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Production for  
**Plenty—  
of Profit**

(page 2)

## Withdraw Troops from Germany!

### THE H. BOMB

**T**HE reported answers of the Civil Defence Officers (page 3 of this issue) underline what SOCIALIST OUTLOOK has been saying—Civil Defence is a farce and a sham. But more than that, it is part of the Tory war preparations.

It is meant to condition the population for war, to hide the fact that our rulers prepare for war on the basis that millions of men and women are "expendable." These men and women will be burnt to a cinder, disintegrated, horribly mutilated in the interests of the Anglo-American capitalist alliance.

The duty of the Labour movement is to expose the Tory imperialist war aims. In so doing, it must expose C.D. as an attempt to quiet the population at home, the better able to carry out imperialist designs abroad. Let us strip away the hypocrisy of the Tory government which is not defending the working people. It is preparing their bloody destruction in order to maintain the crumbling rule of the old system of capitalism and colonial exploitation.

Those who believe the rulers of this country and America will not use the H-bomb are living in a fool's paradise. Military necessity knows only one law—to smash the enemy; and humanitarian sentiments never yet held back those defending power, privilege and profit. Capitalism will bring the whole of civilisation crashing down—if the working people of the world allow it.

Labour can show its concern for the lives and future of the working population by taking control of the country's economy and foreign policy from those who are preparing the slaughter at home and abroad.

Actions such as that of the Coventry City Council help disprove the Tory war policy. (Our positive) Of course, a refusal to participate in the Tories' not, by itself, the answer. The fight against war, the threat of atomic bombing demands the Labour movement go further. It could offer real hope to the working people here and the oppressed peoples abroad. Let it stand up and say: *We are against the capitalist war preparations, we will have no part in deluding the working people that the Tory government is interested in their defence; we will mobilise the working population against this war policy and against the war alliances, and for a socialist government, for an end to colonialism, offering the hand of friendship to all toiling people.*

To fight the Tory war drive, to intensify the struggle for socialism—that is the only defence against the H-bomb

### Key Issue at L.P. Conference

**N**OT one of the big three unions—T. & G.W.U., G.M.W.U., and the N.U.M.—have a resolution down on this year's Labour Party conference agenda. These unions, the bulwark of the Right Wing, show by their silence the extent of the crisis which penetrates deep into Labour's ranks.

The only desire of this union leadership is to maintain the status quo and fight off the considerable and growing criticism of the Right Wing's pro-Tory foreign policy. They are concerned more with counting the block votes than making a political contribution to the conference.

This year's conference will be dominated by foreign policy. There are 58 resolutions on German rearmament—all in various ways and for various reasons opposed. Whilst the unmistakable trend is to be applauded, the discussion will unfortunately be confused.

The opposition ranges from a downright jingoistic "can't trust the Germans" attitude (Newcastle East) to the internationalist socialist demand of Birmingham Borough Labour Party that troops be withdrawn from Germany.

#### KEY QUESTION

There is the key question for British Labour and it is a good sign when such an important question is raised. By stimulating discussion on the agenda can help this trend considerably.

Not one resolution supports the policy of the N.E.C. although it had all the organisational advantages on its side—a spate of regional conferences were supplemented by a pamphlet announcing a policy not endorsed by the rank and file as "Labours Case!"

There is strong opposition in Labour's ranks as shown in the agenda, to the South-East Asia Alliance proposed by Washington. Resolutions condemn intervention in Indo-China, call for colonial

freedom. The A.E.U. calls for a cut in conscription while several parties call for its abolition.

#### WEAKNESS IN THIS AGENDA

One aspect of domestic policy which has stirred a considerable number of parties is the plight of the old people. There are 42 resolutions on old-age pensions. This is a demonstration of the alertness of the movement to the Tory attacks on the standard of living of this most defenceless section of the population.

But the agenda is weakest on matters of domestic policy, and this can be serious. Time and time again it becomes necessary to emphasise that a socialist foreign policy rests fundamentally

on a socialist domestic policy. Unless nationalisation is extended to all basic industries without the vast burden of compensation; the democratisation of these industries under workers' control, a real socialist foreign policy is impossible. All those who look for a capitalist Britain, whether or not a Labour government is in power, to institute such a foreign policy, are doomed to bitter disappointment.

The adoption of "Challenge to Britain" seems to be one of the main reasons for this weakness of domestic policy shown in the agenda. Our movement is making a great mistake if it accepts this document as something which is laid down for all time. We should constantly struggle to amend it and alter it in a socialist direction.

This year's conference agenda is an accurate mirror of the party crisis. The rank and file must concentrate on reaching socialist clarity in the important debates that will arise.

### TRIBUNE PAMPHLET

"It Need Not Happen"

Publications, 1/-)

This pamphlet advocates (1) A Unit Germany with limited rearmament, (2) Peaceful co-existence between the big powers, (3) Disarmament and the banning of the H-bomb.

Can these things be accomplished? Unfortunately the pamphlet is weakest on precisely this important point.

The crux of its shortcoming lies in its approach. The cold war, colonial revolution and German rearmament are all symptoms of the fundamental crisis of world imperialism. Economically, the U.S. and its satellites have no way out except by war. War is being

An appreciation of this fundamental root of world problems is absolutely essential for a socialist approach to the points raised in this pamphlet.

Because of the irreconcilable conflict between the economy of the U.S.S.R., China, Eastern Europe and the capitalist world, you cannot have peaceful co-existence. What the world requires today is not just good men sitting around conference tables, talking abstractly about peace, disarmament, and outlawing the H-bomb, but a socialist solution to the economic leprosy of capitalism. This brings us to the hub of the whole question. The only people who can prevent German capitalism from being rearmament are the German workers (East and West) in their fight for a united socialist Germany. A real united Germany is only possible under socialism—a point which is left vague in this pamphlet.

A united capitalist Germany with a "limited" rearmament programme would solve nothing and leave us precisely where we are today.

British Labour's main contribution to the struggle against German rearmament is not so much in drawing up plans for the workers of other countries, but in hammering out a socialist policy for Britain which will once and for all defeat Toryism and its war policies. This is our best and most positive way to help the German workers in their struggle. Socialist internationalism always begins at home in the fight against our own ruling class. A socialist Britain would quickly inspire German Labour not only to unite its forces, but to get rid of the neo-Nazi Adenauer clique once and for all.

This pamphlet should be studied as a contribution to the present discussion in the Labour Party.

