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Socialist Outlook

WEEKLY

No. 113

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

FRIDAY, JANUARY 22, 1954

3d.

Hands Off
the Colonial
peoples!

Rising Cost of Eating

MANY articles have appeared in the press of late arguing the pros and cons of the general demand for increases in the pay-packet. But there is a feeling—arising from direct experience—that we have suffered a definite cut in real wages over the last three years.

We know this without going into the C.O.L., its 'weightage' of different items, etc. Take, for example, the question of food, i.e., basic necessities.

This week's "Reynolds News" publishes an excellent table illustrating that the weekly price of

By

Roddy Hood

necessities—food necessities—for the average family of four has increased as compared with January 1951 from the sum of £1 12s 10d. to £2 10s. 4d.

Wages have also risen, but have nowhere kept pace with this. Is it not our direct experience that the wage rises have only served more or less to maintain the pay-packet in line with the rise in the prices of items other than food?

For example, fares, entertainment, and other necessities have gone up in price, and wage increases are either used to cover these or, as may be happening in some cases, the food budget of the family has suffered.

Suppose this is so. Then it is quite possible that many families have in fact suffered a cut in their standard of eating to the extent of the difference expressed in the "Reynolds News" table—i.e., from the 1951 price of necessities, £1 12s. 10d. to the January, 1953 price, £2 10s. 4d. That is quite some cut!

Of course, there are no figures produced to prove that this is what has been taking place in general throughout the working population of this country. No doubt, the statisticians could disprove to

some extent that the above argument applies. But one thing is certain.

If the average housewife budgeting for such a family is to continue to give her husband and children their previous 'standard of eating' she can do so only by a drastic cut in their other standards.

These facts may at first appear too obvious to require re-stating. But when we argue for these wage demands, let us not forget that what we are in fact doing is to argue our right to enjoy the not too lavish rations of Bacon, Fats, Beverages (non-alcoholic), Milk, Bread and Meat that we have known in 1950/51. This is a fact if we remember that already we face the results of the new Rent Bill, the removal of Subsidies, the ending of all rationing, the stepping up of arms expenditure (or its alternative, 'slump').

We are, in fact, fighting to be allowed to enjoy that bare minimum, the inheritance of a world war. The rise in prices of bare necessities in this very drastic fashion pin-points the level of this struggle. It is, indeed, a fight for bread, a fight for the elementary right to keep above starvation level.

Every time we get the stuff about "foreign competition" "export prices", etc., we must be ready to illustrate how our food has been attacked.

So far, the only reply to this type of argument from our opponents has been the attempt to prove that we spend more on beer than we do on rent. Very well, if that is so, how about stopping the Rent Bill, reducing rents, etc., and we will guarantee to reduce our consumption of beer. The fact of the matter is that with this new Bill we will be reducing it anyway. And other 'food' too!

So, brothers, let us not be backward in the face of C.O.L. statistics hinting we drink too much beer and eat too much food. Exports or no exports, we must eat, and certainly at no lesser standards than the war has given us over these last few years.

Labour Front Bench Must Fight Harder

Give The Tories No Rest In Parliament

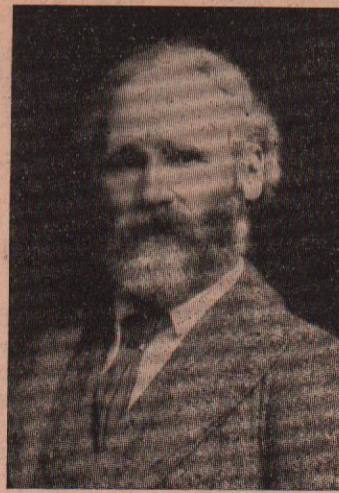
THE South London Press—a paper with a wide circulation in South London—startled its readers last week with this front page headline: *Right Wing Labour Backs Guerillas!* The cause of all the commotion was the following resolution recently passed by the Southwark Labour Party:

"The Southwark Labour Party congratulates those workers, particularly engineers and railwaymen, who are actively engaged in fighting against the lower standard of living caused by the deliberate policy of the Conservative Government in abolishing subsidies, and in handing back road haulage to private enterprise."

As our South London readers will know, Southwark isn't (or rather wasn't) a stronghold of the Labour Party's Left Wing. That

KEIR HARDIE

His fighting spirit is needed to-day on Labour's Front Bench



this party should take such a decisive stand in support of the present industrial struggles for more wages is, therefore, a measure of the new mood of militancy which at present permeates local parties.

It is reported that the Southwark Party, like most parties, has forwarded its resolution to the Parliamentary Labour Party as well as to its member of Parliament, Mr. George Isaacs. What, we should like to know, is the Parliamentary Party going to do about it—and about all the other rank and file calls for more vigorous action at Westminster? To judge from its performance last year, precious little.

NO REAL FIGHT

The Tories, despite their sweeping unpopularity in the country, got away with murder—literally, in the case of Kenya!

They pushed up the cost of living and brought in a Bill to increase the rents of about six million working class families. Yet, apart from a few gentlemanly words of protest, the Opposition Front Bench let it all go by. A few Labour Members, it is true, did their fair share of fighting—but far too many of the rest are almost never heard in the House. This has got to stop, and one way to stop it is for local parties to demand a detailed accounting from their M.P. on every aspect of his or her Parliamentary activity.

WORKERS GIVE LEAD

Engineers, electricians and railwaymen have shown that they are determined to resist the Tories on the industrial field, and they have a right to expect an equally vigorous resistance from their representatives at Westminster.

It is not enough just to oppose Tory legislation—it is necessary to kick up hell on every line of every Bill that comes up. There must be motions to divide the House on subjects like the cost of living, wages, old age pensions, equal pay, education and every

other aspect of working class life. Any and every method must be employed to show the people that Labour in Parliament is a real opposition and a fighting alternative to this present Government of 'hard-headed businessmen!'

At the same time, the Parliamentary Party must not confine its opposition to Westminster alone. The leaders of the Party must initiate a real campaign of meetings and demonstrations calling upon the Government to resign. Combined with the trade union resistance to lowered living standards, such activity should sweep the Tories out of office this year. But... there must be a fight!

