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TODAY

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3d.

Hands Off
the Colonial
peoples!

THE TRUTH ABOUT GUIANA

A Challenge To Labour

[The following article by Dr. Cheddi Jagan was air-mailed exclusively to "Socialist Outlook" direct from British Guiana.]

OVERSEAS British naval and military forces have occupied British Guiana. The constitution only a few months old has been suspended. My colleague Ministers and myself have been dismissed. The House of Assembly in which my Party, **LABOUR M.P.'s** **PROTEST**

'We are ashamed'
says Jennie Lee

SOME 400 people, representing all sections of the Labour Movement, attended the meeting in London's Beaver Hall last Saturday, organised by the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism and "Tribune", to protest against the Tory action against the people of British Guiana. Nearly a third of those present were from the colonial countries.

Without a doubt the events in British Guiana have aroused the conscience of the whole movement.

Geoffrey Byng, M.P., who was in the chair, said "making war on the poor will not solve the problems of Guiana. We have to make war on poverty out there. The actions of the Government in the past two weeks makes a mockery of our diplomatic policy which calls for free elections in Germany but sends a cruiser to British Guiana to turn out a government which has been freely elected."

Fenner Brockway, M.P., gave an outline of the events which had led up to the crisis. He asked why normal procedure had not been followed in British Guiana of enquiry first and action afterwards? Did they discover any guns? Any armed persons? Was there any signs of a coup d'etat or plot? There was nothing in the statements of the Governor or the Colonial Office to justify this gunboat diplomacy.

He would like to know what pressure had been brought to bear on the government by business interests in British Guiana, where almost the entire economy of the

● Continued on page 2, col 1.

the People's Progressive Party, held 18 out of 24 seats after the first elections on April 27 based on universal adult suffrage was prorogued. Meetings have been banned. Not more than five persons can assemble together. Party headquarters and homes of leading Party officials have been raided. The Governor is a virtual dictator.

No Proof Given

All these extraordinary measures, claims the British Government have been taken because of a Communist plot to cause disorder and overthrow the government. No clear-cut proof was given of the alleged plot. Instead a spurious statement, full of mis-statements and suppositions, has been put out.

Smokescreens

The alleged Communist plot is obviously a smokescreen. It is an excuse for destroying the progressive movement and the limited constitution under which we made important political gains. If there is a plot why haven't charges been brought against us? The British definition of treason and sedition is elastic enough. Clearly there has been no plot.

Even the most bitter and consistent enemy of the P.P.P., the

★ **By Dr. Cheddi Jagan** ★
Former Leader of the House of Assembly
and Minister of Agriculture, Land and Mines

Editor of the "Daily Argosy", a wartime security officer, knows "of no organised plan for such a revolt". He said in an editorial on October 11 "What the P.P.P.

Our Just Cause

The following letter accompanied this article from Dr. Jagan.

The Editor,
"Socialist Outlook"
Georgetown,
October 15.

Dear Mr. Lawrence,

Thanks for your letter of October 9. I want to thank you for the fine article in the "Socialist Outlook". I do hope that the Labour Movement in Britain will rally in the fullest possible way in support of our just cause.

I notice that a White Paper will be published and a debate will ensue next week in the House of Commons. It is a great pity that we are not being allowed to be in England in time to brief the Labour Movement. So far almost every door has been blocked. We are virtually prisoners in our own country.

Yours sincerely

Cheddi Jagan.

leaders were aiming at (and all the evidence points that way) was a political and constitutional crisis, in the hope of going back to the country and returning with a renewed mandate that might, with difficulty, be questioned."

What We Stand For

Long before the elections we criticised the Constitution and pointed out its limitations. The Governor and his official advisers knew that we intended to enact a series of progressive but very controversial measures — universal adult suffrage for village and town councils; land law, bringing about land reform and establishing land authorities with powers to tax, acquire, lease and develop large estates held uncultivated by absentee proprietors; abolition of dual control (government and religious denominational) of primary schools; bulk purchasing of the colony's imports; establishment of a State Lottery; compulsory recognition by employers of Unions having the support of the majority of workers, as established by the U.S. Wagner Act during the Roosevelt era.

What They Feared

The Governor and officials knew, as we did, that in due course the Governor and the Governor-nominated Upper House — the State Council — would become exposed in the eyes of the people.

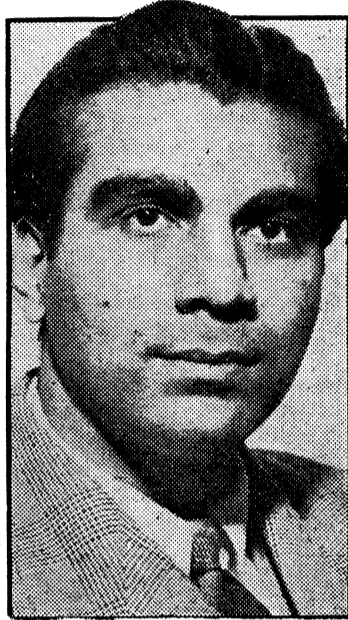
The reactionary State Council would have blocked most of the measures as it had already done in the case of the Rice Farmers (Security of Tenure) Amendment Bill.

This Bill empowered the Government District Commissioners to undertake works (cleaning and digging of drains and canals) which landlords were supposed to do by law but had refused to do. The Governor's veto would have been used soon enough. It is to forestall these exposures that the Government acted with so much haste and with so much brute force.

With Eyes Open

Communism has been made the issue by the British Government. But this is nothing new. There is no more evidence of Communism now than prior to the elections. Long before and during the elections anti-Communism was the only plank of our opponents. With one voice from the pulpit, press and radio they said that the P.P.P. was a Communist party, that Communism was bent upon taking away and destroying the rights of the people. The people voted with their eyes wide open. They voted us into 18 of the 24 seats.

The action of the British Government, therefore, is in effect a challenge to the very right of the exercise of a free vote — the basis of democracy. The P.P.P. is a broad democratic alliance of all classes struggling for the right to self determination. Must the people be told — yes, you can vote, but you have no right to vote for



Dr. Cheddi Jagan

a Left wing party or the Left wing element in a party? This is the fundamental question which all democratic freedom-loving people must ask themselves.

Democracy On Trial

Once the right to vote is restricted then the foundation of democracy will always be on shifting ground. Neither Communism nor the P.P.P. is on trial today. Democracy itself is on trial. Western democracy will stand or fall to the extent that it faces up to the challenge that is British Guiana. All liberal-minded people must accept this challenge and rally to the support of the progressive movement in British Guiana and for the preservation of democracy and civilisation.