R.W.

### INDO-CHINA TRUCK

**A**T the time of going to there are reports of the ing of an Indo-China For seven years the people Indo-China have fought a struggle against French colonialism. Armed and financed by Street, composed mainly of cenary Legionnaires, the F forces have been pushed nearly into the sea.

Now Indo-China has been tioned by the Big Powers. French remain against the w the overwhelming majority o population. Every serious server has agreed upon that. fact was behind the desp attempt of the French negoti to avoid any possibility of tions throughout the whol Vietnam when a truce agr was signed.

The opposition in Europe America among the people prevented the imperialists at time from launching a full attempt to force the wro ule, which cona. That meant—

Labour must have no illu that it means the opening of a stage of peace and amity in national relations. The We

by  
**K. Edwards**

capitalist powers have been pelled to seek a breathing s the better to prepare for full war later. The plans for a S East Asia Alliance will now ahead. Every attempt will made to involve the "neu Asian countries in guarant the Indo-China peace. Bu can be no peace for a co divided; no stable guaranteed a settlement retaining a toe of imperialism in Indo-Chin

The colonial revolution c be confined within artificial graphical boundaries. The of the people of Southern Vis for national liberation is no strong than that of the N Labour cannot expect that a peace can be created at their pense.

The lesson of the Indo-Ch truce is not that the repres tives of the great powers me in secret can offer a pea future. That future is not b up with what temporary aments they can come to. I not the meetings at Geneva stopped the full-scale interve of American imperialism in China at the beginning of year. It was the opposit feared among its own popul and the warning of wides opposition in Britain checked its "leap."

Labour must mobilise and that opposition. The lesson of truce is that this task is al more urgent. For now the perialist powers have drawn through Asia. They can r no further. The next cr whether it comes as a result of further struggle of the Vietna people for independence, whether it comes because the perialists feel the time is r will mean full-scale war.

## New Plan To Aid Transport Profiteers

**SAYS  
BOB SHAW**



**H**AVING filched the lorries from Nationalised Transport the Tories now aim to have a go at the railways. Acting under the Transport Act of 1953 the Transport commission has produced plans for the re-organisation of the railways which will be pushed through Parliament with the blessing of the Tory minister. The aim of this scheme is to begin stage two of the return of Transport to the profiteers.

The scheme is deceptively simple in that it merely proposes to set up as management boards for each of the six railway regions an Area Authority, Scotland having one of its own. The members of these boards will be appointed by the Transport Commission from persons with "wide experience of transport" in the area to which they are appointed, and they are to be part-time.

#### "PROMOTING INITIATIVE"

These Area Authorities, says the Transport Commission, will have the task of promoting initiative,

effecting economies and seeing that the Commission's policies are faithfully executed. This will be one more body of parasitic managers to ride on railwaymen's backs and what for?

What useful purpose can these Area Boards serve? Are not the existing Railway Management hot on the trail of efficiency and economy with wholesale lodging turns and cuts in staff over the whole system? The new set up is not likely to make transport run any faster, nor is it likely to solve the problem of the Transport Commission's mounting deficit. The scheme has been ordered by Toryism for the express purpose of destroying nationalisation.

The capitalists hate nationalisation, not because it is a Monopoly, (no campaign is built up in the

press against the I.C.I., Unilevers and Metro Vickers), but because nationalisation lumps the profit-making and the loss-making parts of the industry all together giving the shareholders only a miserable 3 per cent. For this reason Road Transport was chopped away from the Nationalised concern. Now Toryism would like nothing better than to execute the same plan in relation to railways as a whole.

#### TORY AIM

Tory long-term policy aims to separate off the most profitable parts of the railway system and hand them over to the profiteers who would run them for "private enterprise." Provision is made in the scheme now before Parliament for the setting up at a later stage of other local management boards at a lower level than that of the six regions. At the appropriate time Toryism could move in to convert these part-time boards into action and hand over the paying sections of the nationalised transport to the shareholders and finance corporations.

The non-paying lines would remain under state ownership to be run at a loss and subsidised by the taxpayers.

#### SPIRIT OF COMPETITION

Those areas which are foremost in accepting lodging turns, working rest days and overtime will be held up as a fine example. The railway Managers have always worked to play off depot against depot in this manner so that all the Area Boards have to do is to dress up this policy as the "spirit of competition" and give it official sanction on a national scale.

Given success the results of such plans for railwaymen will be obvious. The rank and file would be broken up into competing groups, fighting for a place on Churchill's ladder. All this would be done in the name of "efficiency," something much more respectable than profits and not likely to arouse the kind of public feeling which

Continued on page 4



Page 2 discusses Production

A visit to an Exhibition

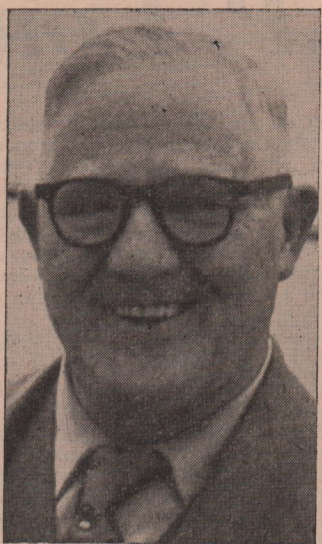
An article on the Mines

Notes from an Engineer

PRODUCTION FOR PLENTY - OF PROFITS

Socialist Outlook Reporter Visits Olympia

WHEN the Editorial Board told me to go and have a look at the Production Exhibition at Olympia, I decided to take Maisie with me.



We didn't ask HIS opinion On Production We knew it!

Well, we arrived at Olympia and the first thing we did after buying our admission tickets was to invest two shillings in an official catalogue.

"Here I say," she asked, "what on earth has he got to do with production?" She had the catalogue open at the frontispiece photograph of the Duke of Edinburgh.

T.U.C. GAVE BLESSING "I see," said Maisie, "that the T.U.C. has given this its blessing."

Being rather sceptical, I had a look for myself. Yes! There it was, an article by Jack Tanner, Chairman, T.U.C. General Council, under the heading "Production for Plenty."

"Let's go and have a cuppa somewhere and have a dekko at it," I said.

We wandered up to the cafe in the gallery.

"Hard luck," said Maisie, "we can't have a cup of tea here. This place is run by Lyons and there's a strike on there at the moment."

