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Socialist Outlook

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3d.

Workhouse
to
Westminster
(See page 2)

A DIARY OF S. KOREAN 'DEMOCRACY'

MOST of the "popular" Press has now published "Diaries of the Korean War". These are some of the dates they forgot.

January, 1952: South Korean President Syngman Rhee sponsored a constitutional amendment to elect the president "by the people" instead of the National Assembly. This the Assembly rejected.

February 18, 1952: Taehan (Fascist) Youth demonstrated outside the Assembly which asked Rhee for an explanation. He refused.

May 24, 1952: Rhee made changes in the Home Ministry and National Police replacing heads with his trusted followers. Leader of the Taehan Youth became Home Minister.

May 25, 1952: Rhee declared martial law and arrested more than a quarter of the Assemblymen!

May 28, 1952: U.N. asked Rhee to lift martial law and release Assemblymen. Request ignored.

May 30, 1952: Assembly repeated this request—refused.

June 2, 1952: Rhee made ultimatum to Assembly to submit within 24 hours on pain of dissolution.

June 3, 1952: Ultimatum withdrawn on request of U.S. military authorities.

Editor and publisher of "Tongilbo" (right-wing opposition) arrested.

June 20, 1952: Rhee supporters attacked a meeting of prominent citizens called "to defend the Constitution". Several people injured. Police arrested organisers of meeting whilst attackers went free.

July 2, 1952: Police forced members to attend Assembly.

July 4, 1952: After 48 hours detention, Assembly voted the Rhee amendment "while we were under armed guard".

July 29, 1952: Nomination day for Presidential elections. Martial law lifted a week before polling.

August 5, 1952: 86 per cent. (!) of the people (on register) "voted" for Rhee as President.

This was the "democracy" the Korean War is being fought to defend.

Miners Much More Useful than Queens

A Reply to The 'Mirror's' Cassandra

By John Lawrence

OF all the tribe of press columnists who regularly defend this dog-eat-dog system of private enterprise none is more nauseatingly anti-working class than the "Daily Mirror's" Cassandra.

Writing from Fleet Street—which is about as far from a coal-field as you can get in this country—Mr. Cassandra berates the miners for their alleged absenteeism and for the fall in coal production it is supposed to cause. It's all in his column of July 10.

He disdains to give any figures to prove his case that the miners are a lot of lazy layabouts. Which

isn't surprising, as the figures blow his case to hell.

Every year since the mines were nationalised coal output has increased.

1946	190.07	million tons.
1947	197.07	"
1948	209.45	"
1949	215.12	"
1950	216.3	"
1951	222.9	"
1952	226.5	"

And this, mark you, achieved with less miners and with far less pits in operation than ever before.

"Lecturing coal miners about hard work", says Mr. C. "is not very profitable." (True, very true). "So I have made a comparison which is at least relevant. I have examined", he continues, "the duties of a British Queen for one month—the month of June, 1953. Thirty days of glory. And 30 days of solid, grinding work at a physical pitch and a mental pace that can show something to the gradely lads of Yorkshire . . . in June this year Queen Elizabeth fulfilled 65 engagements."

So there now! Who says the Queen isn't useful to the employing class. You think you're working hard, my lad, well look at Our Queen—and she smiles all the time!

Thirty days of glory, indeed! And what, Mr. Cassandra, do you suppose the miners were doing during those 30 days? Acting the fool on horseback up and down the Mall dressed up as Admirals or arrayed in ridiculous costumes and funny hats?

No, Mr. C., the miners were doing what they are always doing—working! Working at a job which even you have acknowledged to be the "most dirty, dangerous and arduous" in the land. And there's no glory in it, either.

I wonder if Cassandra has any idea what it is like to work in a pit? I have. I did it for a couple of years.

Every day for five days a week—and sometimes for six and seven when there is a crisis and all the Cassandras scream for warmth—the miner descends into the very bowels of the earth. Arrived there he commences to "walk in" to work. You should try it, Mr. C.

Gather up your shovel, your pike or mandril, your 7 lb. lamp, your food box and bottle of water (no nice cups of coffee underground) perhaps an axe and a few other things and start walking. Not along Fleet Street or the Strand—but along a pit "road".

For a while you walk upright, then as the roof gets lower you

bend your neck, then your back as it gets lower still. Probably you end up by scrawling on hands and knees, over rocks and under rocks, to get to the coal face itself. All this might take anything up to three quarters of an hour—and, sweating and full of dust though you are, you have not yet started work! Much easier than being a Queen, isn't it?

Then you go to the "face" and there you slog with pike and shovel until the stint is off. Shots are fired to loosen the coal. You crouch out of danger. A piece of the roof falls in. You repair it—and all under conditions that can spell death (and often does) to anyone of you at any time. And all around, just outside the little circle of light from your lamp, it is dark—dark like you have never known in the world on top.

And then there's the dust that chokes the lungs and regularly kills off many fine, strong men. And the sweat! You've never really sweated until you've worked in a pit, Mr. C.

But the job is done and the coal is got—and all those nice Fleet Street offices are made warm and comfortable on the coldest days so that Cassandra and his fellow tribesmen can the more efficiently pour out their venom on the miners who did the job.

The miners are fine men—the finest. Some of them are old but quite a lot are young, even merely boys. And when the sun shines on the good green grass these boys feel an urge to go and lie in it for a day. That's what "absenteeism" is. Terrible, isn't it?

But don't forget that a day with the sun on your back will cost a miner TWO DAYS PAY—the shift he missed and the bonus shift as well. Still, it's much easier than being a Queen, isn't it?

Why is it that all the Fleet Street hacks squeal like pigs when miners are absent from work? Very simple really. Because they know that if all the miners stayed away from work—even for one day—the country's economy would topple, all the luxury and wealth of the drones and parasites would soon disappear. But if the Queen is absent? What would happen, Mr. C.? I'll tell you. Nothing, absolutely nothing!

And that's the difference between miners and Queens (or press columnists for that matter). The miners are useful members of society and the others are not.

But soon, Mr. Cassandra, all the useful people—the miners, the dock workers, the steel workers, the labourers, the bricklayers, the road sweepers, the plumbers, the engineers and all the others who produce the wealth of the world are going to get together and make a new law—a simple one. Before anyone shall eat he first must do a useful job of work.

There will be room for good writers—but not for tribesmen like Cassandra. Maybe the workers will put him to work down a pit. Perhaps filling tubs amid the dust at the loader end! And if they do I'll bet my last shilling we'll hear no more from this gentleman about the iniquities of a five-day week.

Coronation Whip

The British Commissioners in Lanarca and Famagusta have refused to renew the licences of the Peon clubs belonging to Cypriot-Greek Youth Movement.

This Youth movement was involved in anti-Coronation incidents last month, one member being gaoled for his part in the incidents.