The Trade Union Struggle in Guiana

★ Some Facts on the Booker's Empire ★

THE workers of Guiana call their country "Booker's Guiana" because Booker Bros., McConnell & Co. Ltd., of 37-41 Gracechurch Street, London, are the colony's biggest sugar planters and therefore the biggest employers.

As a "sideline" Booker's own hotels, shops, garages, shipping, newspapers, and anything else useful to them in their business of

extracting the maximum profit from, among other places, Guiana.

WHAT THEY OWN

Founded in 1833, subsidiaries of Booker's now include the following, which are all wholly owned:

- Booker's Sugar Estates Ltd.
- Campbell Booker Carter Ltd. (owning majority shareholdings in Campbell Booker Carter (Central Africa) Ltd., London & Blantyre

Supply Co. Ltd., Piletier Ltd. of Rhodesia, Booker's Stores Ltd., Demerara, and Stephens Ltd., Trinidad.)

Booker Bros. (Liverpool) Ltd. (owning entire capital of Booker Line Ltd., Booker's Shipping Transport & Wharves Ltd. of Demerara, and Bookers Shipping & Trading Co. Ltd.)

United Rum Merchants Ltd. (owning entire capital of Lemon Hart & Son Ltd., Alfred Lamb & Son Ltd., White Keeling (Rum) Ltd. and Booker's Rum Co. Ltd. of Demerara.)

WHAT THEY GET

Does this international network of big business pay off its backers? On an issued capital of £1,823,101, Booker's made a profit of 62.5 per cent. in 1951 and 50.7 per cent. in 1952. The 1952 dividend to ordinary shareholders was 19½ per cent. tax free, i.e., the equivalent of nearly 40 per cent. taxed at the standard rate.

The nine directors of Booker's shared an additional £33,247, amongst themselves last year as "directors' emoluments", and, to show their loyalty to an Empire that was treating them so well, declared a "Special Coronation Year Bonus" of 6d. per share free of tax.

At the Company's annual general meeting held at 40 Norfolk Street, London, at noon on July 7 last the president, Mr. A. F. V. McConnell, reported "another record sugar crop". "Despite a general fall in prices" (any housewives noticed this?) the total turnover of Booker's Trading Companies was "higher than it has ever been", he said.

P.P.P. LABOUR POLICY

These vast profits have been made out of the workers of British Guiana whose low wages and poor living and working conditions are notorious. The P.P.P.'s election manifesto had this to say:

"The Party believes that the worker is worthy of his hire, and the providance of proper and adequate salaries and wages should be the first charge on any industry or service.

"The P.P.P. believes in, and will do everything to encourage the growth of strong and militant Trade Unions, to protect and improve the conditions of employment of all workers.

"The Party believes that Trade Unions which have the confidence of the majority of workers in an industry or service should be recognised to bargain for, and on behalf of these workers. It will by Legislation based on the American Labour Relations Act secure the observance of this principle.

"At the same time, the Party will insist on Trade Unions being the free and voluntary organisations, as they are known to be in the United Kingdom.

"We will work for better conditions and pay for domestic workers. The Party will re-enact the HOLIDAYS WITH PAY LAW so that at least two weeks annual leave with pay will become a reality for every worker.

"The Party feels that the time is overdue for the Trades Dispute (Essential Services) Ordinance to be removed and

will forthwith move its repeal. "The Party plans to set up a National Labour Board making arbitration compulsory and its decisions binding.

"The Party will do its utmost to secure the speedier implementation of the Factories Ordinance and as far as is practicable all the recommendations of the Venn Commission affecting Sugar Estate Workers. Wherever necessary the Party will not hesitate to use legislation for the protection of any section of workers.

"The Employment Exchange should not be used for such menial tasks as that of strike breaking. The Party will extend the Workmen's Compensation Ordinance to include industrial diseases."

No wonder Bookers and their supporters have secured the suppression of the P.P.P. Government. It was a threat to their profits!

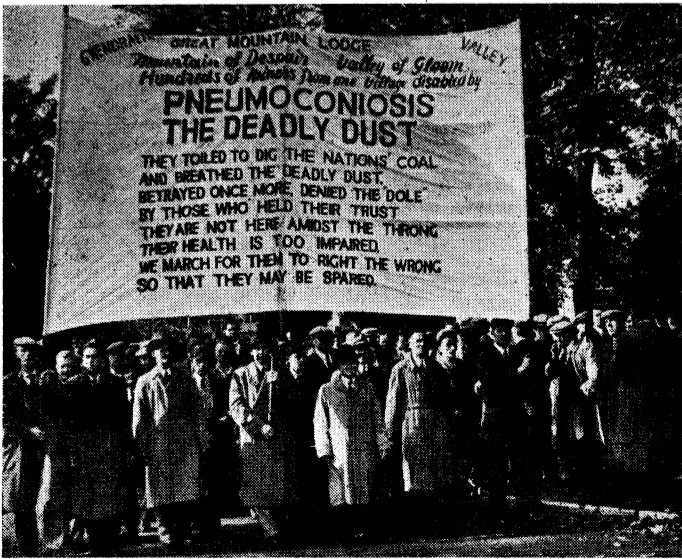
British Trade Unionists must act in defence of their fellow workers in Guiana.

Miners On The March!

Fifty thousand Welsh miners took last Saturday off to give Cardiff its biggest-ever demonstration. They weren't marching for a wage increase—but were gladly depriving themselves of about £2 wages in order to fight for their disabled fellow workers to protest against the Tory Government's decision to lapse Section 62 of the National Insurance Act. (To obtain more than the bare unemployment benefit a disabled miner must now face a Means Test.)

As **Jim Griffith's** said at the meeting. "It is a wonderful sight to see 50,000 demonstrate because 3,000 are affected."

The huge banner pictured here indicates clearly enough that miners will never let down their disabled comrades. **Arthur Horner**, miners' secretary, got the biggest cheer of the day when he said that industrial as well as political action should be used to stop this return to the "hungry thirties".



Welsh miners march in solidarity with their disabled comrades.

INSIDE

Articles by

Janet Jagan

and

Peter Kempadoo

on the reasons for

Guiana's Constitutional Crisis

The Meaning of Guiana's Constitutional Crisis

A CONSTITUTIONAL crisis is rapidly developing in British Guiana. The new constitution, based on the report of the Waddington Constitution Commission (1951) clearly did not anticipate the introduction of the party system for several years. While providing for a mini-

Constitutional Crisis

★ By Janet Jagan ★

General Secretary, People's Progressive Party and former Deputy Speaker, House of Assembly

This article was written about two weeks before British troops moved into British Guiana.

sterial system, the constitution was designed for individual rather than collective ministerial responsibility. How wrong they were was indicated in the April 27 elections with the People's Progressive Party winning 18 out of 24 elected seats in the House of Assembly!