So we just sat down somewhere and read through what Jack Tanner wrote. We liked that bit about there is not sufficient in the kitty for everything that can justifiably be requested at the present time.

MANAGERS AND FOREMEN THERE

It was time that we had a look at some of the exhibits. The whole exhibition is planned to stimulate increased production. Jack Tanner wrote that he hoped it would be "attended by many operatives..." but as far as we could see they were all managers, foremen and charge-hand types.

"How nice and clean everything looks," commented Maisie. "Look at those men in their nice white overalls, with hardly a grease-mark on it. Not a bit like

the dungarees you come home in, of an evening!"

Yes, indeed, everything looked clean and beautiful and gave one some idea of what life in a modern factory could be like if the health and welfare of the workers took priority over profits. This exhibition gave one a glimpse of the socialist future but it bore little relation to what was really like in the average factory today.

FACTORIES NEED NOT BE DREARY

The Psychromatics exhibit, for instance, showed that factories need not be dreary, badly ventilated places but could be bright and colourful and cheerful places to work in. But before this becomes a reality in the great majority of enterprises, the profit motive will have to be taken out of production.

By this time, Maisie was standing in front of a placard with some very interesting information on it: (see table below).

The purpose of these statistics were to show the advantages of mechanisation. In fact, it showed up the real purpose of increased production.

Maisie had made some quick calculations. The wage bill had come down by £4,600 and the total savings amounted to £8,600. Who got that increased money? The boss of course.

But that was not all. Increased

Table with 3 columns: Before Mechanisation, After Mechanisation, Saving. Rows include: 25 men at £500 per annum, Tonnage handled 82,550, Lost time through accidents, Building Extension £1,000.

mechanisation had not only permitted the boss to reduce the total number of workers; he had also replaced some of the men with women workers. The result was that the average wage of the workers had come down from £500 to just over £460.

"Production for plenty," commented Maisie with a sniff: "Plenty of profits!"

THE GREAT EMANCIPATOR

We had now reached the Hoover stand. Here we learned that before Hoover and similar enterprises came into existence "women often worked in the home from early morning until late at night. In the factories, hours were long, work hard and wages low."

Then came the year 1919 and "The years of emancipation from household drudgery by Hoover were only just dawning... Electric machines have emancipated women from household drudgery, men from long hours of manual toil."

"And I always thought," murmured Maisie, "that the Trade Union movement had to put up quite a fight to reduce the working day. I wonder what Brother Tanner thinks of all this?"

THINK AGAIN SIR HUBERT - DROP THAT WHIP

IN the middle of a very wet summer we are warned of the possibility of a very cold winter.

No, this is not a weather forecast, but a summary of the speeches of Ernest Jones, President, and Arthur Horner, Secretary, at the N.U.M. conference held this year at Blackpool.

Both of them told the delegates present that unless this country obtained at least an additional 3 million tons of coal this year we would have a severe shortage of coal and the possibility of mass unemployment.

To hear different people "going for" the miners one would think that the yearly output was decreasing, but in reality exactly the opposite applies. The year 1913 saw Britain's highest coal output (with far more pits and far more men than today). Each year from then onwards until 1946 the output and manpower declined. Due to unemployment and bad conditions thousands of miners were enforced to leave the industry and seek

By Miner! Price Jones

employment elsewhere. Out of these conditions was born their determination not to allow their sons to go into the mines. Some people say that these bitter memories of the past should be allowed to die a natural death because after all things really have changed in the industry since nationalisation. But it is hard to forget memories like many miners have and to them most fundamental things have altered very little. Even if certain concessions have been granted many miners feel that these are due not so much to nationalisation, but to the dire shortage of men and coal.

They are not helped to believe that nationalisation in its present form is for the workers' benefit when they are informed that private industry, such as steel, is getting its coal at less than cost price. The bloated profits of these industries are partly subsidised at the expense of the nationalised mines.

Worker's Notes On "Production Symphony"

IT appears that the Duke of Edinburgh has initiated a meeting in which members close to the Royal Family will discuss with men and women on the job how to improve production. I cannot help but wonder how this can be a contributory effort to production when only one side of the conference table will have any knowledge of that peculiar essential to production "WORK."

By D. BURGESS

It would appear from first reports that the trade union E.C.s were surprised at this meeting and stated they had not been consulted. Could it be that the engineer, miner, mill-worker, dustman, etc., will be chosen not for his knowledge of production and conditions but that his or her eyes are a special kind of blue, (Tory blue)?

A NOTE OF WISDOM

The "Daily Herald" of the 5/7/54 adds its note of wisdom to the Production Symphony in its editorial. Referring to the early opposition to machinery it goes on to say that more employment was possible with the motor engine than the horse. It could have added that a motor engine doesn't eat.

The "Daily Herald" also points out that the U.S. worker, because of better production methods, produces two-and-a-half times more than the British worker. The Herald must have got tongue-tied after saying all that, because no mention was made of the U.S. workers wages and conditions which are considerably higher than his British counter-part, even more than two-and-a-half times, believe me—ask the miners.

The employer does not believe in sharing the production cake with his workers—he wants it all.

For years we have had piece-work conditions imposed on us to speed up the job. In case anyone thinks that this allows the worker to earn unlimited wages let me disillusion them.

Prices are based on earning an average of 45 per cent above the base rate and if you are a fast worker and can earn in the region of a 100 per cent the employer will re-assess your prices nearer the 45 per cent and keep the surplus production as extra profits. His excuse is "liberal pricing" and he can and does get away with it.

WOMEN WORKERS

And how about women and production? In the engineering industry (light section) women are employed extensively and mostly on piece-work. They are scandalously under-paid just because they are women. It is a matter of deep reproach that we the organised male section have for years permitted this exploitation of women labour in engineering shops.

Recently, American industrialists visiting the Midlands expressed surprise at the efficient way women engineers carried out their job. They asked the British employer what wages the women

received. It is easy to imagine the uneasy manner in which the British employer admitted it was less than the men's rate for the job. The Americans asked why? The snappy answer was—"It is a political matter."

As an excuse this is a classic. I only hope the women workers make it a political matter by enrolling in the Labour Party by the million and assisting the Left Wing of our Party to implement equal pay for equal work.

EMPLOYERS NO DIFFERENT

As for the employer of 1954 he is very little different from his predecessors who, until legislation was introduced, employed children of eight and nine years in the mines and factories. These employers of a hundred years ago fought that legislation on the lines we are familiar with today—uneconomic; foreign markets disappearing; bankruptcy, and so on.

