

Socialist Outlook

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2d.

Fight FOR Socialism . . . Not AGAINST it ! BREAK WITH AMERICA'S WAR PLANS !

AN APPEAL TO THE OCTOBER CONFERENCE

by The Editors

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If, for example, the Movement decides to continue its support for the present war preparations—now being so brutally speeded up at the insistence of the United States of America—we can say with certainty that the war itself will be so much nearer.

War, and Labour's attitude towards it, will dominate the discussions at both these two great conferences of Labour. There is no other problem—either on the home or the international front—which is not bound up with the question of war. What is decided on this question will, therefore, very largely determine what is decided on all the others—on wages, prices, and profits, on housing, on the social services, on the colonies, and on the date of the next General Election. For this reason, we too, have the problem of the coming war in the front of our contribution to the Conference.

The resolutions on the Labour Party Conference Agenda reveal a considerable anti-war sentiment within the Movement and, even more significant, a fair understanding

L/cpl. BILL TYLER
(Killed in Action)



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"Letters From Korea"
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Condemnations of the alliance with America, demands for the withdrawal of British troops from Korea, demands for the recognition of the New China, and opposition to the cessation of trade between East and West, are to be found in dozens of the foreign policy resolutions.

More remarkable still, there are no attacks on China or on Russia, the "bandits" in Malaya are nowhere condemned, and no word against communism is to be found in any of the resolutions. Considering that the whole weight of press propaganda over the past four years has been used to create hatred of all things Russian and communist, it says as much for the health of the Labour Movement that it has so largely resisted this reactionary pressure.

Furthermore, as the 134 resolutions on wages, prices, and profits, make abundantly clear, the Movement is not prepared to sacrifice its interests to the needs of the war machine.

From "not being prepared to sacrifice" to being fully against the war itself is not such a big step. And, when the leaders of the Movement (old ones or new ones) find the courage to speak out clearly about the nature of this war that is being prepared, that step will soon be taken.

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(1) The War

The 'Free' World is a Fraud

AS every grown-up person knows, the leader of the capitalist world is the United States of America. Her rulers decide all the major questions of policy—the "allies" may grumble but they cannot seriously oppose because all of them are to one degree or another in pawn to the U.S.A. That being the case, if we want to know what these war preparations are all about we must make some attempt to get and seek for real causes.

THE "FREE WORLD"

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However, the "free world" we are supposed to be defending happens to include in it Spain, Greece, Turkey, and Portugal, and all the lands of colonial slavery where the word freedom is not in the dictionary and the word democracy has not yet been coined. And our precious allies in the fight against "totalitarianism" include Chiang Kai-Shek, Syngman Rhee, Franco, Salazar, the colonial overlords, and the Latin-American dictators.

Leaving aside all the diplomatic double-talk, what is really involved is a conflict of class interests and social and economic systems, which cannot be reconciled.

American Imperialism, the main representative of this decayed capitalist system, whose fate is tied to the fate of capitalism on a world scale, is of necessity the ally and the protector of capitalists, landlords, usurers, and profiteers everywhere. It is the mortal enemy of progress, of every revolutionary movement of the working class, and of every struggle of the colonial peoples for national independence and freedom anywhere in the world—regardless of the leadership of these movements. That is the real content of American diplomacy. Freedom and democracy have nothing whatever to do with it.

The tremendous productive apparatus of American capitalism is piling up ever greater surpluses of goods and capital which its domestic market cannot absorb. Dominating the capitalist world, it needs the whole world for markets and areas of investment. But while its requirements in this respect have been growing in the post-war period, its field of normal operations has been cut down even from what it was at the end of the war.

The more areas torn out of the capitalist orbit either by the so-called Soviet expansion or the colonial revolutions, the narrower becomes the field for American Imperialism

and the more desperate its need. From this flows its belligerent foreign policy and its stupendous arms programme with which to back it up.

The Truman doctrine of "containing communism" is already out of date. The Soviet Union remained "contained" at the formal borders established at Yalta, but other areas, considered as belonging to imperialism, have since been slipping away. The imperialist orbit has been shrinking and the position of the United States has been, as a consequence, steadily worsening.

It is the makers at Washington who need not only to "contain" communism—a word, incidentally, which they use indiscriminately to describe the Soviet Union, the countries of Eastern Europe, revolutionary China, and the popular movements against capitalism and imperialism everywhere—but to push it back and reconquer the lost areas. This new

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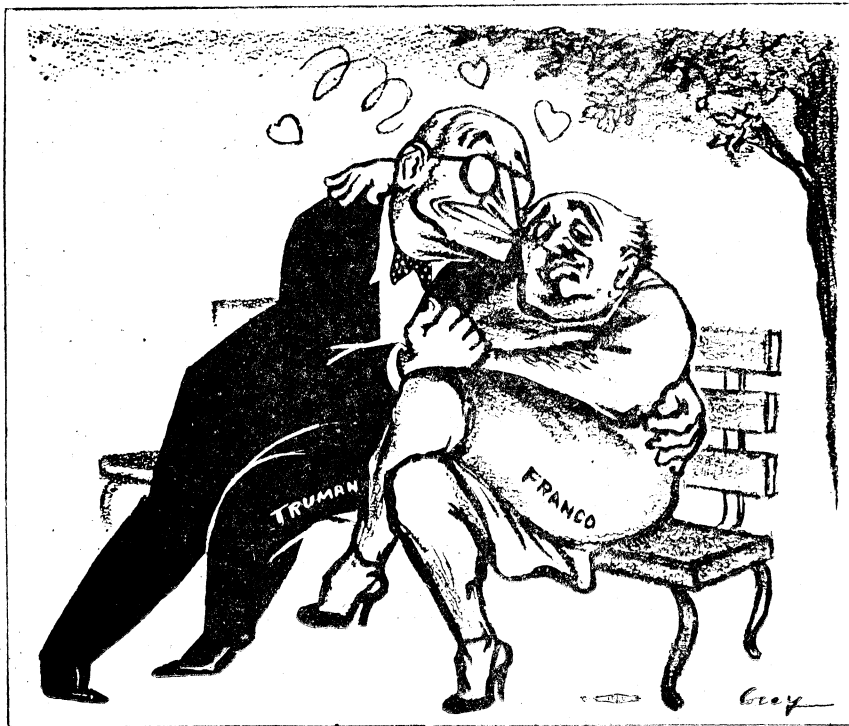
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The American rulers, it seems, are not satisfied with the degree of democracy prevailing in the "People's Democracies". But that complaint is sheer hypocrisy, coming from them. All of these countries were open police states before the war and neither Acheson nor any of his ilk lost any sleep over it. Similarly, they are not in the slightest bit worried about the lack of democracy in Greece, in Spain, in Turkey, in South Korea, in Latin-America, or anywhere else which is open to American penetration. The real grievance of Washington is that the new economic system established in Eastern Europe cuts them off from American exploitation.