SPANISH CIVIL WAR
The second part of C. Van Gelderen's article has been held over to next week.

No Fight in this "Challenge To Britain"

"There is still time to win the peace—under one condition—that we face the harsh facts of life and take drastic Socialist measures which alone can prevent catastrophe."

THE above quotation is taken from page one of "Challenge to Britain", the Labour Party Executive's proposed new programme which says also that unless we do take these "drastic Socialist measures" we shall get a return to the conditions that existed after the first world war.

The fact that we had six years of a Labour Government and that applied Socialist measures did, among other things, avoid the chronic unemployment that followed the first world war, seems to have been forgotten. The old fear of unemployment is a thing of the past, but the Labour movement did not come into existence in order just to maintain full employment under capitalism.

We exist to obtain for the worker by hand or by brain the

full fruits of his industry. Quite a different thing!

WHAT WE NEED

What we now want is a programme for 1957 as clearly defined and as well thought out as 1945's "Let us Face the Future"—but bolder and more far-reaching.

Previously our Socialist propaganda had to be based largely on theory. We had little beyond the Post Office and Gas and Water

By
Tom Braddock

Socialism to offer as practical examples—yet Socialists in those days were full of confidence. How much more confident should we be now with the triumph of 1945-50 on which to build.

I am well aware that the capitalist propaganda machine, both here and in America, has conducted a campaign of lies and misrepresentation against our achievements. Indeed, they seem to have succeeded in sowing real doubts in the minds of some leading members of the Labour Party! Far from being a further chapter

of "Let us Face the Future", the N.E.C.'s statement turns out to be nothing but a series of makeshifts to keep capitalism going. Note what it says on page 7.

"Though the general case for nationalisation is compelling, we advocate nationalisation here only for those industries where the immediate national need makes the case overwhelming".

This resolves itself into proposals to do what profit-makers are too dumb to do for themselves, and to try to make them less anti-social in their outlook!

We tried this between 1945 and 1950 and all they did was to spit in our faces.

A CLARION CALL TO WHAT?

In the "Challenge", all that it is proposed to take over are Sugar and Water. Of the "drastic Socialist measures" called for on page one, there is not a trace. In fact, before the reader gets off page one the blight sets in. Immediately following the words quoted at the top of this article we get the following "the Plan . . . we outline in the following pages will involve sacrifices not only of material benefits but of many cherished habits and traditions".

What a clarion call to rouse the British working class to the support of Labour!

The workers are fighting now to keep their wages in line with increasing prices, inflated profits and all the price-ring jobbery that is now the characteristic feature of modern capitalism—and they are losing the fight. Standards of living are falling day by day.

It will be time to talk about sacrifices from the working class when they have been freed from the burden of Rent, Interest and Profit which is at present robbing them every working hour of the day of the result of their labour—either by taking away from them all but the bare cost of a low standard of living, or by diverting masses of material and labour-power into luxury production or into the maintenance of armies and armaments to protect the interests of capitalism both at home and abroad.

LATER THAN THEY THINK

It is, in fact, much later than our N.E.C. seems to think. Capitalism is already dead over a vast area of the world from Middle Europe to the Pacific Coast of China. South-East Asia is in revolt. All the down-trodden

peoples of Africa are beginning to rouse themselves. Yet in face of this, our N.E.C. uses our money to print "Challenge to Britain". What a dismal farce!

This is not because our movement, both on its Political and Trade Union side does not realise the position. Last year's Conference of both the Labour Party and the T.U.C. made this clear. Both called for plans for drastic Socialist measures, but these have not been produced.

A GREAT BETRAYAL

There is, however, something worse even than this. Last year the N.E.C. issued a discussion pamphlet on Foreign Policy which stated that the problem of Foreign Policy was the most urgent one that faces our movement. This year the N.E.C. is dumb on the subject.

First there was to be a later statement on Foreign Policy and Colonial Problems. Now it seems likely there will be no Foreign Policy statement at all! It is a "changing world", you see, and we must wait and see. What a confession of failure from the greatest Socialist movement in the world.

We should be the leaders in

Continued page 3 col. 1

The Voice of Kenya

A Report

A CHALLENGE to Britain that the Labour Party must answer was made last Sunday by a prominent African leader, Mr. Mbiyu Koinange, referring to the lack of protest made in this country over the killing and maltreatment of the people of Kenya stated that his people are saying "Why are you silent when we need you?" "What shall I tell them?" he asked.

Mr. Koinange, a member of the Executive Council of the Kenya Africa Union, now proscribed in Kenya, was speaking at a conference in Denison House, London, organised by the Kenya Provisional Committee. He showed how the limited demands of the people of Kenya for a fair electoral system, compulsory education for all, a minimum wage and the abolition of laws denying their lands to the Africans had been met by terror and brutality. "Two governors, three generals, Air Force, Army and other people, all equipped to fight whom? To fight Africans armed with sticks," he said.

Mr. Molumba from Uganda told the Conference that he had been exiled in this country since 1947 because of his efforts to prevent the federation of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika.

The Conference—which included many delegates from Trade Unions and Labour Parties—decided to try and raise money and organisational support so that the happenings in Kenya and the aims of its people can be widely publicised.

Organisations desiring speakers should write to the Kenya Provisional Committee, 112 Clarendon Road, W.11.

AMONG the best selling books of the late nineteenth-century was one titled *From Log Cabin to White House*. This was not, as is often assumed, the story of Abe Lincoln, but of a later President, James Garfield. Like Lincoln, Garfield was killed by an assassin.

There are at least a dozen autobiographies by former Labour leaders on the same theme—the rise from rags to riches, from poverty to political prominence; the from-pit-to-palace, workhouse-to-Westminster stories that show how the formation of the Labour Party enabled some good workmen to deteriorate into politicians.

Most histories of the Labour Party carry the "rags to riches" theme: and the lesson hammered home is usually that this rise of Labour has been due to the political sense and shrewdness of sane, sensible and practical men.

The facts tell a different story. Part of that story can be sketched here—the story of Labour's formative years, the years from 1900, when the Labour Party was founded, to 1914, the year of the first world war.

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The eighteen nineties had been marked by the moving into action of two forces—Socialists and Trade Unions.

Socialists were urging that the social and economic needs of all should take precedence over private property rights and private ownership; and the trade unions were compelled into political action by various factors. The newly organised unskilled workers brought the strength of numbers and enthusiasm to the cause of Labour Representation in Parliament. The defeat of the most

Labour's History

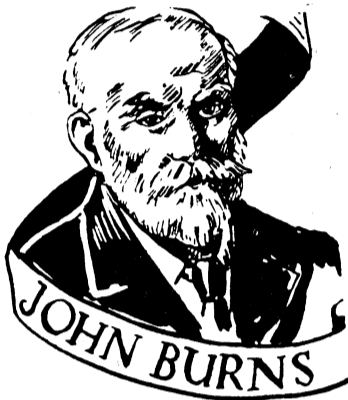
'Workhouse To Westminster...'