All right-minded people know that we have to produce in order to pay our way. But the benefits of hard work are not coming our way. The Spivs and parasites, through the race-courses and spend long periods on the Continent flinging money about without having any conscience about "dollar reserves" or protecting the pound.

If the government, employers, and interested Royalty could guarantee a fair living wage and a future for the workers then efforts and production would result as good or better than any other industrial nation in the world.

But in spite of these things output per manshift is higher now than ever before in the history of the coal mining industry.

THE INIQUITOUS BONUS SYSTEM

Horner says that to increase output we must have more men and better conditions must be granted to induce new recruits. To help to encourage these recruits conference decided to press for an ending of the iniquitous 'bonus' system—which at present means that if a man stays off work for one day he loses two days pay—and also to seek full pay for a period of six weeks when a man is off work sick. These are excellent points, especially the last one. If a man doesn't feel too well the pit is no place for him to be, but due to the fact that he just cannot afford to 'play off' he is enforced to carry on working. The longer he carries on in that state the bigger danger he becomes to both himself and his mates and in all probability he will end up by being injured or off work seriously ill.

The new clause will allow him to have the rest he needed in the first place without any worry about financial matters.

NOT SO SIMPLE

The question of extra men mentioned by Horner needs, in my opinion, to be expanded a little. He envisages approximately 15,000 being needed. The point I want to stress is that if these men could be obtained tomorrow it would not mean extra coal the day after tomorrow or even the month after that. Men just cannot go down a pit and begin to 'dig' coal, its not quite as simple as that.

First of all they must have a certain amount of training which will all they must have a certain amount of training which will give them a general idea of pit life, but they are quite a long way from becoming producers (even if they want to). They can, however, start as haulage hands, thereby releasing more experienced men for coal face work. But before these men can start coal-filling there must, obviously, be coal-faces for them to start work on. These must have been developed

over a period of months, and even given these two points of extra experienced men and newly developed faces there remains the third point—that the pit (haulage roads, shaft and winding-engines) must be capable of dealing with the extra coal. Readers will readily see that the contention of extra men being the answer to the need for increased output has got to be considered with some reservations.

Sir Hubert Houldsworth, speaking in reply to Arthur Horner admitted that more men were needed, but that was not the answer. His method is one that older miners will recognise at once. He said: "We need better discipline in the pits. If we could ensure proper discipline we should not have the melancholy loss of more than 700,000 tons of coal this half-year from unofficial stoppages."

MCCARTHY'S ANSWER

Maybe Sir Hubert could obtain some lessons in how to discipline miners from Senator McCarthy. Jack Anderson and Ronald May (two American reporters) tell in their book, "McCarthy, The Man, The Senator, The 'Ism'", of the astonishment they and other reporters felt at a Press conference called by McCarthy when he first went to Washington as a junior senator in 1946. The subject, was the miners' strike then taking place in that country. "Now then," said McCarthy, "about this coal strike. I've got a solution. The army should draft the striking coal-miners. That would solve the problem." "What about Lewis (Miners' leader)," asked a reporter. "Draft him too," was the answer. "And what if they refused (to mine coal)" asked another reporter. "Then they should be court-martialled for insubordination, and you know what that means."

No, Sir Hubert, the problem of mining sufficient coal to satisfy the needs of industry and home-life is a very complex one and will certainly not be solved by threatening to 'discipline' miners.

IMPORTING COAL

Pious hands have been thrown up in horror recently at the news that this country is to import coal to satisfy its needs. But what is so

terrible in that. If consumption has outstripped the ability of the mining industry to produce coal in sufficient quantity then surely it is logical to obtain it from other sources. Why should it be so unthinkable to import coal for our rapidly expanding industries. What is terrible about the business of importing coal is that while the coal is ordered by the government for a national need and at a very big loss (£2-£3 per ton) this loss has got to be borne by the mining industry. Add this to the usual £14½ million compensation and we can easily envisage the headlines when the next N.C.B. Report is issued.

WORKERS CONTROL IS NEEDED

To surmount the difficulty in future years capital expenditure on the sinking of new pits, and the reorganisation of existing ones must be rapidly speeded up. Coupled with that must be more attractive conditions for the workers to induce new entrants and some form of workers' control must be formulated in order to give the miner a greater interest in his job and industry.

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Docker Alleges Wrongful Dismissal

In the High Court, London, last Tuesday, Dan Brandon, a Birkenhead docker brought an action against the Dock Labour Board, alleging he had been wrongfully dismissed.

Together with fifteen other dockers he was charged last December with being absent from the job. He was later dismissed. The others received suspensions varying from one to three days. Dan Brandon is 28 years old

and has worked as a dockers for seven years. He is the former editor of the PORTWORKERS' CLARION, a rank and file dockers paper.

He is a member of the Management Committee of the Labour Publishing Society and has contributed articles from time to time to SOCIALIST OUTLOOK. A full report of the High Court proceedings will appear in our next issue.



# A Vital Lesson From Guatemala

THE United Fruit Company of Boston and the United States Government can for the time being feel safe. Reaction has triumphed in Guatemala. The rule of foreign investors and native landlordism is back in the saddle.

British capitalism too can feel more secure. For Guatemala's land reform was having an effect on British Honduras.

Behind the regime of Jacob Arbenz stood over 100,000 organised industrial workers and 200,000 land-hungry peasants, people who

for years suffered under the exploitation of corrupt native administrators, backed by foreign imperialism. Twice before the workers and peasants had organised to overthrow the attempts of reaction to win back power. A spontaneous uprising of the people in 1950 crushed one such attempt in only three days.

Yet it was possible for the miserable mercenary 5,000 brigands of Colonel Armas to take over in some ten short days. Let us try to answer why.

### AFTER THE 1944 REVOLUTION

Since 1944 the unions in Guatemala had been able to organise

the majority of industrial workers under the central control of the General Confederation of Labour. Under the impulse of seizure of land by the peasantry the government introduced the 1951 land reform measures. Some 350,000 uncultivated acres of United Fruit's land was taken over by the state, who benefited from this were able

Without question, the peasants to better their standard of life. But, even up to the invasion by Wall Street's puppets, only a very small minority of the peasants had been able to acquire their own land. Most of them lived in the miserable poverty-stricken conditions of pre-1944.

The Four-Year Plan of the government to build roads, railways, and a state port at Santa Tomas was supported by the native capitalist class. Guatemala's five ports, all the main roads and her railways were owned and controlled by United Fruit.