The real meaning in the American programme about "orderly representative processes" is to push out Soviet influence and replace it by American influence, to restore the system of private property and landlordism, and open up the countries in general to the exploitation of foreign, and particularly American, capital.

(Continued page 2, column 1)



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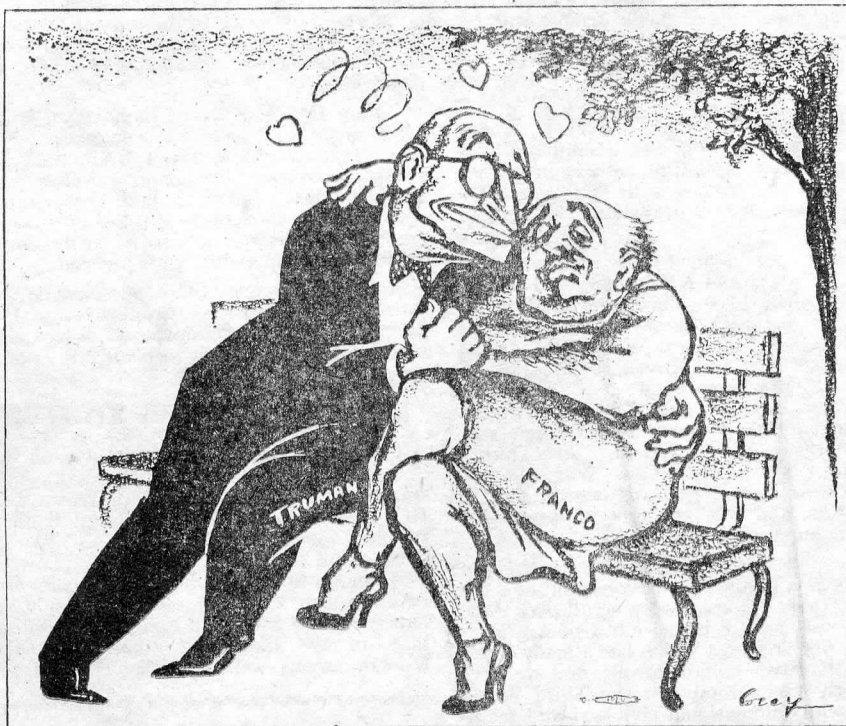
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(1) The War (concluded)**THEY WANT THE WHOLE WORLD**

But this is only the starting point of American foreign policy. They want also the vast market of China—the prize for which they waged war with Japan and which has slipped away, but which they hope to regain. This is implicit in the refusal to recognise the revolutionary Government of China and the continuation of financial and armed support for the American puppet Chiang. And they want Korea too, and Indo-China where Eisenhower in a recent speech saw the “aggression of communist imperialism” in the struggle of the Indo-Chinese people against their French overlords. America is against, viciously against, the colonial movements everywhere in the world. But even that does not measure the full scope of their reactionary programme.

Their ultimate aim is nothing less than the overthrow of the Soviet Union, its dismemberment, and the re-establishment of the private property and landlord system overthrown by the Revolution in 1917.

WHAT AMERICA NEEDS

To sum up, the United States is driven at the price of its own existence as the leading imperialist power in the world, to include all these aims in its programme for world domination. That is what its diplomacy works for, and that is what its re-armament is for also.

They are preparing, not an “ordinary” war, but the most reactionary kind of war that we can imagine—a war against the entire world working class and the colonial peoples, those who have achieved power (the Soviet Union) those who are actively fighting for power (China and Korea) and those who, by the very nature of their existence are being driven along the same road (that is, the Labour Movements everywhere, including our own and that of the United States itself).

WE CAN'T BE NEUTRAL IN AN INTERNATIONAL CIVIL WAR

THERE are, we are sure, many Labour men and women who agree with our analysis of the aims of imperialism, but who will draw the conclusion that we can completely this reactionary alliance.

If the world is divided into two great hostile forces, they will ask, and if, furthermore, we are not to be in the camp of America, must we then join the camp of the Soviet Union? Are we to abandon our independence, from being a satellite of America to become simply a satellite of the Soviet Union? Is it not possible, by remaining neutral, to exert a moderating influence on both sides?

Such an attitude is fairly widespread in the Movement and, for that reason alone, deserves serious attention.

THE TWO CAMPS

In the first place, the existence of the two so-called blocs is a fact. Also a fact—for historical reasons which we have not space enough to enter into here—the progressive bloc, all the forces, that is, against which America is preparing war, are at the moment led, or influenced by, the Government of the Soviet Union acting through the Communist Parties which owe it fealty. This, we hasten to add does not mean that the Soviet Government created these forces, or even set them in motion. The struggles of the workers against capitalism and the colonial peoples against the abject poverty of imperialist rule, was in existence long before the Soviet Government was established. Nevertheless, it is an undeniable fact that most of the movements at present in conflict with Imperialism are, at the moment, led or at least influenced by Moscow.

This is a situation that need not be, and should not be, but, before we can hope to change it, we must first face up to the reality.

