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# Socialist Outlook

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**Labour's  
Engineering  
Policy**  
(See page 3)

## THE SCANDAL OF OLD PEOPLE

★ An open Letter To Churchill ★

By Herbert Feilden

Mr. Prime Minister,  
**O**F all the reactionary things you have done in your long life none can compare for sheer callousness with your treatment of that most helpless section of the community—the Old Age Pensioners.

You and your Tory Government have ignored completely the fact that rising living costs are fast reducing old people to a life of absolute misery and poverty.

Yet you have awarded the Royal family lavish wage increases and extra allowances—including a million pound sterling spent on an entirely unnecessary Royal yacht. It is public money which you have permitted to be spent in this wasteful manner—despite the fact that the Royal family have their own large private fortunes.

As an old man yourself, you should be aware of the following little-known facts about old age pensioners. They have lived and worked through two world wars—wars which, incidentally, your bloodthirsty imperialist attitude did much to bring about.

Today's old people have never received children's allowances, free school meals for their children and other ameliorations—for they had the misfortune to be young when the Tory and Liberal Parties ruled almost unchallenged in this country.

Thus the old people of today have absolutely no savings to fall back on because everything of the pitiful wages they earned (when employed!) was spent on keeping body and soul together and trying to rear a family.

Because of the horrible way you and previous Tory governments have treated the workers, our old people today are regularly reported in the press as "collapsing in the street".

Of course, it's old people of the working class that I'm speaking about. The old of your own class are still, like yourself, living in luxury with country houses, servants, their own farms and farm produce and plenty of holidays in the warm sunshine. Not for you and your old cronies the misery of a back room and a diet of bread and tea!

But what do you care! On July 27, 1939, you knew the terrible plight of old people trying to live on 26s. for men and 16s. for women—yet you joined your

wealthy friends in voting against any increase in old age pensions! Messrs. Anthony Eden, R. A. Butler, Lady Astor and the rest of them joined you in the "No" lobby on that occasion.

That is why old people detest you and your Tory Party and live only for the day when a new Labour Government will be returned to power instructed by the people to relieve the rich of their riches and give it to the poor and the old people. History won't remember you for your oratorical powers—but for the callous and inhuman way you have treated your fellow countrymen—especially the old of the working class.



# We Can't Afford The Tories Much Longer

## This is how to Get Them Out

**W**HAT is wrong with Labour's election policy? Why did we lose a seat in Sunderland and fail to gain one in Abingdon? Why is it, in spite of the present government's continuous attacks on working class living standards, on the health services, and on education, Tory-

ism is not only holding its own but is, in fact, even making some progress in the Parliamentary field?

We have waited in vain for Transport House to answer these vital questions which all active party members are now asking.

### LET US START WITH FUNDAMENTALS

The power of Toryism does not flow directly from the well-oiled machine of the Conservative Party. All that apparatus is only the electoral weapon of the capitalist class. Year in and year out this

### They Understand

One of the excellent illustrations from "Time To Wake Up!"—an important booklet reviewed below.

class thinks and acts in accordance with its own specific interests.

Its programme and its election statements are fundamentally designed to protect the interests of big business. It is true that divisions of opinion occur in Tory ranks but these are strictly subordinated to the main task for the employers as a whole—keeping the working class in subjection. To this end, lies and deceit are used in abundance. It is an art at which after more than a century of practice, the Tories excel.

But Tory lying does not adequately explain their present strength. After all, well prepared speeches and articles from Labour pens could—if permitted to do so—soon expose the lies. No, the real strength of the Tory Party today resides first in the cohesion of the British capitalist class, and second in the paralysis of leadership at the top of the Labour Party.

### THE CLASS DIVISIONS

Since the General Election of 1950, the outstanding feature of British politics has been the almost complete polarisation of class forces in the country. The total votes cast for the two major parties hardly varies. Labour has the loyal support of the organised workers and the most useful sections of the population in general. The Tories keep the support of a majority of the middle class with some sections of the more politically backward and largely unorganised workers.

Under these conditions, effective electioneering must consist of the ceaseless propagation of fundamental policies. All the paraphernalia of speech-making, brains-trusting, leaflet distribution and loud speaker hoop-la is practically useless unless related to a concrete Socialist policy which challenges the Tories on every major issue.

Labour cannot win back sections of the middle class unless it shows in everything it does that it means business. It must say out loud that it wants to get rid of capitalism—and not apologise for it. As Aneurin Bevan has said on many occasions, "You cannot defeat the Tories by trying to look like them".

This is the real lesson of both the Sunderland and Abingdon bye-elections. On the day of the election in Sunderland, Churchill's "peace" speech brought forth widespread applause from leading Labour organs—from the "Herald" to the "Tribune". The Sunderland electors who may have been considering voting against the Tories suddenly discovered that there didn't appear to be much difference

## Brighton Outing Postponed

As sea-front meetings on Brighton beach are now not allowed during the months of July and August, the "Socialist Outlook" outing arranged for Sunday next, July 12, has been unavoidably postponed.

between Labour and Tory on the fundamental issue of war and peace.

The impression created was that the Tories were setting the pace and Labour was tail-ending. Is it any wonder that we lost under such circumstances?

### DANGEROUS ILLUSIONS

Abingdon was somewhat different. Here the Tories already had a substantial majority. Unable to attack all along the line, Transport House resorted to "circus tactics". Big speakers of both Right and Left were rushed into the campaign. The "Herald" even hinted that Abingdon was more important than Sunderland.

With a Bevanite candidate in the field, party members—especially left wingers—were led on to expect a victory. The result could not fail to bring disillusionment.

The truth is, of course, that there wasn't anything like the same chance in Abingdon as in Sunderland. If we cannot hold a seat which was ours how can we expect to win a seat with a Tory majority of more than 5,000?

### HOW TO WIN

The Tories will not be defeated until Labour counterposes a working class and Socialist policy to the clap-trap, big business lies of the Churchill brigade. This applies in domestic affairs and on all matters of foreign policy. The Tories—we repeat—serve their own class all the time. The kind of "peace" they want will be of no value to working people. We want peace through friendship with the non-capitalist world and freedom for all colonial peoples. There's a world of difference and it is Labour's task to explain that difference to the electorate.

As it is, with the leadership tail-ending the Conservatives in foreign affairs, and indecisive on home policy, the situation is all the time developing to the advantage of the Tories.

The great chance to reverse this dangerous trend will come at the next Labour Party Conference. Morecambe laid the broad basis of a Socialist policy. Margate must make it more precise, otherwise, a black period lies ahead.

# The Menace of World Poverty

**"O**NE and a half billion men, women and children, about two-thirds of the people in the world, live in mud huts or tin shanties, in rags and in ignorance; they are almost always underfed, often ill and hungry, sometimes starved."

