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SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

Socialist Outlook

WEEKLY

No. 146

[Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper]

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1954

3d.

THE THEORY
OF GERMAN
WAR GUILT
by G. HEALY
(page 3)

DULLES' WAR PLANS EXPOSED

SOUTH-EAST ASIA TREATY A Pact for War Not Peace

THE South-East Asia and South-West Pacific "Defence" Treaty has been signed. Representatives of eight countries met in Manila, Philippines, and put their signatures to the document on Wednesday, September 8. The countries represented were the United States, Britain, France, Pakistan, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines.

This Manila gathering was perhaps more notable for the countries that were not there than for those present. The imperialist

can be placed in this virtuous declaration of faith.

Although called an Aid and Defence Treaty, this pact signed in Manila is nothing else than a war alliance. The United States wanted to be quite frank about this. It did not want a wholesale declaration to resist aggression but only "Communist" aggression.

With full knowledge of the feeling of public opinion in their countries, the delegates from Britain, Australia and New Zealand could not agree to this undiplomatic exposure of the real purpose of the pact. So a compromise, which can only be described as a real pip, was reached. United States Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, agreed to omit the word "communist" in the operative article of the treaty but insisted that a declaration to the effect that, so far as the United States was concerned, the pact is an exclusively anti-Communist one be inserted as an integral part of the treaty. Did anyone say "anti-Comintern Pact" or breath something about the "Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis"?

A "WARNING"

THE NEW YORK TIMES of Wednesday, September 8, says that the Pacific Charter must be regarded as "a warning to communism that the charter signatories are now pledged to bring non-self-governing territories toward full freedom in an orderly fashion" (my emphasis). In other words, any colonial country which attempts to force the pace of liberation and not to await the pleasure of its imperialist master before it achieves its freedom will henceforth be branded as an aggressor. If this Pact had been signed before the termination of the Indo-China war, as Foster Dulles wanted, Britain would now have been involved in war against the "Viet-minh aggressors."

REPUDIATE IT!

The Labour Party must make clear its unequivocal opposition to this Pact and declare its intention to repudiate it when returned to power. There must be no nonsense about the "continuity of foreign policy," when that policy is so clearly opposed to all the principles for which the Labour Party stands.

At Scarborough, the Labour Party must make its voice felt in no unmistakable fashion. There are eight resolutions on the Order Paper, opposing S.E.A.T.O. This, undoubtedly, reflects the almost unanimous feeling of the rank and file of the Party. From Scarborough we must send a message to the people of South-East Asia that we are on their side in the fight for freedom and against the war plots of Wall Street.

A COMPROMISE

So a compromise was reached and the offending clause was left out of the Treaty and included in a separate document, the "Pacific Charter." This will, no doubt, share the fate of the historic "Atlantic Charter," which promised the "Four Freedoms" to the world, almost a decade ago. Its real purpose, of course, was to save the face of the unfortunate delegates from Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines.

The Preamble to the Treaty, reaffirms the faith of the signatory nations in the United Nations Charter. This should produce a horse-laugh from the people of Guatemala and British Guiana, who know just how much faith

New Threat To China

"WE will not be intimidated," announced Mr. John Foster Dulles as he arrived in Formosa last week to confer with Chiang Kai Shek. Meanwhile, Chiang Kai Shek's American-supplied bombers, fighter-bombers and destroyers continued an air and sea assault on the Chinese mainland. *Who was doing the intimidating?*

A few months ago Mr. Dulles was refusing to be "threatened" by Guatemala. He and the rulers of America, forthwith proceeded to perform what he later called a "glorious" chapter in America's history.

Much runs parallel in the Guatemala incidents and the explosive situation in the Western Pacific. Once again dollar imperialism intervenes in the affairs of another nation to back a corrupt dictatorship its people have rejected. Once again it rattles the sabre and screams "intimidation" to cover up its own threats. Even its friends in Britain, bound to it by class ties and fear of the colonial revolution, are hard put to defend the latest adventures.

"All who would be free are in peril," says the American Secretary of State. He was speaking to a press conference in Formosa—an island where since 1945 under

Chiang Kai Shek there has been less freedom and more brutality than under the Japanese occupation.

BASE FOR ATTACK

This is the regime which Wall Street would like to fasten back on the whole of China. Bereft of any support on the mainland, hated and despised by all but a small clique of capitalists, landowners and warlords, Chiang Kai Shek has remained on Formosa and the other islands solely through American arms, American planes and the protection of the American fleet.

The Chinese dictator was protected for one reason only. Formosa is a base for an attack on the mainland by the forces of counter-revolution which the Chinese people have ejected. A project which the American military leaders were implicated in from the beginning.

At the enquiry into the dismissal of MacArthur, General Marshall disclosed that as far back as July and August, 1950, plans to raid the Chinese mainland by means of Chiang's troops were under study by the U.S. Chiefs of Staff.

U.S. OFFICERS IN QUEMOY

American officers have helped to train Chiang's army, and an American military mission has been permanently stationed in Formosa. American officers are on Quemoy Island, American Congressmen and commanders have recently visited it. Quemoy Island is four miles off the Chinese coast, it dominates a sea route to Amoy, the Chinese port. It has been a base for Chiang's raids.

But when the artillery of the Chinese Peoples' Republic bombard Quemoy Dulles warns that Chiang Kai Shek "does not stand alone." **What is that but intimidation?**

The U.S. government further stokes up an explosive situation by a fake outburst of indignation when a U.S. navy plane is shot down off the Siberian coast. Again the talk of intimidation. But what are American planes doing thousands of miles from the U.S. and near the Soviet mainland? Their only purpose could be to explore and test Soviet defences.

Imagine the screams from American Big Business politicians if even one Soviet plane appeared off the coast of California!

ENCIRCLE CHINA

Wall Street demands full freedom to encircle China and the Soviet Union, to back and aid a corrupt dictator and protect him in his provocations off the Chinese mainland. That is one side of America. **But there is another side.** It was reported by the American correspondent of the NEWS CHRONICLE—David Walker, "Among the ordinary people," he cabled, "there appears to be a considerable lack of enthusiasm for fighting China on behalf of Chiang Kai Shek..."

It is that side of America which holds out hope for British Labour. It can be developed into a positive opposition to the war preparations and a demand for the immediate withdrawal to the U.S. of all military forces overseas. British Labour can help this development and aid the anti-war forces in America.