We surely cannot be neutral in a struggle which, as we have seen, concerns the fate of two great social systems, simply because we happen to dislike the leadership of the progressive side in the struggle. If, for example, the Americans succeed in defeating the Chinese people that will aid world reaction—including our own particular Churchillian

If ever this reactionary war is unloosed on the world it will be transformed, more or less rapidly in all countries, into an international civil war.

WE MUST END IT

SO far, despite a few “protests” at some of Washington’s more blatantly reactionary measures, as for example the deal with Franco and the re-arming of Chiang Kai-Shek, our own Labour Government has gone all along the road with these plans.

We have sent British troops to assist in the crucifixion of the Korean people; we have leased large areas of this country as bomber bases to the American Armed Forces; we have been willing partners in the Atlantic Pact which cuts off from serious trade with the countries outside the alliance; we have imposed an economic blockade on China; and we have even made a couple of original contributions of our own, for example, in the cruel war against the Malayan people, and the refusal to recognise the legitimate national aspirations of the Persian and Egyptian peoples.

By these means the tremendous skill, energy, and ingenuity of the British working class, instead of being used to build a socialist Britain, has been used to provide the guns, the bombs, the man-power, for the most reactionary force the world has ever seen—the capitalist United States of America.

Here is the first and most fundamental fault (which is really far too mild a word) that the conferences of Labour must correct. We must break this reactionary alliance with the United States. We must place ourselves firmly on the side of all those workers and exploited peoples now fighting to achieve their freedom from capitalism and imperialism. We must do it because it is right. If we don’t do it . . . we shall never achieve our own freedom from the wages system.

variety. Labour can no more be neutral in this great struggle than workers can be neutral in a strike and, after all, a civil war is, in the final analysis, only a strike in which sides resort to armed force.

If we stand aside in a strike because we don’t like, or don’t trust, the strikers’ leaders we shall stand precious little chance of ever changing that leadership for a more progressive one.

Therefore if we cannot be neutral in Korea, in Malaya, in Persia, in China, and in Indo-China, we must be actively on the side of the workers. Does that mean that the Labour Party must henceforth become simply a bigger edition of the Communist Party—accepting without question every word that comes from Moscow?

It means nothing of the kind. British Labour can, and indeed must, retain all its legitimate suspicion of Soviet leadership, for the good and sufficient reason that it is not a good leadership and is not likely to lead the working class of the world to final victory. And it is possible to demonstrate this fact—and thereby to show the absolute need for complete political independence—by a study of the kind of leadership Moscow offers on the central problem facing the working class—the struggle against war.

BRITISH LABOUR AND MOSCOW

THE Communist Party’s struggle against war is based on the assumption that “socialism and capitalism can live in peace”. How does that square with reality? What sort of guide does it provide for the Labour Movement?

Lenin once defined our epoch as the epoch of wars and revolutions, and all experience since 1914 confirms his analysis. In the brief period of thirty-seven years, the world has seen the First World War, and in the midst of it the Russian Revolution of 1917. In the Twenties we saw the second revolution in China and the General Strike in this country—both sure signs of the crack-up of the capitalist system. The Thirties produced the Spanish Civil War and the world-wide economic crisis which set the stage for, and was inevitably followed by, the Second World War.

After the war there arose throughout Europe revolutionary situations, and now the colonial revolution is sweeping all over Asia. Right now we are in the midst of a “localised” war in Korea which has already killed more than two million people, and we have the ugly preparations for the Third World War, with international civil war and revolution implicit in the event.

Clearly the truth of Lenin’s definition of our epoch cannot be denied.

It was Lenin also who taught his followers that a new social system of planned economy based upon nationalised property cannot possibly “co-exist peacefully” with imperialist states “for any length of time”. In the end, said Lenin, “one or the other must conquer”.

The colonial peoples, kept in poverty and backwardness by imperialist domination,

TRADE UNIONISTS AND THE LABOUR PARTY

by JACK STANLEY (Gen. Sec. C.E. U.)

WHAT are the present relations between trade unionists (and by this I mean the rank-and-file) and the Labour Party (and here I exclude the rank-and-file)? What has happened to disturb the loyalty of the working class?

First and foremost, the White Paper which gave rise to the term “wage-freeze.” Then the attitude to profits and the Cabinet’s attempt to justify the retaining of them without adequate control. Next, the ban on demonstrations in London because of the activities of Mosley. Foreign policy, particularly in regard to Greece, had a big effect. But most important of all, the line-up with the United States against the Peoples Democracies and the consequent preparations for war which has had such an adverse effect on the living standards of the workers.

Whilst a good many things have been accomplished, it was no more than we expected from a Labour Government with such a huge majority in 1945. It is not enough, however, if in accomplishing certain things, you throw overboard the principles you previously stood for.

I should like to remind the leaders of the Labour Party of some statements made at a meeting of the Democratic Federation as long ago as 1884.

One speaker said: “Members once in Parliament too often turned round on their professions and principles. Socialists are revolutionists who desire to alter not only the forms, but the very basis of society.”

It is this change in principles which, in my opinion, is alienating the loyalty of trade unionists to the Labour Party. The rank-and-file must do something about it—and quick.

could find the way to national independence only by revolutions in the colonies joining forces with the anti-capitalist forces in the metropolitan centres of Europe and America. That is the road to peace, and along that road alone can real peace and a good life of freedom and plenty be secured for humanity. How does all this square with the peace campaign of the Communist Parties?

It runs counter to all the experience of the past thirty-seven years. “Unity of the Big Five” is not an anti-war programme—it is a proposal to maintain the *status quo*.

The programme is doomed because neither of the two great powers, neither the workers and the colonial peoples nor the imperialists, can accept it and abide by it.

The imperialists, by their military preparations, have served notice that the programme doesn’t go far enough. They want, as we have seen, nothing less than that the Soviet Union and revolutionary China should cease to exist as at present constituted. In their hearts and in their moneybags, the rulers of capitalist America are convinced that the two rival social systems cannot “peacefully co-exist” to their advantage. The peace they want is a peace that the Soviet Union cannot give . . . and remain a Soviet Union.