By Reg Groves (Author of "The Mystery of Victor Grayson")

powerful of the skilled workers unions—the Amalgamated Society of Engineers—in the lock-out of 1897 led many of the younger men to incline favourably to the idea of State action to remedy industrial wrongs.

Many socialists—including Frederick Engels, who kept a benevolent eye on the English movement—saw the way forward in a combination of trade unions and socialist societies for labour representation. Under Engels direction, Edward Aveling, Eleanor Marx and the youthful Tom Mann, after a brief interlude in William Morris's Socialist League, took part in the founding conference of the Independent Labour Party.

Though Socialist in aims, the I.L.P.—whose leaders had a shrewd eye for political opportunities and a reluctance to let principles impede political gain—sought a trade union-socialist alliance to secure



JOHN BURNS

the return of Labour members to the House of Commons.

Persistent socialist agitation in the unions brought into being, in February, 1900, the Labour Representation Committee. In the General Election for that year, the L.R.C. won two seats. In 1901, an impetus was given to L.R.C. support in the unions by a House of Lords decision that placed union funds in jeopardy. Within a year, affiliated membership rose from 365,000 to 961,000. The L.R.C. won seats at three by-elections.

In the General Election of 1906, when the Liberal Party swept to power with a great majority, the L.R.C. won 29 seats. Another 24 seats were won by Labour men running as Liberal-Labour candidates, as part of the Liberal Party. These were mostly miners' M.P.'s, and were soon to transfer en bloc to the L.R.C.

★

The election of 29 members pledged to form an independent Labour group in the House of Commons was hailed as a portent of great things to come. George Barnes, secretary of the powerful Amalgamated Society of Engineers, told the workers that "we shall probably find that we need not strike at all, except through the ballot box".

In the general rejoicing, few cared to listen to critical voices pointing out that, of the 29, five

only had Liberal opponents; that Labour's success at the polls was due to two conflicting factors—the persistent and continued socialist agitation for a workers' party fighting both capitalist parties, and to the triumphant sweep of Liberalism at the polls, for Labour's seats were won, with few exceptions, by consent of the Liberal Party.

The up-and-coming Ramsay MacDonald set the course of Labour collaboration with the Liberal Government, saying that if that Government was "anti-imperialist and sound on trade union legislation, the Independent Labour Party would be justified in giving it general support."

"General support" soon became complete subservience to the Liberals, making the Labour Party in the House no more than an adjunct of the Liberal Government.

★

Out of this situation came a rebellion in the socialist ranks, first brought to public notice in dramatic fashion when an unknown young man named Victor Grayson won a by-election in Colne Valley, defeating both Liberal and Tory, despite the fact that he fought without the backing of the Labour Party or the I.L.P., Grayson's own party. He was the first and only man ever to win an election in Britain as a Socialist.

Grayson gave the forces of discontent a focal point, and the revolt in the socialist ranks leapt forward when, in October 1908, Grayson was ejected from the House of Commons two days running for determined protests about Government neglect of the unemployed.

Supported by Socialism's most influential weekly, the "Clarion", rebel branches of the I.L.P., branches of the S.D.F., and "Clarion" Fellowships were joining hands in socialist unity committees, to advocate a socialist policy and to run truly independent socialist candidates at elections.

It was from this widespread movement of revolt that there came the "Socialist Unity Conference" of September, 1911, at which was founded the British Socialist Party.

The British Socialist Party was doomed from the outset. It was dominated by the sterile dogmatism of the S.D.F.; and it was founded at a time when the workers of Britain were turning from parliamentary action to direct, industrial action.

★

For the Labour Party had failed. Its surrender to the Liberal Party—so that the bulk of its members could keep their seats—had destroyed its influence with the workers.

A few facts will show this. Between 1909 and 1911, subscriptions to the I.L.P., the major individual members section in the socialist-trade union alliance,

M.B.



TOM MANN

dropped by some £200. The number of branches fell from 842 to 796; and the sale of papers and pamphlets fell by half.

A wave of militancy sweeps across the industrial areas of Britain during the years 1910 to 1914. Scarcely a ripple from this wave penetrates the backwater in which the Parliamentary Labour Party stagnates. In neither of the two General Elections held in the year 1910 did the Labour Party gain any seats; and in the by-elections held from then until 1914, the Labour Party lost four seats and gained none.

"The Labour Party", admitted Keir Hardie, four years too late, "has ceased to count. The Press ignored it. The Cabinet Ministers made concessions to the Tory Party and to the Irish, seemingly oblivious to the fact that there was a Labour Party in the House..."

A year or two later, Hardie, one of the chief architects of the socialist trade union alliance, said: "We are already overweighted by the Labour alliance. We attract to our ranks the best of the active, rebellious spirits in the working class. They do not expect impossibilities, but they cannot brook always being called upon to explain away the actions of the Parliamentary Labour Party."

Philip Snowden, another mainstay of the alliance course, went even further: "It is worth serious consideration whether it would not be for the ultimate good of socialism that we could be without representatives in Parliament until we placed them there by our own votes in the constituencies, instead of returning them by Liberal votes."

★

The workers had turned away from the Parliamentary Labour Party, and the whole conception of gradual progress through Parliamentary legislation.

"Prepare your organisation and then strike. Strike and strike hard" was the advice in a "Daily Herald" leading article of that time. The "Daily Herald" was then an unofficial Labour daily, and the voice of the many rebellions of the day.

It was good advice. But it was not needed. The workers were staging a series of strikes that have never since been equalled, not in all the stormy annals of British Labour. We shall deal with that, however, next week.

The Earth Can Feed 6,000 Millions

—But not without Revolution!

THE Chinese word for "Peace" is "Ho-ping". It means literally "food for all".

Lord Boyd Orr, Director General of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation shows in this book* the inextricable connection between the struggle for peace and the struggle for an abundance of food for all humanity.

"Hunger", he says, "is the main factor of revolt in Asia. The poverty stricken people have begun to realise that more food can be produced and that their hunger and poverty are due not to an act of God, but to be accepted with resignation, but due to the selfishness and mismanagement of their rulers or to an inefficient economic system which they believe must be overthrown and replaced by a new order of the people..."

THE MYTH OF 'OVERPOPULATION'

The population of the world has increased from 1,171 million in 1850 to approximately 2,400 million in 1950—and it is increasing at the rate of 26 to 32 millions a year.

On the other hand world production of food has stagnated or declined relatively.

The author, however, proves that the rate of increase in population varies and is determined by social and economic factors which are not beyond the control of man.