So a notable new pamphlet, "Time To Wake Up",\* sets out to bring home the appalling facts of world poverty. This it does vividly with 23 fine illustrations and less than 200 lines of printed text. As one turns the 24 large pages, one realises that the opening statement was in fact understatement. This is typical of the pamphlet's cautious approach.

The greater part of mankind is

\*"Time To Wake Up", by Ted Castle and Sir Richard Acland. Only obtainable from War on Want, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. 1s.

### A Review By Aif Rose

not sometimes starved: it is always starved.

"Careful surveys made by United Nations agencies show that in almost all of the underdeveloped countries the overwhelming majority of the people eat much less, both in calories and in protein, than man needs for his basic minimum living. In many parts of the same countries, through chronic diseases, one quarter of the babies born this year will die—and in some parts

almost half will die—before they reach the age of adolescence."

Such shocking conditions it is difficult for us to imagine, even when we try, for our lives, even the poorest, seem affluent in comparison.

Yet the gap between the wealth of the white western countries and the poverty of underdeveloped lands is widening year by year. Already, the 19 richest countries in the world, with 16 per cent. of the world's people, enjoy two-thirds of the world's income.

The 15 poorest countries have over half of the world's people and these have to make do with 9 per cent. of the world's income.

Meanwhile, "The world's total food supply is hardly increasing, so that as the world is going today we are headed towards world crisis by starvation during the course of

this century. Few countries would escape unscathed."

Yes, it's time to wake up! The Asian and African giants are already stirring. Their shoulders have long borne the main burden of imperialism but they are willing to do so no longer.

"The contradictions between the things which we, and they, know are possible and the actual facts of world poverty create a seething upheaval—a world-wide social revolution which we can neither halt nor reverse." (nor evade!)

"What are we going to do about it?" ask the pamphleteers. "Don't you agree that it is time to wage peace?"

It is. But we shall not begin to wage peace until we stop waging war.

What modesty has prompted the

Continued on page 4

## The struggles for freedom in ASIA and AFRICA

A day school organised by "Socialist Outlook"  
CAXTON HALL, Westminster, S.W.1  
Saturday, 18th July, 1953

TWO SESSIONS:—

2.30—5.30 AFRICA. Speaker C. Van Gelderen  
6.30—9.30 ASIA. Speaker Doric de Souza

TICKETS—one session 1s. Two sessions 1s. 6d.

## Labour's History

(8) William Morris

## A Truly Great Socialist

"Presented at Court!" scoffed Robert Blatchford, "Why, I've smoked a pipe with William Morris!"

"This is the greatest day of my life, and I can never hope to see the like again", a workman told Bruce Glasier, after a day of meetings with William Morris in Glasgow.

William Morris joined the Democratic Federation in January, 1883.

He had been active for a time in the National Liberal League, an organisation composed mostly of radical working-men. But Liberalism, with its limited horizons, moderate reforms and subservience to the masters of industry, was not enough. Morris had come to see that a complete social and economic change was needed, a change that would, he believed, be resisted by the rich even to the point of civil war.

When he joined the Federation, Morris was middle-aged, and already famous—as one of the pre-Raphaelites, as a poet, and as designer and skilled workman in a dozen crafts.

He had found content and satisfaction in good and useful work, but knew that his own happiness was not sufficient. If life was to be free, full and happy for all men; if the arts were ever again to flourish in the everyday workaday world, the Socialists must strive to "bring about a state of things in which all men may live at peace and free from overburdensome anxiety, provided with work which is pleasant to them and producing results useful to their neighbours."

"I must ask you to believe", he said on another occasion, "that every one of the things that goes to make up the surroundings among which we live must be either beautiful or ugly, either elevating or degrading to us, either a torment and burden of the maker of it to make, or a pleasure and a solace to him."

In judging existing society by the quality of its work, in looking at it with his craftsman's eyes, Morris differed from most of his contemporaries, Liberal and Socialist. He saw capitalism not as the highest order yet achieved by man, but—judging it by its shoddy goods, its adulterated foods, its ugly, squalid towns, its makeshift politics, and by the stunted minds and bodies of its people—as an unnatural way of life which, if accepted as the necessary condition of progress, would take from the life of ordinary men all colour, all happiness, all control over work and play, all hope of full, abundant life.

Most of his contemporaries saw salvation in the further development of the mechanised robotism that was capitalism: the Liberals in its free, unchecked expansion, the Socialists in a more controlled development under the central power of the state.

Morris rejected both views: like Marx, he saw that capitalism created for men a distorted, broken, and fevered existence and a divorce from the soil and its processes: unlike Marx, he had some ideas on the way men should and could live after the great change, ideas that had grown out of his own life and work, and his knowledge of past times when men did find joy in useful and creative work.

In 1884, much against his own inclinations, Morris was forced to lead a revolt against the egotistical H. M. Hyndman and his opportunist policies: and he led a majority of the Federation's executive committee out of that body, to form the Socialist League. In

## An Appreciation By Reg Groves

this action, he had the support of Engels.

The League, however, was divided between those favouring electoral activity and those opposed to it altogether, or against it at that time. Those urging electoral activity left the League, and there was left behind many who favoured anarchism of a violent kind. In the end, after six years of ceaseless activity, Morris was forced out of the League. He founded the Hammersmith Socialist Society, and remained active in it until his death.

If Socialists went to Parliament, Morris thought, they should go as rebels, not to help carry on the enemies' government. The time would come when Socialists might have to go to Parliament in large numbers, but "only when we are much more advanced than we are now; in short, on the verge of revolution; so that we might either

capture the army or shake their confidence in the legality of their position."

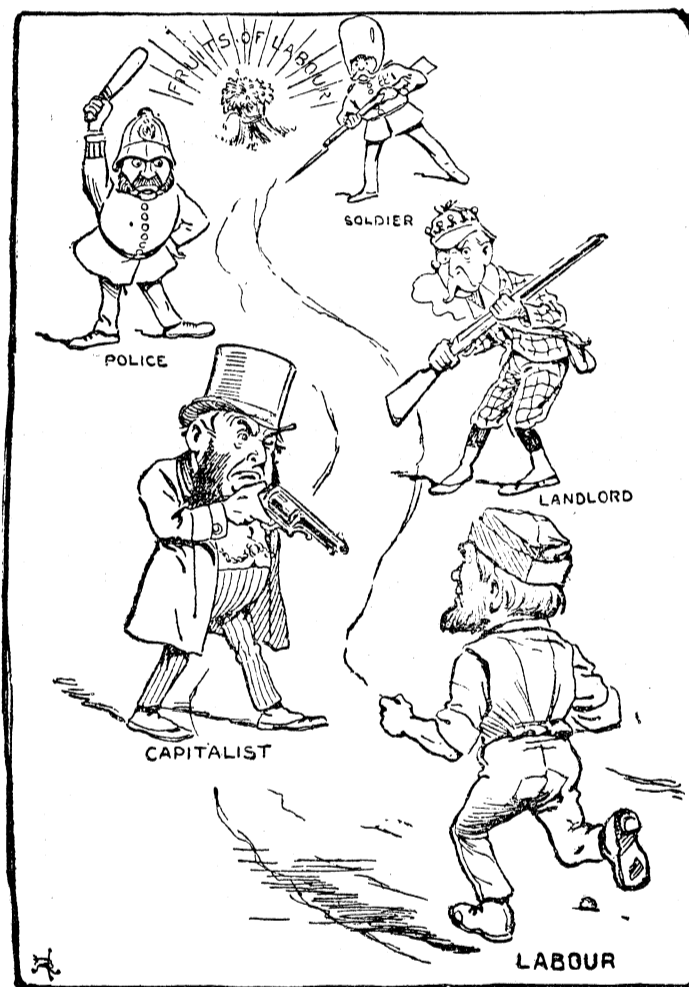
To show the poor how they were robbed by the rich; to make them conscious of the class war and their part in it; to help them understand the evils against which they were fighting, and the way to overcome those evils—to make Socialists in the true sense, that was how Morris saw the task immediately ahead.