The workers and the colonial peoples, for their part, also cannot accept Moscow’s peace programme because their lives grow ever more intolerable under this decaying system and drives them on to the road of struggle against existing conditions. It is precisely the *status quo* that must be disrupted in order that peace may be secured and people may live in security and prosperity.

WHAT IS “AGGRESSION”?

We believe that the very existence of capitalist imperialism is an aggression against the mass of the world’s population, robbing them of their right to decent existence by force and fraud. In truth, aggression can no more be outlawed in the present relationship of classes and nations than the blows and counter-blows of contending armies in the field.

Just as the existence of imperialism is an act of aggression against the masses, so the very existence of the Soviet Union with its planned economy; the labour movements in the capitalist countries; and the surging revolutionary movements in the colonies—are all unceasing acts of “aggression” against the imperialist world system.

And this struggle, this aggression, whatever the aims of its participants at the moment, is historically destined not to maintain the *status quo*, but to change it fundamentally.

THE WAR CAN BE STOPPED

IT is this struggle of the workers and the colonial peoples which is today the only real deterrent to the outbreak of World War III. The fight of the Chinese and Korean peoples against the armies of UNO are doing more to slow down the war plans of Washington than any amount of prayers and petitions can ever do. One has only to remember the confusion and demoralisation that hit the Imperialist camp when the Korean armies were outside Pusan to see

THE OTHER KIND OF FELLOW - TRAVELLER

VISCOUNT SWINTON, deputy leader of the Tory Party, has urged in Parliament the need for a pact with Bloody Franco and condemned the Labour Government’s “odd” point of view.

He was warmly supported by our Socialist Lords, Strabolgi and Winster! We are informed that they “heartily agreed with Lord Swinton.”

the truth of that.

Likewise, it is the revolutionary sentiment of the European workers, and the fear of civil war at home, which causes the drag among the European capitalists behind the American war-chariot. An aggressive and politically independent Labour Movement in Great Britain, firmly resisting war and concentrating all its energies against the real enemy—the British monopoly capitalists—would be a tremendous obstacle in the way of the war-mongers and the war-makers.

Such a Labour Movement acting in such a way would powerfully inspire the “other America”, the America of the workers, poor farmers, negroes, and other persecuted minorities, to resist the madmen who rule at Washington and that, be it said, would finally and irrevocably put an end to the war.

That is, in our opinion, the only general struggle which the workers and the colonial peoples otherwise are poor leaders of the working class. We shall have peace when we have power and use that power to make it for ourselves. There is no other road to peace. All of which surely demonstrates that while we should certainly treat the Soviet Union as an ally we should never accept it as a master.

ARMS and the WORKERS

THERE can be no doubt at all that the labour and materials used in the present rearmament drive is a criminal waste of skill and energy. It is so, however, because the purpose of this rearmament is reactionary through and through and can never serve the interests of the common people.

But—let us face it—a real Labour Government, one which had introduced the rule of the working class and had nationalised all wealth and property, would be stupid not to build an armed force with which to defend these good things. Such an armed force would still be a burden on the economy. Even under socialism you can’t eat guns.

However, guns are necessary to socialism—both to get it and to defend it. No socialist would surely deny the Chinese, or the Russians, the right to defend the gains they have made against imperialism which is aiming to take them away. There really isn’t any place in the modern world for that kind of pacifism.

Rearmament in a socialist Britain would mean a reduction in living standards but—and this is the point—it would mean an equal reduction for all. None would reap fat profits out of it, and no one would carry a heavier burden than anyone else.

The amount of labour and materials required for rearmament would be allocated quite consciously and, as the need for arms disappeared—a possibility strictly dependent on the success of the socialist struggle throughout the world labour and materials would be transferred back to the production of the good things of life.

But what would happen if rearmament were to cease now while capitalism remains intact? An immediate glut of almost every conceivable commodity. Modern capitalism cannot function without arms orders. There would certainly be a slump in prices—in ALL prices, including the price of labour. Disarmament, in and of itself, is, therefore, no policy for the working class.

In the thirties we had disarmament but, as every worker over the age of 35 can testify, that was also a period of mass unemployment, and the most abject poverty for the great mass of working people.

To be against rearmament because it is for a reactionary purpose—that is good. But to be against rearmament and not also to fight against capitalism is simply evading the real problem. Capitalism armed, or capitalism disarmed, the task is the same—to replace private profit-making by socialist planning.



(2) The Home Front

Rising Prices CAN Be Stopped

... But Only By Socialist Methods

WAR preparations affect most people through the sharply rising cost-of-living. It is not surprising, therefore, that one-hundred-and-thirty-four of the resolutions on the Agenda of the Labour Party Conference are concerned with prices, wages, and profits. None of these resolutions offer a real method of combating the scourge of rising prices—but nearly all of them reveal clearly enough a willingness to support the Government in any bold action it may take in this respect. Demands to "limit profits" and "stop dividends" are very popular.

If the Government set about attacking capital and the capitalist class, there is no doubt at all of the enthusiastic response it would receive from the rank-and-file of the Party.

The present system of controls and subsidies has failed miserably to keep prices in check. Proof of this is to be found in the very existence of these 134 angry resolutions on the cost-of-living. They would surely never have been tabled if price controls and subsidies had worked successfully.

However, despite this fact, most of the resolutions call only for bigger doses of the

THE Chancellor has asked for and been granted:—

- £548 millions for National Debt charges;
- £418 millions for the Army;
- £278 millions for the Navy;
- £328 millions for the Air Force.

But for prevention and cure of blind children in the British Colonies (where there are three times as many blind people than in Britain and the United States put together!) Mr. Attlee could only initiate a campaign to raise £1 million—as a charity!

same utterly ineffective medicine. Again and again the Government is asked to "extend controls" and "make greater use of subsidies". In all probability the Government will do both these things—but prices will still rise and real wages will still

Because, as a price controlled and operated, controls do not give either the Government or the workers any real control over the operations of the economic process.