Our leaders must express the feelings of the mass of the British workers and state bluntly and unambiguously that we will not be dragged into any war in the interests of imperialist conquest or on behalf of the capitalist-landlord dictatorship of the butcher in Formosa.

Birmingham Shows The Way

BIRMINGHAM is a key city for Labour. The 1945 General Election transformed it from a cess-pool of Tory exploitation and political jugglery into one of the most powerful bastions of our movement.

When the Labour and trade union organisations of this great city speak they voice the opinions of hundreds of thousands of workers employed in the engineering and allied trades.

Now they have spoken in no uncertain terms about the ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. The following organisations demand the withdrawal of the ban:

Industrial
Birmingham 9th Branch, A.E.U., Small Heath 2nd Branch, A.E.U., Birmingham 4th Branch, A.E.U., Birmingham East Branch, A.E.U., Sheldon 2nd Branch, A.E.U., Birmingham 1st Branch, A.E.U., Birmingham District Committee, A.E.U. (representing 30,000 A.E.U. members) and Birmingham Trades Council (representing 150,000 affiliated trade unionists).

Political
Executive Committee, Aston C.L.P., Small Heath C.L.P., Erdington C.L.P., Northfield C.L.P., Edgbaston C.L.P., Sparkbrook C.L.P. and Birmingham Borough Labour Party, representing 80,000 affiliated members.

That seems to us to be a pretty decisive answer to the N.E.C.

Funds Needed

We need money to ensure that the fight for party democracy is carried to every corner of the Labour Movement.

If you are with us in that fight and want to help win it, then make a donation NOW.

Send it to SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, 177 Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1.

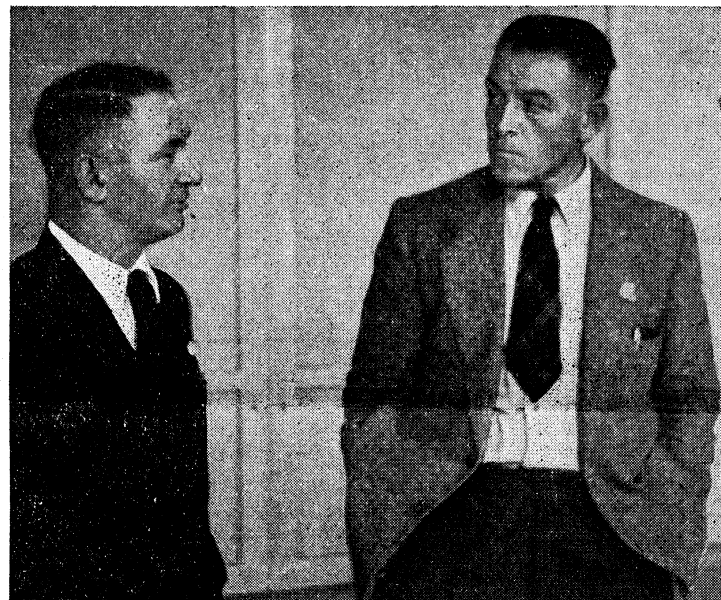
Withdraw the Ban on Socialist Outlook

MEETING

Esplanade Hotel,
Belmont Road, Scarborough

SUNDAY, 26th SEPT. 3 p.m.

DELEGATES TO THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE AND FRIENDS OF SOCIALIST OUTLOOK ARE INVITED



Two delegates to the Trade Union Congress, Mr. D. Barrett and Mr. A. Radley from the National Amalgamated Union of Stevedores and Dockers.

They are discussing what happened to the resolution Dick Barrett moved on behalf of his union. The N.A.U.S.D. wanted Congress to go on record upholding the principle of voluntary overtime, for which seven thousand London dockers have instituted an overtime ban.

A Congress decision on this elementary principle was avoided when a Boilermakers' delegate moved "previous question."

A Letter From Six Dockers

HEARTY congratulations on your splendid reporting of the recent Hull dock strike.

The traditional spirit of solidarity among dockers has once again helped them to win a tremendous victory and a further page in the history of militant trade unionism has been written by the Hull dockers in their recent battle against dangerous and ancient methods of working.

We in Manchester, fully realising the principles involved have watched the progress of the struggle with keen interest and sympathetic understanding being fully prepared to offer support in the traditional manner.

The unanimous demands of the Hull dockers for membership of the "blue union" has caused keen interest and support among thousands of dockers in the major parts of the country. Many Merseyside dockers are in favour of entry into N.A.S.D.U.

Many of us who attend the union branch meetings regularly have, in the past, been of the opinion that by increased effort we could make the existing machinery function and our paid officials more active, but time and bitter experience has proved this impossible.

The main points of grievance being:—

1. Paid officials are in term of office for life!
2. In the first instance each official is not elected by the membership by legal ballot—but selected, by a committee of selected officials!
3. The removal of the General Secretary can only be made by two-thirds of the T. & G.W.U. voting against him—the T. & G.W.U. "giant" with a control of many distinct and varied industries has only to crack the whip and the "selected" officials of each section jump into line!
4. The use of the power of the block vote does not always reflect the wishes of the membership!
5. The union rules conference meets only once every five years!
6. The democratic voice of the branches is often stifled by stalling tactics and by the long tortuous channels to the main body, making constitutional action a mere myth.

Therefore it is easy to see why there is such strong feeling among the Manchester dockers in support of the inspired lead of our Hull brothers in their demand for a progressive and democratic union.

Six Manchester Dockers

Socialist Outlook

EVERY FRIDAY

177 Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1

HOP 3227

BRIGHTON AND THE BAN

IF there was any doubt about the political reasons for the ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, the Brighton T.U.C. decisions supply the answer.

The splendid achievement on German rearmament underscores still further the fundamental political cleavage between the left and right wings of the movement. What is really involved is the question of war or peace—subservience to Washington or an all-out attack on the Tory Government.

Morrison and the Right Wing have no illusions on the gravity of the present situation. It is, we repeat, a political crisis of the first magnitude and it would be a serious mistake to underestimate its importance. The ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is only understandable when placed in this context.

Those forces which are now driving back the Right Wing on German rearmament are making rapid headway. Brighton poses almost certain defeat at Scarborough. After that, what next for the Right Wing?