In primitive society there was a slow natural increase, but, with the development of technical knowledge and the productive forces in society, the death rate fell while the birth rate remained the same. As a result population increased. He cites as an example, not China, but England and Wales, where the population rose from 9 million to 34 million in the nineteenth century, i.e., by almost 400 per cent.

POPULATION AND LIVING STANDARDS

The third phase—noticeable in the advanced capitalist countries—

*"The White Man's Dilemma" Lord Boyd Orr. Allen & Unwin, 9s. 6d.

begins with a fall in the birth rate as a result of an increased standard of living and culture. Dr. de Castro has shown in his book, "The Geography of Hunger", the close connection between birth rate and the daily consumption of animal proteins.

In Formosa, for example, the daily consumption of animal proteins per head is 4.7 grammes and the birth rate 45.6 while Sweden with a protein intake of 62.6 grammes has a birth rate of 17.9.

In England the rate of increase per 10,000 per year has fallen from 140 in 1871 to 27 in 1931.

Therefore, it is to be expected that the rate of increase of world population will fall ONLY if there is an increase in the standard of living throughout the backward regions of the world.

For this there must be an enormous increase in food production in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Science and technology have shown it can be done. "Agricultural science if applied to the land already under cultivation, could double the world food supply..."

"... the earth could support a population of 6,000 million..."

But the capitalist system is based on private profit, not on the needs and desires of the masses. Lord Boyd Orr recognises this: "If there were a guaranteed market at a price which would yield a return on capital comparable with that of oil... the world food shortage would not last long..."

WHY LESS FOOD?

As a matter of fact the decline in agricultural production is directly traceable to capitalist methods of production. "In the United Kingdom, since about 1820, when prices fell... about four million acres went out of cultivation. The same thing happened in America... in Eastern countries production has been restricted... by the fact that the cultivator... had no inducement to increase production that benefited only the landowners."

Thus while scarcity and starvation cast their ominous shadows over the West, in the East agricultural production—through the application of socialist methods and planning (and despite the burden of a vast bureaucracy)—is increasing by leaps and bounds.

In the U.S.S.R. huge hydro-electric and irrigation projects, completely dwarfing the T.V.A. project, are being implemented. Seventy million acres of desert land are to be reclaimed; 14 million acres to be re-afforested with 3,300 miles of major tree belts. And the results? By 1957 "it is estimated that the increase in wheat will be equal to more than what Canada produces and the increase in cotton more than the output of Egypt and Pakistan."

What a contrast to the piddling proportions of the Colombo Plan and Truman's Point Four Programme!

It is interesting to note that Britain which cannot find £1,000 million to finance the Colombo Plan has already spent £9,000 million on "Defence"!

BOYD ORR'S DILEMMA

Unfortunately like all well-intentioned Liberals the author cannot truthfully present the "White Man's Dilemma". "The white man", he says "can attempt by force to maintain military and economic supremacy... or... he can use the present industrial supremacy to develop the resources of the earth to put an end to hunger and poverty." Every-

thing therefore depends on the subjective desires of the "White Man".

But the White Man is not an abstraction. He is flesh and blood—subject to the laws of social evolution. He can belong either to the capitalist class or to the working class; he can be an oppressor or one of the oppressed: a Churchill or a Connolly; an Eisenhower or a Rosenberg.

The author rejects this standpoint. He believes in the capitalist system. He thinks that the co-operation of the Western capitalists in a World Food Board which would give credits and technical assistance on a "business footing" and stabilise world food prices by regulating trade in agricultural products "through the normal business channels" would solve the question. This is a hopeless and utopian proposition.

The task, as the Russian and Chinese Revolutions have shown, is not to persuade the capitalist politicians and generals to stop rearmament and introduce social and economic reforms but to liberate the productive forces of society from the stranglehold of capitalist property relations. To see that the colonial revolutions succeed. Only then will all men be free to live—and live abundantly.

★ Star Letter ★

I was greatly interested in your front page article (July 10) on "How to get the Tories out". Many thoughts expressed in it have been in my mind for some time.

As a lifelong worker for Socialism, now in my 60's, I am deeply concerned about the present trend in the Party, and I feel that the political stalemate between the two parties will continue indefinitely unless we in the Labour Movement ask ourselves some questions.

The first is this: Why was not the Labour Government returned in the same strength in 1950 as in 1945? It established the Welfare State, maintained full employment, initiated a free Health Service, and gave to the common people a greater measure of security than they had ever known. And yet it failed to retain the confidence of the electorate. The secret, I believe, is that during those five years the Tories used every

effort, on the platform, and by means of their 95 per cent. Tory Press, to blame the Government for every difficulty, to misrepresent its every action, and to mislead the people regarding the general economic situation.

And what were our leaders and our only Daily Paper doing during that time?

Until, in 1949, I gave up the "Herald" in disgust, I rarely saw in it an answer to Tory misrepresentation, scarcely ever a thoughtful article explaining nationalisation or the economic crisis; but usually, on the front page, a scream of abuse against Russia, and inside, an article warning against Communism. And if a speech of one of our leaders was reported, the emphasis again was on the cold war and the Communist menace.

At our Party meeting, if the Secretary announced a letter from Morgan Phillips, some of

us groaned inwardly, for we knew what to expect. Not a call to action—a way to defeat the Tories; not an answer for us to give to their various misstatements; but a warning against Communism and another list of proscribed meetings and organisations. And this is still going on, with the following results.

1. Many of the younger men in the Party, who should be, and often are, our most active and energetic workers, have no conception of what Socialism means. They take their ideas from the "Herald" and imagine it is a Socialist paper. They are so impregnated with anti-Communist hysteria, that anyone who talks Socialism is viewed with suspicion by them.

2. Many good Socialists have left and are still leaving the Party, or have ceased to be active.

3. Those of use who remain feel discouraged and frustrated.

4. Other potential supporters are afraid to become identified with the Labour Party, in case they are thought to be Communists.

So, in my opinion, there is no hope for us until we have a Socialist Daily Paper, and until our leaders get rid of their negative anti-Communist complex, and decide to fight the Tories—not go three-quarters of the way with them.

Florence M. Pictou.

Herne Bay (Kent).

Have you sent that Donation yet to the Fighting Fund?

Every penny helps towards our object

A Socialist Daily

Socialist Outlook

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Editor: John Lawrence

Lessons For Socialists From T & G W U Conference

THE conference of the Transport and General Workers Union has been referred to in many sections of the Press as a personal triumph for Mr. Arthur Deakin. Certainly Deakin dominated the Conference. But that, after all, is not such a wonderful feat when you sit at the Chairman's elbow advising him what to do.

A resolution is moved, seconded, and several delegates take part in discussion, mounting to the rostrum, giving name and region in accordance with procedure. During the discussion Mr. Deakin leaves the Chairman's side and walks off the platform, returning as the mover of the resolution begins his reply.