GOOD ADVICE

If there are any M.P.'s who are perhaps toying with the idea that, in view of the alleged "national emergency", this is no time to

pick a fight with the Tories, refer them to the following which appeared in the editorial last week's "Railway Review" organ of the National Union of Railwaymen:

"There are in the Labour movement at present few hearts or capitalist apologues who keep on parroting the 'that we must slow down the interests of national economy, security and stability. The only retort they deserve that they are not socialists. is essentially in the interests security and stability that need to press on the early rejection of the Tories and for election of a Labour Government committed and determined to apply socialist remedies all our economic and social difficulties."

Let's have a fight with the Tories in 1954! Force them to Resign!

Electricians in Forefront

LAST week's one-day stoppage in the electrical contracting industry was almost one hundred per cent. The witch-hunt against the communist leaders of the Electrical Trades Union whipped up by the Tory Press was a dismal failure... as every experienced trade unionist knew it would be.

Working men are not influenced by the colour of their leaders' political views when deciding for or against strike action. That question is decided by the one thing the Tory Press carefully ignores: the stubborn refusal of the employers to meet the wage claim and the consequent realisation by the workers that a strike is therefore the only weapon left to them.

Arbitration and Courts of Inquiry have been tried by the E.T.U. but the employers have merely used them as opportunities for further delay in settling the wage claim. The leaders of the Union had therefore no alternative but to call on their members to take further action and it is to their credit that they did so. That the men appreciated the position is proved conclusively by the magnificent response they made to last Monday's strike call.

That the strike weapon can be most effective is proved by the hysteria which its use always brings out in the Tory Press. And it doesn't matter whether the strike is official or "unofficial".

When the petrol tanker drivers came out on unofficial strike not so long ago, the press assailed its readers with stories of how the men had defied their elected leadership and fallen under the influence of "red plotters." Last Monday's stoppage was officially

called by the E.T.U.'s elected leadership. Did this make the Press happy? If anything it made them angrier than ever! Look they screamed, electricians are being bullied into strike action by their leaders!

In both cases the position of the Tory Press is clear: they are against every effort by the workers to secure a better standard of living. That is a fact which electricians will at least not easily forget.

As we go to press, the result of the employers' lock-out reprisals are not fully known—but first reports seem to indicate some wavering among sections of the contractors. Nevertheless, the will obviously be some powerful backing from the rest of the employing class who hope that a defeat for the E.T.U. will make easier the task of defeating the A.E.U., the Miners, the Railwaymen and all other unions with wage claims pending.

The possibility of a long struggle seems to be appreciated by the E.T.U. who have now ordered the guerilla strikes to be extended from one-day stoppages to one-week strikes in certain areas commencing from Monday the 25th.

Should the Union feel obliged to call on other unions for support, that call must not go unanswered. The contracting electricians are right now in the forefront of the wages struggle—but the engineers, the miners, the railwaymen and the building workers are not far behind. It is a situation which calls for the closest cooperation between all the unions involved, for it is a fight on a common principle—the prevention of lowered living standards for the British working class.

John Lawrence

London Dockers Ban Overtime

★ By Dick Barrett ★

Secretary, National Amalgamated Union of Stevedores and Dockers
Interviewed by BILL HUNTER

Barrett, "the benefit of the Labour Government's actions in bringing in the new Industrial Injuries Act could be completely negated and made valueless. Our members are pressing that all liability should be covered by the employer's insurance."

It is not a local or sectional issue. It is a national issue affecting the whole of industry."

The stocky, blunt, Cockney secretary of the stevedores' union then told me of their overtime dispute. I learned that, in one way or another, the union had been involved in this overtime dispute since the end of the war.

"The big question at issue", he said, "is whether overtime is to be voluntary or compulsory." At the end of the war when the Port Emergency Committees were abolished, the employers contended they had the right to determine what overtime should be worked. The union informed employers and government then that, in

peace time, the workers should have some say.

"What we have been trying to do over the past few years is to resolve the question of control over overtime," declared the stevedores' General Secretary, "as far as our members are concerned they do work a great amount of overtime on most arduous cargoes. They are prepared to work, in some instances doing a 16 hour day to finish the job, or working Saturday afternoons and Sundays. But they are not prepared to accept compulsion."

"If the men accept the employers' contentions, then what sort of a life can the portworker visualise? He would not be able to book in advance for any theatre etc., his leisure arrangements could be disrupted at very short notice by the employer. The employers, however, can quite easily operate voluntary overtime together with a relief system for workers who do

not wish to work at a particular time."

Members of the union have been disciplined for refusing to work overtime at a few hours notice.

"Labour M.P.s and the whole Labour Movement should study this important section of the Dock Labour Scheme," concluded Mr. Barrett, "we must see that this scheme, which was intended to be a social reform, is not used to compulsorily lengthen hours of employment, which is entirely contrary to the principles of the T.U.C."

Your Last Chance To Win £10

If you think you know which industries should be given priority in the nationalisation programme of the next Labour Government, fill in the form on page four. You may win £10. But this is your last week for entering this novel competition.

All entries must reach us by first post Monday February 1st.

Get the matter discussed at work—it always starts a good political argument. If you want extra coupons just drop us a line and we will send them on at once.

You can send as many entries as you like at threepence a time. And even if you don't win, you will have the satisfaction of knowing that the

money you send in will help to swell our Fighting Fund.

And that in itself is a step towards seeing that the next Labour Government gets on with the job of nationalising all the basic industries. Because that is the policy this paper stands for.

F. Emmett
Business Manager

The Devil's Chemists are at work again!

WORKING people throughout the world—especially German working people—are rightly terrified under its present capitalist Bonn Government. A book called "The Devil's Chemists" written by Josiah DuBois, the Chief Prosecutor at the Nuremberg war-crimes trial of I. G. Farbenindustrie, tells you why. It is a record based on the 150 large volumes of testimony taken at the trial and tells in detail the astounding and truly horrifying story of this giant chemical cartel.

Right at the start, one of the I. G. Farben defendants admitted the close connection between Fascism, Re-armament and Big Business. He said:

"Before Hitler, Germany was in an economic crisis illustrated by an unemployment of six million people, and our investments were abnormally low. As soon as Hitler came into power things began to change and our investments grew. In 1936 they started to jump rapidly, and in 1938 they grew at an extent of approximately 50,000,000 marks. It was absolutely clear that our new investments were tied up directly and indirectly with the armament programme."