This has now become question number one for Mr. Morrison. Will he and his friends risk a Labour victory at a General Election under conditions which assure that the Left Wing will eventually control the party or will they head for a split? The issues are posed in this way.

The Right Wing have no use for a Labour movement in which the Left are gradually taking control. Morrison needs a smaller Labour Party controlled by full-time agents guided by the officialdom in Transport House with the finance supplied by a few Right Wing trade unions. He wants the left out of the Party. That is what is so serious about the attack on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK.

Labour Party after Labour Party is going on record demanding the withdrawal of the ban. So high is the feeling in some areas that the decision of Transport House is regarded as a provocation. Meanwhile there are many indications that the Right intend to step up the witch-hunt against supporters of our paper.

What is the purpose of this? Is it the beginning of an attempt to split the Party? Is the attack on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK to be the forerunner of an attack on TRIBUNE? The Right Wing make no bones about their hostility to the latter journal also. They are fully aware that SOCIALIST OUTLOOK stands four square behind every attempt which Mr. Bevan makes to introduce more socialist policies into the Labour Party.

There is no time for complacency. The Brighton victory and the ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK are part of the same political process. Labour's Left must understand that the more we achieve political victories the more desperate will be the actions of the Right Wing.

The fight to get the ban removed at Scarborough is just as essential as a defeat for the Right Wing on German rearmament. In the days that are left we urge every trade unionist and Labour Party member to leave no stone unturned to get his organisation to go on record for the withdrawal of the ban.

Food Freedom: For Those

Who Have Money

THERE is a Food Fair on at London's Olympia, this week, organised by Beaverbrook's DAILY EXPRESS. It is a mouth-watering spectacle—exotic foods from the far corners of the globe as well as the more homely products from the British Isles. Here you can cross the "Iron Curtain" and taste the red wine of Hungary and admire—but not sample—the vodka and caviar from the Soviet Union.

This Food Fair is a tribute to the abundance and variety which mankind can produce to satisfy his hunger and please the palate. But food cannot be had for the asking—no, not even at the Food Fair except in the most minute quantities. Food costs money to buy and, whilst Beaverbrook's EVENING STANDARD (September 7) hails Beaverbrook's Food Fair as "a magnificent reality which symbolises for all the people of Britain the taste of freedom," which was presumably ushered in with the end of rationing, it conveniently forgets the sharp rise in prices which has been characteristic of the same period.

The Cost of Living Index shows a price increase of five points.

Practically this whole increase is accounted for by the higher cost of food. Meat, eggs, cooking apples, oranges, cabbage and potatoes now all cost more.

When price control of meat and bacon ended on July 3, the prices of most kinds of meat went up substantially. Within ten days, meat prices, including corned beef, rose by about 14 to 15 per cent. Between the middle of June and July, bacon and ham increased by 3 per cent. Sausages also cost more.

From June to July of this year, food prices generally rose by four per cent., according to the Index. In actual fact, as every housewife knows, the increase was rather more than this. But taking these figures as correct, they mean that the purchasing power of workers' wages was reduced by nearly 10d. in the pound. In the same period, of course, profits and dividends have gone up considerably, which shows where the increased prices go.

These increased costs will mean greater hardships to all sections of the working class and will add substance to their claims for higher wages.

The main sufferers will be the

CONGRESS HEIGHTENS RIGHT WING CRISIS

By our
Industrial Reporter

SOME of the decisions of Congress, said Jack Tanner, T.U.C. President, "may not have given Herbert a great deal of pleasure and encouragement". He was presenting Mr. Herbert Morrison, fraternal delegate from the Labour Party, with the Congress gold badge.

Certainly, Mr. Morrison could derive very little pleasure from the small majority of 400,000 votes by which his fellow right wingers carried their policy on E.D.C. and German rearmament. This was the focal point of Congress.

The fight which might have been expected around public ownership did not materialise. Many delegates from unions supporting the Engineering Confederation's Plan for Engineering were expecting a clash with Mr. Deakin and a repetition of his past

vicious attack on the plan as a "mumbo jumbo of meaningless phrases."

The General Council, however, settled without a fight, for a composite motion in which Congress recorded "its profound conviction that the extension of public ownership to decisive sections of the national economy is a vital prerequisite for the achievement of an ordered, efficient and progressive economy capable of maintaining and improving the living standards of the people."

In this resolution, which was carried by a show of hands, Congress confirmed its support "for the principle of the social ownership of the basic industries, which include sections of the chemical and engineering industries."

How explain that the General

Council left this resolution to a free vote despite the well-known opposition of the Right Wing caucus to a programme of further nationalisation? Particularly so, as Mr. Herbert Morrison in his fraternal greetings had already attacked those who fight to give the movement a socialist programme and whose ideas found some expression in this composite motion.

After emphasising the need for "the moral factor and community spirit no less among working people than in the board rooms of public and private corporations," Mr. Morrison went on to declare: "Merely to say: 'Let us get back to the days of the pioneers' is not to be of the progressive Left, it is to be Conservative."

Yet the motion on public

ownership went through without opposition on the part of the General Council. That means only one thing. The key and overriding question for the Right Wing at this year's Congress was German rearmament. All else was secondary. They were prepared therefore to avoid battle on a general statement of principles of public ownership, although it contained implications they certainly dislike.

To produce a vote against German rearmament which would settle the issue at Scarborough in their favour. That was the central task of the right at the T.U.C. It flowed from the depth of their commitment to the Eden-Dulles policy for Europe and their urgent necessity to pull the Labour Movement behind them.

Despite the fact that they mustered their majority they can view the result at Brighton as nothing other than miserable. The very narrowness of their majority heightened the morale of the opposition.

DESPERATE MEASURES

The top circles of the Labour Movement are on the verge of a defeat which it is almost impossible for them to avoid at the Labour Party Conference. The rank and file can be under no illusions that they will accept it lightly. In this situation the statement of O'Brien at the Margate Conference last year assumes great significance. He was reported in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN as advocating a scheme which would have meant the complete disaffiliation of all trade unions from the Labour Party, leaving a nominal connection and financial assistance to be rendered by a T.U.C. liaison committee.

At that stage, Mr. Arthur Deakin declared O'Brien spoke "out of turn." Now the crisis for the Right Wing is much more profound. The idea which was canvassed then amongst the top leadership of the T.U.C. will tend to gain more support.