After the mover has wound up the debate Mr. Deakin rises to speak, and, despite protests from some delegates, the Chairman allows a lengthy speech from Mr. Deakin.

At what other conferences would such a state of affairs be allowed? Very few I believe.

It will be interesting to see how decisions of conference are put into operation. How the General

By

Fred Emmett

Our Industrial Reporter

Executive will carry out those decisions of conference with which it is not in agreement. Will it for instance, form a separate chemical workers trade group which it has been instructed to do even though Arthur Deakin opposed it?

How will it operate the instruction to press for the elimination of wage differentials in different parts of the country? Particularly as Mr. Deakin has already told conference that all it will get is a report, in two years time, that it has been impossible to carry out this instruction.

What is certain however, is that Mr. Deakin will use at the Labour Party conference the full weight of the T. & G.W.U. vote against any proposals to extend nationalisation to all the key industries.

If any "triumph" exists it is in this decision.

On the conference agenda stood eight resolutions, between them calling for nationalisation of all key industries—water, shipbuilding, cement etc., the engineering industry, the aircraft industry, all commons and waste land for building, all road, sea and rail transport, the whole of the chemical industry, and the armaments industry.

Nevertheless, before any of these resolutions were called, Arthur Deakin was on his feet with a "proposal" from the Executive. The essence of this proposal was to eliminate these resolutions from the agenda and accept the general proposals of the Labour Party statement "Challenge to Britain" with "certain reservations".

These "reservations", as then explained by Deakin, became nothing less than a rejection of even the mild proposals for extension of nationalisation which the

Tom Braddock

Continued from page 1

the historic revolution against poverty which our leaders talk so much about. Yet, although we are in a position to lead, we wait instead on others.

Churchill seized the initiative and we foed his line. Then he was taken ill, and John Foster Dulles and Lord Salisbury took over. How convenient. The trick has once more been played. We are still tied to the warmongering demands of a desperate American Government.

Surely it is not too late for Labour to seize the initiative, to speak for the British people and all the war-weary peoples of the world.

The Party Annual Conference should not even be allowed to start until the N.E.C. does its duty and produces a policy statement on Foreign Affairs worthy of the great Socialist tradition of our movement.

Labour Party has put forward, and to postpone further nationalisation to the dim and uncertain future.

Whether the full import of Deakin's proposal was understood by the delegates must remain a conjecture. It is certainly remarkable that not one voice was raised in opposition. It is even more remarkable because a resolution stood in the name of the Chemical and Allied Trades National Committee calling for the nationalisation of the whole chemical industry!

How delegates representing this section of the Union will justify their actions to the rank and file remains to be seen. One of them, during an earlier discussion, complained that, as a group, the chemical section had been losing ground to the Chemical Workers Union—which is, after this, hardly surprising.

Maxwell Fyffe in conflict with Firemen

By B'ham Fireman
Bill Brown

TRADE Unionists throughout the country will remember the vicious attacks made on the Fire Brigades Union and its members by the Tory-controlled councils in the demonstrations of 1951. Firemen in those days were fighting a bitter battle for the freedom of belonging to a trade union

The Labour Party and Trade Union Movement combined with us in the fight which eventually turned in our favour to a large extent.

The Fire Brigades Union has always tried to maintain good relations with our employers which we believe is essential to maintain an efficient Fire Service. In dealing with the National Joint Council it should be remembered that Local Authorities pay 75 per cent. of the cost of their Fire Brigades; the Home Office pays 25 per cent.

For a considerable number of years, Firemen were permitted free medical treatment, provision of dentures, etc., under the Conditions of Service Regulations. When the National Health Service ceased to be an entirely free service, the Fire Brigades Union claimed that our members should be exempt from payment under the Regulations. Our employers agreed that this was a proper interpretation of the Regulations and in any case it was their wish that our members should be re-imbursed.

The Home Secretary took the

The decision to oppose further nationalisation will undoubtedly have big repercussions within the wider Trade Union movement. It fits into the general pattern of an attack on all manifestations of Socialist thought within the Labour and Trade Union movement by that small coterie of Union "bosses" at the head of the T.U.C. The defence of Lincoln Evans and his mates which in effect endorses the denationalisation of Steel; the nomination of Morrison as Labour Party Treasurer after he had been removed from the Executive by the constituency Labour Parties, and who is an open advocate of no more nationalisation; and the rejection by the T.U.C. of open policies of nationalisation.

A concerted drive in the movement by the opponents of Socialist policies can be successful, as they

are up to now being successful, only because there is no organised resistance to them. Labour Party members will be shocked at this latest move to undermine the progressive desires of the Party.

Such a shock can serve a useful purpose, if it moves members to take a closer interest in what is happening inside the Unions, and to begin taking a hand in the framing of Union policies and the election of Union delegates and officials.

The Trade Union vote controls, in the final analysis, the policy of the Labour Party. It is useless to rave against the use of the bloc vote by a handful of Trade Union leaders. The Socialist wing of the Party must see that its policy is understood and adopted by the Trade Unions as the only way by which, finally, the Trade Unions will be able to fulfil their real function—that of defending and improving the standard of living of its members. It won't be an easy fight—but it's got to be carried out.

view that the Regulations were ambiguous and in any case he was not prepared to accept the view of the National Joint Council.

He advised Local Authorities that they were not to meet the applications for re-imbursement submitted by Firemen.

A Test Case was brought before the Sheffield County Court recently. The decision of the

Court was that Firemen, under the Regulations, were entitled to re-imbursement. There was no ambiguity in the Regulations here.

When this was reported to the National Joint Council, urgent representations were made by the Employers and Union to the Home Secretary asking him to remove his ban on these applications for re-imbursement.

The upshot of our joint representations was that while present outstanding claims are being met, the Home Secretary has now informed both sides of the National Joint Council that he intends to lay before Parliament a Regulation which will take away from our members this entitlement to free medical treatment. What is at stake?

1. Free medical treatment for Firemen.
2. The whole status of the Joint Council.

Is it right that we Firemen should continually have attacks made on our condition of service by the Home Office who only pay 25 per cent. of the cost of the Fire Service? Should a Home Secretary have the right to interfere with a properly constituted Joint Council representing Local Authority Brigades of England, Scotland and Wales?

When we staged our demonstrations in 1951, Maxwell Fyffe said we would not foster good relations with our employers by our actions. What does he think he is doing now?



"SOCIALIST OUTLOOK" GIVES CONFIDENCE

Sending us this drawing Harold Davies wrote: "I was inspired to draw this after a reader told me he had scored 100 not out after reading the 'Socialist Outlook'!"



I UNDERSTAND that the Region 5 Trade Group Committee have carried a resolution asking for the "Lappin Case" to be re-opened.

If this is so, they deserve the congratulations of us all, for, I am sure, they are voicing the feelings of every serious trade unionist in the Road Haulage industry—as well as members of our Union in other industries who are worried about this matter.