"I don't think much of gas and water. Socialism", he said, "or indeed of any mere mechanical accessories to Socialism". He viewed with contempt and horror the bureaucratic state Socialism advocated by the Fabians and the I.L.P.'ers of the day.

Towards the end of his life he agreed that Socialism might have to progress by means of a political party and electoral activities, and expressed the hope that this would

## "HOW LABOUR IS ROBBED"

This cartoon was drawn more than 60 years ago to illustrate William Morris' little pamphlet "Monopoly—or How Labour is Robbed".



## The Author

Reg Groves is the author of:—

**BUT WE SHALL RISE AGAIN** (a narrative history of Chartism)

**THE MYSTERY OF VICTOR GRAYSON** (A legend of Labour)

**REBELS' OAK** (The great rebellion of 1549)

**SHARPEN THE SICKLE** (Official History of farm workers' trade union)

**THE PEASANTS' REVOLT OF 1381**

be but a passing phase. But he made no effort to conceal his dislike of the prospect, nor his conviction that it would lead to compromises in order to catch votes, and a concentration on the immediate that would prove fatal to Socialist aims.

He died in London on October 3, 1896, the cause of death, said the doctor, that of "simply being William Morris, and having done more work than most 10 men". In Trafalgar Square, a meeting of cab drivers stood in silence as a mark of respect.

On October 6, the coffin was taken by train to Lechlade station. There it was put on a farm wagon with a yellow body and bright red wheels, drawn by a sleek roan mare, and led by a Kelmscott carter. The wagon was wreathed with vine, and strewn with willow boughs over a carpeting of moss.

A violent tempest had raged all night. The mourners followed the wagon along the dripping lanes, between the weeping russet hedges and silver-grey slatted stone walls, passing the clumps of Michaelmas daisies in flower, the drenched cottage gardens, the orchards where apples were strewn on the grass, and the thinning willows, tarnished a dull gold, and along the short lime-tree avenue to tiny Kelmscott church.

It is a long time ago, now, since they buried the wisest of the English Socialists: the rains of half a century have fallen on his quiet, stone-roofed grave in the tiny churchyard, and the movement he helped to make has grown from a handful to a multitude. But the teaching of William Morris has been forsaken, blown aside by the winds of success as surely as were scattered the storm-tossed leaves about his fresh-dug grave.

## NEXT WEEK

A working miner on . . .  
"The Tonyandy Incident"

## Building as a Public Service

Must be included in Labour's New Programme

"CHALLENGE to Britain" put out by the N.E.C. of the Labour Party for consideration by the Party is intended to be based on resolutions passed or discussed at the 1953 Annual Conference. How has the Building Industry been treated?

First of all, what was said on the subject at Morecambe? Mr. L. C. Merrion, speaking for the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, moved a resolution "instructing the N.E.C. in conjunction with the Building Industry Unions to prepare a plan for the transformation of the building industry to national ownership based on social service rather than profit."

Mr. Mikardo, speaking for the N.E.C. said they were "solidly in support of the principles set out in the resolution". He followed with some ill-thought out remarks about how difficult it would be. He seemed to suggest that because the building industry was badly organised it could not be cured. Apparently he expected capitalism to reorganise the industry so that Labour can then take it over.

Mr. Merrion was not satisfied with all this. He said "I want a clear and categorical statement that . . . a blueprint will be shaped and laid before the next conference . . . to show the people that we really mean business."

Mr. Mikardo asked the Unions to let the N.E.C. have their views.

By  
Tom Braddock

Are we now to understand that Mr. Merrion's organisation, after having asked for a nationalised building industry, are willing to accept a small paragraph at the tail of a statement on housing to the effect that a new Labour Government will make an attack on restrictive practices and will allow its policy in that respect to be settled by the Monopolies Commission?

I am perfectly certain that this will not satisfy building trade workers. They know their own trade and they certainly are not prepared to leave it in the hands of its present disorganisers and price ring experts.

Neither Houses, Schools, Factories, nor any other type of building needed for the well-being of our people, can come out of a building industry owned and controlled by profit takers. That is why Mr. Merrion asked for an industry based on social service and not on profit.

Nothing in the N.E.C. policy document makes sense unless it also contains that basic and revolutionary demand, the building industry to be a social service. Then, and only then, can such things as schools as well as houses, proper use of existing houses, slum clearance etc., become a reality. All these things are administratively possible just as soon as we have a properly organised building industry free from the shackles imposed on it by profit grabbers.

"Socialist Outlook" in recent months has put forward practical proposals. They have been disregarded. Yet they can be applied just as soon as a Labour Government thinks fit. There is no difficulty that cannot be got over.

The N.E.C. must take this section of "Challenge to Britain" back and resubmit it in accordance with Mr. Merrion's resolution.

## from the ranks...

Leeds City Labour Party is calling on the forthcoming National Conference to decide in favour of interest-free loans to local authorities for housing.

Holborn and South St. Pancras Labour Party's conference resolution opposes the wars in Malaya and Kenya and calls for immediate self-government for all colonial peoples.

Princes Ward, Vauxhall Labour Party is submitting to the G.M.C. an amendment to the new Party programme which calls for the full nationalisation of the aircraft and chemicals industries.

Manchester Branch of the Constructional Engineering Union "views with alarm the reports that the parliamentary committee of the Labour Party is to censure Mr. S. O. Davies, M.P., for the statement he made in the House on the Rosenbergs". The branch "believes his statement did reflect the feeling of the vast majority of the British people, and any censure should be directed against those who did nothing to save them".

Toxteth (Liverpool) Labour Party "condemns the action of the three members of the General Council of the T.U.C. in accepting positions from a Tory Minister of Supply upon the denationalised Iron and Steel Board. It regards such action as prejudicial to the interests of the organised working class movement and would be utilised by political opponents to the utmost advantage". A similar resolution was carried unanimously by Liverpool Trades Council and Labour Party.