Farben supplied the Nazi war machine with its synthetic rubber, its gasoline, its aluminium and nickel, most of its magnesium and high explosives and a good part of its textiles and plastics. At the same time it used the threat of Nazi arms to take over the Austrian chemical industries before the formal annexation of Austria, and part of the Czechoslovak chemical industry before the Munich Pact—as well as picking up plants in Poland and in France after the conquest of those countries.

For its feverish war production it was supplied with slaves from the conquered countries by Himmler, worked them at such a rate that they were worn-out wrecks in three months and then sent them to the state gas-cham-

bers to be killed by Farben gas. At Monowitz, which it built at the cost of two million dollars, and ran on its own authority, and where conditions were worse even than Buchenwald, its records, kept with business-like accuracy, show that more than 100,000 passed through to death.

And today the men who were responsible for these foul crimes

By The Leveller

against humanity are all free! Most of them, says DuBois, are in power again, some acting as advisers to the Bonn Government.

We needn't be surprised at that, for at the time of Nuremberg, says the chief prosecutor of Farben, "most American generals didn't want the generals tried; the American diplomats didn't want the diplomats tried; our (American) industrialists didn't want the industrialists tried."

The reason now is all too obvious. American and British Big Business was—even during the war itself—closely tied up with I. G. Farben and similar German cartels.

For example, while American and German soldiers were killing each other, the American Henry Ford and the German Hermann Goering were cordially sharing the vast profits extracted from this bloodbath. Ford's German and French plants were continuing to serve the Nazi war machine and making huge profits for Ford in the process. Cartels respect no flag!

DuBois reprints the following testimony from Carl Frauch, one of the Farben defendants who was at the same time the director of the Ford Motor Company of Germany. He was a fascist. This is what he said:

"I myself knew Henry Ford and admired him. I went to see Goering personally about that. I told Goering that I myself knew his son, Edsel Ford too, and I told Goering that if we took the Ford independence away from them in Germany, it would aggrive friendly relations with American industry in the future... Goering listened to me and then said: 'I agree.

A Timely Reminder

I shall see to it that the Deutsche Fordwerke will not be incorporated in the Hermann Goering Werke. ... Thus we succeeded in keeping the Fordwerke working and operating independently."

Ford's French subsidiary also continued to operate under German occupation and throughout the war, made a net profit of 58,000,000 francs in 1941 for which the director was personally congratulated by the American "patriot", Ford, for his "remarkable achievement."

And now all the Henry Fords and the criminals of I. G. Farben are plotting together the re-armament of Germany. Can there be the slightest doubt that they have the same bloody purposes in mind? And, for this reason, can there be any doubt that it is the duty of the British Labour Movement to expose and oppose this foul operation which menaces the peace of the world and which will bring profit only to the international cartels.

DIPLOMACY

Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta. Today the Great Powers meet at Berlin. Will the results be any different? Not unless Labour intervenes. See Editorial on this page.



The Berlin Talks

WHAT are the chances of peace emerging from the coming Four Power Talks? We must be frank. Precious little—if the peoples of the Western world are represented at Berlin by the nominees of General Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill.

Just how serious are their attempts to reach a compromise is already shown in the initial skirmishing over the order of the agenda.

The Western Powers, under American leadership, decided their line, at the recent secret talks in Bermuda. ("Decided" is perhaps the wrong word—"received their orders from America" is a better way to express it.) They intend, whatever happens, to proceed with the re-arming of Western Germany under Chancellor Adenauer. A peculiar way to start "peace" talks!

Everybody knows that the object of giving Adenauer twelve fully-armed German divisions is to strengthen the striking power of capitalist West against the Soviet Union. The old argument that re-armament was necessary in order to resist "Russian aggression" has worn so thin that it has even been denounced as a "false assumption" by no less than 34 highly respectable Labour M.P.s.

Are the rulers of America now so power-drunk that they imagine the leaders of the Soviet Union will agree to this new threat to

their safety? Do they think Malenkov and the others are ready to commit hari-kari? Even John Foster Dulles is a little more realistic than that. No, the Americans know perfectly well that the Soviet Union will not agree to German Re-armament as at present put forward. From the Western capitalist point of view, therefore, the object of these talks is not to establish peace but to put the blame for the continuing deterioration in international relations on to the shoulders

from the United States is about a hundred times greater.

Does all this mean that "Socialist Outlook" believes that nothing good can come from the Berlin Talks? Yes, that is precisely what it does mean. There can be no discussion which will lead to peace so long as the peoples of the Western world are represented at these conferences by the stooges of Wall Street and the City of London.

These capitalist institutions have been plotting war against the Soviet Union—even before the war against Nazi Germany was finished! If you don't believe it, listen to the words of Josiah DuBois who was the chief prosecutor of I. G. Farbenindustrie at the Nuremberg Trials. Writing in his book, the "Devil's Chemists", he says:

"As a member of the American delegation to the Potsdam Conference in July 1945, I saw this Government formally endorse a programme designed to ensure that Germany would no longer be the dominant power in Europe. That was the programme the world heard. But there was secretly circulated among the top leaders of the British and American delegations a memorandum prepared by certain top officials in the United States Government, saying in effect that this whole approach was wrong and that our real interests lay in re-building Germany as quickly as possible, 'as a bulwark against communism.'"

As early as September, 1944, while American boys were still being killed by Nazi soldiers, this same group of officials had circulated a similar memorandum within the United States Government, contending that as soon as the war was over we should re-build Germany as quickly as possible.

That plan is now being put into effect. Labour's only answer—and a very obvious one at that—is tirelessly to agitate against this plan to re-arm Adenauer; insistent propaganda in favour of the peaceful unification of Germany with the withdrawal of all foreign troops; ceaselessly to expose the war manoeuvres of American and British Big Business; and fight to replace the present British Government with a Labour Government pledged to a policy of co-operation with the Soviet Union in the joint exploitation of their respective planned economies. That way lies peace—and in no other.

Editorial

of the Soviet Union. It is a diplomatic manoeuvre and nothing else.

We are far from suggesting that the leaders of the Soviet Union are not ready to compromise. They have shown a willingness to do that on every possible occasion. But the only compromise which can help Dulles and his friends out of the present economic and political impasse of capitalism would be a division of the world into new "spheres of influence." In other words, that the Soviet Union should be prepared to hand back Eastern Europe to capitalist exploitation and persuade Mao-Tse-Tung to come to terms with American Big Business for the joint capitalist exploitation of China. Nothing less than this could extricate American imperialism from its present plight.