The Constitution provides for the election of Ministers by secret ballot by members of the House of Assembly. This same technique was used in Trinidad and resulted in back door deals and jockeying for ministerial positions with members fully protected from public disapproval by the secret ballot. The same thing would have happened in British Guiana if it were not for the "cast iron" majority the Party obtained in the elections.

Labour M.P.'s Protest

(From page one)

country was firmly in the hands of Booker Bros., McConnell & Co. Secondly, he would like to know if there was any pressure from the U.S.A. As long ago as last May the "New York Herald Tribune" carried reports about the State Department's concern about the return of the People's Progressive Party. The F.B.I. had informed the British authorities of the conduct of Mrs. Jagan when she was a student in an American university.

Mr. Ted Bedford, Secretary of the London Co-operative Party, said that the ugly octopus of monopoly had its hands firmly on British Guiana. He quoted the chairman of Bookers, addressing the last annual meeting of the company, saying: "Without Bookers there can be no Commonwealth as we understand it. The shareholders, who after all are Bookers, could feel that they are serving the future of mankind".

Mr. Peter Kempadoo, a Guianese journalist, gave a graphic description of conditions in the colony. He said that lots of Commissions had been sent out to investigate conditions and to report on possible developments of new industries. Bookers saw to it that many of these reports were shelved. Only recently, Mr. Hutchinson, a consulting engineer sent out to the colony by the British Government, reported favourably on the possibilities of draining the whole of the coastal area. No one knew of this report till the P.P.P. insisted on its publication.

All the wealth and resources of the colony were exploited, not for the benefit of the people but for the capital investors outside. The people were no longer prepared to accept the existing conditions—conditions of misery, squalor and frustration.

Jennie Lee, M.P., said that all over the country people were ashamed and angry to be associated with the action of Lyttelton, and the Tory Government. By now there should have been a top-ranking Trade Union delegation on the way to British Guiana. They should have landed by now. All sections of the Labour movement, whether they were Labour Party, Co-operative Party or Com-

The P.P.P. fought tirelessly against the introduction of the new constitution in its present form, urging that a wholly elected legislature be adopted with an elected speaker, all elected ministers and the removal of the Governor's veto and other ancient powers. In fact, the Party demanded first of all that a constituent assembly be called to allow the people to draft their own constitution.

However, British Guiana was given a bicameral legislature with a House of Assembly (lower house) of 24 elected members, 3 official (government) members and a speaker nominated by the Governor. The Upper house or State Council is supposed to provide the "Checks and balances" (said Waddington and his colleagues) and consists of 9 nominated persons—6 nominated direct by the Governor, two recommended to the Governor by the majority party and one recommended to the Governor by the minority party.

The Executive Council is made up of six elected ministers chosen by the House, the three officials (Chief Secretary, Attorney General and Financial Secretary) and a Minister Without Portfolio chosen by the nominated State Council. The Governor presides over the Executive and has a casting vote. The Governor has the power to give assent or disallowance to bills passed by the two houses, the nominated house having the power to delay bills a year along with various other checks on the will of the people as expressed by the elected majority.

THE STATE COUNCIL

The first move by the majority party in opposing the nominated system was to refuse payment to the members of the State Council. While this is still an unsettled issue, the members are not being paid their proposed salaries in the meantime. The State Council just the other day threw out a bill from the House—an emergency bill to solve the drought crisis among rice farmers.

This bill would give the District Commissioners the right to order drainage and irrigation works on private estates where the landlords rent land to small tenant farmers (a relic of the feudal system). Much of the drought distress had been caused by landlords who refuse to clean trenches, etc., to allow irrigation water to flow. The Leader of the House had asked the President of the State Council to consider this bill immediately, as it was an emergency measure, but the matter was not dealt with for three weeks. Then it was rejected by the State Council and will now have to go through a long and tedious process extending to over a year before it can become law. Obviously, the new constitution was not intended to work in response to the needs of the people.

The P.P.P. has taken strong objection to the fact that the three

munists must unite to make this meeting the starting point of a tidal wave to get rid of the Tory Government altogether.

Lyttelton and Churchill are doing in British Guiana today what they tried to do in this country—to crush the workers. They were beaten here and will be beaten in the colonies too.

The meeting adopted a resolution expressing support for the struggle of the Guianese people; demanding an end to the policy of military coercion, the restoration of the Constitution and the reinstatement of the dismissed Ministers.

official ministers have the chief portfolios and consequently, the real power in their hands. The Attorney General deals with the judiciary, appointments, etc. The Financial Secretary handles all matters dealing with finance, taxation, etc. The Chief Secretary deals with foreign affairs, law and order, civil service appointments, etc. Until these three government ministers are removed and elected ministers replace them, the ministerial system will continue to be a mockery.

DIRECTORS' SABOTAGE

While it is claimed that the ministers have great responsibility and the Governor, playing a smart game, has actually been telling people that his hands are tied—that British Guiana has a "people's government" and they will take care of all the problems—the ministers are virtually tied in many respects. Within their own ministries, the ministers cannot choose members to boards and committees without the Governor's consent.

Directors of departments in which the ministers have portfolios deliberately sabotage orders issued by the ministers and carry on in the same fashion they have been accustomed to by years and years of British colonial administration. In one instance, the

Tory Action Condemned

Typical of the hundreds of resolutions on Guiana which have been passed by Constituency Labour Parties is this one sent to us from the Eccles Trades Council and Labour Party which condemns the Tory Government for removing with a show of force "the democratically elected Government of British Guiana".

The resolution condemns this action as "completely inconsistent with the conception of freedom and democracy and calls upon the T.U.C. and the N.E.C. of the Labour Party to demand the immediate withdrawal of all British troops".

We Don't Want Patronage

"DESPERATELY poor people voted, in all innocence and many for the first time in their lives, for a Party which promised more food, more homes, more wages. That was what they voted for and nothing else."

This, Dr. Rita Hinden's assertion ("Manchester Guardian", Saturday last) could hardly be better put.

Indeed, "more food, more homes, more wages" formed the planks of the People's Progressive Party's election platform from which they climbed into the majority seats in British Guiana's new House of Assembly. And it is still to be proved that they have deviated from these objectives.