To be sure, any attempt to divorce the trade unions from the Labour Party, to split the movement, would be a desperate measure on the part of the Right Wing. But the situation is precisely desperate. More and more it becomes clear that the opposition to their policies threatens to engulf them within the movement.

Let the left be warned. It must fight as never before to isolate this leadership and to weld closer the links between the left in the party and the left in the unions.

Briggs Workers End Overtime Ban

WORKERS at Briggs, Dagenham, have ended their overtime ban, which they began after the management issued certain regulations with regard to overtime working.

They have been successful in forcing the withdrawal of these conditions. However, the bigger problem of negotiating rights within Briggs factory still remains.

The workers declare that since the Ford Motor Company took over the factory last year and terminated the existing Trade Union Procedure Agreement, the management have refused to negotiate major items with the shop stewards.

A statement issued by J. Mitchell, convenor of Briggs, declares the overtime ban has only been lifted pending a meeting with the shop stewards negotiating committee and union officials. This meeting will discuss terms of reference for future negotiations with Briggs management.

The convenor declares that the management has been informed by the stewards that any obstruction on its part to progressing terms of reference for future negotiations will lead to the workers immediately re-imposing the ban.

★
Who's
Next for the
Chopper?
★



Reproduced by kind permission of the BIRMINGHAM JOURNAL (organ of the Birmingham Trades Council).

And Still They Come!

MORGAN PHILLIPS' staff is still being kept busy dealing with the protests against the ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK which are coming in from all over the country and from every section of the Labour Movement. There must, by now, be quite a hefty dossier awaiting his attention when he comes back from China. As a number of Constituency Parties are meeting between now and Conference, after the annual August break, we

are confident that these protests are being multiplied manifold.

In the Manchester area, a number of prominent members of the Labour and Trade Union movements have issued the following statement:

"The undersigned, while not necessarily agreeing with all the policies advocated by SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, are extremely perturbed by the recent decision of the National Executive of the Labour Party that persons 'associated with or supporting' SOCIALIST OUTLOOK are declared to be ineligible for membership of the Labour Party.

"We feel that, while it is logical for the Labour Party to protect itself by proscribing members of other parties in direct competition with it, the National Executive are abusing their powers by stifling any independent or critical current of opinion within the movement.

"The grounds given for the decision against SOCIALIST OUTLOOK could equally apply to TRIBUNE, LABOUR'S VOICE or other Labour weeklies, and not only to them but to local Labour Party papers and even to journals of unions which might be at variance with National Executive's interpretation of policy as are many of the trade unions to which the undersigned belong on such issues as nationalisation, the 'Plan for Engineering' of the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions, and German rearmament.

"This is an attack on the rights of members and affiliated bodies to the Labour Party to freedom of expression in the formulation of policy by democratic discussion. If freedom of expression and criticism is denied, what remains of the 'right' to mould policy?

"We therefore, in our individual capacities, protest most strongly at this dangerous precedent and urge all trade unionists and Labour Party members to press their respective organisations to demand the removal of the ban on SOCIALIST OUTLOOK."

Signed:
R. W. Casasola (Member, E.C.

two-and-a-half million people who, as revealed by the Report of the National Assistance Board for the year ended December, 1953, are already wholly or partly dependent on national assistance. These are the aged and the sick and the widows and other women whose domestic ties prevent them from seeking employment. The total cost of the assistance granted to old people alone was at the rate of £52 million a year. Surely a case for increased pensions.

Very few of these old people or their fellow-sufferers on National Assistance passed through the turnstiles of Olympia to view the viands so temptingly displayed there. It would be nothing short of cruelty for them to see all that food and to think of the meagre meals which await them in their cheerless homes.

For the Beaverbrook press, the Food Fair is a symbol of the freedom of those who have the money to eat and drink till the seams of their well-stuffed waistcoats burst. For the working class it must be a challenge to fight for a bigger share of the abundant wealth of the world which it produces by its labours.

T. HORNE

THE THEORY OF GERMAN WAR GUILT

The second in a series of articles on German rearmament and E.D.C. answers the question: Is there a German "psychology of militarism?"

THE premise of "German war guilt" is, in reality, also common to both the proponents and opponents of E.D.C. in the Party leadership. The "pros" are for E.D.C., as explained in *In Defence of Peace*, because they consider German rearmament inevitable and regard the "European Army" structure as the best possible means of containing or restraining the "militaristic character" of the Germans.

The "antis" are opposed to it, as set out in *It Need Not Happen*, because they believe that this same militaristic character cannot be 'contained'—it must be suppressed by postponement for another ten years of a peace treaty, etc.

In justice to the authors of the Bevanite pamphlet, it should be noted that part of their argument rests on the reconstruction of capitalist industry in Germany as well as on the opposition of the social democracy to rearmament. But their more general anti-German emphasis (as well as their broad anti-American bias)—without distinguishing in either case clearly between the ruling class and the mass of the people, between capitalists and workers—leaves them open to demagogic attack by the Right Wing. Thus, Herbert Morrison takes it as a pretext to try to sell Labour's ranks the E.D.C. and its "international" army in the name of proletarian internationalism...

"Don't we believe in 'Workers of the World Unite'—and why shouldn't that apply to the Germans and Americans?"—Morrison asks with tongue in cheek.

LEFT WING MUST BE UNAMBIGUOUS

Precisely in order to combat this kind of hypocrisy, to clear confusion and to allow free play to the healthy anti-capitalist instinct of the workers on the question of E.D.C., the Left Wing must be unambiguous in the character of its opposition to German rearmament as sponsored by the National Executive. The Left Wing must clearly establish the working class, the socialist premise for it and not allow any vulgar nationalistic, Vansittartist, anti-German prejudices to mar its case.

On what are these prejudices based? On the allegation that "the Germans started the two world wars we have already had to go through"—the assumption being that "the Germans" can start the feared third world war. Between the wars, this "theory" of German war guilt was pretty well punctured. Not only among socialists, after the publication by Lenin of the secret war treaties of the Allies, but also by serious academic historians who made the study of the origins of World War I their speciality. (See, for example, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace Treaty*, by John Maynard Keynes). The primary cause was then clearly seen in the capitalist struggle for a redivision of the world's markets.