## Eastern Europe

What is happening in Russia and Eastern Europe?

Special feature article in next week's "Outlook"

This is Important  
Order your copy now

★ Star Letter ★  
On The New Programme

Congratulations on publishing two pages on "Labour's New Programme: Challenge to Britain", with suggested amendments, all of which are essential and based on true Socialist principles.

It is, as you say, an improvement on previous policy statements, but it is nevertheless, only a reformist programme based on the supposition that Capitalism will continue for an indefinite period; and the economic desirability of struggling for world markets, hampered by a programme of tariffs and restrictions imposed by our alleged ally the U.S.A.

If the "leaders" of our Movement were true Socialists, instead of opportunists worshipping at the altar of expediency, they would boldly plan to nationalise the land and all the key industries, and the banks and to control credit. Moreover, they would repudiate our military commitments to America, with the unnecessary slaughter of British conscripts in Korea (where the Americans are in collusion with Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai Shek).

They would also repudiate rearmament, imposed by America, not to protect the "four freedoms", but to "disintegrate" Communism, as asserted by Mr. Dulles; and described by the Editor of "Reynolds News", as "the 'Disintegration of Civilisation' in the red light of the Hydrogen Bomb".

As you assert, the peoples of Egypt, Central and East Africa, Iran, Burma, China, Indonesia, Malaya, and the non-capitalist states of Russia and Eastern Europe, would co-operate with us in economic, Socialist planning, once they were assured that we had abandoned our former imperialist policy and were prepared to grant independence to the Colonies.

Wimbledon. Percy Allott.

Is the "SOCIALIST OUTLOOK" in your Local Library?  
If not—ASK FOR IT!



DRIVER "Tubby" Adams, from Thornton Heath writes: "Does our Trade Union really carry out its responsibility to its members? I refer to those engaged in Road Haulage and the answer is a definite NO! Just ask ourselves if our wages are adequate to meet present day needs. I need not answer that one.

"Let the employers put every worker on basic pay, and our officials would see the sparks fly. Surely it is not wrong to ask for a basic wage which we can live on and provide the family with the necessities of life.

"Overtime, when worked, should provide one with luxuries. Instead today we are compelled, because of a low basic rate and high prices to work overtime. In fact we more or less demand it. Our officials know this but do nothing about it.

"Through being compelled to work overtime to live, we make others 'redundant'—a polite way of being sacked. Put all the trade union officials on a wage equivalent to the basic rate of the highest paid worker he represents and see what would happen. Their screams would be terrible. In fact they would have Sir Winston in tears.

"In the nationalised part of the industry a 'class distinction' has been created. The office worker was successful in achieving sick pay. Good luck to him. But why not watchmen, loaders, fuel attendants and drivers—men who are out in all weathers? Very often a man has to return to work before he is properly fit and well. Driven back by poverty and the haunting dread of depriving his family of the means of existence.

"If stewards are conscientious and sincere to their members, and

start getting together and talking about these things, they become a menace to the officials. They get the apathetic member thinking. So the cry is raised—'unconstitutional'. Leave it to us, say the officials, we have your interests at heart.

"The proof of the pudding, however, is in the eating. They gave themselves a pound increase in wages and got us seven shillings. Why don't they get down to real issues like protecting the transport driver in Covent Garden who, from time to time, is summonsed for obstruction through no fault of his own. Paying the fine for him is not at all a satisfactory answer. It is time the leaders of the Union got down to looking after all its members' interests.

"We are a long way from an industrial utopia, and under no circumstances should our leaders sit back and allow our conditions to be worsened. Interpret the law to safeguard ourselves and the public. Not like the official who says we can book on as a driver and, if our lorry is not in we can be asked by the employer to sweep up the yard or anything else. We can work hard, very hard, for hours to which there is no limit, and then go out and do 11 hours driving.

"When that is preached to us by our officials, I wonder whether they are on the workers' side or the employers."

I have quoted Bro. Adams' letter in full because I think he puts his finger on several important issues. If we want our officials to act, we must give them instructions and then see that those instructions are carried out.

The Union, when all is said and done, is you and I banded together as workers. It is not the officials—it is not even the shop stewards. If a steward doesn't act in accord with his members' instructions you can always replace him. There's a lesson here for the officials.

## Socialist Outlook

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Editor: John Lawrence

# The Case For Taking Over Engineering

IT seems only natural that those who work in an industry should know most about it. But this isn't so, at least according to the General Council members of the T.U.C.

The T.U.C. Shipbuilding and Advisory Council comprises members of the General Council and representatives of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. This Advisory Council met in February, 1952, to consider the Confederation's "Plan for Engineering".

The 38 Unions which comprise the Confederation, being the main core of the Trade Union Congress itself, was a big factor in the 1952 Congress decision in favour of extending Social Ownership, whilst the parallel decision taken by the Labour Party at Morecambe reflected the weight of the Confederation unions and demonstrated that the bloc vote can be used for Socialism.

On both these occasions, however, the General Council and the N.E.C. respectively, expressed opposition to such extension. It is now quite clear that the General Council's opposition at Congress was a reflection of its attitude to the Confederation's "Plan for Engineering", the previous February.

In presenting its plan, into which had gone some three years' study of the problems of its own industry, the Confederation had concluded that, in order to plan, it was necessary to have public control over the industry. This

would vary in form according to the stage of development of various sections but, in general the best interests of the industry demanded public ownership.

After a couple of hours scrutiny by the omniscient General Council members, this three years' study was reduced to a shadow of

By **Norman Dinning**  
Well-known A.E.U. member

its former self and returned for re-examination, particularly of those sections which the Confederation had concluded was ready for public ownership.

"Coming events" still "cast their shadows before". This shadow of the Confederation's former "plan" has now fallen upon the policy statement of the N.E.C. of the Labour Party: "The Engineering and Allied Industries section of 'Challenge to Britain' is, in all essentials, a precise silhouette of the General Council's viewpoint.

This is clearly illustrated in the chart printed on this page in which the three points of view are placed in parallel columns for comparison—the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, the Advisory Committee of the T.U.C. General Council and that of the N.E.C. of the Labour

Party as outlined in "Challenge to Britain".

A good example of the similarity between the position of the Advisory Committee and that of the N.E.C. is seen in the section dealing with Aircraft.

The Confederation's contention of almost complete State dependence is amply borne out in the N.E.C. policy statement: "The Nation buys most of its products—through the Royal Air Force, the Fleet Air Arm and the publicly-owned airways. Most of the finance required for... fundamental research... is provided by the Government." The Confederation's conclusion is, "... it is difficult to see what useful purpose is served, if any, or what justification there can be for the maintenance of private ownership in the industry. The major risks are shouldered by the State." Private ownership simply takes the profits.