Thus the Boston firm was able to levy what charges it wanted for transporting the goods of Guatemala's capitalists. If the local industrialists were to develop, this Four-Year Plan was a necessary step. But for the real industrialisation of the country what was necessary was the expropriation of all foreign capital (not just certain idle land) the establishment of a planned economy, the nationalisation of the land and its distribution to the peasants.

### THE ONLY WAY TO DEFEAT REACTION

Such a thorough programme could only be carried through by a government relying on the workers and peasants. The real choice be-

fore Guatemala was fundamentally—either a workers' and peasants' government or the rule of foreign capital. No middle-road programme could endure. The recent invasion of the hirelings of United Fruit posed the problem at its sharpest.

If Armas was to be defeated then the workers and peasants had to be mobilised. The only effective way to do that was to arm them and divide the land. Only in this way could he mobilise the peasants. Lenin, in the Russian Revolution understood that very clearly, and consequently the peasants were won to the side of the working class in Russia during the revolution.

### REAL RESISTANCE NEVER ORGANISED

The failure of Jacob Arbenz to do this meant that a real resistance was never organised. Instead, true to the class he represented he relied on the regular army and the forlorn hope of United Nations assistance. Unlike France in the 1789 revolution, the native capitalists are not separated from the landlords. The system of mortgages, etc., the fact that many capitalists are landlords themselves, prevents them from dividing the land as the new capitalist class was able to do in Europe. Unable to break from his own class basis, Arbenz capitulated.

To have divided the land and armed the people would have meant not only the probable defeat of Armas. It would have meant also the end of native landlordism and capitalism.

The effects of such measures would undoubtedly have been felt in the rest of Latin America. A bitter strike had just finished in Honduras against United Fruit. The example of Guatemala would have been followed by oppressed workers and peasants elsewhere—in Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, British Honduras and Puerto Rico. And the apparently overwhelming might of American capital can only be really countered by such action.

### NO LEADERSHIP GIVEN

The C.P. strove anxiously to remain close to the national front of Arbenz and bound the advanced workers to the coalition with disastrous results. Arbenz was not, as imperialists declared, a captive of the "communists". Rather, the Stalinists held the masses captive to Arbenz.

Undoubtedly, the Guatemalan people have suffered a defeat at the hands of American imperialism. The lesson is clear. In the fight against imperialism the only force to be relied upon is the organised workers and the toiling people. There can be no compromise in that struggle. A leadership which is unable or unwilling to rally the mass movement to a consistent thorough going programme based on the interests of the working people will lead them only to defeat.

## Engineers Protest

Protests continue at the decision of the E.C. of the A.E.U. to support Gaitskell. Alec Taylor, convenor of shop stewards at Lucas, Birmingham, writes:

"I note with disgust the decision of Executive Council to nominate Gaitskell for Labour Party Treasurership. He has supported German Rearmament against the voice of Labour Constituency Parties and the policy-making body of the A.E.U., which is our National Committee. This decision of the E.C. is in direct contradiction to our National Committee's policy on German Rearmament. My branch, Birmingham South, A.E.U. has gone on record protesting against the E.C. decision, demanding the recall of National Committee, and full support for Nye Bevan."

### FROM TWICKENHAM

At its meeting on July 13, Twickenham branch of the A.E.U. unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"This branch feels that, in record, the reported decision of Executive Council regarding the nomination for treasurer of the Labour Party is in direct conflict with the wishes of the membership.

"We therefore demand that the National Committee be recalled at once so as to arrive at a democratic and representative decision."

### FROM MANCHESTER

Manchester 6 A.E.U. branch have protested at the decision of their E.C. to support Gaitskell and have demanded the recall of the National Committee.

Salford 2 have passed a similar resolution.

Urmston branch have expressed concern and asked E.C. for their reasons.

The A.E.U. Shop Stewards Committee of Platts have asked the District Committee to protest and have also asked E.C. for their reasons.

### FROM LEEDS

From Councillor Lance Lake of Leeds comes this report:

The A.E.U. rank and file in the Leeds area are coming out of their stunned shock at the act of their Executive Committee in nominating Gaitskell for the Treasurership of the Labour Party. Pencils are going to paper and members are drafting resolutions of protest which will begin to flow through the Branches in a matter of days.

About 30 A.E.U. delegates to the General Committee of the City of Leeds Labour Party were unanimous in support of Bevan's nomination. They have also called upon Leeds District Committee of the Union to protest strongly to the Executive Committee and to

demand the recall of the National Committee.

On the Constituency Party front, the Right Wing in Leeds are playing on the fact that Gaitskell represents a Leeds constituency. "Decency" they allege, demands that Gaitskell should have the support of the Labour Movement in Leeds. This argument, coming from people who often accuse the Left of sentimentality, is false—and they know it.

Does Mr. Gaitskell command the support of Arthur Deakin because he represents South Leeds? Mr. Gaitskell gets Deakin's support because Deakin can rely on him to carry out the policy of Deakin. Similarly, Leeds workers are not fooled by geographical considerations and will support Mr. Bevan precisely because he advocates that Socialist policy most in line with the needs and wishes of the rank and file.

In spite of an appeal circulated by South Leeds Constituency Labour Party, South-East (Denis Healey's division) and Central Leeds Constituency Parties have already nominated Mr. Bevan.

By R. Pennington

ma's five ports, all the main roads and her railways were owned and controlled by United Fruit. Thus the Boston firm was able to levy what charges it wanted for transporting the goods of Guatemala's capitalists. If the local industrialists were to develop, this Four-Year Plan was a necessary step. But for the real industrialisation of the country what was necessary was the expropriation of all foreign capital (not just certain idle land) the establishment of a planned economy, the nationalisation of the land and its distribution to the peasants.

### THE ONLY WAY TO DEFEAT REACTION

Such a thorough programme could only be carried through by a government relying on the workers and peasants. The real choice be-

## EXPECT

TOTAL EXTINCTION

—C.D. OFFICER

"THERE is a population of 250,000 in our borough and if an H-bomb fell here we could expect total extinction." That is what a Civil Defence Officer is reported to have said in reply to an interview from an organisation known as the "A Group." This group recently visited a number of Civil Defence officers in London boroughs asking them questions on the H-bomb.