Dr. Hinden's points, raised in her article, might have appeal to a public in Britain where the present Constitution seems to be functioning well enough, with the revisionary Upper House of Lords hardly ever over-riding the decisions of the lower House of Commons.

But actual experiences in the Colonies have taught how well this principle of checks and balances have, in many cases, become so distorted in application to a point of being out of countenance... when revisionary power, put into hands that safeguard certain interests, could be so used as to militate not only against progress of the population as a whole, but against the very name of democracy.

minister ordered a certain drainage pump to operate immediately to relieve rice farmers. This order was cancelled by the director. In another instance, the minister heard, not officially, that lorries belonging to his ministry were being used to carry policemen during a strike. When he objected, he was informed that that was an old policy which did not require the notification or consent of the minister.

On September 24, the Minister of Labour sought to carry a bill for the compulsory recognition of Trade Unions having a majority of members in a particular industry through its three readings in order to hasten the passing of the bill. He moved the suspension of the standing orders in the House. The nominated Speaker refused, although the Standing Orders and Rules of the Legislature say that they can be suspended with the consent of the House. In this case it was clear that the House would consent since the Party has an obvious majority.

WE WALK OUT

The P.P.P. members of the House, in a dramatic walk-out, left the Council in protest against the Speaker's ruling. The intense interest shown by the public was evinced when 5,000 people turned up that evening at a hastily called meeting to protest against the constitutional restrictions on the people's will. For the bill for Union recognition had become a cause celebre as the Guiana Industrial Workers Union had for years been struggling for recognition in the sugar industry.

This Union has the full confidence of the workers, as evinced in the recent three weeks' complete shut down of the sugar industry on the call of the G.I.W.U. Yet the Sugar Producers Association continue to recognise the Man Power Citizens' Association, a company union affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. which has long lost the confidence of the sugar workers.

The Party has launched a "Patriotic Appeal" calling for amendments to the Constitution, abolishing all the features which undemocratically hold back the will of the people and calling for legislation against racialists and warmongers.

The people's demands for self government and national independence are rapidly being understood and supported by the masses of Guianese people.

TRIESTE

What is at stake?

WHAT is behind the latest developments in Trieste? The American and British decision to withdraw their armed forces from Zone A has created a tension in this part of the world which might well blow up into a major explosion. With so much dry tinder about, the smallest spark can become a general conflagration.

One thing is quite certain. American and British imperialism are not giving up Trieste because of any tender regard for the national aspirations of the Italians. They care no more for this than they do for the national aspirations of the Puerto Ricans or the British Guianese. Every move made by the imperialist powers is carefully calculated and fits in with the overall preparations for the coming world war.

STRENGTHENING REACTION

The real purpose of the Trieste moves is to strengthen the forces of the Right in Italy. During the general elections earlier this year, the Americans did all they could to ensure a big victory for the Conservative Christian Democrats and for the decisive defeat of the working class parties. Mrs. Luce, the American Ambassador to Rome, intervened openly in the election campaign. Italy was promised American aid on a large scale if they would only vote Right and there were implied threats that aid would be withheld should the Left emerge victorious.

Despite all the efforts of Washington and Wall Street, the Christian Democrats failed to win a clear majority. The former Prime Minister, De Gasperi, tried in vain to get together a stable coalition to form a government. A "caretaker" government with another Christian Democrat, Sig. Pella at the head, was formed.

This government found itself faced with a critical internal situation. Awaiting discussion by Parliament were the reports of two Commissions which had been enquiring into poverty and unemployment. These reports revealed that there are about 1,400,000 workers permanently unemployed in Italy; nearly 3,000,000 were working less than 40 hours a week; 258,000, less than 15 hours. About one half of those working on the land were classified as under-employed. The standard of living of more than 1,300,000 Italian

families, 11 per cent. of the population, is described as being "very low". In the South and in Sardinia, for every man working there are two who must be supported by him.

And the situation is growing worse. Mass dismissals are taking place in large sections of industry, particularly in iron and steel. The workers are preparing to fight for an improvement of their living standards and for the right to work.

It is in these conditions that America and Britain come to the fore with the proposal to return the City of Trieste to the Italians. It is clearly hoped that by arousing national passions the Italian workers will forget their economic misery. The Anglo-American move is intended to strengthen the position of the Christian Democrats at the expense of the working class parties.

In reality, neither the workers and peasants of Italy nor the working people of Trieste have anything to gain from the proposed transfer. Italian capitalists, with heavy investments in other Adriatic ports, have in the past actively prevented the development of Trieste with disastrous economic consequences for the workers of Trieste.

PEOPLE NOT CONSULTED

It is almost impossible to draw a "just" ethnic boundary in the Trieste area. Italian and Slav populations are irretrievably mixed up. Economically the future of the port is bound up with its Slav hinterland. If left for themselves, the people of Trieste would probably opt for integration into Yugoslavia. But they are not left alone. They are harried by nationalistic Italian pressure groups who have the open backing of Anglo-American imperialism.

Although Tito's Yugoslavia today has close military alliances with the imperialist West, Wall Street and the City of London never forgets that Yugoslavia is a state where the capitalist class have been largely wiped out and the means of production nationalised.

While they are prepared to use Yugoslavia against the Soviet Union and as a means of splitting the anti-capitalist camp, the imperialists would much prefer to see a powerful capitalist Italy than a strong Yugoslavia.

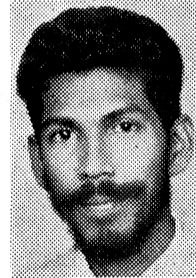
All these factors are at the back of the moves in Trieste.

C. Van Gelderen

Says Guianese Journalist

Peter Kempadoo

Some reasons why the Colonial peoples look upon Britain as a "cunning old mother-in-law".



Even before the elections in British Guiana, the P.P.P.'s advocacy for better conditions for the workers had brought them into sharp open conflict with the capitalist oppressors. And thus they entertained fears about any constitution in which "the interests of one particular section—say that of European capital—is being protected by a device which can be used to thwart the will of the electorate in general", expressed through the elected members.

As the policy statement of the P.P.P. puts it: "... This constitution is so designed that in fact there is no freedom from imperialism either on a political or an economic level. A Party, therefore, which seeks to be returned to the Legislative Assembly is immediately faced with the task of formulating a policy which can work under these conditions of independence. Such a policy will be able to cater only for a policy of reforms; for patches on the torn and ragged fabric of colonial reality."

Obviously, their fears were not founded on idle speculation. What they anticipated has actually happened. For when a State Council was set up with revisionary powers over the elected House of Assembly, the membership was dominated by many who not only had special interests to guard but were openly opposed to the P.P.P. and their programme.