The importance of this cannot be overestimated. This type of approach is not to be confined to aircraft.

Referring to the engineering industry as a whole, the N.E.C. states: "Yet the basic need, and the biggest problem, will be to get the industry to expand its capacity... a tendency to 'go slow' and an over-cautious attitude to investment have developed." No ploughing back of profits here.

On severe risks and the last

Labour Government's methods of lessening these, the new programme states: "The outstanding example is the Aircraft Industry. Without the aid of public money for research and production of prototype aircraft, our Aircraft Industry would not now occupy its present proud position... These techniques may be used in other branches of industry" (my emphasis, N.D.).

The policy statement goes on to say that 'in addition' particular sections of the Engineering industry will, where necessary, be taken into public ownership. So the "techniques" of providing public money for research and the production of prototypes is to be the MAIN policy. The word "may" seems out of place. It cannot be additional to something which is not in being.

Looking at the individual sections, we find that key firms in Machine Tools are to be closely integrated with state-sponsored research. Mining Machinery is to have a research establishment separate from the National Coal Board. The Shipbuilding Development Council will apparently involve the "adequate supply of capital at cheap rates" as mentioned in the "General" paragraph.

This question of research is important and necessary but who is to benefit? The "additional" public ownership reference has been whittled down to "a number of Key Firms" (Machine Tools), and even the "controlling State interest" in firms whose products are vital to the Coal Board" is confined to "a few".

The Morecambe Conference did not give any instructions about key FIRMS but was emphatic about key INDUSTRIES.

The smallness of the public ownership programme implies that it will be used to benefit private industry. As with Aircraft, the State will bear the cost of research and development. Private enterprise will reap the profits.

The Confederation Unions must insist that their "Plan for Engineering" be included in the Election Programme intact. Such a step would mean genuine progress towards a really planned economy.

# German Trade Unionists Have Same Tasks As Us

★ A Report From Bremerhaven ★

ON April 25 more than 14,000 workers of the shipbuilding industries in Bremen and Bremerhaven decided to go on strike, demanding a wage-increase of eight pfennigs an hour and a 3 per cent. rise of piece wages. Existing contracts had expired at the end of March.

The bosses bluntly rejected these entirely legitimate demands, repeating the old story that a wage-increase will result in rising prices. They refused to grant even the smallest concessions when their

By **I. Brunner**  
Strike Committee Member

delegations met Trade Union officials for negotiations. Were they really unable to grant such a small wage-increase?

On the last session of the German shipyard corporation, a report was issued showing that the working capital of the German shipyards had increased within two years (1950-52) from DM 400,000,000 to 1 Billion! On the other hand the wage expenditure per working hour had increased by 7.6 per cent. only. These facts need no further comment.

For the first time since 1945 young Trade Union members played an important part in both the preparation and leadership of the action.

On May 13 the social-democratic Senator v. H. came out in favour of a settlement proposing a wage-increase of only four pfennigs an hour. The bosses' counter-offer was three pfennigs an hour. These negotiations failed and v.H. tried again.

This time the corporations accepted the proposal adding that they would only reinstate 80 per cent. of the men on strike. The reinstatement should start after a lapse of seven days!

This measure would doubtless

have enabled them to lock out the most advanced elements. The offer was rejected overwhelmingly by 750 shop stewards in both towns.

On June 6, the wage commission held a new session due to a suggestion of the "Bremer Senat".

The following agreement was announced:

1. To increase the basic wage of skilled workers from DM 1.49 to DM 1.54 an hour. The basic wage of unskilled workers will be DM 1.31. The other worker's wages will be calculated according to special code. All other points of the agreement of August, 1952, remain valid.
2. Both parties are bound by obligation that no reprimands will be inflicted.
3. The agreement will come into force as soon as it is signed. Its duration expires September, 1954.

This so-called agreement was voted down nearly unanimously during a very stormy session of the shop stewards and Trade Union delegates. But according to the Trade Union statutes the settlement had to be submitted to a new vote cast.

The outcome was negative. Only 60 per cent. voted in favour of a continuation of the strike action, instead of the 75 per cent. required.

This result was mainly due to the bad financial support of the strikers and the fact that no further action was taken to extend the strike to other German ports.

If there is any lesson to be drawn from this recent strike then it is the lesson that the old Trade Union bureaucrats proved once more that they are unwilling to fight. For example, here at Bremerhaven the whole "official" Trade Union leaders voted in favour of the above mentioned settlement.

On the other hand all members of the Strike Committee voted against.

What is necessary is an independent class policy and the creation of a genuine left wing inside the Trade Union movement to replace the reformist leadership by labour leaders standing firm on the principles of Marxism.

## Three Views on Nationalisation of Engineering Which Do YOU Support?

	Confederation of Ship. & Engineering Unions	T.U.C. Gen. Cncl. Members of Advisory Ctee.	L.P. N.E.C. (Challenge to Britain)
<b>AIRCRAFT MANUFACTURE</b>	<b>Public Ownership</b> Almost completely dependent upon the State. Difficult to see any justification for maintenance of private ownership.	Due weight should be given to the effectiveness of the various groups of the industry.	Labour will take powers to acquire any firm which falls down on its job. Will also extend Government help.
<b>AGRI-CULTURAL MACHINERY</b>	Government be asked to form a Development Council.	Might be better to initiate Development Council within the industry itself.	No mention.
<b>BUILDERS CASTINGS AND METAL FITTINGS</b>	<b>Public Ownership</b> only solution to monopoly practices.	Review trade arrangements re. restrictive practices.	No mention.
<b>MINING MACHINERY</b>	<b>Public Ownership</b> of main firms and co-ordinate with N.C.B. development plans.	Much to be said for N.C.B. to develop on its own. In any event N.U.M. must be consulted.	Central eng'g. establishment with existing N.C.B. research establishment. Separate research establishment for prototype mchinery, for other minerals and for exports.
<b>ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT (HEAVY) (LIGHT)</b>	Appropriate for <b>Public Ownership</b> or Board of Control. Await Monopoly Commission report before recommending.	No comment	Await Monopoly Commission report.  No mention.
<b>TELECOM-MUNICATIONS</b>	Further investigation into restrictive practices.		
<b>LOCOMOTIVE &amp; WAGON MANUFACTURE &amp; REPAIR</b>	<b>Public Ownership</b> of wagon manufacture and strong case for <b>Public Ownership</b> of industry generally because of link with national railways—co-ord. with railway workshops.	No comment  Good reasons for Nat. Railways expansion as they thought fit.	No mention.
<b>MACHINE TOOLS</b>	No solution without greater part of the industry under public ownership.	No comment.	Labour will acquire a number of the key firms to act as centres for technical rationalisation and expansion.
<b>MARINE ENGINEERING</b>	<b>Public Ownership.</b> Unnecessary to go over ground previously covered.	Point out that Unions concerned with shipping do not favour Nationalisation.	Labour will set up Development Council for Shipbuilding and Repairing and will aim to stabilise demand for ships.
<b>MOTOR VEHICLES (HEAVY) (LIGHT)</b>	<b>Public Ownership</b> particularly A.C.V. group—link with London Transport.  Development Council with T.U. influence.	Further examination warranted because of relationship of aircraft and agricultural machinery.	No mention. General ref. in preamble of latter quoted as example of previous Labour Government's methods of help.
<b>RADIO INDUSTRY</b>	Development Council (if armaments were nationalised radio would be affected).	Machinery should be created for regular examination and discussion.	No mention.
<b>TEXTILE MACHINERY</b>	<b>Public Ownership</b> only way to secure changes needed; consult textile Unions.	Agree exchange views with textile Unions how improvements in textile machinery industry could be effected.	No mention.
<b>FOUNDING</b>	<b>Statutory Board of Control</b> for those foundries not under public ownership. Foundries on castings for iron and steel industry and British Railways should be under <b>Public Ownership</b> in addition to those <b>Nationalised</b> within other sections.	Refer to scattered nature of the industry and that reconsideration should be given to proposals for nationalising foundries producing castings for nationalised industries. Nat. industries might prefer to expand their own.	No mention.