BRITISH CAPITALISTS GUILTY

The British capitalists, the French capitalists, were from that point of view no less guilty of preparing World War I than the German capitalists. The German "war guilt" theory was regarded for what it was—propaganda pure and simple. The origins of World War II are no less clear. On the one hand, there were the "hungry" imperialists of Japan, Germany and Italy—"hungry" for markets as "living room" for their

capitalist production—and on the other the "sated" imperialists of the allied camp.

The new factor, the existence of the Soviet Union, made for attempts to shift the inevitable explosion in that direction. That was behind Tory policy in the 1930s—from the toleration of early German rearmament to Munich. That the outbreak in 1939 took a somewhat different form at first was due simply to the inability of both blocs of capitalists to find agreement as to who would be top dog in a world in which the U.S.S.R. was eliminated.

COVER UP TRUTH

In that case, as in the case of the first world war, to speak of "German" war guilt exclusively is only to cover up the truth of the war guilt of our own capitalists. Just as to speak only of the abominable atrocities of Nazism is to cover up the barbarities of our own imperialists—as, for example, in Malaya and Kenya, today. To forget Churchill's—or Lloyd George's—praise of Hitler and Mussolini in this connection is simply to throw sand in the eyes of the working people.

To set matters straight on this question, we must cast out the notion of "German war guilt" and put in its place correctly

"capitalist-imperialist war guilt." We must set our compass not by the false direction of the "German military psychology", but by that of the class conflicts in Germany, as everywhere else on the face of the globe.

If the German socialists oppose E.D.C. and rearmament, if the young workers of Germany take 'Ohne Nich' ("Leave Me Out") as their slogan on the new war plans of their masters, there is but one way we here can help them to attain their objective. That is, by demanding the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces in Germany.

If British Labour makes this demand it will be the surest, firmest aid to the forces fighting the revival of capitalist militarism in Germany, their best chance to succeed.

We should make this demand unconditionally. For that would be the best encouragement for the German workers to settle accounts with their capitalists and to make common cause with us. It would, moreover, swing broad intermediate layers of people over to the socialist side and leave the German capitalists fairly isolated in their predatory alliance with Wall Street.

But, unconditional as such a

demand would be, it could not fail to bring pressure on the Soviet occupation of Eastern Germany and force an unconditional withdrawal there as well.

A free Eastern Germany, united with a freed Western Germany, could not fail to produce a united socialist nation and topple the rule of capitalism there forever. That would indeed be a serious first step to a united Socialist Europe, to peace.

ONLY SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE

In that sense, unconditional withdrawal of our troops from Germany to let the German workers decide their own fate presents a practical alternative to E.D.C.—the only socialist alternative.

We come now to the question of Germany and the broader problem of the East-West "cold war."

In connection with E.D.C. the problem is posed, by proponents as well as opponents on the N.E.C., as a matter of whether agreement can or cannot be reached between the "Allies" and the Soviet Bloc on this question. Can it be settled by "peaceful co-existence?" Let's see what that means.

(To be continued).

American Newsletter

HUNGER IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY

New York, September 10.

LAST Monday was Labour Day in the U.S. On this holiday, established by the government in competition with May Day, the workers get a day off the job and the opportunity to hear long-winded speeches by labour bureaucrats and capitalist politicians. The speeches are intended to demonstrate what a wonderful system capitalism is for the workers and how it is best of all in wealthy America where the politicians are such great "friends" of labour.

Those of the men who dig America's coal that heard these speeches undoubtedly greeted them with the loud derisive noise known in this country as a "Bronx cheer". The American coal industry is in the depths of a full-scale depression and its workers are now confronted by the cruelest and most insane of the laws of capitalist economy—hunger in the midst of plenty.

To bolster farm prices, the American government is storing

away \$6-billion worth of food-stuffs at a cost of \$700,000 a day. A small fraction of those food-stuffs (those that create storage problems) are distributed throughout the country to the most needy of the unemployed. It is estimated that more than half the number eligible to receive this food are coal miners.

A stark picture of the plight of the jobless miners, and the brutal indifference of the capitalist politicians to their needs, was presented in the July 15 issue of the MINE WORKERS' JOURNAL, organ of the powerful United Mine Workers' Union.

DRIFT AND DECAY

Surveying the distribution of the surplus commodities, the Journal says: "Unlimited supplies of surplus foods in warehouses spread throughout the land, and thousands of unemployed persons unable to properly feed their families on the meagre part-time earnings and relief available to them, is the spectacle that confronts a bewildered nation in this period of drift and decay."

The report indicates the scope of the depression that has hit the mining industry. There were 15,000 people in West Virginia eligible for free federal food last December. By June the figure had soared to 140,000. In one mining area in the state of Kentucky 15,000 out of a population of 20,000 have been declared eligible. In just two mining sections in Pennsylvania there are now 83,000 people in need of such aid.

The Journal describes the food programme at work. "The actual distribution in the local communities is burdened with governmental red tape, costly overhead expenses, and a plague of federal gumshoe agents (investigators).

Only minute quantities are available to consumers... in county after county, the distribution is handicapped by reluctance of local officials to accept the cost of handling and distribution, the complicated procedure for certifying those eligible, and the tough policy of the Agricultural Department in demanding safeguards against any possible waste of the foodstuffs."

A report from District 30 of the Union of Kentucky, where the entire programme simply ground to a halt, says: "The surplus commodities were distributed sparingly, certainly insufficient to satisfy the hunger of people who have no jobs..."

"These same people, now hungry," the report bitterly continues, "have helped to pay the bill for the surplus commodities in bulging warehouses surrounded by red tape and political bunk. The people are tired of waiting for the meagre handout which does not begin to appease hunger."

That's one of the faces of American capitalism that its pro-agriculturalists would like to pretend doesn't exist.

AT THE T.U.C. AN INTERVIEW WITH THE MAYOR OF COLOMBO

This Asian Workers Leader Was Not Impressed

MR. N. M. PERERA, Mayor of Colombo, capital of Ceylon, was "not impressed" when he attended the Trades Union Congress on Tuesday of last week.

It was not one of the liveliest days at Congress, but Mr. Perera was not referring to any lack of spirited debate, nor was he commenting on the general behaviour of delegates in the body of the hall. He was giving his opinion on what he called the "patronage" of the platform.

"An illustration of that", he said, "is this evasive procedure whereby they secure the withdrawal of a resolution by declaring they will give it 'sympathetic consideration.' This patronage wouldn't be tolerated in our Ceylonese unions."