This was the membership: Nominated by the Governor: The Archbishop of British Guiana and the West Indies.

Sir Frank McDavid, ex-Colonial Treasurer and chairman of the Rice Development Corporation (a monopoly concern to which the P.P.P. is opposed).

Mr. W. A. Macnie, Secretary of the British Guiana Sugar Producers' Association.

Mr. L. A. Luckhoo, Chairman of the Man Power Citizens' Association (the reputed "bosses' union").

Mr. W. J. Raatgever, merchant and Chamber of Commerce official.

Mr. R. Gagraj, merchant.

Two nominated by the P.P.P.,

Holborn & St. Pancras South Need Your Help

Mrs. Lena Jeger, widow of our late good friend and comrade Dr. Santo Jeger, has been selected to contest the bye-election caused by his tragic death. It will be a hard fight as this is a marginal constituency. We urge all our London readers to give generously of their time in this vital bye-election.

Socialist Outlook

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Editor: John Lawrence

Building as a Public Service

"SOCIALIST Outlook" have now published in pamphlet form* a series of articles which Tom Braddock wrote between December of 1952 and February of 1953.

In this pamphlet Tom Braddock—who has worked in the building trade since he was 16 years of age—gives first of all a short term policy for solving the worst of our deplorable housing conditions.

On the basis of population figures, and figures of available dwellings he proves that if the present total housing accommodation was shared out, we could give shelter, under reasonable conditions, to the whole of our population.

He goes on to draw up a plan for rebuilding Britain. He is of the opinion that if the work was started in 1955, most people living today would see the job virtually

A Review of Tom Braddock's Pamphlet

completed—a new Britain with slums cleared away, roads and bridges put into first class order and sewage systems modernised. All this is possible, given one thing—that the **Building Industry is organised as a public service.** To obtain that the industry must be nationalised.

Tom makes an indictment of a building trade and housing that is based on the profit motive rather than service. He points out that low housing standards exist because landlords, "instead of using properly the amortisation and sinking funds collected with the rents they have extracted, have looted these, and in addition, have inflated the value and put up the rents time after time. It is this process that has left us with a country full of slums, out of date and worn out houses, dilapidated factories and disgraceful schools."

He points out there is no organisation in the building industry that in any way faces up to our national needs.

The building workers have suffered by reason of the un-planned character of the industry. Between the two wars, on an average 17 per cent. of the building trade workers were always unemployed. There is a complete lack of democratic control in the management of site works or of production in factories, brickworks etc. There is an almost complete severance between the technicians in the industry and the operatives. Professionalism and the management of building firms are responsible for this.

Tom Braddock declares the industry will never be fully effective until technicians and workers are brought together.

The building industry, writes Tom, is "bedevilled by the existence of thousands of large and small proprietors of building trade firms who have little knowledge of the trade they are engaged in and who are only in it to snatch a profit."

He concludes: "These facts are all well known. There is no need for 'practical research' or for 'competitive public ownership'. Together with the building workers unions, the N.E.C. must draw up a plan for nationalisation which will make building a social service".

W.H.

*Have a Look at Houses, Rents and the Building Trade with Tom Braddock. A "Socialist Outlook" Pamphlet. 3d.

Have a look at **Houses...Rents** and the **Building Trade** with **Tom Braddock**
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The Industrial Front

Beresfords (B'ham) Get Labour Support

WORKERS at James Beresfords Ltd., Birmingham, are still out on strike. As reported in "Socialist Outlook" on October 9, the strike began on September 25 when seven employees were dismissed. The strikers state that this redundancy was a cloak for victimisation.

The firm manufactures water-pumps and hydraulic equipment along with accessories for the motor trade, and brass fittings for railway carriages. Four hundred workers are involved in the dispute.

Each worker has received a letter from the management stating that the employees of the company "during the last 93 years have received consideration in every possible way". What the letter does not point out, comments Jack Grotorex—secretary of Beresfords shop stewards committee—is that the firm was unorganised until 1949 and the average wage in the factory up to 1948 was between £5 and £5 10s.

At a mass meeting the workers handed their letters to the shop stewards committee who returned them to the management.

The Birmingham A.E.U. District Committee have pledged full support to Beresfords workers. Delegates from the shop stewards committee are visiting London and Sheffield appealing for help.

Birmingham Labour Party has voted £20 to the Strike Fund.

"When we march back it will be with banners high and chins up-lifted—on our terms", declares the secretary of the committee.

Donations to the strike funds should be sent to H. Westall, 920 Alum Rock Road, Birmingham 8.

How 'Impartial' is a Court of Inquiry?

THE report of the Court of Inquiry into the electricians' 'guerrilla strikes' denies the arguments put forward by the employers that the strikes had political rather than industrial objects. It thereby answers the smears of sections of the press made during the strikes.

"Neither side can escape responsibility for the situation which has arisen", says the report, thus appearing to be impartial with its criticism. But in actual fact, when the report is looked at more closely it will be seen that the major criticism is directed at the Union—and that for rightly bringing the utmost pressure on the employers to further its wage claim.

The Court condemns the Executive Council of the Union for calling "strikes at the sites where contracts were being carried out by members of the employers' side who had been present at the abortive meetings of the National Joint Industrial Council" (where the employers refused to make any offer).

Quite clearly the Court implies

that the workers had no right to concentrate their attack firstly on the leading representatives of the employers, or in fact, to strike at all, when "impartial" arbitration was available.

The vast majority of members of the E.T.U. will never accept that. They know full well that wage increases are not determined by principles of "justice", but by the strength of Trade Union organisation and the will to fight.

'Daily Express' and Blacklegs

THE "Daily Express" has a dubious reputation among Trade Unionists. If it is interested in a strike, it is only to find a "plot". If it is interested in Trade Unionism or factory organisation, it is only to find a dictatorship. If it is interested in conditions of work at all, it is only to find how workers are "slacking".

It was unusual, then, to find the

"Daily Express" of October 15 springing to the defence of a working man. This, however, was a special type of working man—a type dear to the heart of employers the world over. This was a working man who, five mornings a week and sometimes six, passed through a picket line into the factory of the Medical Supply Association, Park Royal.

Nineteen weeks ago, and more, the Trade Unionists who now man that picket line were his fellow workers, perhaps having a laugh and joke with him, probably discussing the relative merits of Queen's Park Rangers and West Ham. But for 19 weeks the Trade Unionists at M.S.A. have been on official strike, seeking to prevent the victimisation of fellow Trade Unionists. Now, this workman and a handful

of others who enter the factory do so between other workers who are filled with contempt.