# M.S.A. Strikers Need Money

TO the skirl of bagpipes and headed by the banner of the Paddington Branch A.E.U., workers on strike from the factory of Medical Supply Association, paraded around the factory estate at Park Royal, London, last Friday during the dinner period.

Leaflets which they gave out, and placards they carried, told the simple story of their dispute. It

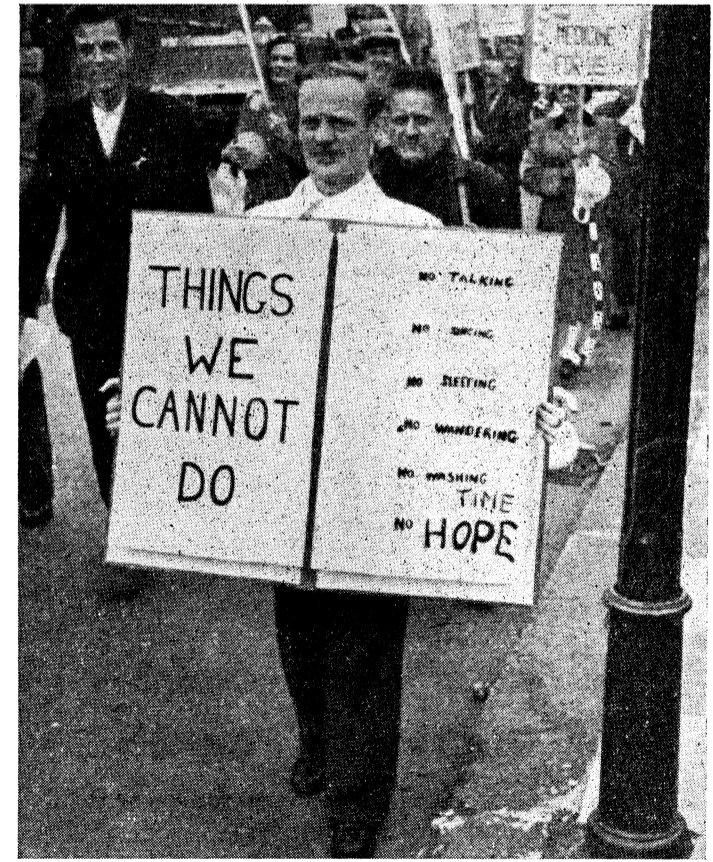
By Our Industrial Correspondent

started on June 8th, after seven workers were sacked as redundant without prior consultation of any kind. Among the seven were the Chairman and another member of the Works Committee.

According to the firm, the dispute is now at an end—as they have "sacked" all the workers for being on strike! "Very convenient" comments the strikers' leaflet which goes on to emphasise that it is now an official lock-out.

The central piece of the parade was a tableau which very effectively portrayed the workers' resistance. A worker, on an operating table, was being operated on by nurses and surgeons—complete with saws and huge syringe. The result of the operation was announced by the "surgeon" over a loudspeaker. The worker had been found to have enough backbone to withstand the "anti-trade union germ." All he now required for complete recovery and final victory was regular weekly injections of "lolly-aid" which the workers from other factories were asked to supply.

Judging from the interest roused by the parade, this should be forthcoming. All over the estate, workers leaned from windows or stood in groups at factory gates



M.S.A. Strikers take their case to the public.

to watch it pass. Broad smiles showed that the ironical humour had hit the mark.

These strikers are determined to defeat the anti-unionism of their employer. They have been fighting it for over two years. In 1951 the firm sacked a shop steward in an attempt to smash the organisation. This resulted in a strike which lasted 12 weeks and forced the firm to reinstate him.

They realise that a strike of like duration may be necessary this time too. That is why they appeal for regular donations to their strike funds (lolly-aid).

Some factories are already contributing regularly. Park Royal Vehicles for example. They know the value of financial help from their own hard experience during the three months' strike they waged against redundancy. Radcliffe Tools, only a small firm, are levying themselves 2/- a man per week. With such solidarity the Medical Supplies Association workers will win their fight.

All financial assistance should be sent to P. Place, 41 Cameron House, Wyndham Road, London, S.E.5.

# A Sailor Writes on Hong-Kong

Having served 11 years under the white ensign, five being spent in and around Hong Kong, I should like to ask I. Baker if he ever ventured into Wanchai, amid the filthy, disease-ridden overcrowded tenements, hovels, shacks, or saw the starvation in Kat Street? Not to speak of the prostitution and the vice infested streets off the Nathan Road, Kowloon.

So they found peace and contentment in Hong Kong from the Communists?

Did I. Baker ever see the death carts picking up those who had died of starvation and exposure in the streets of Shanghai previous to the Communist administration? I did.

A true Socialist doesn't skim the surface. He meets the people.

Still being a serving member of the Forces away from home, my "Socialist Outlook" takes some time to reach me. I am sorry my letter is delayed. I am not allowed to have my name put into print though there seems no harm in saying I am a member of the Bermondsey Labour Party.

R.M.

Editor's Note: This letter is a reply to a reader (I. Baker) who defended Britain's colonial policy and cited Hong Kong as an example of the "peace and contentment" which British rule brings to the colonial people.

## Dole Queues in Germany

Congratulations on the report of the East Berlin strikes. It is very necessary to expose Adenauer's hypocrisy and show that the workers are against him.

On the day after reading about his activities as a self-styled protector of the workers in the Eastern Zone, I saw a queue of about 100 shabby looking men waiting for their dole outside Hamburg labour exchange.

This was the first time that I'd ever seen a queue of the unemployed and it occurred to me that this was a timely reminder of the nature of the so-called "free western republic".