TRADE UNION LEADER

N. M. Perera should know the attitude of Ceylonese trade unionists. Apart from being Mayor of the biggest city in Ceylon, he has been President of the Ceylon Confederation of Labour since its inception in 1945.

This forty-nine-year-old trade

union leader and member of the Ceylonese Parliament was a student at the London School of Economics from 1927-33. His subsequent political career, however; his attitude to working class and international problems, bears very little resemblance to many of those in the British Labour Movement who took degrees there.

He is a member of the Lanka Samasamaja Party of Ceylon. A rough translation of its name in English would be the "Equal Society" Party or the Socialist Party. He first stood for the Ceylonese Parliament in 1936, won the election, and remained an M.P. until 1940 when he was detained for anti-war activity and for participating in the leadership of the struggle for Ceylonese independence. He was released in 1945, was back in Parliament in 1947 as the leader of the opposition, and was returned again in 1952.

SWEEPING VICTORY

The Colombo municipal elections were held last month. The Lanka Samasamajist Party won a sweeping victory. It gained the majority after a three-cornered contest with a Communist Party-backed nominee and a nominee of the capitalist United National Party.

Asked what he considered to be the main problem of Colombo's

Repression in E. Africa

THE government of Kenya has decided to implement certain recommendations made by the magistrate in the Kapenguria trial of the leaders of the Kenya African Union of 1953.

These recommendations, called Restriction Orders, amount to life exile for these men. They are to be confined during that period in the desert region of North Kenya.

When this decision was announced to a gathering of native dignitaries by Governor Baring, it is reported that it was received in hostile silence. Another pillar of support gone!

From elsewhere in East Africa news reports indicate a similar trend.

Zanzibar is of special interest. AL FALAQ, newspaper of the Arab Association, which to quote the TIMES correspondent "is representative of the great majority of Arabs", was this week ordered prohibited, its presses confiscated for one year and its editor fined.

The sedition 'perpetrated' by this paper was the reproduction of an article which charged Lyttelton's policy as being responsible for the "mass killing of Nigerians, Gold Coasters, Malaysians and other peoples."

The sentences have resulted in the resignation of both the Arab representatives on the Legislative Council and wholesale resignations of Arabs from Government Boards.

The Arabs who have hitherto constituted one of the main pillars of British divide-and-rule policy in East Africa could hereafter be expected to throw in their lot with the revolutionary masses of Africa.

Comments the TIMES correspondent: "It is inconceivable that such words" (as used by AL FALAQ) "should form the subject of a sedition charge in England, but the law of Zanzibar is different." How very different indeed!

workers, N. M. Perera replied: "Undoubtedly, housing." Part of the municipal policy of his party was a housing plan, and a plan for slum clearance. "Our slums are, of course, a great deal worse than those of London," he remarked. Another plank in his party's municipal programme is the municipalisation of the city's transport services.

ONLY SOLUTION

"However," said this Ceylonese workers' leader, "while we can help ameliorate conditions for the Colombo workers the real and deep problems of the workers and peasants of Ceylon will only be solved by the establishment of an anti-capitalist government. Take the housing question, for instance. We are handicapped by the lack of subsidies from the Government.

"We cannot rid ourselves of foreign domination, we cannot raise the very low standards of our working people, increase literacy, solve land problems, give the vote to the disenfranchised Indians, without an anti-capitalist government.

"The main fight for our party

is centred around this. Our party is the biggest working class party in Ceylon and has made much progress since the 'hartal' of August last year, when there was a general strike throughout Ceylon against the high price of rice."

ANTI-WAR FEELING

"There is a general anti-war feeling among the masses of Ceylon, as in India", declared N. M. Perera, in answer to another question. "The Prime Minister himself is strongly in favour of joining the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation. The pressure of public opinion forced him to abandon that. There was mass opposition to further imperialist intervention in Indo-China. When the Government allowed French transport planes, bound for Indo-China, to land on Ceylonese bases, they did so without the consent of Parliament."

In a final question, N. M. Perera was asked for his comments on the Prime Minister of Ceylon's statement that Ceylon must stay with the Commonwealth as Communism in South India threatened her with invasion.

"Lunacy", was the terse reply.



IN IRAN, while the Finance Minister—Ali Amina—was initiating the oil agreement with eight foreign companies, the Government arrested 300 army and police officers as "Communist plotters."

THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS INSTITUTE REPORT has an article on press freedom in British colonies. The writer states that, in all except five colonies, Governments control the press by compulsory registration of newspapers or printing presses, and a bond is usually required to cover fines.

In Malta, the law controls the appointment of newspaper editors. In Aden, Hong Kong, Singapore

and Malaya, a licence or permit is needed to print, publish or edit any newspaper.

In Cyprus, the Governor-in-Council may prohibit the importation of any newspaper which appears to him to be "contrary to religion or morality or prejudicial to peace, public government or good order."

IN CANADA, 145,000 railway workers voted recently for strike action following the refusal of railway companies to grant "fringe benefits". Last August the Canadian Government decreed the union must accept compulsory arbitration.

This denial of the right to strike was unanimously con-

demned by Canada's largest Labour organisation—the Trades and Labour Congress—meeting at the beginning of this month. Speakers declared it was the road to totalitarianism and a step toward the strangulation of the Labour Movement.

IN BRITISH GUIANA, Mrs. Janet Jagan is now in prison, serving a three months' sentence, after refusing to pay a fine imposed for holding a meeting.

GRAHAM GREENE, the Catholic novelist, complained that he had been placed under overnight guard by immigration authorities and handled like a "dangerous parcel" when he arrived in Puerto Rico.

Because Graham Greene was a member of the Communist Party for four weeks in the early 'twenties he was recently barred from entering the United States.

CYPRUS: CONDITIONS SHOCK THIS READER

I HAVE recently returned to England after a month's visit to Cyprus, having been away, except for a month in 1947, for the last eighteen years.

I was shocked at the changes, the anxiety and uncertainty that exist on the island.

New towns have been built to house the hundreds of thousands of troops and their families. The capital Nicosia has grown three times its size in recent times. Similarly Larnaca and Famagusta and Limassol. But the housing problem, far from being solved, is creating other problems.

Prices have rocketed ten times or more but wages remain very much below the cost of living. There is no health scheme or old-age pension in Cyprus. There is no compensation for a man losing his limb or his life in his job or in the street. There is no unemployment benefit. And now there is no freedom of speech or press.

