

208 unarmed Africans were shot dead by the Kenya police on November 23rd.

These horrible repressions are without end. The big chief of M.I. 5, Sir Percy Sillitoe, has now gone to Kenya to perfect the organisation of spies and provocateurs at present in use against Kikuyu. The number arrested grows daily. But still the people are defiant. They know the whites have stolen their land and rendered 5,000,000 blacks destitute. They have learned in their own schools built at their own expense that these things need not be—that men can live in harmony, in co-operation, if only the lust for private profit is abolished.

So the White Lords of Kenya

SOCIALISTS IN THE LEAD

Leading this agitation is the Ceylon Socialist Party whose attitude to East-West Trade is an example to all Western socialists.

The Ceylon socialists are opponents of the regime in Russia. However, they treat both Russia and China as non-capitalist countries with whom, in the interests of the people of both countries and of Ceylon, it is desirable to trade. But in all their vigorous agitation there is not the slightest hint of subordination.

Their arguments are well stated in a series of articles by Colvin de Silva in the party's journal "Samasamajist". He writes:

"Chinese rice for Ceylon is not a 'communist' question, nor even a political question; it is a business question. We require rice and we have to buy it where it is available and at the cheapest price we can obtain. The source is irrelevant to the needy: we must scrounge everywhere, even as the starving don't hesitate to search in the garbage can."

"The China trade agreement, if ratified (and it must be ratified), will help to ease Ceylon's economic crisis and even help to lift the country completely out of it. This it will do by stabilising Ceylon's rubber industry over an entire period and also stabilising Ceylon's rice supplies over the same period."

"In the field of rubber we shall

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Railwaymen and the Transport Bill

A few nights ago I was one of some 100 members of the N.U.R. who were lobbying M.P.s. on the Tory De-nationalisation Bill. We sent in for all sort of M.P.s. but only the Labour men would see us. The Tories sent in for—Glynn, Spence, Dr. Hill, Maude, Baxter, and Brooks—“were not to be found in the House”.

We had previously sent a telegram to the House protesting against Lennox-Boyd's statement that “railwaymen were in favour of de-centralisation”.

All of us were delegates from branches and other bodies of the union. Some discussion took place on the next steps. The general opinion was that only industrial action would stop the Tories from carrying through their reactionary plans.

It is sometimes argued that industrial action will put men “on the streets”. That may be so. But unless we are ready to go on the streets for a principle—we may soon find ourselves on the streets merely to protect the employers' profits. The drive to cut costs is already leading to unemployment. It will get worse and we shall be “on the streets” whether we like it or not.

W. Kensington. Joe Davis

THE “DAILY HERALD”

Following publication of the letter from D. Burgess (31/10/52), under caption “New ‘Daily’ Wanted”, I checked on some of my friends who still buy the “Herald”. The majority it was found are very dissatisfied with the present attitude of the paper toward the Left, but stated they continue to buy from a sense of “loyalty” to the Labour Party and the trade unions.

This is surely a sad state of affairs, and is a matter that should receive the early attention of the Herald's editor.

Clethorpes. S. R. Pearson.

CAN WE CRITICISE THE “WORKER”?

The overwhelming majority of material in the “Outlook” is real socialism—but lies are appearing in the ointment—and it worries me, because we must have a united Left. With unity the British working class will be victorious. With-

THE FIGHTING FUND

Have you welcomed the weekly? Do it now—by sending a special donation. £70 is needed in the Fighting Fund each month.

Sacrifices are continually being made for the paper. Our regular readers will have read the letter from the widow who offered her only treasure to the paper. We have just received £1 from a young National Serviceman in Germany. Follow their lead.

Goodwill for the paper is around in abundance. Make sure the “Outlook” benefits from it by taking round a Fighting Fund Collecting Card. Start now.

Previously, we have acknowledged donations in our mid-month issue. Now, however, the closing date for each month will be the last day in the month, and the donations will be listed in the subsequent issue. This month the closing date will be Saturday, 29th November.

Half our November donations were acknowledged on 14th November, so our target for the remainder of the month is £35. To date we have only £7 7s. 9d. We must hit our target. Time is short. Don't keep us in suspense. SEND A DONATION NOW.

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.

out it we face the prospects of a 1933.

I take exception to an article, entitled, “Anti-Americanism can be Reactionary” by Joe Monks. His article smirks and smears and in short, attacks the “Daily Worker”, a paper which has earned its laurels by earning no praise from the other side. A paper which has been the shining star of the working class for many year now.

Halifax. R. Cocker.

Joe Monks Replies: Comrade Cocker's letter is just as negative as the Anti-Americanism I accused



the “Worker” of. He does not take up any of my criticisms. He does not point out where I “smirk and smear”, or endeavour to answer my ‘attacks’.