Hamburg. A Conscript.

## The East German Riots

I should like to endorse the views of John Lawrence as put forward in his article urging the Labour movement to save the strikers in East Berlin from the executioners bullet ("S.O." July 3).

According to a report of the Express News Agency, 18 Soviet soldiers were executed in East Berlin by Soviet firing squads following a refusal to fire on the rioting German workers of Magdeburg during the June 17 uprising.

The report states that the soldiers refused to arrest rioters after being assured by the workers that they were not directing the riots against the Soviet troops.

This strengthens the evidence that the riots were not all due to "agents of the west", but as John Lawrence states were directed "against non-elected party and Trade Union bosses whose arbitrary rule had made life intolerable for ordinary working people". The Soviet troops apparently recognised this fact also.

There are within our movement comrades who attempt to justify the executions of Slansky, Clementis, the East Berlin rioters, and even the false arrest of the

*Our readers write*

Jewish doctors, and at the same time condemn the unjust execution of the Rosenbergs. This is pure humbug.

The "Socialist Outlook" does great service to the international Labour movement by opposing tyranny and oppression everywhere, no matter whether it be in Russia, Kenya, America or Korea—in a capitalist state or a workers state.

Those who justify the execution of a militant in a workers state, and oppose the execution of a militant in the United States may be good C.P.'ers, but they are not good Socialists.

The Labour movement must do all in its power to ensure that the comrades in East Berlin receive a fair trial, and assist the workers of East Berlin in every possible way in their struggle for Socialism. **Liverpool. John G. Marsh.**

## On Tory Policy

In a letter to the local paper here from Mr. Osborne (Tory M.P., Louth), he told us that Canada was dependent on America and cannot get free. Surely, that shows the red light as far as we in Britain are concerned.

Unlike Canada, we can free ourselves, if we have the courage to call the American's bluff, and ignore the dealers in platitudes and illusions of men like Osborne, which are used—let's be generous in Osborne's case, perhaps unwittingly—to hide their real intentions, i.e., the preservation of profits at the expense of the workers in other countries.

The truth of this is contained in the remarks of his co-Tory, Major E. A. Legges-Bourke (Commons debate, 22/6/53) that the Government "make sure that the means by which we saved ourselves in the 1930's, were used again."

Those means are well-known to us: cuts in social services, cuts in wages, mass unemployment, poverty and starvation for the many, greater riches for the few. **Cleethorpes. S. R. Pearson.**

## That Armistice

We are told to expect an Armistice in Korea soon, and blood-thirsty schemers are offering goodwill. When that class of people start cooing like doves, it makes one wonder where the catch is.

What is behind the Syngman Rhee outburst about carrying on the war? If the Americans had not joined in, Rhee's goose would have been well and truly cooked long ago.

The Americans reckon they couldn't be out of Korea for six months after an Armistice was signed. Formosa was freed a short time ago and the Americans would have to continue to supply their troops in Korea. Could it be that they would be building up a bridgehead on the mainland for Chiang Kai Shek, and his troops worked into Korea as "South Koreans"? They would be able to work their way through Korea to the Chinese frontier then attack China, as Chinese "National" troops.

If the People's Government of China should attempt to stop this manoeuvre, they would then be accused of an act of aggression. What a wonderful excuse to start the ball rolling!

E. Chappell.

Walworth (London).

## Unofficial Committees

Being a member of the T. & G.W.U. I could not help noticing the "Transport Workers Diary" in your June 26 issue. It is very significant that the Road Haulage London Shop Stewards Association has been condemned as unofficial and unconstitutional.

I would like to draw attention to what the T.U.C. thinks of the National Shop Stewards Committee. This is the body which gave us so much help when the Briggs Motor Bodies were on strike last year.

We have been told that we must not participate in any unofficial body; but at Briggs we have a Joint Shop Stewards Committee that is far too powerful for any T.U.C. top-notch who would do their damndest to smash any such organisation.

Is the acceptance of a post on a denationalised board by Trade Union officials, under the pretence of being able to look after the interest of the workers constitutional?

It is high time our officials realised who is keeping them where they are and whom they are supposed to represent.

Catford. Paul Camiller.

# A Capitalist Bandit

## Rhodes' Place in History

IN Rhodesia, today, they are commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Cecil John Rhodes. The Queen Mother and Princess Margaret have been flown out to Bulawayo to lead the celebrations, thus giving it the official blessing of the Royal Family and the Tory Government.

Thus is the lie given to the fairy tale that modern Britain has foresworn the "old-fashioned" imperialism, for Cecil Rhodes was the greatest imperialist of them all and certainly the most ruthless.

The speech with which the Queen Mother opened the Centenary Exhibition, did not fail to pay the customary tribute to the Rhodes myth. She spoke of him as a great "visionary," of his "almost religious conviction in the mission of British civilisation as a power for good and, under God's will, for peace in human affairs."

Very few of Rhodes' contemporaries in Southern Africa would recognise him from this idealistic description.

Cecil Rhodes was the very embodiment of modern capitalism.

Having gained control of the fabulous Kimberley diamond mines and large interests in the gold fields of the Rand, he used his immense wealth as a lever to gain direct control of the state. He became Prime Minister of the

Cape Colony and never hesitated to use this position to further the interests of his numerous capitalist enterprises.

In his relations with labour, Rhodes showed himself a merciless employer. He was the founder of the system under which thousands of Africans from all parts of the continent are recruited for short term labour in the mines of Kimberley and the Rand and housed in company-owned and controlled compounds for the whole term of service.

It was Rhodes who introduced the humiliating methods of searching African mine-workers for hidden diamonds and which included the administration of castor oil.

Mussolini and Adolf Hitler learned a great deal from this "great Empire builder".

"Every man has his price," was his favourite dictum and his methods make even Tammany Hall appear a respectable and honourable institution.

He gave £10,000 to the funds of the Liberal Party, which he saw as the great bulwark against the rising socialist movement.

Under Rhodes' leadership and inspiration, the British conquest of Africa proceeded at breakneck speed. In 1868, Britain took over the rule of Basutoland—"to protect the poor natives from the cruel Boers". In 1871 diamonds

were discovered in large quantities in East Griekwaland. This territory formed part of the Boer republic, the Orange Free State, but the British now pushed forward the claims of the Griekwa chieftain Waterboer—and it was incorporated into the Cape Colony. In 1879, Zululand was subjected and in 1885, Bechuanaland was annexed to the Cape Colony.

By 1888, Rhodes was ready to go into action in a big way. He dreamed of a British Africa from the "Cape to Cairo", an Africa which would yield big profits for him and his business associates. Above all, his greedy eyes were fixed on the gold fields of the Rand. Only the two Boer republics stood in his way. But to the north of the Limpopo lay the great lands of the Matabele and the Mashona. If he could take these, the Boers would be completely encircled and their conquest only a matter of time.