Have you any instructions as to what action the Civil Defence forces are to take in case a hydrogen bomb drops in this area? was one of the questions asked. The reported answer of the Islington officer was: "North Finchley (a neighbouring borough) will dig us out. At the worst, if the whole country were devastated we could expect help from France and the rest of Europe."

Islington would face "total extinction" if an H-bomb dropped on it. A bomb on London, said one C.D. officer, would produce 800,000 to 1,000,000 people homeless "without the injured and killed which would be difficult to estimate."

The Paddington officer, it is reported, declared half of the population of the borough, 60,000 people, would be dead and wounded. The actual target would have to be "written off" for three days.

The officers interviewed were asked if they had anything in print giving information about the hydrogen bomb. All replied no. One added he had a leaflet stating the napalm bomb would probably not be used. Another said what he knew he learned himself and that was very little. Most of them seemed to agree that there would be five minutes warning of an attack. Chelsea, these reports say—which expected "total extinction" if an H-bomb dropped—stated it

would take 36 hours to evacuate this smallest of London's boroughs. As protective equipment, this borough had denim overalls, scarves and rubber boots.

According to his interviewers, the Kensington C.D. chief declared, "all water would not be radioactive, radio activity affects sea-water only because of the sodium in it." Another officer (Chelsea) is, however, reported to have said that radio-active water might be caused by the "fall-out." He added, the H-bomb was largely a press scare.

Another officer "had not realised the range of the 1952 hydrogen bomb explosion." He added: "unless they bring one out with a radius of 400 miles, England will still be here, there will still be a fringe area to be dealt with." He made the additional comment that the use of the H-bomb "is a question of finance, these things are colossal expensive and not a feasible proposition because of expense."

An interviewer reports that he was told by the Finchley Civil Defence officer not to take it so seriously. He states this officer was of the opinion that "... in dealing with the H-bomb we had to remember there were only two differences. One was that it was larger than an ordinary bomb and the other was it gave off radiation... If a person was not near the centre of the explosion then even if he got radiation sickness then although it would take time he would probably recover.

He said "that the job of Civil Defence was to do what they could. To tackle each job as they came along. Their main purpose was to care for the survivors, to feed and clothe them and get them back to their homes, back to the jobs and back to industry—which would enable us to continue the war."

## American Newsletter

# Further Drive by McCarthyism

New York, July

THE American capitalist class is daily growing more determined to resolve its difficulties with the sheer force of reaction. It is this outlook that is nourishing forces of McCarthyite fascism. At the same time a gro realization of this fact is now being voiced in the labour and the Negro people. The following news illustrate some of the thinking taking place on both sides of the class fence.

### Chinese Workers Convicted

Last month in New York, the CHINA DAILY NEWS, an anti-Chiang Kai-shek Chinese language paper was convicted of "trading with the enemy" by a Federal Judge after a seven-day trial without a jury. The paper was fined \$25,000 and its editor sentenced to jail for two years. Three Chinese laundry workers were convicted of the same charge. One escaped with a suspended sentence. The other two received a year in prison.

The paper was convicted on the ground that it had published advertisements from two Hong Kong banks informing Chinese in America how they could legally get money to relatives in China. The U.S. Treasury Department has ruled that sending money to China constitutes "trade with the enemy" despite the fact this country is not at war with China. The three workers were convicted sending money from their meagre wages to needy relatives in China.

### Unions to be Denied Rights

A sharper expression of the current mentality of the American rulers is some of the legislation now pending in Congress. A bill now before the Senate would bring the unions under the scope of the McCarran Act. This would mean that any union designated by the Subversive Activities Control Board as "communist infiltrated" would be denied the lawful right of collective bargaining. Another bill would in effect des-

troy the Constitutionally guaranteed right of an individual to fuse to give evidence of a sible self-incriminatory nature.

### Wire Tapping Legalised

The House of Representatives has approved a bill legalising admission into court of evidence obtained by wire tapping. It also voted to make peace espionage punishable by death. While the final disposition of these and other reactionary measures is still undecided, they illustrate the mood of the capitalists.

The ultimate logic of social thinking was expressed in an incredible editorial in the long-established, liberal BOSTON GLOBE. Casting those who wish for the return of the "comfortable times" prior to World War I, the GLOBE observed that "a generation denied vitamins of grim experience turn namby pamby..."

And after all, the GLOBE speculates, "Suppose we did this planet to atoms? There others. And besides the collective sense of humanity prove equal to keeping planet intact. It is at least worth trying."

### A Refreshing Contrast

In refreshing contrast to the vile reaction and sheer lunacy the items reported above are two important new expressions of anti-McCarthyism: The constitution of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which concluded July adopted a resolution declaring that "Under the banner of fight Communism, McCarthyism to lead the nation to fascism. It also denounces the 'increasingly odious' role of professional informers. Dr. Ralph Bunche, N.A.A.C.P. leader, was recently the target of two such inform-

In Detroit, the executive board of Local 212 of the powerful C.I.O. United Auto Workers adopted a resolution warning its members and all other defenders of democracy, to "recognise McCarthyism for the danger it represents—the danger of reactionary fascist dictatorship." The board declares it rejects "the totalitarian procedures and denial of basic individual and democratic rights as a pretext for fighting communism."

## AN IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

There will be no issue of the SOCIALIST OUTLOOK on Friday, August 6, owing to holidays.

You have up to next Wednesday to boost this month's Fighting Fund (see page 4).

If you are fortunate enough to be going away for a holiday, don't forget to bring back a present for the Christmas Bazaar.

## + WORLD NEWS + in Brief

IN NAIROBI, KENYA, a 20-year-old girl, Wanji Johanna was sentenced to death by the Supreme Court. Carried into court on a stretcher, with bullet wounds in both legs. She was accused of being a member of a gang who murdered a European at Nyeri on June 5.

AT SOUSSE in TUNISIA, French Authorities have imposed a curfew following anti-French demonstrations in the protectorate.

THAILAND is to receive an immediate increase in U.S. Military aid.

IN BRAZIL, workers have won a claim for the doubling of the minimum wage. The country's 8 Labour Federations had threatened

a general strike for July 1 if their demands were not met.

IN ITALY on June 30 the cattle and dairy workers' strike was called off. Negotiations are now proceeding which it is expected will produce an increase in minimum pay rates of around £12 10s. per year.

IN GUATEMALA CITY up to July 15 over 4,000 people had been arrested. The new dictatorship alleges that these are suspected of being communists.