My criticisms were, that front page headlines reporting an act of sacrilege by an obvious drunken G.I. had neither working class roots nor socialist aspirations. I said, “It tended to line up the workers' criticism of the Americans with that of all sorts of reactionaries. It could inflame religious—but not socialist—passions. Socialists are against the occupation of Britain by American troops—not because their soldiers sometimes get drunk!—but because the American occupation is a living symbol of the preparations for another Third World War. This fact alone gives meaning to the very correct demand . . . Send the Yanks back home!”

As a Socialist I demand the right to criticise anything or anybody, especially if I think they are doing harm to the socialist cause. This kind of letter does precisely that harm because all criticism is considered hostile.

Blind acceptance has never found a place in our Movement. I would remind Comrade Cocker that it is only through criticism and argument that the Socialist movement has advanced.

KENYA

I very much appreciated John Goffe's article on Kenya in “Socialist Outlook” (14/11/52). We do not read enough in the national press of what is actually happening in the colonies. It is time that the British people protested against this grave injustice that is being carried out by British Imperialism.

I agree that we should demand the immediate release of Jomo Kenyatta. If we allow the Government to carry out this policy of smashing all progressive organisations in foreign countries by arresting their leaders, they may try the same policy in this country! If we care to read the facts printed even in the capitalist press we see that it is not only in Africa that progressive and trade union organisations are being victimised.

Why should the colour of a man's skin make a difference to his social status. In the words of Burns, the time will come when men will be united as brothers. I don't think then we will have three social groups—one for white people, one for black, and one for yellow.

Mussellburgh. Johnny Murray

TOO MUCH AMBIGUITY

Frank Allaun, in your last issue, says that—“a glimpse of sanity” was contained in the Labour Party Conference resolution which said—“that the cause of peace could best be solved by refusing to subordinate our Socialist principles either to American or Russian pressure”.

I consider that this high-sounding resolution is a vague and an ambiguous one.

Surely it cannot be argued that the action of the ex-Labour Government in ‘subordinating our Socialist principles’ to American pressure in the case of the infamous Battle Act has served the ‘cause of peace’. This Act restricts world trade by decreeing that any of the so-called ‘free’ nations that require American aid to carry out their American imposed arms programme, can only obtain that aid if they agree not to trade with any of the Iron Curtain countries in any commodities or raw materials that can be classed as ‘war potential’. Since almost anything can be classed in that category, the Act virtually stops trade between East and West.

This is an immoral Act because it restricts world trade, causing a lowering of the standard of living of the workers in the countries concerned, causing unemployment and bringing war much nearer.

If it is not too late, our next Labour Government can serve the ‘cause of peace’ and recover some of its lost ‘Socialist principles’ by refusing American aid under the Battle Act system and announcing its determination to trade with any country with which it can do business.

Manchester. Price Jones

CORONATION AGAIN

At the October meeting of the Manchester City Labour Party, on a motion calling for Corporation Transport concessions to old age pensioners, the Labour deputy chairman of the Transport Committee said the Corporation could not afford it—yet the same council, we are informed, has granted £5,000 to waste at Coronation time!

Manchester. Republican

Shop Talks on Socialism

Wages and the Cost of Living

by Allen Key

HORACE was worried. He started as soon as we sat down for tea-break. “My missus reckons our 7/- rise isn't enough. She's worse off now than she was last year, and unless she gets some more housekeeping money she'll have to cut down on something.”

Young Andy showed no sympathy. “You'd better give up smoking Horace, or else you'll be going home on a Thursday night and finding nothing for supper. Pity you didn't talk it over with her before you voted to accept the 7/-.” What say you Charlie?”

Charlie, our shop steward, grinned. “It's too late to do anything about that now, it's been accepted. But Horace's good lady is quite right. With prices rising quicker than our wages we've got to make do with less food—unless we can do something to keep wages level with prices.”

“Wait a minute, Charlie” put in young Andy, “she needn't cut down on food. She can save on things like clothes, curtains and things for the house.”

“True enough,” replied Charlie, “we certainly shouldn't die if we had to live in a house without curtains or carpets. I suppose we could send the kids to school with the backside out of their trousers. As a matter of fact, if I remember rightly Horace here didn't go away for his summer holiday this year—that's another way of cutting down”.

“First time we haven't been away since the war,” grunted Horace. “We'd better put in for another rise straight away or else I shan't be able to go away again this year.”

“You stand some chance of getting another rise in time for your summer holidays” Andy muttered, “Next Christmas twelve-month,

perhaps.”

“I don't see why not”, Horace was indignant. “The bloke next door to me is a printer. He gets a rise every six months, without even putting in for it. Why can't we do that?”

“No reason at all” returned Charlie. “It's a sliding scale agreement. Several Unions have got one.”

Andy looked interested. “How does it work Charlie?”