Millions of Cyprus pounds are given yearly to the Empire, never to be repaid. But when money is needed for a project, the Empire loans Cyprus her money on a 4 per cent. interest.

Thousands of tourists have visited Cyprus again this year, but thousands of Cypriots are weekly leaving the shores of this beautiful island to make their living elsewhere.

The drastic steps recently taken by the government are proof of the critical and serious situation that exist on the island.

For the left to cry for "Enosis" with the Greek regime fully aware of the consequences—that should again prove that the British administration has become intolerable.

A Cypriot in London

T.U. Finance

It was with some scepticism that I listened to Jack Tanner, in his presidential address to the 86th Annual Trades Union Congress, dilate at length on "the finances of free trade unionism."

In a plea for more cash, Bro. Tanner claimed that "in other highly industrialised countries it is a generally accepted practice for trade union weekly contributions to equal roughly one hour's pay." It seems to me that the key word here is "roughly." It's rough on us!

For while I believe it to be true that no militant worker will object to a dues increase in the real interests of his organisation—to building up a strike fund, for example, or to building up a Union lending library or education scheme—yet I for one, as a working trade unionist, object most strongly to any proposed increase which has as its object merely the raising of the stipends of the unions' full-time officialdom.

My point is—put the union full-timers on a level with their rank and file. When the ranks get an increase, let the officials have a rise too—and vice versa. If

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this system were to be adopted throughout the movement, I think we should see a sudden and astonishing increase in the militancy of general secretaries!

T.U.C. Delegate

A Correction

Please correct a statement in the article "These London busmen." (Last week's SOCIALIST OUTLOOK).

Any man who returns to bus driving after only five hours rest period is a blackleg besides being



a danger to the public. The union does not allow less than eight hours break.

However, this eight hours is not enough. It is generally realised that to keep in good health a man should have eight hours sleep. I myself often finish work so late I have to walk home and have had only the bare eight hours before returning to work.

Brixton Busdriver

A Rents Campaign

The Right Wing of the Trade Union movement can't be feeling too good after the Trade Union Congress. It's not every day in the year they suffer serious reverses and at Brighton they were "done" on several items of considerable importance. I am sure that most readers of the OUTLOOK and in fact most members of the Labour Party are rubbing their hands together in joyful anticipation of what is yet to come at Scarborough.

However, the main reason for this letter is to refer to a domestic question which is of great importance and which was discussed at the T.U.C. That is the question of the Repairs and Rents Acts. By 4,351,000 to 3,269,000 a resolution was carried against the advice of the platform which "expressed support for a nation-wide campaign by the Labour Party, the Co-operative Party and Congress, which has as its object the repeal of this iniquitous Act."

I believe SOCIALIST OUTLOOK is, at least, partly responsible for this verdict. The Editorial

Board and the paper's contributors have continually stressed the need for a political lead and a campaign by the Labour Party. Another reason for the T.U.C. decision was that the rank and file took the Parliamentary Labour Party's arguments seriously.

If the new Rents Acts are a "Landlords' Charter" and a "Lawyers' Paradise", then obviously, once the fight inside the House fails, it is necessary to take the fight outside. This is how the rank and file have been thinking and the result at Brighton of the effects of this reasoning is very embarrassing to quite a section of the Parliamentary Labour Party, who have only been shadow-

boxing. Many of them actually support the idea of rent increases.

Scarborough can round off the T.U.C. decision. There are nine motions asking the next Labour Government to repeal the Acts. If, as is very probable, this point of view is carried, the movement will have to ensure that the resolution is implemented when the Tories are thrown out. Not every resolution carried by Conference is implemented. We don't have to go back further than the Conference decision on tied cottages. Although the Left has no cause for complacency, Brighton showed that despite bans, proscriptions and witch-hunts, progress has been made since the Margate Labour Party Conference.

Labour Councillor

Suppressing Democracy

Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, a nominee for the job of Party treasurer, will—if he gets elected—be in a powerful position to influence Labour Party policy. The rank and file members, therefore, are entitled to know exactly what he stands for.

This is all too clearly revealed in an important, if little publicised, exclusive interview with the Ceylon DAILY NEWS. Asked what his attitude would be where a Communist Party is near to taking power, Gaitskell replied, "the democratic parties are entitled to stop it by suppressing the Communist Party. Democracy can work only if all parties observe what are called the 'rules of the game.'"

This advocacy of the stifling of

free thought and free enquiry has little in common with the principles of Liberalism, let alone those of democratic socialism. It is also unlikely that many socialists regard the stern struggle against capitalist exploitation and war as some sort of "game."

Gaitskell's statement raises an interesting question. After the Morecambe conference, 1952, he stated to an audience at Stalybridge "that about one-sixth of the constituency party delegates appear to be Communist or Communist-inspired."

We are entitled to ask:—

(i) Does Gaitskell propose to restrict further democracy within the Labour Party if these comrades who he dubs as "Communist" look like ousting the present Right Wing leadership?

(ii) And, assuming the "Communists" do gain control of the Labour Party, would Gaitskell advocate the suppression of the Labour Party if it looked like gaining power through the ballot box?

It is highly appropriate, particularly in view of recent Transport House moves to proscribe SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, that Aneurin Bevan has openly stated that in standing for the post of treasurer he believes in increasing democracy within the party. It would appear as if his main opponent believes in the exact opposite.

Stoke R. Challinor

Right Hons.

"We should go into the next election fight to win," urged Herbert Morrison to the T.U.C. at Brighton last week.

"Our object is not," Herbert added, "to enable a few people in our Movement to put M.P. after their name—or even Right Hon. in front of it."

I wonder what Arthur Deakin, P.C., thought of that!

Waford reader

Fighting Fund

The position has improved, comrades, but we are not yet half way toward our target figure of £200 for September. Please step up your efforts and send the money in as soon as you receive it. Congratulations to readers in Leeds for setting about this task in a campaign manner. Others elsewhere—please copy.