The present system of controls leaves the profit-making system intact—that is, it leaves it to be operated by private capitalists for private profit, and across the Board Rooms of every company (including the nationalised ones) the age-old notice still hangs... "Workers, keep out!" Until we tear down that notice we shan't even begin to see a way out of our present difficulties.

SUBSIDIES

What is a subsidy, and how does it operate? The Government, we will suppose, decides that the price of bread shall be controlled at 6d. a loaf. (Incidentally, by thus keeping the price of bread at 6d., the Government hopes to persuade the workers to exercise "restraint" in making wage-claims). But the flour-millers object. The prices of raw materials and wages are such, they say, that it is "impossible" to produce a loaf of bread under 8d. (the figures are quite arbitrary, of course, but they in no way affect the argument). What does the Government do then?

It appoints a Committee of flour-millers and Government representatives to "go into the question". Of course they report that the millers are right and so... a subsidy of 2d. on every loaf produced is paid to the millers so that they can produce at 6d.

BALANCING THE BUDGET!



instead of 8d. without losing any profit!

Clearly there is nothing remotely resembling socialism in this kind of "price control". Profits are considered inviolate—in fact, they are deliberately protected under the subsidy system.

From where does the money come to pay these subsidies? From the workers, of course, in the form of direct and indirect taxation. True the capitalists also have to pay their share out of heavier taxes, and some of them don't like that a bit. They want jam on both sides. However, the more serious of them know that it is really a small price to pay if it can succeed—as it has up to now—in holding back the demands for greatly increased wages which would inevitably follow a sharp rise in the price of bread.

The whole thing might perhaps be tolerated if it worked—that is, if it *did* succeed in keeping prices down. But, as everyone knows, the prices of subsidised goods are rising daily.

WHO CONTROLS PRICES?

Should we be *against* subsidies then? Against that kind of subsidy, yes. It never was the duty of a Labour Government to subsidise the profits of the employing class. However, there is a form of subsidy we are in favour of, but we'll come to that after we have dealt with that other magical "cure-all"... price controls.

It has been decided, let us say, that a man's suit shall be controlled at £10. Who decided it? The textile manufacturers, of course, sitting in some "committee" or other together with a few gentlemen known as

Planning Needs Workers' Control

IF the present system of subsidies and controls are a farce and an "economic swindle", what is to be done? Abolish controls altogether? That is a Tory suggestion, and not worth considering. Control must be made REAL control by placing its operation in the hands of the producers, the working class.

And that can be done very simply by establishing in every place of work, a *committee of working men* with full powers to inspect all the books of the company, its financial transactions, its profits, its salaries and "expenses", and every other aspect of its activities.

Such committees could very easily reveal to the Government, and to the country, just what goes into the cost of producing suits, bread, bicycles, toothbrushes, and everything else. On the basis of these reports, prices could be fixed at the lowest possible economic level—that is, allowing for costs of raw materials, labour, maintenance and development.

And Profits? We doubt whether committees of workmen would be much concerned about protecting profits at all, and that, we are sure, is why this method of control has never been tried. That is why the "Keep Out" sign still hangs on the Board Room doors.

Would it be difficult to set up such a real control in industry? No. All that is required is one simple piece of legislation making the establishment of such workers' committees compulsory in every workshop. It's as easy as that—and it would cost very little, certainly far less than the present bureaucratic system of Government "control".

When the workers themselves have real power to fix prices, and real power to see that the prices are adhered to by the manufacturers, we shall at last be at the beginning of a solution to the problem of rising prices. Then can the Government be sure that tax evasion will cease, fiddling and sharp practices will cease, and black marketeering will be no more. This is the only sort of control that can possibly be effective—control by the organised working class.

IS IT TOO REVOLUTIONARY?

As a matter of fact, the creation of such a real control would not, of itself, take away from the manufacturers one penny piece. But it would reveal for all to see just what is the true state of affairs in industry and commerce. How much of the workers' labour goes to provide profits and luxuries for the rich, how the swindles and frauds, that daily take place behind the backs of the people are carried out.

Furthermore, the real workings of the capitalist system having been revealed, the committees of control would provide a very effective machinery to enforce whatever decisions the Government decided to make regarding prices and profits. As for being too revolutionary, the step is actually being demanded right now by large bodies of workers.

Railwaymen, for example, have repeatedly urged the Government to give the workers in the nationalised industries this kind of real

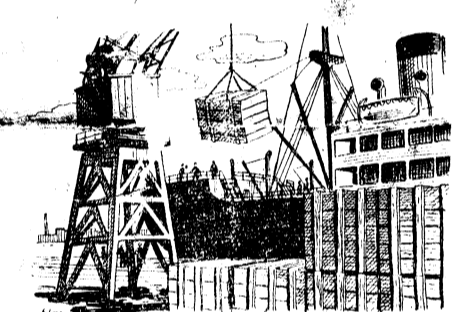
"Government representatives". How do they arrive at their decision? By fixing the price in accordance with the costs of production of an average firm, including, of course, an "average" profit. What is there socialist about this operation? Nothing whatever.

Do the manufacturers of the "controlled-price" suits suffer in any way? They certainly do not. According to Mrs. Barbara Castle, the Labour Member for an important textile manufacturing centre, profits in all branches of the textile trade have risen, and are rising, enormously. She writes in *Tribune* (10/8/51)...

"The 38 cotton, 27 wool and 33 rayon firms who published their reports in the first four months of the year recorded an average increase in profits for the past year of 40.2 per cent, 34.5 per cent, and 33.5 per cent respectively".

Finally, and most decisive test of all, has this Government price "control" actually kept down prices? It has not. New clothes are soaring out of the reach of all but the better-paid workers and, naturally, the employers. As for old-age pensioners and sick people, they have as much chance of getting a new suit as getting the moon on a golden plate.