His former fellow-workers call him a blackleg. A blackleg is the lowest of the low. The M.S.A. Lock-Out Committee have circulated his neighbours, and those of the others still working, to inform them that these working men are acting contrary to the interests of their fellow workers.

This is where that great crusader—the "Daily Express"—came in, burning with moral disgust, that the committee should bring the action of this worker before his neighbours. Of course, no-one, no-one at all, can accuse the "Daily Express" of ever seeking to bring pressure on workers by influencing opinion against them.

Manchester's Great Rally

Part of the huge torchlight demonstration organised by Manchester engineers in support of their 15 per cent. wage claim.
Photo by courtesy "Daily Herald".



Rising Temper in Engineering

★ Thousands Demonstrate For the 15% ★

IN Motherwell, Edinburgh, Manchester, London and the West country, thousands of engineering workers have been marching in support of their demand for a 15 per cent. increase.

These demonstrations show a greater feeling behind this demand than behind any engineering wage demand of the last few years. Tempers are rising as well as the cost of living and profits. Short time and redundancy is beginning to appear in the industry.

Speakers at the demonstrations left no doubt as to the feeling among engineers. At Manchester, Roland Casasola, of the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers, told an audience of 12,000:

"We must let the Tory Government and the employers know that they are not going to treat the engineers of this country in the same way as they are treating the Unions in British Guiana."

Joe Scott, a member of the

Executive Council of the A.E.U., Ted Hill of the Boilermakers, and Claude Berridge of the A.E.U., spoke to a demonstration of London engineers that packed Trafalgar Square.

Joe Scott read a speech prepared by Mr. Harry Brotherton—president of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions—who was unable to be present, owing to a bereavement. He began by criticising Arthur Deakin for his recent attack on Trade Unionists in the Confederation as "mongrel dogs". He then proceeded to give a sober and factual survey of the engineers' case, and concluded:

"Let us warn the engineering employers that they cannot expect to have the continued co-operation from their workers so long as the lion's share of the industry's earnings is going to private owners. We must tell the employers to think again."

Two of the biggest demonstrations—Manchester and London—

asked the Executive Council of the Confederation to place an embargo on overtime should the employers once again reject the claim in new talks. In addition, Manchester engineers called for a ban on piece work.

Other demonstrations pledged support for any action the Confederation leaders might decide.

Belfast District Committee of the Confederation have already proposed that in the event of a further refusal of the claim, the E.C. should organise a national strike. Many engineers feel that a ban on overtime or piecework is not sufficient to force the claim. A large proportion of the industry is not working overtime. A piece work embargo would be difficult to organise and carry through, demanding as it does a high degree of Trade Union organisation and discipline.

Should the employers refuse once again to offer an increase they may quickly be faced with nation wide stoppages.

Who Owns Britain?

According to the Oxford University Institute of Statistics Bulletin for February, 1951, a wealthy 1 per cent. of Britain's population own half of the nation's wealth. The top 10 per cent. between them own 80 per cent.

At the other end of the scale the poor 90 per cent. of the population own only 20 per cent. of the wealth; while 60 per cent. of the people own only 5 per cent.

In 1951 the Imperial Tobacco Company increased the price of cigarettes by 1d. for 20. The 150 independent companies immediately followed suit. In 1951 profits of the Imperial Tobacco Company amounted to £27 million.

Prominent among the shareholders are the fabulously wealthy Wills magnates. Between 1909 and 1941 members of the family left £45 million in legacies.

The motor industry is dominated by five companies—the British Motor Corporation, the U.S. controlled Ford Company, Rootes, the Standard Motor Co., and American-owned Vauxhall. The Big Five have made profits around £40 million each year.

In the two years of nationalisation the steel industry made a profit of almost £120 million; £164 million was spent modernising the industry. Before nationalisation the industry's plant was out of date. Now the Steel Barons will get a revitalised efficient industry.

Out of 321 Tory M.P.'s after the last general election there were 158 company directors. Between them they held 618 directorships.

These and many other vital facts you will find in the pamphlet "Danger! Monopolies at Work" published by "Reynolds News", Pioneer House, London W.C.1. Price 2d.

DOCK GATE MEETINGS

"Socialist Outlook" meetings. Every Friday at 12.30 p.m. at West India Dock gates, London.

Hawkers Open Discussions

AFTER three weeks on strike, inspectors at Hawker Aircraft, Kingston, returned to work last Monday. The management had agreed to an informal conference with Union officials.

Beware of 'Yellow' Unions

THE Moral Rearmament Movement should be prevented from encroaching on Trade Union preserves, says the Executive Board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in a report to all affiliated organisations.

M.R.A. spends large sums on its activities, the report declares, sums which could certainly never be found by the workers in the ranks of its supporters. Furthermore, it is clearly "an exceptional body which is trying to upset the Trade Union Movement with its ideas, and through small groups of followers, is trying to introduce its directives into the factories."

The report quotes at length from the publications of M.R.A. itself to show how this Movement has interfered in Trade Union activities even to the extent of trying to found "yellow" unions.

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Tally Ho! Tally Ho! Sir

Your paper is always complaining about the cost of living outstripping wage increases. I suggest the workers can learn from the courage and self-sacrifice of the Fernie Hunt members in Leicestershire.

At their annual meeting at Market Harborough they stated that costs exceeded income by £500. Did they moan or bewail hard times? No sir! A member of 60 years service bravely declared, "During my long association with the Hunt we have been confronted by many difficult problems and found ourselves in many awkward situations, but we have managed to come through them all."

The M.F.H. (Master of Foxhounds) was able to report that production is up too! Despite the weather and other difficulties, huntsmen last season had killed more foxes than had been killed during any season since the war.

In case uninformed workers think the foxes are at a disadvantage because the Hunt is becoming more skilled and experienced let me disabuse them. To improve the cunning and stamina of the Leicestershire foxes, strains from Scotland and the North country are specially selected and crossbred with the

Henry Dubb's (Jnr.) Advice Service

local strain. What sportsmen our gentry are. Do we ever hear of strikers making collections for the factory owners whose profits are seriously cut during a strike?

Perhaps all this modern education may make some workers look down on foxhunting as barbaric and brutish but, in fact, our county society is most artistic and cultured. Their country seats are beautifully furnished and equipped. "Charters" a country

mansion at Sunningdale is an example. Rather small—only 14 rooms and eight bathrooms—yet the dining room lighting can be varied for each course by pressing a table switch. Blue for fish, pink for meat, yellow for coffee. What worker would have thought of that?