THE YEMEN LEGATION in London said in a statement issued on July 13 that "raids by Aden forces continue into Yemeni territory and British planes are

still carrying out their terror flights over the Yemeni town of Beida."

JAPAN'S unemployed is now the 4,000,000 region.

THE MEXICAN Government refused parole to F. Jacson, serving a prison sentence for murder of Leon Trotsky August, 1940.

DURBAN stevedores have ended their strike on being granted an increase of 1s. 3d., bringing their daily earnings to 11s. 6d.

PERUVIAN SINGER Y SUMAC was detained by American immigration authorities July 6 for questioning on political beliefs. Both she and her husband insisted they had never taken any interest in politics.



# Aggression: A New Definition

A RATHER interesting definition of aggression has recently been made by Mr. Clifton Webb, the New Zealand External Affairs Minister.

"The difficulty," he said, on July 6, "is not so much military aggression—that can be halted by military effort. The West is up against ideological aggression which, by taking advantage of poverty and distress in underprivileged areas, seeks to gain domination over the mind of man." ("Manchester Guardian," 7/54).

No doubt it was "ideological

until they have the approval of the Party branches. It should be the job of the Labour movement to devise machinery for this before the next election.

Croydon reader

## Mauritius More Threats

Last week, according to a news item in the "Evening Standard" of July 9, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, told the Cabinet that "he is disturbed by Indian threats to Mauri-

Guiana, has been ruled up to now by, and in the interest of, the sugar barons? Their power and privileges are now being threatened by the increased political consciousness of the people.

Is the Labour Movement going to stand idly by while Mr. Lyttelton prepares to repeat his British Guiana "experiment" and dispatch a gunboat and some troops to Mauritius? This would still further destroy Labour's tattered reputation in the colonies.

There is a well-founded rumour going around that Mr. Lyttelton is shortly retiring from the Cabinet and returning to the City. The sugar interests will, no doubt, be only too pleased to find him a place on one of their boards in return for services rendered.

S. W. 9. Harold Stocking

## German Re-armament

David Gray's call for close partnership with our German brothers (SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, July 16) can be faulted on only one detail: "The disarmament of the Blank-Naumann-Adenauer clique is the responsibility, first and foremost, of the German workers." Maybe, but can we be certain that the Socialist elements in the western zone will ever have sufficient strength to withstand the power of the Ruhr barons and their militarist allies?

Look at the background: Hitler succeeded in smashing the German progressives to smithereens, with the result that there is now virtually no solid Socialist basis for a developing movement; Ernest Bevin's post-war policy settled the old gang firmly back in the seats of power and the Americans have emptied the jails of war criminals, giving the latter a free hand to play up the discontents of the millions of refugees from the Eastern territories.

The trade unions of Western Germany have staked their future on chimerical schemes of "Industrial partnership" and "co-determination" and are as dead poli-

tically as even our Arthur could desire, while the Social Democratic Party offers only the shadow of a Socialist policy and is led by well-meaning nonentities like Ollenhauer and Schmidt along an opportunist path.

If we leave it to the German workers alone to put up a fight against resurgent Nazism, we shall all go down together.

Carmarthen David E. Painting

## Reply from David Gray

Comrade Painting's criticism of my article should be treated very seriously, as it undoubtedly expresses ideas widespread in the movement.

I am driven to reflect that a German worker in Comrade Painting's position (or my own) might remark: "Ernest Bevin's post-war policy settled the old gang (in Britain) firmly back in the seats of power... the trade unions" of Britain "have staked their future on chimerical schemes of 'greater productivity' and 'wage restraint' and are as dead politically as even our" Erich Ollenhauer "could desire, while the" Labour Party "offers only the shadow of a Socialist policy and is led by well-meaning (?) nonentities like Attlee and Morrison along an opportunist path."

All of which would be perfectly true—so far as it goes. But, of course, such a German worker would be overlooking, as Comrade Painting overlooks, the reality behind the façade. Behind the social-democratic leaders, there is in both countries a rank and file who are moving more and more towards a rejection of right-wing opportunism and an advance to their common socialist future.

The Socialist movement must be international. A lack of confidence in any of its national sections to do the job reflects a lack of faith in Labour as a class to perform its historic task on a world scale. D.G.

# Cole Criticises "Welfare State"

This is the first of two articles in which we discuss the new pamphlet by G. D. H. Cole, "IS THIS SOCIALISM?" ("New Statesman and Nation", 1/-)

THIS pamphlet is one which every member of the Labour Party should read, study and digest. Some of our leaders should try to answer some of Professor Cole's provocative questions and search their consciences at the same time.

The pamphlet is not without its shortcomings. Professor Cole takes it as axiomatic that for Britain there is only one road to Socialism—the parliamentary road. He does not seem to have absorbed the lesson of British Guiana that where the real interests of the ruling class are threatened they will destroy the democratic framework.

It is surely not too far-fetched to believe that, with American

the nature of the struggle against capitalism and the essential tasks required in the building of a socialist society. Comrade Cole shows quite clearly that they are very far from such an understanding.

### A WEAKNESS

One of its weaknesses is the pamphlet's pessimism about the electoral prospects of a full-blooded socialist policy. It is precisely the striking similarity between so many aspects of Labour policy and Tory policy which makes a great number of workers stay away from the polls and why a large section of the middle class still adhere to Toryism.

A decisive break with bi-partisanship in home and foreign policies may result in a temporary set-back at the next General Election. But once the great mass of the people begin to feel the long-term effect of Tory policy they will see in Socialism the only genuine alternative and will be prepared, not only to vote for it but to fight for it as well, should such an eventuality become necessary.

These criticisms aside, the pamphlet raises issues which our movement had better face up to if it wishes to play a decisive role in the fateful years which lie immediately ahead.

By C. Van Gelderen

connivance, a genuinely Socialist policy would be resisted, by force of arms if necessary, and the Labour movement must be prepared to retaliate in kind. Or perhaps Comrade Cole thinks—it can't happen here!

"If we do not advance rapidly towards Socialism", says Professor Cole, "it is because... many politicians who are professed Socialists... have lost the simple faith in Socialism with which most of them began... and have come to entertain doubts whether the attempt to establish Socialism does not involve too great risks for the game to be worth the candle."

Why have these "professed Socialists" lost their "simple faith in Socialism"? What is the reason for their frustration? The answer surely is that while they machine sucked them into its maw thought they could master the state machine, in fact the state mastered the Socialists.