“Quite simply” explained Charlie. “The Government has drawn up a table of prices of certain things in general use, and every month they issue figures to show how they have altered. In 1947, they put that level at 100. By last month it had risen to 137. So for every £5 you spent in 1947 you have to spend £6 17s. 0d. now, or go without something. The printers' agreement gives them a rise of 1/- a week for every 1 point rise in the index.”

Andy frowned. “That sounds like a bit of a wangle to me. You need more than 1/- a point to keep a fair percentage. Otherwise, if you were earning more than £6 17s. you lose on the deal.”

“That's not the only snag” Charlie went on. “That could be easily altered, although we might have to have a bit of a fight about it. The Furniture workers have just been forced to accept a reduction in the amount of increase per point. Another difficulty is that if it's calculated every six months, you are still lagging behind over that period.”

Andy wasn't impressed with that one. “We could have it adjusted every month. That'd make it fairer. But what happens if prices fall?”

“That bonus comes down too.”

Horace didn't like the sound of that. “That's not so good is it?” he asked.

Charlie thought for a moment.

“Well, it's alright as long as you've got a definite figure of a base rate below which it can't fall no matter what happens. But there's not much chance of prices coming down with all the war preparations going on.”

At the mention of war preparations Horace nearly exploded. “There you go again. Can't you leave politics out of it?”

“Oh shut up Horace” Andy was quite sharp. He turned to Charlie. “But some prices have come down a bit recently. Don't you think it would be better to try and keep prices steady, or bring them down?”

Charlie raised his eyebrows. “That's what everyone's supposed to be trying to do. But with things as they are, the employers are not really interested in bringing home prices down. If prices go up while wages remain still, their profits get bigger—and that's what has been happening. In my opinion that is one of the best arguments for a sliding scale. We should say to the employers ‘if you can only keep your industry running by making us poorer, then that really does prove that private enterprise is no good, and we should take it over lock stock and barrel. If on the other hand, you want us to leave the industry in your hands, the very least we should expect is that our standard of life should not fall. So give us a sliding scale that will ensure this!’ Then Horace's missus will not have to worry about the kids' meals and he can have his holiday at the seaside as usual”.

“Half past seven tonight is the branch meeting, isn't it Charlie?” asked Horace, as the bell went for end of tea break.

“Yes, at the Labour Club as usual” replied Charlie. “Don't tell me you're coming along?”

Horace screwed up his paper bag and threw it under the bench. “I am, you know! I'm going to move a resolution that we have one of these sliding scales.”

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EAST LONDON READERS!

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BIRMINGHAM READERS OF

“Socialist Outlook” are invited to a meeting on Sunday, Nov. 30th, 7.30 p.m. “Tamworth Arms” (upstairs room), Moor St. Discussion on Kenya, Malan, and Africa's Future. Member of Editorial Board will be present.

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STOP THESE PROSCRIPTIONS

I SEE that Transport House has proscribed yet another organisation, which they inform us is “Another Spurious Peace Campaign” in “The People's Congress for Peace” to be held in Vienna in December this year.

The reasons given for proscribing have become monotonous. The proscribed organisations are sneeringly referred to as “Communist inspired,” and the evidence too is tainted with the same monotony.

(a) There are well known communists in the organisation.

(b) There are no communists in the organisation, therefore the communists have changed their tactics, or are using heavier camouflage.

Note the aggressive military terms used; terms usually reserved

Says FLORENCE EDWARDS

of meeting we used to have in the old days, and the things they are saying are the things they used to say in the old days.”

TRAGEDY

The tragedy is that they still need saying, and that people have to go to some other organisation to hear them! But until our Party makes some definite move towards including Peace in our Programme, the work will have to be done by other organisations.

I would like to recommend that instead of continually obstructing efforts to establish World Peace, we register some concern about the Danger of World War III!

And if on occasions it means being in agreement with the Communists—well, for heaven's sake, are the Communists always wrong? There are many points with which we differ from the Communists, just as there are differences of opinion within our own party, but that is surely no reason to refuse to work for Peace—if they happen to want it too.

Many old and long standing party members are in agreement with supporting some Peace Organisation. The recent Conference at Bradford was a typical example. There were more than 120 delegates and observers from Trades Councils, T.U. District committees and branches, Divisional Labour Parties, Ward Groups and Sections, Assembly of Women, Communist Parties, Co-op. Guilds, P.P.U., Labour League of Youth, Shop Stewards' Committees and other organisations.

All that the Bradford Conference asked was for delegates or observers to come and state their views or resolutions, and to take back reports to their respective organisations. Many of us are still wondering what is so “sinister” about that!

I was a visitor at this conference, and when it was over I asked one woman councillor—a well respected and long standing member, holding many responsible positions locally—what she thought of the Conference. Her reply only served to deepen my respect for her.

“It almost seems like old times,” she admitted. “This is the sort

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