Melksham Branch 3/220 have, I hear, sent a resolution to the Region 5 Trade Group, promising to support any action deemed necessary to get Jack Lappin reinstated. I have no doubt that this same spirit is to be found throughout the country. What is more, it is this spirit which our Union can count on if it acts on the resolution from Region 5 Committee.

Meantime, I should like to thank all those branches and depots who have responded to my appeal for financial help for Jack. He is, for the time being, working outside the industry, but he tells me he is dying to get back and misses "the road".

Our Brothers on the London Buses have a lively monthly paper of their own—"The Platform". The following quote from it will be of interest to all members of the T. & G.W.U.:

HOW NICE!

"Another ten-bob a week wage increase (back dated to April) has been granted to all full time officers of the T. & G.W.U. making a total (minimum) increase of 55s. during the past three years (including an extra 10s. "expenses")."

"During the same period the busman has received a total wage advance of 22s. 6d.

"When the officers got £1 (backdated for three months) we got 7s. (backdated for one week). When they got 15s., we got 8s. 6d.

"It seems that one full time officer is thus worth about two-and-a-half busmen—and they get their "rises" quicker, with lovely "lump" sums attached—and with nobody "suspended" on constitutional ground either."

I can only add, if one officer equals two-and-a-half busmen, what's the proportion to Road Haulage men? Work it out for yourselves Brothers. Two castelled nuts for the first correct answer.

The resolution at Biennial Conference to oppose the payment of

compensation when we renationalise road haulage was, so Chairman Bro. E. Fryer declared, defeated. Several delegates have told me that they thought this resolution had been carried on the show of hands. But Bro. Fryer refused to allow the vote to be counted. Even the chief Teller at the conference took the rostrum and protested against this ruling from the chair.

Tellers and scrutineers are elected by the Conference for just that purpose—to count the votes for and against a resolution to prevent any doubts in anyone's mind about the result of a vote.

It would be very interesting to know exactly why Bro. Fryer wouldn't let the vote be counted. Could it be because the platform was worried that the total figure would show—as an earlier vote had done—that many delegates were not in their places?

If it's worthwhile paying a delegate £21 for his week's attendance at Conference it should be worthwhile taking a little bit of trouble to record how many votes are cast.

Many of us, particularly those of us who take an active interest in the affairs of the Labour Party, were annoyed and embarrassed by the utterances of our General Secretary, Arthur Deakin, at last year's Party Conference at Morecambe. I was therefore doubly pleased to see that Bro. Deakin was taken to task at our Biennial by one of our own road haulage stewards—Jack Worrall from Liverpool.

Big Wages Fight is Brewing

BUTLER'S Tory Budget is producing a nice crop of wage claims. Among those pending are:—

A.E.U.	15%
Foundry Workers	15%
Boilermakers	15%
Draughtsmen	15%
A.S.S.E.T.	20%
Railwaymen (N.U.R.)	15%
Railwaymen (A.S.L.E.F.)	15%
Boot & Shoe Workers	15/-
Tobacco Workers	10/-

Quite some struggle is indicated if the Unions stand firm on these demands. Now those leaders who have been telling how keen they are to look after the interest of their members can really shine.

A Few Ideas For a Wages Policy

Submitted for discussion by ERNEST JONES

WE want another £1 a week in the wage packet. Anyhow, that is the size of a large number of current wage claims. "But what", says Bill Smith, "about prices?" You get your wage increase and then prices go up and you're back where you were."

It's like a bad dream, the kind in which you are climbing a ladder which goes on for ever. The economist calls it "inflation", the capitalist refers to the "price mechanism", but what Bill Smith calls it is nobody's business!

Some workers are protected by an agreement with the boss that every month, or quarter, wages should be adjusted according to the price index and this seems a good idea so long as you can get the boss to agree and you can get a good price index as well.

Other good ideas on wages have been floating around lately, some from trades union leaders too, which just shows how much things are beginning to pinch.

From W. Reuther of the American Automobile Workers Union comes the idea of a guaranteed annual wage. This would mean that workers under such an agreement would become the same as salaried workers, getting the old packet each week even if sick or

on short time, just like lawyers, teachers and M.P.'s.

Now suppose we couple these two ideas, a guaranteed annual wage, covering sickness, short-time and accidents, with our idea of the rising scale of wages. It would be something like this in non-lawyer's language: Each worker would be guaranteed a minimum yearly amount which would be increased quarterly for every point increase of an agreed price index—this amount to be paid out to the worker whether he was at work or absent (due to no fault of his own) sickness, accident or unemployment, etc. Sounds alright so far, but how to get it?

Which brings us to the next

trade union leader on the subject of wages and he is one of ours. Mr. Franklin, retiring president of the N.U.R. and speaking at the N.U.R. conference held recently. He is concerned about the man at the bottom on low wages, of which category there are a lot on the railways, on less than £6 (about the amount old Churchill smokes before lunch).

Mr. Franklin urged the setting up of a national wages pool and appealed to the T.U.C. to support the idea to stabilise the cost of living. Nobody seems to like this idea, but Bill Smith thinks it can be built on if coupled up with our scheme, especially if we had a Labour Government, which is

what Brother Franklin had in mind.

In a Socialist Labour Government the Minister of Labour would also be a Minister of Wages and he would have a policy designed for him by the Labour Party Conference. It would be his job to see that the Party's wages policy was faithfully carried out come what may. But there is a snag, there just ain't no policy, only a lot of woolly ideas.

Well, Bill Smith and his mates aren't woolly, they are fed up with chasing prices, it wears them out, so here is his (and my) contribution to the discussion and a proposal for a wages policy for Labour.

Mr. Franklin's idea fits in very well and it looks very nice in its new setting even if we do say so. Labour would have as part of its programme the planning of the national wealth. This would be divided between (1) Wages, (2) Social Security and State Services, (3) Capital Investment with (4) Provision for Profits, Interest on national debt, etc., bringing up the rear.

The Labour Government would fix by law a national minimum salary per year per person plus increments for dependents and setting aside a part of the national income for this purpose (the wages pool).

This would become the mini-

Hurry, Comrades!

Total to Date £51.11.6



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JUST over a week to go and we're only halfway to our target of £100. I know this is a difficult month. There's holidays to think of and, with the kiddies home from school, all sorts of additional expenses.

But there's one thing we just can't afford—to be without our "Socialist Outlook". Enjoy your holidays by all means—but don't forget to dip down a little for the funds for our paper.

READ

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Tories On Local Councils

How Tories deal with their "inconsistent and false . . ." members has recently been revealed by the Exmouth branch of the Honiton Divisional Conservative Association.