The last word on the effectiveness of subsidies and price controls has been said by the President of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. Speaking at the Confederation's recent Conference, he said, "the Trade Union Movement had exercised restraint until the outrageous increases in profits and prices showed us to be the victims of an economic swindle."



control. That is the meaning of the National Union of Railwaymen's demand for "more participation in management" and for "more workers on the nationalised Boards".

Out of their own experience railwaymen are now saying to the Government, in effect... "You have nationalised the railways and that is fine, but you haven't yet organised things so that real control and power is in OUR hands. The "old gang" is still in control."

This is a deadly criticism of the nationalisation policy—more serious, in fact, than the criticism that nationalisation does not cover enough industries.

It means that the Government's nationalisation policy has never been considered as part of a plan to establish real workers' power throughout the country.

POWER THE KEY QUESTION

It cannot be stated too often that the question of power, real workers' power, is the central problem to be solved by any Government that is serious about creating a socialist society. Workers' power is, be it noted, very much more than the simple election of a Labour Government.

We have a Labour Government in Westminster right now—but throughout all of industry and commerce there exists a Tory Government whose rule is unchallenged and whose actions are uncontrolled.

The same situation is to be found also in the Civil Service where all the higher departments are staffed with outright Tories; in the armed forces whose commanding staff are reactionaries to a man; in the police where the friends of Mosley abound; and in the press which serves Big Business and whose sole object is to slander, vilify, and destroy the work of a Labour Government.

It is this fact, incidentally, which explains the apparent anomaly of Labour Britain being in alliance in international affairs with

THE FIGHTING FUND

Vauxhall Speaker	2 6
F. A's friends	4 0
J. Lightfoot	1 6
Joan (Beaulieu)	2 8
Mike	1 0 0
S. Goldberg	1 0 0
A. Feldman	3 0
Total	£2 13 8

A WARNING

THE following letter received from an old-age pensioner is a clear warning to the Labour Movement. It shows how the Government's present policy is alienating some of its finest supporters. To win them back to the enthusiastic support they so readily gave in the past will require a lot more than fast talking—it will require a complete change of policy so as to give a fair deal to the old-age pensioners.

I am an old-age pensioner. I have belonged to the Labour Movement for over forty years, paid my coppers and always voted Labour. My only purpose in life was to see a Labour Government.

In the past forty years, had I known what I know now, my energies would not have been wasted. Our present leaders haven't the policy of the old Labour men. What I am complaining about is how they have raised their own salaries—but how mean they have been to us old-age pensioners.

I have received a note and a new book from the Sheffield Public Assistance saying that in future my allowance will be reduced from 10/- to 8/6—because we are getting a 4/- rise in our pension! What meanness for a paltry 1/6d.

In 1926, meetings were held all over England for "Hands Off Russia". Now they would starve the old people to buy ammunition to kill these same people. What's up with their mentality?

I am turned seventy now and, like several other people, I feel that as far as I am concerned Labour has had it.

We have had a Labour Council for donkey's years in Sheffield—and slum property they condemned twenty years ago is still flourishing.

J. Day. Sheffield.

Control

that most reactionary of all Governments—the Government of the United States of America. It is the capitalists who want this alliance and, through their command of the economic and political life of this country, they have made our Government their prisoners—for the most part, quite happy and contented prisoners.

To break this Tory hold over the economic and political life of this country is surely the first task of a real Labour Government—and how else can it be done except by everywhere replacing Tories by workers in the management and control of industry. And when that is done we shall, for the first time, be in a position not only to control prices, but to proceed with the nationalisation of all the basic industries and services which is, after all, the whole purpose in electing a Labour Government.

Summing up so far, the only kind of control that can be effective, the only kind of control that socialists are interested in is—control by the organised working class. Government decrees on prices are not worth the paper they are written on if they are left to the capitalists and their representatives to operate. If their profit system is left untouched, the employing class will have a thousand-and-one ways of surmounting, and even turning to its own advantage, every conceivable kind of Government "control". The first step is to break this power of the "old order" in every department of our national and international life—in industry, in commerce, in the army, in the police, and in the press. Don't worry, freedom of the press would still exist—only now Lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere would have to produce their papers under much the same heart-breaking conditions as we now produce the "Socialist Outlook".

The power of the employing class having been broken, we could now turn to the real job in hand—the constructing of a socialist society in this country.

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(2) The Home Front (concluded)**Extend Nationalisation . . .
... in the interest of the Workers**

THERE cannot be any serious argument against the rapid extension of nationalisation to cover all the basic industries and services. Those who are against it—leaders like Arthur Deakin and Herbert Morrison—are just not socialist at all. They are in the socialist movement through some dreadful misunderstanding on their part. Why, the very definition of socialism—long accepted by the Party—is “the common ownership and control of all the means of production and distribution”.

And why do we need this common ownership if it is not to replace the present capitalist anarchy by socialist planning. We can't plan unless we are able to freely dispose of all the resources of the country—its money, its materials, and its labour force—and we can't do that until all, or most, of the means of production are brought under State ownership.

So far, we have nationalised fuel and power, transport, steel, and the Bank of England—20% of the economy. That's a good start, but it is only a start. 80% still

EXPERIENCE TEACHES

H. W. Franklin, President of the National Union of Railwaymen, recently said that his Union's aim will be to send to the Government a request to lessen the £34 millions at present paid in compensation to the former shareholders.

The National Union of Vehicle Builders has called for a drastic cut in compensation payments.

The Railway Clerks' Union (T.S.S.A.) recently passed a resolution asking the Government “to provide an easement of the crippling interest charges” paid to former shareholders.

remains in private hands and is operated for private profit. The famous ‘mixed economy’. But the “peaceful co-existence of capitalism and socialism” is just as impossible inside Britain as it is on the international field. One or the other must go and it is the task of the Labour Party to see that Socialism conquers in the rapid extension of nationalisation.