Our thanks to: Holborn Hall audience, £30 10s.; Leeds readers, £20 10s.; Islington readers, £5 13s. 6d.; West London readers, £5 11s. 5d.; Westminster readers, £5; Birmingham and R. T. Shelley readers, £2 9s. 9d.; Tottenham readers, £1 10s.; J.F.L.O. £1 1s.; Nottingham readers, £1; W.R.W., £1; Edinburgh readers, 12s. 6d.; R.J.D., 10s.; Norwood readers, 10s.; H.G.H., 6s.; Worcester Park readers, 6s.; J.S.G., 5s. 6d.; Bebington reader, 4s.; J.H.J., 3s.; Anon., 2s. 6d.; S.A.K., 2s. 6d.

Total to date £77 7s. 8d.

How To Reach The Top

By N. Rivers

WHO says it does not pay to send your son to one of England's famous Public (?) Schools? It pays dividends alright!

In an article in the EVENING STANDARD of September 11, Wayne Mineau gives an impressive list of men who have "reached the top". The list is headed by Churchill (of course), and includes names like Attlee, Gaitskell, Butler, Lord Cohen and Sir Walter Monckton. All these men had one thing in common—they were educated at one or other of the so-called Public Schools.

The writer tries to make the case that the reason for their success in life was their Public School education. Would Churchill have reached the top, he asks, "if he'd been only a grammar school boy?" The implication is that he would not.

What the EVENING STANDARD writer so conveniently forgets, is that all these people had something else in common besides their Public School background. They come from families with enough money to be able to afford to spend hundreds of pounds a year on their education. The capitalist class look after their own and make sure that in

this capitalist society it is the "right" people who "get to the top."

Thus we read about a Public School boy who went into the Army and "he was commissioned within 10 months." Was he commissioned because his Public School education had made him more fit to be an officer than a lad from a grammar school? Of course not. But he came from the ruling class and thus was "born to command." So, at least, think the brass hats of the Army.

On his release from the Army, he was given a "job" at £450. He will "probably reach £750 a year by the time he is 23, and £1,000 at 25." How many workers on important productive work could ever hope to reach this income?

Industrialists, bankers and the other people who control the economic life of the nation make quite sure that their sons—who are, of course, the boys who go to Eton, Harrow, Haileybury and the other luxury educational establishments, get all the sinecures.

According to Wayne Mineau,

jobs which ordinarily pay £200 a year at 17, and £350-£400 at 20, start you off at £500—if you have the necessary Public School background. In this way the "succession" is assured. Capitalist enterprise will be in safe hands when the present moguls disappear from the scene.

It is just nonsense to claim, as the EVENING STANDARD writer does, that this proves the superiority of the Public School boy over those who had an "inferior" education. It does nothing of the kind. Working class men and women, with only the most elementary education have demonstrated their ability and their qualities of leadership time and again.

It is the ordinary men and women, the workers at the bench and from the pit, from the farm and mill, who have built up our great Labour and Co-operative movement. The Public School boys can show no achievement to rival this. It is these people, with "only a grammar school" education or less who are laying the foundations of a new world.

And in this new world there will be no privileged sinecures ear-marked for the lads from Eton and Harrow.

People, Places and Politics

By Cassia

MAN IN TROUBLE

KARL MARX and Frederick Engels—if I dare mention their names—spent many years of their lives exposing the contradictions of the capitalist economic system and explaining that the only way in which these contradictions could be solved was by the elimination of the capitalist system itself. Today many of those who profess to be Socialists have decided—on unstated grounds—that Marx and Engels were wrong and that it is possible to solve the contradictions of capitalism if the working class assist it to operate efficiently.

Perhaps such pundits of pseudo-political economy will give advice to the President of the United States who is at this moment grappling with one of the contradictions.

Eisenhower has decided that the huge stocks of "surplus" food which have accumulated in America should be subjected to "an orderly and gradual liquidation." He proposes that this food should be utilised in those areas where there is "under-consumption" in a manner designed to "stimulate economic development... and strengthen their security position." Or in plain English—this food will be used as a bait to try and entice the starving people of the world into the spider web of American imperialism.

The contradiction arises when Eisenhower states that this should be done in a way which will not disrupt world prices and yet at the same time will permit the "private trader to function effectively."

All of which reminds me of when, as a boy, I used to try to disprove Newton's Laws of Motion by standing in a bucket and attempting to lift myself up by pulling on the handle!

THAT'S THE WAY THE MONEY GOES

AROUND the figure of the Tory-Liberal William Gladstone there has been deftly woven a mantle of political romanticism. He is spoken of in venerated tones and is reputed to have bequeathed to the British nation a wealth of profound truths which are suitable for frequent quotation.

Personally I am quite unimpressed by this cult of Gladstonian folklore and I am left completely unmoved when his present day ardent disciples remind me of what he said in 1884 in an endeavour to justify their current political aberrations.

There are, however, certain aspects of British political life which owe their origin to Gladstone; one of these is the Public Accounts Committee which he succeeded in establishing when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1861. The function of this committee is to examine each year the audited accounts of various government departments and issue a report on their findings in order that Parliament—and the public—may be informed of any shortcomings in the manner in which the taxpayers' money is being used.

Last week the committee issued its current report and—for the modest sum of one shilling and sixpence—it makes very interest-

ing reading. I give but two examples.

The palatial royal yacht "Britannia" was originally intended to cost the taxpayers £1,750,000 but now it is estimated that this floating palace will in fact cost some £2,100,000; the Public Accounts Committee were, not unnaturally, interested to discover the reasons for the extra £350,000.

They learned that this additional expenditure was incurred in order that the vessel should be ready in time to undertake the single journey which it has so far made—from Tobruk last May, when the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh returned from their regal ramblings around the empire.

Comment the committee: "It is not clear to your committee that the use of any alternative ship was considered."

The second interesting incident concerns the War Office. Apparently this robust agglomeration of red-tape and brass hats spent £80,000 on a territorial army camp in North Wales only to find that the camp was useless because rights could not be obtained to use neighbouring land for training purposes. The camp—and £80,000 of public money—was abandoned.

For this episode the Public Accounts Committee blames the War Office who failed to ensure that there was adequate liaison between the War Office, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the Treasury.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the Public Accounts Committee has not the powers—or the characteristics—of the Committee for Public Safety of the Paris Commune!

QUOTE FOR THE WEEK

"Let me say this about nationalisation in general. I have said that we have not finished with it, and we must never say we have finished with it until we have got the nationalisation of all the means of production, distribution and exchange."

Herbert Morrison, Labour Party Conference, Morecambe, 1952.

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