Six Tories on the Exmouth Council supported a non-Tory nomination for the Council's vice-chairmanship. The two nominations were a Tory with only two years' service on the Council, and Mrs. A. S. Ratcliffe, who has been a Socialist councillor for six years, a County Councillor and a recognised authority on local government work. The six Tories apparently appreciated the service and abilities of Mrs. Ratcliffe and voted for her in opposition to a Tory Party member. But the Tory with only two years experience was elected on the casting vote of the Chairman of the Council.

In a resolution circulated to their puppet organisations, the executive committee of the Exmouth Conservative Party says "The Conservative members of the Council who have voted in support of a Socialist candidate and in opposition to the Conservative have shown themselves to be politically inconsistent and false to the trust placed in them".

This is the real attitude of the Tories towards collaboration with Socialists. We should reply in like coin. No truck with the Tories on local councils.

Exeter Reader.

★

The Scandal of the Private Patient

I was talking recently to a neighbour whom I had not seen for some time and enquired how she was. She had not been well she told me, and it was obvious she had lost weight. She had been under the doctor for a long time, nothing very definite was diagnosed and, as she did not improve in health, she asked for an X-ray and hospital examination to be arranged. The doctor willingly complied with the request and told his patient she would hear from the hospital in due course.

Six or eight weeks passed and nothing was heard from the hospital and the woman was getting worse. She suggested to her doctor that she should pay for the hospital consultation. She and her husband lived alone, they had no dependent family, so she could afford the fee. The doctor phoned the hospital and explained the circumstances and his patient received an appointment on the spot to attend the hospital the following week. It cost her £3 3s.

"That's the National Health Service for you", she said, "my husband pays 5s. 9d. per week which is supposed to cover our needs in times of sickness and when I'm ill I have to pay out £3 3s. for an examination."

This case could be multiplied hundreds of times. The Free Health Service is becoming a sham. It is becoming a selective service for those who can afford to pay. But it is not the idea of a National Health Service which is wrong. It is the continual undermining of the scheme by Tory administration which is bringing it into ill repute.

Betty Norton. Nottingham.

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Our readers write

Hong Kong Again

In reply to R.M.'s letter in the last week's "Socialist Outlook", I would like to point out that I did visit and see the filthy, disease-ridden and overcrowded tenements in Wanchai. But what R.M. did not say was why it is overcrowded.

I admit that after the British arrived in the last century the colony began to get crowded, but it was after the Communist success in China, when countless thousands of refugees, mostly workers, fled from the People's Government and poured into Hong Kong—into that so-called wicked British imperialist outpost—that made conditions far worse. It's a strange thing, but the people don't want to return to the People's Government. They would rather live in these filthy overcrowded tenements and shacks.

I am far from being satisfied with the conditions in which the people out there live. They are appalling compared with our standards. But the fact remains, whether some people like it or not, that despite the conditions they live in, the people are contented.

I. Baker.

Exeter.

★

Canadian Socialist "Youth" of 67 replies

Several copies of your paper have reached me out here. Your editorial on the Coronation was good. So was the piece by Keir Hardie. The F.B.I. will be checking up on him—the Rosenbergs died for less!

The letter from Johnny Wise was also to the point. Churchill was never elected by a popular vote—and never will be—and if the people of Britain had as much intelligence as those in Ebbw Vale Churchill would now be pulling on a dead cigar.

The remarks of I. Baker who seemed to think the British play

a good rôle in Hong Kong are hopeless. I, a "socialist youth of 67 years", would ask him: Why was he in Hong Kong as a conscript? And how did we acquire Hong Kong anyway? His letter would have done justice to John Foster Dulles. I think Mr. Baker should apologise—or withdraw from the Labour Party.

I am originally from Gloucester (Stroud Division) but have been 43 years in Canada as a Lumber Manager. I was fired in 1925 for my left-wing views. McCarthyism was here 28 years ago! Now they are really going to town. Even Truman is under suspicion!

You have a nice little paper. Keep up the good work. I have confidence in the inevitable result that capitalism will break down and our era appear on the horizon.

E. Tudor. Alberta, Canada.

★

Old People's Dentures

Surely even the present reactionary Tory Government must consider exempting Old Age Pensioners from any charge for dentures. The health of old people depends so much on their ability to masticate their modest meals properly.

At present many are going without dentures because they cannot afford the cost and will not beg before a local Tory (in many cases). The procedure is for the old people to fill in a form showing reason for their claim for lost or smashed dentures. The claim goes to Eastbourne in Sussex and then, after long delay, it is passed on to the local body who then require the personal attendance of the old man or woman for a regular McCarthy examination. Then, after more delay, the dentist receives mainly refusals.

An old man of 73 I know preferred to pay the full £4 16s. 9d. for top dentures he had lost down the drain during a violent sickness rather than submit details of his private affairs to a Tory Board.

The Health Service MUST BE FREE in every respect—but especially for the old people.

Herbert Feilden. Southport.

The Week at Westminster

by Harold Davies, M.P.

THE MAILED FIST
THE Secretary of State for the Colonies told us that there is no blanket authority to shoot to kill in Kenya. This came out in a reply to Fenner Brockway, Leslie Hale and others when questions were asked about the ruthlessness of our policy.

In about three months some 1,063 Africans have been killed and 232 taken prisoner. So we see that for about every five Africans killed one only is arrested! Why is the proportion between the dead and the arrested so high?

Labour Members were asking for an enquiry into this but as

usual the Colonial Secretary ploughed ruthlessly on through his questions without giving us any satisfaction. How do we know all these dead are terrorists? They could be shot by merely resisting arrest. Anyway Shinwell pointed out something that you should know. He said: "In the course of what appears to be three and a half months 1,300 alleged Mau Mau terrorists have been killed, which IS ACTUALLY TWICE the number of fatal casualties which our troops have sustained in Korea since the beginning of the emergency."

Leslie Hale appealed for a subsidy on the local food, "posho". It is nine months since nearly everyone in Kenya agreed that a subsidy on this food is needed, but nothing has been done. As Leslie pointed out we need not wait for a Committee to report before this vital reform is carried out. All this is much more effective than bullets.

Unless, of course, you want to follow a policy of wiping the Kikuyu out like the Red Indians were almost wiped out in America.

"FACTS ARE CHIEFS THAT WINNA DING"

"An' donna be disputed." So said Robbie Burns and if the Editor doesn't know what that means then his readers over the

'SOCIALIST OUTLOOK' EVERY WEEK (Price 3d.) from your NEWSAGENT

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★ Searchlight on the Dominican Republic ★

THE Dominican Republic is one of the three independent states in the West Indies, occupying two-thirds of the island of Hispaniola, the rest of which consists of the Republic of Haiti.