This is demanded not only by socialist theory and present experience but, as with workers' control, it is demanded by the workers themselves.

The 3,000,000 strong Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions has recently strongly urged the nationalisation of all the important sections of their industry—and they have even produced a plan showing how to do it.

The National Federation of Building Trades Operatives have likewise demanded the nationalisation of the building industry. The Chemical Workers want ICI nationalised, and dozens of rural Labour organisations are pressing for the nationalisation of the land.

If the leaders bowed to the wishes of the rank-and-file for a change, we should soon be in a position to plan the economy, allocating the raw materials and labour to whatever purpose the workers themselves decided. So much for housing, so much for consumer goods, so much for capital development, so much for the armed forces, for the social services etc.

There would be no fear of unemployment, for private profit-making will naturally have been abolished. We say private profit-making, for profits, as such, will of course remain. Those Tories, outside and inside the movement, who try to discredit socialism by claiming that socialists want merely to grab the existing profits and have one big glorious share-out, are either conscious liars or they never had the foggiest notion of what socialism really is.

A GOOD SUBSIDY

Profit is only another name for the surplus produced by the workers above what is required to support himself and his family. It should belong to the worker, but it is legally stolen from him through the mechanism of the private ownership of capital which makes everything that the worker produces the property of the capitalist.

This surplus is continually increasing with every improvement in the technique of production. Socialists will, of course, encourage this kind of “profit”—the only difference being that it will no longer be privately owned and controlled but will belong to the State which, through the measures we have advocated above, will be a Workers State, able to dispose of it in the best interests of the producers.

Returning for a moment to the question of subsidies, we can see that they would be essential to the smooth working of this kind of planned economy. To keep down the prices of, say, food, it might well be necessary to subsidise that industry out of the proceeds of the more modern plants. In this way, through the nationalised banks,

prices could be determined in a conscious and planned manner.

The germ of such an idea is contained in the repeated demand of the National Union of Mineworkers that the nationalised coal industry should not be expected to “pay its way” out of its own resources. Of course it shouldn't. It is absurd that the enormous profits derived, for example, from the engineering industry, should not be transferred in part to the mines to enable the miners' conditions to be improved and the price of coal to be reduced. However, that is quite impossible while the whole of the profit in the engineering industry is privately-owned.

What the Mineworkers' Union should do is to support with all their strength the nationalisation demand of the Engineering Confederation.

Planning is quite impossible, in other words, until Labour takes into its own hands all the basic means of production and distribution. And if that is not true, please will somebody tell us what is the meaning of socialism? Why are we not all in the Tory Party of private enterprise—instead of gathering together in these solemn assemblies and Conferences as a LABOUR Party.

MISTAKES CAN BE REMEDIED

We have tried to avoid drawing up a blueprint of the socialist society. We have been mainly concerned to reveal, what so much Fabian scheming has covered up, that the problem of workers' power is the basic solution to all our present difficulties. If the sort of bold attack on profit-making which we advocate is actually attempted, there will be plenty of mistakes made at first. That shouldn't deter us, however, for mistakes can always be rectified.

So far as mistakes in nationalisation policy are concerned, there is much to be learned from the experience already gained in this field. Take as example the matter of compensating the former owners.

The idea was that this method would achieve common ownership with the least possible opposition. It just hasn't worked out at all. The most vigorous opponents of nationalisation are those to whom these generous sums of compensation are at present being paid. These people are solidly anti-Labour and, in the case of the steel barons, have even resorted to open and concealed sabotage of the nationalisation plans of the Labour Government.

Experience has also shown that compensation is an act of leniency which the country just cannot afford. As any railwayman will agree, the railways cannot afford to pay both the huge sum of £32 millions in compensation to the former shareholders, and provide at the same time decent wages and conditions for the workers. If we have the interests of the real producers at heart, the compensation payments must be stopped.

Serious cases of hardship can be dealt with by a committee of workmen who can be safely entrusted to see fair play for the famous “widows and orphans”. But the rest can go to work and, as workers, they will be able to enjoy the benefits of the social services and join with us in trying to improve them.

Wages**One Way Only
... NOW!**

WE are sure many people will agree that what we have said above contains much that is true. But, they will ask, something must be done right now to stop the disastrous fall in our living standards due to rising prices.

Well, there is one way—and one way only—to defend living standards immediately. **Fight for substantial increases in wages.**

There is no need to await the outcome of the deliberations inside the Labour Movement—the Trade Unions are strong enough to raise living standards if they have the will to do it. As prices are rising all the time, however, it is only simple common sense to insist that in every wage agreement there be inserted a clause which provides for an automatic increase in wages to cover every increase in the cost-of-living.

In this respect we must not forget the old workers. The demand to fix old-age pensions (as well as all other social service benefits) to a rising scale based on the cost of living, is the very least we can do for the old and the sick who no longer have powerful trade unions to defend them.

And if the employers and the Government tell us these things can't be done, that it will lead to inflation, etc., we have a ready reply. **Put the workers in real control and cut out profit-making altogether!**

That is our solution—and until we get it, we shall insist on defending our living standards in the only way open to us under capitalism . . . by fighting every attempt to reduce our wages.

(3) Party Democracy**BEWARE OF BUREAUCRATS**

THE coming Labour Party Conference is certain to open up a serious and fundamental discussion inside the Movement. All the old Fabian ideas are in the melting-pot. Six years experience has exposed the fallacies of trying to run a “mixed economy”. What shall take its place? That is the question with which the movement is confronted. That is what it must now seriously discuss.

But if the discussion is to strengthen and not weaken the Party, it must take place in an atmosphere free from threats of expulsion and proscription.

The one sure way to disrupt Party work is for the N.E.C. to start trying to intimidate those who are seeking to change the policy. Unfortunately, however, all the signs show that the leadership intends to do just that. The case of the Socialist Fellowship, recently proscribed, reveals that the N.E.C. is reacting to the disquiet of the membership by wielding the bureaucratic chopper. For this reason alone, the case of the Socialist Fellowship deserves some attention.