All the curtains can be drawn in the house by pushing a single button. In the sumptuously pannelled library push buttons bring out a wireless set and gramophone whose music is broadcast throughout the house. The "Leicester Mercury" also reports that all the doors, except the huge plate glass front door, open automatically as one approaches so saving servants the trouble—a really kind thought. A switch makes the trees in the drive glow a phosphorescent green.

Unlike the reckless working class these thoughtful people provide for their families when they

die. Mr. P. W. Runciman, for example, died in June leaving £158,455. His will directed that "no money or expenditure should be spared in order to ensure that my wife shall enjoy for the rest of her life every comfort and amenity which money can buy."

I'm sure British workers under the wise guidance of Thomas O'Brien, Esquire, and Sir William Lawther, Kt., will continue to render unto Caesar and support these gentlemen's opposition to worker's participation in control of industry. After all, a working boy like Sir Lincoln Evans, Kt., has shown that there is plenty of room at the top and in fact he is a living proof of how worker's control can operate in the gentlemanly way the Fernie Hunt conduct their affairs.

There is nothing like a new strain of blood to improve the cunning and stamina of foxes. Henry Dubb (jnr.) Leicester.

Nationalisation Finds Favour in S. London A.E.U.

Drastic Socialist measures are required to prevent the collapse of civilisation, and a planned economy is urgently needed. Those were two of the points made by **Marcus Lipton, M.P.**, to an audience of engineers in South London on October 13. The meeting had been called by the South London District Committee of the A.E.U. to discuss "Nationalisation and the Engineers Plan".

Mr. Lipton spoke first and stressed the need of educating the workers in Socialist principles. It was clear from the questions which A.E.U. members asked him, they felt it was not so much the workers who needed educating in Socialism, but some of the leaders.

Mr. G. Pargiter, an A.E.U. M.P., declared he was in favour of nationalisation, not for its own sake, but to achieve a controlled and planned economy. Speaking of the "Plan for Engineering", drawn up by the engineering and shipbuilding Unions, he said that Labour's "Challenge to Britain" was much vaguer. He considered Mr. Deakin's outburst against the plan as being against the interests of his own members employed in engineering.

The meeting carried an emergency resolution protesting at the action taken by the Tory Government in British Guiana, and ended with the singing of the "Red Flag".

T. Gordon. Bermondsey.

Our Readers Write . . .

Tory Terror Won't Succeed in Guiana

The recent (October 6) statement by Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, M.P., Colonial Secretary, is an open repudiation of Colonial democracy, and as such one of the most disgraceful actions in British imperialist history.

Never before has official British policy so blatantly excused military intervention on fascist grounds: hatred of Socialism, racial prejudice and fear of any colonial movements working for peace and friendship with the U.S.S.R.

British policy stands condemned before the world by this betrayal of every principle of self-government, and by its personal attack on the politics of responsible and freely-elected leaders of a legitimate political party in British Guiana.

Those like myself who know Dr. and Mrs. Jagan, and have followed their career for some years, know that they are disinterested and unselfish workers for the good of their own people, and military and police terrorism will never succeed in crushing the popular forces they represent.

Our policy must be reversed immediately, or our Christian democratic professions will be clearly proved insincere and hypocritical.

E. V. Tempest. Bradford.

What is a Police State?

Westminster "salary lovers" speak of Communist countries as "police states".

What definition do they apply to the present "sugar baron dominated regime" in British Guiana?

Britisher. Tavistock.

How to Win a Wage Increase?

It is quite obvious that the engineering employers are prepared for a show down on the wages question.

All indications point in that direction. If they force the men in the industry to strike they feel that they can win and, on that assumption, they expect not only to halt wage increases but to prepare the ground for wage reductions in the not too distant future.

So the present struggle is of crucial importance not only to the engineering workers but for the whole Labour Movement.

What are the chances of the workers forcing their claim by strike action? Is it the only weapon they can use? May I

suggest a new and as yet untried policy on a mass scale.

I am of the opinion that strikes on a mass scale are becoming obsolete and that new methods to fight the employer should be developed. Therefore I suggest the "Go Slow" policy as a more effective weapon in wage struggles.

Mass meetings and demonstrations do not scare the employers; something more concrete is essential. If the workers cut down production by 25 or 30 per cent. then the employers will immediately become interested. If workers are discharged they will be eligible for the dole which can be supplemented out of Union funds in accordance with family responsibilities.

By this method there would be no possibility of the workers being starved into submission—always a danger in strikes. Those on piece work rates may have to revert to time rates. No struggle can be won without sacrifice. There is no easy way.

Each shop steward should have a small committee to help in shop organisation. If 60 per cent. of the workers in each establishment carried out this policy it would create a situation of chaos in the industry and hit the employer in his most tender spot . . . his pocket book.

In the event of a lock-out the dole could be supplemented out of Union funds and would not be so heavy a drain on the funds as in paying strike pay.

Strike pay would cost the Unions involved approximately six million a week. How long could they stand it?

John McLaren. Glasgow C.E.U.

Labour's Foreign Policy

Maurice Orbach's warning (in your last issue) on Fascist Spain and the American alliance was most timely. Now that the Americans have signed their disgraceful pact with Fascist Spain, pro-Franco pressure groups in this country will intensify their campaign to obtain British support for the admission of Spain into U.N.O.

The Labour Party must do some fresh and vigorous thinking. The U.S. State Department has clearly

cautious document. Let the N.E.C. have the courage to come out openly for a complete break with Eisenhower and Dulles and for a policy of absolute neutrality. Furthermore, the N.E.C. should oppose outright the admission of Fascist Spain into the United Nations and urge a complete boycott of all Spanish goods while the detestable Franco tyranny remains in power.

F. Turner. Wallasey.

Utility Bomb

John Paton cabled the "News Chronicle" on October 14.—"Britain's new atomic bomb went off on the Woomera secret range in South-West Australia at 7 a.m. today. . . . The bomb has been called a 'Penney utility' because of its many uses."

It can disintegrate Russians, Chinese, North Koreans, Malaysians, Kenyans, Central Africans, Guianese, and—who knows?—one day it might disintegrate British workers!

George Smith. Stoke-on-Trent.

The Tories and 'Suppression'

It was a bit of an eye opener to read Randolph Churchill's attack on the suppressing tactics of the Press.

But his anger has all the hollow ring of Tory hypocrisy at its worst when one remembers that in 1951 the vast nation-wide Tory press was striking a new low in suppression in their attempt to bring Britain under Tory rule again, and that in the Devonport contest between Randolph and Michael Foot the latter endured

his full share of press suppression. I do not remember Randolph Churchill making any protests about that.