But even were the Soviet Government foolish enough to agree to such a suggestion, it is by no means certain that they have the power to carry it through. The intended victims in Eastern Europe and Asia would have something to say about that!

Even in 1948, when the United States was far less militarily prepared than it is today, it was found impossible to reach such an agreement. Wallace in the U.S.A. proposed it—but got scant hearing in American business circles. As for the Soviet Union, even at that time it was forced to advance the area of the revolution by extending nationalised economies to all of Eastern Europe and remaining at least passive while the Chinese Revolution swept Chiang-Kai-Shek into the American dust-cart. It is therefore absurd for anyone to expect the Soviet Government to retreat today when the threat

Mauritius: Labour Rises Guiana: The Secret's Out!

THE "Times" Editorial of January 16th reveals another colonial scandal. This time it is Mauritius. The "dispute" that has broken out takes the usual form of a constitutional crisis. The "Times" claims that the Indians are manoeuvring to capture control of Mauritius by virtue of their preponderant numerical strength. It waxes solicitous for the interests of the smaller minorities—the old, old story of communal differentiation. But the facts indicate something entirely different.

Mauritius, a remote island located 500 miles to the East of Madagascar in the wastes of the Indian Ocean, is important for British Imperialism. It produces half a million tons of sugar each year plus alcohol, tea and tobacco, for colonial investors.

Originally settled by Dutch and later French slave owning sugar planters, Mauritius possesses a unique French "plantocracy" which serves as the agent of colonial oppression.

Since the abolition of slavery, droves of cheap indentured Indian labourers have been imported to work the sugar plantations. Today, there are 267,000 of them who together with the coloured descendants of the original slave population plus a small number of Chinese merchants and the French planters, make up a total population of 510,000. This gives the Indo-Mauritians, as they are called, an absolute majority.

But it is not just that the Indian population is asking for in-

By A. Banda

much but all the 60 per cent of the adult population that has no vote as it cannot prove a certain degree of literacy. Now this literacy law militates not just against the Indians but all the poor and exploited workers of Mauritius. So, it is the working people and not just the Indians that the Imperialists fear. It must be admitted that these champions of the "democratic way of life" have good reason to fear for their investments.

The Mauritians possess a high degree of political consciousness not only because they are denied elementary democratic rights but because the island constitutes one big plantation. Out of a total population of half a million, 135,000 are manual wage labourers. 67,000 of these are sugar workers. Now, in the sugar industry, seasonal unemployment is endemic. Wages amount to £4 per month (when there is employment to be had) and after years of slaving for the sugar bosses a worker might retire on the princely maximum pension of just over £1 per month! The towns are hell holes. 40 per cent of the population live in them at a density rate of anything up to 33,000 per square mile! This bears ugly fruit in the form of an infant mortality rate of one in ten. There are schools sufficient for only half the children of school-going age. No wonder that a literacy qualification is necessary to make doubly sure that they'd never vote. And the other side of this picture? Production has increased 87 per cent over the last 30 years and the

population only 32 per cent. Huge profits are derived from the intensively cultivated sugar, and the wine bibbing planters spend well over half a million rupees on liquor each year.

All these things along with the infectious example of India's assertion of independence, have served to stimulate interest in politics and the establishment of strong, militant trade unions in every trade—Ports, public services, government servants, railway workers, teachers, skilled and unskilled workers. And what's worse in the eyes of their masters—they

The Colonial Struggle

have dared to set up a Labour Party which threatens to nationalise the Banks (chief of which is Barclays) docks and the sugar industry. And as a further act of base ingratitude, it demands that Mr. Lyttleton receives a delegation to discuss "responsible government and universal suffrage."

In the 1952 elections Labour won 13 out of the 19 elected places on the legislative council. But there are 15 others on the council (12 appointed by the governor and 3 ex-officio) just in case the workers should have any illusions about democratic changes.

So that's what all the rumpus is about. The fact is that the investors have exhausted their stock in trade of tricks and lies, deceptions and, will now have to resort to Guiana methods. Let the Labour Movement not be caught unprepared this time. Labour must support, up to the hilt, the demands of Mauritius Labour for democracy and independence.

I AM one of those old-fashioned Socialists who still seek economic motives in order to explain the behaviour of the capitalist class; I am antique enough to use the class struggle as the basis of my philosophy and to believe that the capitalist is motivated primarily by the desire for continually expanding his bank account.

It was therefore quite natural that when the British Government

removed the popularly elected government of British Guiana last October that I should begin to probe around into the economic background in order to find some facts to satisfy my suspicious mind.

It was not long before I was convinced; I was able to point to the vast mineral deposits in the island and to indicate to my less old-fashioned friends that here was part of the story. Bauxite—the raw material of aluminium, gold and diamonds, these were some of the reasons for the Tory Governments attitude. On top of this I was able, with absolute fiendish glee, to point out that the Tory M.P. for Blackpool, Mr. J. R. Robinson, was a director of the British Guiana Consolidated Goldfields.

My perverted mind was at rest, with childlike faith I rejected all the counter arguments. Others might indignantly proclaim that

By Bernard Dix

the inhabitants of the island were on the verge of armed insurrection, preparing to burn down the capital with petrol which they had stored away in a variety of receptacles ranging from eye-baths to bedroom utensils and to engage in all manner of diabolical plots. All of these seemed far more in keeping with the current conceptions of rebellion and its repression than my old-fashioned ideas, but, in spite of the scorn heaped upon me, I doggedly clung to my archaic approach.

Now I have found a new, and quite unexpected ally; for the "Times Review of Industry" has, quite unintentionally, come to my rescue with an article in its December issue.

Under the heading "Prospects for Iron Ore Mining in British Guiana," it revealed that: "extensive superficial ferruginous deposits were formed by the decomposition of basic rocks described as gabbros with the formation of limonite." Now this, unless you are a geologist, may be complete double-dutch but you must remember that the "Times Review" is written for scientists and technicians, not for nasty Socialists looking for propaganda material.

From a study of the article however, even a lay man can comprehend that there is every prospect of fairly widespread iron ore mining beginning in British Guiana. The "Times Review" expressed the view that this will mean a "new mining industry in the not too distant future."