This organisation was founded by Ellis Smith, M.P., at the Blackpool Conference in 1949. Membership was open only to individual members of the Labour Party and the Fellowship, in fact, rapidly recruited many of the most active workers from the local parties.

Its declared aim was to convince the Party of the need for a more socialist policy, and its method of accomplishing this aim was to utilise the normal Party channels in the constituencies and at Annual Conference. Fellowship members were called upon to lead the activity against the Tories during the 1950 Election, and they did so. The Fellowship Conference arranged in the London area in February 1950 was cancelled as the election date became known. The St. Pancras Town Hall booked for this purpose was immediately handed over to the local Labour Party who were thus enabled to get under way an early rally against the Tories.

We stress these points in order to show that the Fellowship was a group of loyal Party members who were proscribed by the N.E.C., without a word of warning, and with no evidence ever being produced of anti-party activity.

All they did was to exercise their demo-

cratic right to try and change the policy of the Party. Yet even under these circumstances, and bitterly resenting the action of the N.E.C., the Fellowship refused to give interviews on its proscription so that Labour would not receive unfavourable publicity in the capitalist press.

Elsewhere in this paper we have published the correspondence between the Fellowship and the N.E.C. It shows that the Fellowship was proscribed not for disloyalty . . . but, in the words of Morgan Phillips, for advocating a policy “which fundamentally varies from that laid down by the Annual Conference”.

If this justifies the proscribing of the Fellowship then it also justifies proscribing critics of Government policy (and there are now thousands of them) in every section of the movement. The A.E.U., the N.U.R., the Foundry Workers, the C.E.U. and the E.T.U. have all adopted lines of policy “fundamentally at variance” with the last Annual Conference. And what about *Tribune* and *One Way Only*?

The case of the Socialist Fellowship is a test case. Once this kind of witch-hunt gets under way, it can be used to attack all forms of democratic criticism. The struggle to remove the ban on the Socialist Fellowship is essentially a struggle to preserve the possibility of a democratic political evolution inside the Labour Party.

That a large section of the membership is already alarmed at the present bureaucratic tendencies is shown by the resolution on the Conference Agenda standing in the name of the **Dewsbury Constituency Labour Party**. The resolution “views with alarm the ever-increasing number of organisations being proscribed by the National Executive Committee and calls for an immediate and searching investigation into this practice, which in many ways is an interference with the liberties of the individual Party members.”

The resolution, together with the lifting of the ban on the Fellowship, should in our opinion be carried unanimously. Confronted with a most fundamental discussion on policy, it is vital that the traditional democracy of the Party is maintained.

THE CASE OF THE SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

The following letter was sent to Transport House by the Socialist Fellowship immediately it learned of the proscription of this organisation. It was requested that it be published for the information of Labour Party members. This was not done, nor was the letter even acknowledged.

Morgan Phillips,
Sec., N.E.C.

29th April 1951.

Dear Comrade,

re. The Socialist Fellowship

Following our telephone conversation on Saturday 28th inst. between our Secretary and your Mr. Williams, the N.E.C. of the Socialist Fellowship has held an emergency meeting to consider the decision of your N.E.C. to proscribe the Socialist Fellowship.

As you will appreciate, we have heard of the decision with great surprise and regret. The “Fellowship” has now been in active existence for two years. Its work and objects were clearly stated when it was formed and no objection or criticism of any of its actions has been made by your N.E.C. or any committee of the Party during the whole period of its existence. The “Fellowship” has carried on, we think, a valuable work of socialist agitation and education. Had any objection been raised to any one of its activities we should have valued a consultation with you with regard to same, or as to the work of the “Fellowship” generally.

No such occasion has ever arisen nor, in our opinion could have arisen. We have worked strictly within the declared aims and objects of our great movement.

In spite of this, and without a single word of warning, without any opportunity for explanation or discussion, this drastic and unwarranted action has been decided on by your N.E.C.

As you will know, the membership of the “Fellowship” is strictly limited to members of the Labour Party. We have refused, time after time, applications for membership from persons outside the Party.

We regard the action of the N.E.C. as an attack on free speech, free discussion and legitimate freedom of action within the Party. We would have accepted any criticism of any action of ours which went beyond the declared objects of the Party, but no such criticism has been forthcoming.

As loyal members of the Party, who have never had any interests separate or apart from the Labour Party, we are obliged to accept the decision of the N.E.C. The responsibility for this undemocratic action is wholly on the shoulders of the N.E.C. They are to blame, not the Socialist Fellowship. We believe that your action in proscribing the Socialist Fellowship constitutes a dangerous blow to the principles of democracy as experienced within the ranks of our Party. Because of this, and even at this late hour, we ask your N.E.C. to reconsider the matter having regard to the representations we have

made above.

In order, however, that their membership of the Labour Party shall not be endangered, we are sending a copy of this letter to every member of the Socialist Fellowship and to all “Fellowship” Secretaries throughout the country, so that they shall clearly understand that the “Fellowship” no longer exists.

If the decision cannot be reversed, you can still considerably mitigate the results of your undemocratic action by issuing to us, and to Labour Party organisations, a reason or reasons explaining why you have so acted, that have led you to act in this dictatorial manner. We ask you to circulate this letter to all Labour Parties so that our position may be made quite clear.

Fraternally yours,

Tom Braddock	John Lawrence
Hilda Lane	R. Fagg
Joan Thompson	A. Kirkby
Bert Cohen	D. Goldhill
John Daly	Fred Emmett

It was several weeks before a statement was sent to various local Labour Parties from the office of the National Agent which threw some light on the reasons for the ban on the Socialist Fellowship. The statement read in part as follows:—

“The National Executive Committee has had under review for some time the activities of the Socialist Fellowship, and has come to the conclusion that they are advocating a programme and policy which fundamentally varies from that laid down by the Annual Conference of the Labour Party, and therefore decides that membership of that organisation is incompatible with membership of the Labour Party.”

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