The capital used to be called Santo Domingo until the present dictator, General Leonidas Trujillo, and his friends decided that Ciudad Trujillo was a more suitable name for it. By the same token Monte Tina, highest and greatest of the mountains in the West Indies, has been renamed Pico Trujillo (Trujillo Peak). Again by the same token, the Dominican Republic lives in the "Trujillo era", which opened in 1930 when the general succeeded Dr. Vazquez as President of the Republic.

As if these signs were not already enough to seal the greatness of Leonidas Trujillo, his name must also appear on all official documents—and even upon those of the national university.

The presence of Trujillo is thus felt everywhere, and he is indeed master of everything. He is literally the most accomplished and the most brutal tyrant of modern times. His rule is not relatively but unmitigatedly authoritarian. The Republic has become a mere footstool, a mere apparatus subjected to the will, the whims and the incredible excesses of a monster.

Theoretically the Dominican Republic has a Constitution, proclaimed in 1942. Also according to the Constitution, justice is administered by a Supreme Court consisting of nine judges appointed by the Senate and of an Attorney General, appointed by the President of the Republic. There are supposed to be appeal courts and provincial courts. The Constitution however is a complete dead letter. In actual fact executive,

Last week we reported that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was asking the American Government to charge the Soviet Government before the United Nations for having suppressed free trade unionism.

This paper has publicly condemned the suppression of the East German workers' struggles—but we considered that the I.C.F.T.U.'s stand was hypocritical because they did not propose also to charge the British Government, the French Government and the American Government for the crimes they are committing against trade unionists in Malaya, Korea and Kenya, to mention just a few.

We now find that the I.C.F.T.U. is well aware of the conditions of trade unionists in the "free world", as this article—reprinted from a recent issue of the official journal of the I.C.F.T.U.—shows clearly enough. You will note, however, that there is no suggestion of the I.C.F.T.U. asking the American Government to arraign Trujillo before the United Nations.

justice and legislature are identical with Trujillo himself.

A RICH COUNTRY

The Dominican Republic depends mainly upon agriculture. Staple crops are sugar and coffee. About one half of the country is under cultivation, the rest consisting of forest, rich in wood. Other products are tobacco, maize, rice and yucca. The Republic has iron, gold and other mineral deposits, and recently began quarrying marble. There is very little industry—just enough to meet public demand, which is at a miserable level. There are some tanneries and leather works, furniture factories, cigar factories and rum distilleries.

Various enterprises are in the hands of North American companies. Others are "national"—except that a "national" enterprise in the Republic means an enterprise owned by Leonidas Trujillo himself. It is not in his capacity as President of the Republic that he has come to own so much, but rather through the power he wields as commander-in-chief of the army, high police commissioner and secretary for foreign affairs! These functions together give him all the "authority" to levy tribute on all industrial and commercial transactions, internal and external. The last year for which trade figures were published was 1945. They showed a favourable balance of £9,313,589—mainly for the account of Leonidas Trujillo.

HE SPEAKS FOR U.N.O.!

Among his many functions, Trujillo is delegate of the Dominican Republic to the United Nations! As this function keeps him fairly busy, he has delegated the function of President of the Republic, which is honorary, for the time being to "Dr." Hector Trujillo. Hector is his brother. He never studied anything, but he has the title of "doctor" awarded to him instead, by the University of Santo Domingo. Other members of the Trujillo family are also well provided for, for instance as chiefs of police, judges or inspectors of accounts in various branches of the feudal organisation.

DIRECTOR OF PROSTITUTION

One of them, Romeo Trujillo, also a brother, who is known as "El Pipi" (an expression denoting a bird of prey), occupies unofficially the lucrative post of "director of prostitution". This post is financed by a sort of "sales tax", every registered prostitute throughout the country paying a percentage of her earnings to "El Pipi". If this tax is not paid, a prostitute may lose not only her licence, risking thus a charge of "illegal prostitution", but also her life. This state of affairs exists not merely in the imagination of the author of this article. Anyone who has been in the Dominican Republic recently knows that he is making no more than a simple statement of facts. Execution itself is summary enough. Two policemen are sent to the woman's house early in the morning. She is taken to the outskirts of the town and shot without trial.

The disappearance of a prostitute is not mentioned in either of the two national newspapers—which belong to Trujillo. Political murders on the other hand, which are frequent, are scored in the press as "suicides".

THE ARMY'S ROLE

Trujillo's army is 40,000 strong, and he has an air force consisting of 1,000 airworthy machines and a navy consisting of two destroyers

and a number of frigates. The sole purpose of these forces is to maintain Trujillo in power. The police are integrated with the army.

Apart from the massacre in 1937 of 10,000 Haitians by machine-gun fire, it can be estimated that during the "Trujillo era" 50,000 citizens of the Republic, men and women, have been shot. There is no such thing as trial. A political opponent of the Trujillo regime has only to be denounced to be shot like a prostitute. Members of his family or otherwise, Trujillo's judges themselves have very little to do. "Justice" is executed but not administered.

ORGIES AT THE PALACE

Leonidas Trujillo is 63 years old, but he still shows a good deal of vigour in the exercise of his primitive instincts. His official feasts are quite worthy of the most fabulous rulers of oriental legend. The gates and balconies of his sumptuous residence in Ciudad Trujillo are decorated with massive gold. His swimming pools and bathrooms are of marble. Among his "rights" as federal seigneur is the *jus primæ noctis*—the first right to the bride. It is up to the bridegroom to consent!

His orgies, like those of decadent Rome, last all night. His ministers and government dignitaries attend them, accompanied by their wives and daughters. And when, at the end of a lordly feast, champagne and liquors flow, Trujillo orders his female guests to undress. Parents and husbands submit to the dictator's will.

THE 'LAW-MAKER'!

Trujillo dictates laws and repeals them as it suits him. An example was when one of his sons, a few years ago, seduced the daughter of an official, one of his sycophants. Trujillo had political reasons not to displease the girl's family, into which however, as they were not rich, he did not wish his son to marry. The compromise was that a marriage took place, but three months later Trujillo issued a decree legalising divorce, of which the son availed himself. The child thus legitimised, Trujillo issued another decree abolishing divorce.

Naturally, free trade unionism does not exist in the Dominican Republic. There is a kind of trade union organisation in the country, which also depends upon the will of the dictator. Officials of the unions belonging to it are agents of the police, helping them in their task of "keeping the workers under control".

Before Trujillo's accession to power, there had been a National Labour Federation, resolutely opposed to him. It succumbed only after a long struggle. Its founder, Mauricio Baez, died in exile in Havana at the end of 1950, assassinated by Trujillo's emissaries. The journalist Requena died in the same way in New York, in 1952; he had used his talents to promote the liberation of his people.

The International Labour Conference of 1952 adopted a resolution requesting the I.L.O. to send a mission to the Dominican Republic, charged with investigating social problems and the position of trade unions in the Republic and with reporting their findings to the I.L.O. The Governing Body appointed the mission—which however was denied entry into the country.