The "Times Review" also notes that British interests are pur-

chasing a minimum of 500,000 tons of Conkary iron ore a year from French GUINEA, with the prospects of this being increased to a million tons a year, and that it is possible that the iron ore deposits in British Guiana may be of a similar grade to the Conkary ore.

Now all this may be a mere coincidence, maybe I am being unduly suspicious. But again the "Times Review" comes to my rescue by stating it was as early as 1909 that it was reported that there were iron ore deposits in British Guiana. It is only now, in 1954, that there seems a distinct possibility of these deposits being worked.

The fact that the people of British Guiana chose this particular time to assert their independence must have caused no small worry to those who hope to work this iron ore.

There then, for those who share my suspicious attitude, is yet another cast-iron reason for the attack on British Guiana.

BRITISH GUIANA

- by
- Cheddi Jagan
 - Janet Jagan
 - L. F. S. Burnham
 - H. W. Benn

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Sir Hartley Takes Coals To Newcastle

SIR Hartley Shawcross has been speaking in the United States on, of all things, the witch-hunt—this time in the British Civil Service.

What prompted him in his choice of subject, we do not know. It could hardly have been the urging of his Constituency Party which sped him across the Atlantic with the glad tidings that 17,000 civil servants had been investigated for political reliability!

Perhaps it was a cry for help from Joe McCarthy which took Comrade Shawcross to New York—to tell him not to get too down-hearted—Britain has a witch-hunt too!

We are not yet in possession of the full text of Sir Hartley's speech, but what sticks out a mile is that he could have done a power of good telling the Americans of the achievements of British Labour, about the Health Service and other progressive Legislation, of the struggle of the railway workers, electricians and engineers against the Tory Government.

But no—Sir Hartley the Dockers' Q.C. (large D. not small), he prosecuted the other kind at the Old Bailey, now apparently gives aid and comfort to the American witch-hunters by demonstrating that Britain is preparing to follow in their footsteps.

Janet Alexander

NEXT MOVES IN THE WAR OF THE WAGE PACKET

FIERCER competition for markets and the threatening effects of the American economic decline face the Tory Government and the employers with the necessity of launching an offensive against the workers standard of living if they are to maintain their profit making system. That has been pointed out at various times in articles in "Socialist Outlook" during the past few weeks.

However, in attempting to mount this offensive they run into the problem of resistance from organised workers. The working people in this country have not had a serious defeat for many years, during which many advances in trade union organisation have been gained at factory and workshop level. The trade unions have their highest-ever membership. Almost the entire working class is anti-Tory.

And the working people are not on the defensive in industry. They know in reality, despite the statisticians, that life is harder. It appears that everything rises but the cost of living index. Hence the mounting militancy of the present wages movement which employers and government must dissipate or push back. They undoubtedly believe that if they can accomplish that, some development of unemployment in the future will be of assistance to them in their plans.

NOT SECTIONAL

No thinking trade union or labour party member can afford to see the various wages struggles of

today as sectional matters. The fate of one section is intimately bound up with the progress of the whole.

To take an example. There is now to be a reply in February to the building workers' claim. Last October, according to the Manchester Guardian, the President of the National Federation of Building Trade Employers declared his hope that "employers in industry who will be dealing with wage-claims between now and the end of the year will refrain from decisions which might complicate the issue."

So, it is clear, the progress of the other wage disputes—miners, engineers, electricians, and railwaymen, not yet solved—will determine how far the building employers will give battle.

As the wages movement proceeds the strategy of the employers becomes obvious. It is to retreat slightly in face of sections of the workers; to hold back others and try to demoralise them by long drawn out negotiations; to try to split others by small increases; to try to isolate other sections and strike a blow at them.

The engineers' wage demand is now bogged down in a Court of Inquiry. This is an aspect of the delaying tactics which have kept the engineers' negotiations going since last July and the electricians since last February. The trade union leaders are now, before the Court, repeating the case put forward by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering

Unions last July and many times since.

WHAT WORKERS THINK

What rank and file leaders feel about this was shown in the last issue of the "Textile Machinery Worker." This paper is the monthly organ of the central stewards committee of the important Textile Machinery Manufacturers' combine. It points out that already the published reports of wage negotiations in the engineering industry cover "... up to 58 pages of argument, tables, charts,

By
Bill Hunter

etc., going back to a period of years to analyse trends in industry of wages, production, productivity, man hours worked, earnings, prices, profits and so on...

The unions put forward an excellent case but it is obviously clear to these stewards and to many others in the industry that if any increase at all comes from the court it can only be niggardly. And even a small increase, if granted, will have nothing to do with the force of argument of the unions, those arguments having already been well and truly put in four meetings with the employers. It will be given in an attempt to take the edge off the discontent among engineers; an attempt to split off the more militant sections

from those still hesitant to give battle.

In the case of the electricians, the employers have already staved off the wage demand for ten months. It may be that now the employers and the government have decided that here is a section which can be isolated and disrupted by a direct blow.

This is written before the employers' threatened lock-out of building electricians who participate in the one-day demonstration. Individual employers have also threatened to sack workers who take part in that day's stoppage.

UNITED SUPPORT NEEDED

In face of the stubborn resistance of these contracting employers, the undoubted backing given by other employers and by the government, something more than the present "guerilla" type of stoppage appears necessary. If these threats are carried out the building electricians will be more than ever faced with the necessity of bringing the whole weight of their organised strength to bear. In that case they must have the support of other workers. If this sector of the wages movement is pushed back it will give confidence to employers and Government, and aid the operation of their plans for an offensive.

As the government and employers are being forced to work out a unified strategy throughout industry, it becomes all the more urgent that the Labour Movement also develop a unified strategy to

The Jackass, the Elephant, the Parrot and the Wolf

A modern American with a moral for everyone Labour Movement who e witch-hunting.

"I have destroyed more than anyone," brayed the cratic jackass.

"You lie," snorted the lican elephant. "I am the red hunter and records will it."

"The jackass is squawked the labour officer rot. "And while we are a amine my record. I have some red hunting myse know."

"You're all wrong," howl McCarthyite wolf. "Red wasn't known until I came And you ain't seen nothing he added, eyeing the well-fe labour official hungrily.

HAPPY DAYS!