The annexation of Bechuanaland had opened the road to the north. Rhodes founded the British South Africa Company which was given a Royal Charter to exploit Matabeleland and Mashonaland. Thus armed with the official sanction of the British Government as well as a plentiful supply of machine guns and ammunition, Rhodes set out to conquer the lands which were subsequently named after him.

The Matabele and the Mashona, under their great chief, Lobengula, fought courageously but their assegais and knobkerries were no match for the deadly modern weapons of the predatory British.

Out of the bloodshed and rapine of the native population, Rhodesia was born. Their toil and sweat has sustained it ever since.

Subsequently, Rhodes engineered the Boer war and with the defeat of the Transvaal and Orange Free State republics, the rule of British capital was firmly implanted on the soil of Southern Africa.

Today, as the present upholders of imperialism commemorate the Rhodes centenary, the empire which Rhodes built is beginning to crumble away beneath their feet. The descendants of Lobengula's brave warriors have been transformed into wage-labourers by the capital which Rhodes and his confederates introduced into their territories.

In the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia, they have shown their mettle as trade unionists in successful strikes against the mine-owners.

The future of Africa belongs, not to Rhodes and his spiritual descendants but to the sons and daughters of the Mashona and the Matabele whose land he stole in order to enrich himself.

C. Van Gelderen

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**TIME TO WAKE UP!** Of this new booklet reviewed in this issue, **Jim Griffiths** says: "It presents the great world-wide challenge of the next 50 years so clearly and so vividly that no one can see and read it and remain unmoved." 1s. each, 9s. 6d. per dozen, 38s. 6d. per 50, post free from **War on Want, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.**



## "EWE LIKE IT OR LUMP IT!"

I REMEMBER when Maurice Webb was Minister of Food how the Tories moaned about the ewe mutton we were having in our ration. I remember Thornton-Kemsley attacking the Minister for buying "this unsuitable ewe mutton", but despite the change of Government and the dear old (now silent) Housewives' League, the stuff is still here.

This was the kind of meat the poor bought in pre-war days, just before the markets were shut on a Saturday night. I've watched them off the Bull Ring in "Brum" and I've seen them in the markets in Cardiff in the "good old days" waiting until nearly closing time of the meat market, looking for lumps of cheap slinked meat.

Now once again hundreds of tons of rationed meat is not being taken up by the lowest income groups. If this old ewe is chucked off the ration the question arises who will buy? Ewe mutton, bull beef and fat pork, these will be the unrationed meats for the poor.

The purse is becoming once again the measure of the amount of good meat taken up by the poor.

We are told that the butchers are in revolt because they must take 5 per cent. of this ewe mutton from this week with their other supplies. The Ministry has said that if they don't take it then they get no meat at all. One butcher in Hull was giving his mutton chops away on the grounds that the stuff was a disgrace and meat that he wouldn't sell.

## THE CLAYMORE RAMPANT!

Sir Robert Boothby—in case you have forgotten, that's just Bob Boothby the "television star" as Churchill once called him—has decided to warn us.

This great protagonist of free enterprise who always reminds us of the virtue of herrings, red or otherwise, now threatens us that he and his farmers will march once again from the North with

by Harold Davies, M.P.

their claymores and burn Smithfield to the ground if ever Scottish farmers had their meat sold under the hammer again at prices below cost.

He must have been conjuring up the plight of agriculture under the famous free enterprise period of the "Hungry Thirties"!

Sir Thomas Dugdale, the Minister of Agriculture did not have a very good brief to work upon during this debate on agriculture. He thought that the loss through call-up was being exaggerated and was now "only 6,000 men a year". But to those of us who cannot digest jet-bombers and bayonets for breakfast this is the serious question.

As Tom Frazer said, last year the male labour force on the land went down some 23,500 at a time when the Tories talk about increased produce from our farms.

An island that cannot produce half its own food at home cannot be safe despite the size of its

armed forces or the speed of its planes.

Stanley Evans, that thorn in the farmers' flesh was at it again. He accused the leaders of the National Farmers' Union of having only one philosophy entitled—"Gimme". He thought that if the farmers were half as good producing farm fed beef as they were at producing farm fed propaganda we should all be living like fighting cocks.

Stanley thought that the need for an enquiry into this moribund industry became more burning every day. **Jim Johnson** wanted a land bank or some central fund to help the small farmers with money on easier terms. **Tom Williams**, Labour's ex-Minister of Agriculture, wanted the 1947 Act to be used to acquire hill land which was not being fully used.

To come back to the serious problem always posed by Stanley Evans, while we have done all we can to give the farming industry confidence are we getting a return commensurate with the aid given?

If this Government is in power much longer I can still see Sir Bob Boothby marching at the head of his angry farmers to London with their claymores whistling in the wind.

# WORLD POVERTY (from page 1)

authors to remain silent on the wars now being waged against the social revolution in Malaya, Kenya, Viet Nam and Korea?

"We must understand that colonialism is out." Just as surely, so are colonial wars. It may be that, "the problem of poverty is bigger than colonialism", and, certainly, "there can be no partnership if we do not help to meet material ends."

But to bring an end to armed intervention is a necessary first condition to achieving this aim. The wars now being conducted by western imperialism against the coloured peoples of Asia and Africa are destroying such meagre material development as they already enjoy and wasting the labour and resources which might be devoted to raising their living standards.

"At the root of it all comes the question of food. . . . Where land is already cultivated, the task is to increase the yield and improve fertility. This will almost everywhere depend upon first winning

the positive confidence of peasant communities."

To do so, we must place ourselves clearly on the side of the peasantry in their struggle against landlordism. **This we have failed to do.**

Whilst expressing unavailing protest at excesses too flagrant to excuse, the British Labour Movement has been lured into condoning the rule of white planter minorities in Malaya and Kenya and support of such vicious native opponents of land reform as Syngman Rhee's government in South Korea.

Given independence and land reform in the under-developed countries, poverty could be overcome by hard work and some possible temporary sacrifice.

**Politically, it would no longer be a problem.**

"Those who have most closely studied the matter are agreed that if we gave to the task one-tenth of the energy, effort and self-dedication which we always give to world-wide shooting wars we

could, for the next 50 years, steadily increase world food supply; and, what's more, could increase it faster than the growth of population."

But capitalism is not a system of philanthropy. Its agents will resist the shallow notion of humanitarian imperialism as firmly as the colonial peoples will themselves.

Financial interests who will not invest privately in the under-developed countries will not favour taxation by the governments they sponsor in order to make the necessary interest-free grants, either by the state or by international authority.

Their spokesmen in the United Nations Assembly, speaking mainly with an American accent, have already turned down the proposal of an International Development Authority.

Its time to wake up! The problem of world poverty can be solved—but only by the victory of the working and peasant peoples in their world-wide struggles against their common enemy. **We must give a lead for Socialism.**

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