The six years of Labour Government and its Tory aftermath simply proved once again how right Carl Marx was when he maintained that the working class would have to destroy the existing state structure—an instrument of the ruling class—and build a new type of state in its place.

Whether that transition will come about by peaceful or violent means is for history to decide. It will depend, ultimately, on the strength and resistance of the old ruling class and the decisiveness of Labour's advance towards Socialism.

The subjective will of the leadership is of vital importance. But of far greater significance is that the leadership should understand

### SOCIALISM—A CLASSLESS SOCIETY

Professor Cole defines Socialism as "a society without classes" and then goes on to examine if the result of six years of Labour in power has brought us any nearer to such a classless society.

"Socialists," he writes, "saw the gross inequalities of income as proceeding much more from the 'rights of poverty' than from differential rewards in return of unequal services." In practice, however, the Labour government was much more concerned about inequalities of income than inequalities of property. "True, of industries and services; but they have compensated the owners, if not with generosity, at any rate so as to leave them with their claims to income broadly intact."

As Professor Cole writes: "It would certainly have surprised the Socialist pioneers very much to find a Socialist government proceeding in this way: for they took it for granted that the advances towards Socialism would involve the abolition of the toll levied by private owners of the means of production on the current product of social labour."

The roots of economic and social inequality lie in the private ownership of the means of production and not, primarily, in the differentials of incomes. Why then, did not the Labour government attack inequality at its roots?

Is it because the Party did not have a mandate from the electors to introduce full-blooded socialism? This is, no doubt, the excuse put forward by the leadership—that is, if their consciences worry them at all on this score. But is it the real reason and if it is, what are we, as Socialists, going to do about it?

We will return to this in our next article and deal fully, both with Professor Cole's criticisms of the Labour government and the alternative policies which he proposes.

### MEETINGS

#### ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE

"Socialist Outlook" Meeting, Wednesday, July 31, at 7.30 p.m. 44 Winton Street, (near Charles-town Station). Speaker: BOB PENNINGTON.

#### ATHERTON AND TYLDESLEY

"Socialist Outlook" Meeting, Sunday, July 25 at 7.0 p.m. Atherton Labour Club, Tyldesley Road, Atherton. Speaker: BOB PENNINGTON (L.P.S. Management Committee). (Not July 18 as previously advertised).



Correspondence should be as brief as possible and addressed to The Editorial Board, 177, Bermondsey St., London, SE1

aggression" which justified the suspension of the constitution in British Guiana and the dispatch of troops; brutal methods in Kenya to prevent a growing African movement of liberation; and—more recently—justified U.S. action against Guatemala!

What an invaluable definition of aggression for the reactionary forces of the world. If Labour should be returned to power pledged to oppose German re-armament, or if the Left Wing should win in the party, this would certainly be denounced as "ideological aggression."

London, S.E.27 D. Hopwood

## Cabinet Secrets

K. G. Brown attacks the absurd secrecy of the Cabinet system. (S.O. July 16). But it is not enough that, as he suggests, the people should know what the Cabinet is doing.

The important thing is that, if Labour government is returned, the Cabinet shall carry out the orders of the Labour Party rank and file. No major decisions must be permitted to a Labour Cabinet

# Frustrated and Bewildered The Problem of Youth To-day

THE jitteriness of the social authorities towards the actions of the youth knows no bounds. Every time young people attempt to step out of the drabness and hum drum of every day life the incident is magnified far beyond its real importance. Each passing craze or harmless adventure is taken up by the powers that courts, the press, etc., and given the appearance of petty crime.

Such was the case with the young people who took to wearing clothing of the Edwardian style, a harmless enough craze, but the "Teddy Boys" have become universally associated with petty crime and delinquency.

Now we have become acquainted with the "crime" of the girls, of a Beeston, Notts. School, who have branded themselves with the initial letters of the names of their boy friends. Two fourteen-year-olds, hauled up before the whole school, ordered to remove their bandages and display to the public gaze of their schoolmates their shameful and shocking actions.

The head-teacher expresses her disgust and announces to the assembled pupils that one girl has received a sound caning from her parents. This was obviously intended as an ominous warning to

insolent and threatened to fetch his parents, the master admitted to striking him three or four times. And the magistrates, the administrators of justice? They could not agree that the spanking was unreasonable or excessive. The case was dismissed.

### PROGRESSIVE INSTINCTS STIFLED

This is how modern society treats young people, all in the name of adult authority. Youth must conform strictly to the rules laid down by its elders, if it does not do so it is committing an unpardonable crime. Young people are hemmed in on all sides by "do's" and "don'ts", if they do not accept the rules and codes of behaviour of adult society they are outlawed and ostracised. The youth are wrong, the elders are right and must be obeyed.

It all boils down to the social struggle—the generation of tomorrow breaking away from the conservatism of to-day. That is why the authorities are scared. Youth seeks all the adventurous avenues of life, but Authority holds them back. Frustrated and bewildered they turn to all sorts of crazes and activities, some not desirable, according to adult standards. But their activities are the direct result of capitalist society's refusal to acknowledge them. All the progressive instincts of youth are stifled at birth.

### OUR TASK

For socialists the task is clear. Give every encouragement to the youth, sympathy for and understanding of their problems—seek to integrate them in our ranks on the basis that we will fight with them against the iniquities and inequalities of the decadent system which tramples on them. Without the support of the youth, we cannot achieve the socialist society of tomorrow.

## Fighting Fund

Comrades, our figure has increased during the past week by only a little over £6. Remember that we close this month's account next week. So dig in and fork out as quickly as possible, please.

Our thanks to: Anon., 2s. 6d.; Birmingham readers, £2 4s. 6d.; Peter readers, 10s.; Islington readers, £1 10s. 3d.; Leeds readers, £1 6d.; Norwood readers, 18s. 6d.; M., 2s.; F. Richardson, 1s.; R. Shelley readers, £1 3s.; Sparks, 6d.; South-West London readers, £4 1s.; West London readers, £5 4s.; Westminster readers, £2 2s. 6d.

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By Mickie Shaw

any one else who might be contemplating wearing their "hearts on their sleeves." The incident was universally reported in the press and made much of, the girls were made to appear like petty criminals.

Contrast this with the attitude of the local bench towards a school-master from a Nottingham School. The parents of a junior school boy brought action against the teacher for hitting the boy during a gym lesson. Other pupils gave testimony and the master himself admitted spanking the boy. When the boy protested and