"...it makes the ho happy to have in the s wider choice of nice thing if she cannot afford to bu all." A. W. Tuke, address Annual Meeting of Barclay shareholders.

utilise its industrial and p strength to defend living sta disrupt the preparations of offensive and pass over to t ing of the Tory Governme make deep inroads into C ism.

When 12,000 London Policemen Went On Strike

SPRING, 1918. The world war in its fourth year, the German Army beginning its last and most fearful offensive. A war—wearing restless home population waits, watches and mourns as five mighty waves of steel, explosive and human bodies are hurled against the Allied lines, breaching the defensive wall at several vital points.

No one knows that the end is near. Few outside the rulers of the contending powers realise how near it is, even when the fifth and last German offensive is halted and the Allies begin the counter-offensive that is to be the prelude to complete victory.

With the Allied advances, however, the tension lifts. There are troubles on the home front, where wages have limped haltingly after the soaring prices. Labour is stirring, gathering its strength for post-war battles.

Early in the year 1918, there were reports in newspapers about

The Brandon Case HELP NEEDED

AS reported in a recent issue of "Socialist Outlook" Dan Brandon, a Birkenhead docker, was sacked by the Liverpool Dock Labour Board on the 9th of December last, and is taking legal action.

Leave to apply for a writ of certiorari of mandamus was granted last Friday in the Queen's Bench Divisional Court, London. This means that his case now goes before the High Court.

Dan Brandon was, for many years, the Secretary of the Merseyside Portworkers Committee, one of the founders, and the editor of the "Portworkers' Clarion", a national rank and file dockers' journal.

The costs of these legal proceedings are very heavy and the Merseyside Portworkers' Committee is appealing to all trade unionists for their assistance. Donations should be sent to:—Mr. W. Connor, 17, Thornton Street, Birkenhead, Cheshire.

the formation of a "National Union of Police and Prison Officers." It was, so it was observed with some alarm, a properly constituted trade union, seeking affiliation to the Trades Union Congress, and reported to be favourably inclined towards affiliation to the Labour Party. The union was open to all ranks below that of Superintendent; and it grew rapidly in London, Liverpool, Birkenhead, Manchester and Birmingham.

Police pay was around 30s. to 35s. a week, with an added war bonus of 12s. a week. The union led by P. C. Crisp, honorary secretary, P. C. Thiel, honorary provincial organiser and union delegate to the London Trades Council, and P. C. Marston, Vice President, with Charles Duncan M.P. as titular president, set out to remedy the policeman's unhappy lot by enrolling as many as possible in the union, and negotiating on their behalf with the Home Office and with the County and Borough authorities who controlled local police forces outside London.

The police wanted more pay and higher pensions, and they wanted "the right of conference," meaning the right to choose representatives to negotiate on their behalf.

In February, 1918, over 100 Manchester policemen joined the union.

In April, 45 of them were dismissed from the force and then called up for military service.

The union protested, but could do nothing. Attention was centred on the bloody battles raging on the Western Front.

In August, with the end of the war in sight, the Government—which expected serious civil conflicts after the war—moved against the police union. P. C. Thiel who as delegate to the London Trades Council embodied the union's dangerous leanings towards organised labour—was suspended, then dismissed from the Hammersmith police force.

The union's executive, which had observed with indignation the infliction of petty indignities on several Metropolitan union members, now acted swiftly. On August 27th, the executive wrote a letter to the Home Office that must have caused much perturbation there.

The letter demanded that P. C. Thiel be reinstated; that the 12s. bonus be raised to a £1 and incorporated in the basic wage; that there should be a further war bonus of 12 per cent; and that the

By Reg Groves

Recent pay rises awarded the police reminded us that at one-time Britain's policemen were forced to go on strike to get their grievances remedied. Some Labour histories mention the police strike, but none give the story in detail. At our request, Reg Groves has written this very complete account of the great police strike and its tragic aftermath.

union should be recognised as a negotiating body for the men.

Unless these demands were met by midnight, August 29th, the letter concluded, clauses in the union's constitution prohibiting strike action would be suspended, and suitable action taken.

Midnight, August 29th came and went without any kind of satisfactory reply from the Home Office.

At four o'clock on the afternoon of August 30th, there marched out of Scotland Yard 150 men in plain clothes.

That evening Tower Hill had perhaps the strangest of its many strike meetings. Thousands of London policemen listened to union leaders, and cheered calls to solidarity. They laughed when P. C. Marston said: "Be careful how you use your newly acquired power. Be discreet in your use of it. Do not fall into the ways that you have learned since you have been in the police."

All that night, as policemen came on duty, the strike spread. It was no easy decision for the men—they risked job and pension gained by years of service, and they risked being sent into the trenches in the event of failure. But by the morning of August 31st, there were 12,000 on strike, almost all members of the Metropolitan Police. Many sergeants and members of the C.I.D. joined in the strike.

The Government called out the Specials, and at many stations and at the Yard itself, the Specials had to cross lines of booing and jeering police pickets. At some stations, Superintendants who sympathised with the strike, paraded the Specials and dismissed them.

On the afternoon of the 31st, the strikers marched to Downing Street. The Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, had agreed to meet the union's executive. The strikers waited outside, the executive committee members, together with the secretary of the London Trades Council and Mr. Charles Duncan M.P., went inside Number Ten.

Irresistible, brilliant, persuasive,

Lloyd George had no reproaches for the strike leaders. But for his wartime duties, he explained, he would have handled this matter from the start. His anger was directed at the officials whose stupidity had driven a splendid body of men to the extreme of strike action.

The strikers' demands would be met. P. C. Thiel would be reinstated. The basic wage would be raised by 13s. a week. The existing war bonus of 12s. would remain, with an extra 2s. 6d. a week for every child. Pensions would be raised, and something done to help the hitherto neglected widows of policemen.

What of the union? Would it receive Home Office recognition? Lloyd George waved aside any

THE MAD HATTER

Threatened with a slump, Leon Keyserling, who was head of ex-President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers, is undismayed. He recently told a group of hat manufacturers: "We can sell more and more hats if we do not lose our heads."

fears or doubts the strike leaders had on this point. Policemen must have "the right to conference." Nothing could be done while the war was on—legislation might be needed, the matter would require time. But as soon as the war ended, Mr. Lloyd George could assure the union leaders that the police would be given the right to negotiate, with negotiators of their own choosing.