Having read the empty verbiage of Churchill senior at Margate, it is quite clear that the rights and interests of the workers are never going to be an ingredient in the "progressive Conservatism of Tory Democracy". I challenge anyone to read Churchill's Margate speech and come to any other conclusion than this: that from start to finish it held out not a scrap of hope of the Tories ever admitting that the workers have a case at all.

In fact, the keynote of this whole Tory Conference was suppression—by the Tory Press, by the Tory monopolistic power, suppression of all things progressive. But Randolph Churchill will never get into the headlines with violent attacks on this kind of suppression. He stands where his father stands as regards the working class.

What is needed between now and the General Election is a Labour Press which will fight all the Tory hypocrites so that it hurts—with a Labour Press which will expose the Tory exploitation of the people whose sweat provides the means whereby the country is able to carry on.

Paton Dene. Leicester.

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Freedom of The Press

Editorial Comment

ON Friday, October 9, Mr. Arthur Clegg, a "Daily Worker" correspondent, arrived at the airport of British Guiana to report on events in that colony. The immigration authorities at the airport granted him a three months' permit.

However, while on his way to Georgetown, Mr. Clegg was stopped by the police and turned back to the airport. His passport was subsequently declared invalid for British Guiana, and he was served with an order by the Governor, denying him entry into the colony. No reason was given for the order and he was told that there was no appeal in British Guiana against the Governor's order.

The Central London branch of the National Union of Journalists has unanimously carried a resolution stating it is disturbed at this action against Mr. Clegg. It has asked the executive council of the N.U.J. to seek an explanation from the Colonial Office and if it proves to be unsatisfactory, it calls for the ban to be lifted.

In excluding a correspondent of the "Daily Worker" from British Guiana, the Colonial Office has grossly violated the freedom of the Press. Such an action is proof that the Colonial Office has something to hide in British Guiana. "Socialist Outlook" adds an emphatic protest to those that have already been made against this ban.

Labour's History

No. 21. The General Strike Ends

To the workers the glory . . .

THERE was yet a third line to call out—telephones, telegraphs, electric power and light, textiles, government establishments.

Even more important as an indication of the growing danger to the Government and their cause—the mood of the strikers was changing. Almost unconsciously men and women on strike had ceased to regard the issue as one between mineowners and miners: the fight was now against a Government that represented the employers as a whole, a Government that might have to be overthrown if the workers were to get justice.

At 12 noon on May 12, with the strike at its most powerful, and with signs of uncertainty and division in the Government ranks, representatives of the General

The last of 4 articles by

Reg Groves

Council went to 10 Downing Street. After being kept waiting for a time, they were ushered in to meet Mr. Baldwin, Neville Chamberlain, Lord Birkenhead and other Cabinet Ministers.

To Mr. Pugh, T.U.C. Chairman, Baldwin said: "Mr. Pugh, you will be good enough to make a statement". To which Mr. Pugh replied: "The strike is terminated forthwith, in order that negotiations may proceed."

Sir Herbert Samuel had returned from holidaying in Italy—some suggest at the T.U.C.'s request, some at the Government's request, others on his own initiative—and for two or three days the General Council had been in negotiation with him, without consulting the miners.

Sir Samuel made proposals, worthless ones since the Government has ensured in advance that it would not accept them nor be bound by them in any way. Worried, frightened, anxious to get rid of the strike, the General

In his three previous articles Reg Groves—the well-known Labour historian and journalist—has vividly described the events leading up to the General Strike of 1926 and the strike itself up to the calling out of the T.U.C.'s "first and second lines". The strikers' Councils of Action were beginning to take on real power and were planning their own food supplies when . . . the strike was called off.

This abject capitulation of the workers' leaders is described in this, the final article.

Council seized the suggested terms, and decided that these were a good basis for re-opening negotiations. The strike must be called off so that talks could begin.

Only when all was decided were the miners consulted. The miners rejected the terms, involving as they did a wage cut, and pointed out that anyway the Government was not bound to accept them. The miners did not trust the Government—nor the T.U.C. General Council's negotiators.

"You may not trust my word", protested Thomas to the miners, "but will you not accept the word of a British gentleman who has been governor of Palestine?"

The miners would not. The General Council went to Downing Street without the miners. And they called off the strike without getting any promises at all, not even a promise to safeguard their members against victimisation. It was called off unconditionally. It was complete capitulation.

The news was broadcast at one o'clock.

When the strike committees heard the news, many of them decided it was a hoax, others that complete victory had been won by the Unions, for was not the strike growing? The impression of victory was confirmed by the T.U.C.'s messages and by the "British Worker", which headlined that evening:

GREAT STRIKE TERMINATED

Trade Union Congress satisfied that miners will now get fair deal

Union messages to their members, too, suggested victory. But even as the strike bulletins were out on the streets with the sellers shouting the news of the workers'

victory, it became clear to the dazed strike committees that it was not victory but defeat. The strike was over, and the miners were still locked out. There were angry scenes in committee rooms. There was bitterness, despair and heart-break.

TOTAL SURRENDER headlined the "British Gazette" and—more ominously—"Re-instatement: No obligations incurred". Employers were free to make their own conditions for the strikers return, to victimise, to impose harsh conditions, perhaps even to break the Unions. There were savage baton charges in East London that night.

"What will you do now?" asked a newspaperman bringing the true facts about the settlement to the Stourbridge strike committee.

"Double the Pickets" was the reply.

The despair and confusion of Wednesday gave way on Thursday

to new resolve. The workers rallied, the ranks re-formed. To the astonishment of Government and employers the strike stayed on, if anything more complete than ever!

A grotesque change of front on the part of Government and newspapers followed. NO REPRISALS proclaimed the most ferocious of the anti-strike newspapers, the "Daily Mail". Mr. Baldwin insisted that no one had lost or won—the outcome was a victory for common sense.

There were humiliating agreements to sign; there were many in prison; and many more were victimised. But the strikers by their rally saved the Unions, checked the employers' offensive, turned a rout into an orderly retreat. The movement lived to fight again.

Conclusions should be drawn, lessons learned. Let us end with that rally of the rank and file rather than with the miserable surrender by their leaders, a surrender that left exposed to attack and victimisation the millions who had answered the call of their Unions so loyally.

From the great strike, only the workers emerged with glory—all else was weakness and failure. It is good to remember those men and women who threw their all into the fight for their fellows, and who stood firmly and boldly to the end.

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