Satisfied, the strike leaders withdrew, filled with gratitude and admiration for Lloyd George's action. At five o'clock that afternoon a vast meeting of policemen on Tower Hill heard the terms and declared themselves satisfied. The strike was over.

Had they known it, the union's fight was only just beginning. Soon after the strike, Sir Edward Richard Henry resigned his post of Police Commissioner. In his place the Government appointed

Lieut-General Sir Nevil Macready.

In October, the General addressed a conference of representatives from every London Division, assembled despite union protests that he should confer with them. His attitude to the strike and the union was not reassuring. He said that the union could not be recognised, and declared that the public had lost confidence in the police as a result of the strike.

It was thought by some, he pointed out, that "German money" was behind the strike. It was his job to restore public confidence in the police.

Macready set up a Police Board, to be elected by the men themselves. This board, and no other body, would represent the men and deal directly with the Commissioner. The union again protested: this was contrary to Mr. Lloyd George's promises. The Home Office denied that Mr. Lloyd George had promised union recognition.

The union now had a membership of over 40,000 and of these 20,000 were policemen. In the big cities, it claimed, 90 per cent of the police were union men. It continued to demand recognition. The war was now over: Mr. Lloyd George had made promises. They expected these promises to be kept.

All was not well within the union, however. Paid officials were appointed without proper consultation with the members, and there were widespread protests among provincial members. In March, 1919, the old executive resigned, and a new one was elected. In May, a Constable Spackman was dismissed from the force.

The union leaders decided that the time had come to fight. A ballot vote was taken, and by 44,539 votes to 4,324, the members empowered the executive to take strike action if necessary, to secure union recognition, reinstatement of victimised men, more pay and pensions, and less militarism in the running of the force.

The Government now moved to crush the union. It brought in the Police Bill. The Bill set up a Police Association to represent the men; it prohibited membership of any other union; and it imposed penalties for attempts to persuade the police to strike. "If policemen persist in joining any union," said the Home Secretary, "they will then cease to be policemen."

He made it clear that one reason for the ban on the union was its association with the

"revolutionaries" of the Herald.

The union executive called a strike to begin at ten o'clock July 31st. The strike brought on the union and tragedy to most loyal supporters.

Out of 19,000 Metropolitan police, only 546 came on strike on August 1st. The strike broke slowly, reaching its peak on August 6th with 1,075 on Liverpool, out of 2,200 police were out on August 1st, rising to 932 by the 6th. In Birkenhead 112 struck out of a total of 119 in the force. 119 came out in Birmingham, where there were 119 in the force. At Manchester, Sheffield and other union holds, the men held meetings and decided not to join the strike. After all, they argued, the Bill gave them an Association that would fulfil the functions of the union.

The union pleaded with used labour to help the strike but with little result. In Liverpool, the tramwaymen came out and at Nine Elms Rail, Battersea, drivers and fitters staged a lightning strike on August 4th, Bank Holiday day, and dislocated traffic for a day.

The policemen who had answered the union's call were deserted by their fellows, and exposed and defenceless.

All were dismissed the losing job, pension, and, in cases, even back pay owing before the strike.

Appeals by the Labour and the T.U.C. failed to move Government. Britain's rulers been well and truly frightened as so often when frightened showed neither humanity nor "The men who struck," said Home Secretary, were "not be policemen."

Maybe not. But the police of to-day owes what rights he has, and his improved pay, pensions and conditions of service to the courage and devotion of those men.

Socialist Outlook
177 Bermondsey St., London S.E.1.
Telephone: HOP 4554
Editor: John Lawrence

Where are the Barricades?

The letter from Jim Allen (O. 8. 1. 54) is very interesting. He says "that a petition can be useful. Indeed we should take advantage of every movement and demonstration made against the Tory Party."

It seems that Jim Allen thinks we have no need for campaigning and a petition, or any other such means of mobilising the workers' action, because the British working class is today on the brink of wiping the slate clean.

Lack of funds on the part of millions of unemployed tends to cause many lapses in membership through inability to keep up weekly contributions.

Should the leaders of the Labour movement not wish to support this form of activity, I feel sure it will be for the same reason that Lenin puts forward.

Joe Jacobs

Labour's Duty

Let us expose this present government of vested interests and big business men. Let us spread wide the true story of the terrible rise in the cost of living, which has reduced many old-age pensioners to semi-starvation.

Those are the words of Dr. D. D. (Louth Labour Candidate) writing in the current issue of the Party Bulletin.

Let us bring home to our friends and neighbours the plain truth the Tory leopard has never changed its spots. The animal that has the heart out of millions of decent folk before the war is loose again.

It is pleasing to note that the Socialist Outlook's policy of intensifying our efforts to bring down the Tories is finding expression in the writings of prospective candidates.

Our Readers Write . . .

Constituency at the next election is even more likely.

But I feel that the reference to a coming recession calls for some comment.

It is well known that the consequences of slump is mass unemployment, which in turn saps the very trade unionism that acts as a barrier against unscrupulous employers who are ever ready to exploit a deliberately planned surplus of labour power.

Should the leaders of the Labour movement not wish to support this form of activity, I feel sure it will be for the same reason that Lenin puts forward.

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immense advantage to the employers.

Why then, is it considered so wrong by the leaders of our Party and some trade union leaders too, by a combination of political and industrial action now, when the unions are at their strongest in history, to smash the Tory Government once and for all, than to wait for it ultimately having to be done at a time when, for the reasons I have outlined the workers would be less likely to achieve success?

Isn't the fact that at this moment some 5,000,000 organised workers are demanding more pay to meet the increased cost of living and are prepared to take militant action to secure it and prevent future reductions in wages, signs enough that the time is opportune for that combination of action to bring down the Tories?

Cleethorpes S. R. Pearson

No Sick Pay For Busmen

I am prompted to write to you in endeavour to dispel a commonly held illusion that busmen employed by the London Transport Executive get their wages made up by the L.T.E. when off work through sickness.

A sick London busman does not receive a penny piece from his employer, and this fact has been a bone of contention for more than a quarter of a century.

It is reputed to cost £100 to train and clothe each busman and it does seem a false economy not to make an endeavour to keep these skilled

and expensively trained personnel fit on the job. Apart from spreading germs over the passengers, your safety depends upon the busman's fitness—but because of economic reasons, he will only go sick as a last resort.

Bermondsey W. Puot

American Foreign Policy

If further proof was required of the criminal irresponsibility of the U.S. State Department and the Pentagon, it has been provided by the negotiations for a military pact between the United States and Pakistan.

This pact can only be regarded as a deliberate snub to India, which under Nehru has dared to follow a sane and neutralist foreign policy. It is also, of course, a threat to Russia.

Socialists should be aware of the fact that Pakistan is on the point of introducing a mediaeval and theocratic constitution, under which non-Muslims will be treated as second-class citizens.

British Labour should be asking itself how much longer dare we allow ourselves (and our country) to remain the allies of Eisenhower and Dulles, when this alliance means our association with the

Not a Petitioner

One point in Johnny Wise's letter disturbed me. He called a shop steward a "petitioner."

I never looked upon myself as that. As a shop steward I looked upon myself as a representative of the men in the shop. The English Dictionary states a petitioner is one who, "entreats, begs and requests humbly."

I have never adopted that attitude in front of managements and I am quite sure that Johnny Wise and every other steward worth his salt doesn't either.

Let's get things straight. You can't entreat, beg, and request humbly, and be a true representative of the workers, as the turbulent history of the Trade Union and Labour movement will show.

If Johnny Wise is a "petitioner" then he must in fact represent that body of opinion inside the movement today who believe that, by using these humble methods the working class will gain their just rewards.

Those views have nothing in common with militant socialism, as I think Johnny Wise must agree if he seriously thinks it over.

Battersea J. Dicks

'Half a League Onward!'

Three Years Too Late!

Tom Braddock

Comments on "Waging Peace"

THIRTY-FOUR Labour M.P.s have put their names to a pamphlet called "Waging Peace," which is a direct attack on, and a repudiation of, the foreign and colonial policy document foisted on last year's Annual Conference of the Labour Party.

The courage of these thirty-four Members of Parliament deserves recognition. At least four of them have held office in the Labour Government, some are what is known as Bevanites, while others have been known in the past as "Right Wingers."

Their pamphlet is a disingenuous document. It reviews what it calls the assumptions of 1950-51. They were:

- 1. That there was serious and immediate danger of aggression from the Soviet Union.
2. That the best hope for peace lay in the building up of armed forces.

These men now coolly tell us on page three of the pamphlet that after three years experience, (three years of slaughter, mark you!), the time has come to reject these assumptions. Just that—no expression of regret or sorrow for the hundreds of thousands of killed, maimed and tortured people, oh no!

The charge of the Light Brigade sinks into insignificance in the face of this example. The officer who ordered the charge merely mistook his right hand for his left and was sorry about it.

Their names are printed big on the first two pages of the pamphlet.

ANOTHER ASSUMPTION

To show how serious all this is, let us make another assumption.

Assume these men had been partly responsible for the safety of a children's home, 300 children and 50 nurses. Assume they had been approached by a pair of criminal lunatics named Rhee and MacArthur and told it would be better for the world if the doors and windows of the home were locked from the outside, the whole place sprayed with petrol and set on fire.

Suppose they assumed that this was good advice and acted on it, and everything, building, children, and nurses were burnt to ashes. Would they, three years after, have been proud to tell us in a sixpenny pamphlet that they had discovered that the assumption was incorrect and they now reject it? I think not.

Yet, this is exactly what they have done, except that, instead of 300 children and nurses the victims have been counted in millions and the torture been long drawn out and varied to every degree of horror.

WHAT NEXT?

Now that the thirty-four have discarded their dreadful assumptions it raises some very interesting points. The Editor of this paper and myself have both been refused endorsement by the N.E.C. as Parliamentary Labour Candidates. Why? Because we are associated with a paper which, among other things, opposed and

PHEW!

A circular sent out by a certain London Labour Party asks Wards to submit resolutions for the London Labour Conference which will also consider "alterations to the Rules and Standing Orders!"

We understand, there is no truth in the rumour that one of the Wards, encouraged by this unfortunate typist's error, put down a motion to remove Herbert Morrison from the Executive.

READ Britain's only T.U. Weekly Newspaper

The Railway Review

FEARLESS, FACTUAL, STIMULATING and packed with information. Price 3d.

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condemned the Korean war from the start.

It seems that thirty-four Labour M.P.s now agree with "Socialist Outlook" at least on this point. What I should like to know is: what will the N.E.C. do about it. Will they refuse to endorse the thirty-four at the next General Election? Or will the thirty-four join in compelling the N.E.C. to lift the ban on comrades whose only crime is that they never made the wrong assumptions that have now been repudiated by thirty-four responsible Labour M.P.s.

WHICH OF THESE INDUSTRIES SHOULD BE NATIONALISED?

Win £10 in this novel competition

All you have to do is to put an X against the 10 industries which you consider would make the most balanced programme for the next Labour Government. You can make as many entries as you like. Each entry costs 3d., and there is room for 4 entries on the coupon.

RULES

The prize of £10 will be awarded to the competitor who selects on one entry from the list of nationalisation measures shown, the 10 which, in the opinion of a panel of experts, is the most balanced selection of measures which could be put into operation in the term of office of the next Labour Government.

In the event of a tie the total prize will be equally divided. No competitor can win more than one share.

Place an X against each of the 10 measures you select. You do not have to place them in order of merit.

Up to 4 attempts may be submitted on each coupon. Only 10 measures may be selected in each attempt column.

Each coupon must have stamps or postal order covering the cost of entries attached. Each entry costs 3d.

All entries must be posted in a sealed envelope (2½d. stamp) to "Competition," Socialist Outlook, 177, Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1., so as to arrive not later than first post on Monday, February 1st. Proof of posting is not proof of delivery. All entries will be examined, but no correspondence will be entered into. Entry coupons must not be mutilated or altered.

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3d. per column

Table with 10 rows of industry names and 4 columns for entries. Rows include: Heavy Engineering, Light Engineering, Aircraft, Chemicals, Iron and Steel, Road Haulage, Passenger Transport, Insurance, Wholesale Food Distribution, Radio Manufacturing, Motor Manufacturing, Fishing, Land, Shipping, Building, Building Supplies, Electrical Engineering, Shipbuilding, Arms Manufacture, Banking, Machine Tools.

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