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# Socialist Outlook

**WEEKLY**

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FRIDAY, MAY 28th, 1954

3d.

**EDEN  
and  
PEACE**

(page 2)

## Scarboro' 1954

**P**OLICY discussion in preparation for this year's National Conference of the Labour Party at Scarborough is now under way. The trade unions and the delegate meetings of the Constituency Labour Parties will be voicing their opinions in resolution form during the next few weeks. What they say may well be decisive for the future development of the Labour Party. Everything points to the maturing of the most serious crisis which has yet afflicted our movement.

It is first of all necessary to shed illusions about Party unity. Morecambe revealed two distinct tendencies within the Party and, in embryo form, two irreconcilable policies. Margate was distinguished by the way in which the C.L.P.s pressed home and elaborated the socialist point of view in their resolutions. In an equally determined way their views, and those of some of the unions were blocked by the right wing controlling the party machine. There was no give and take either from the ranks or the platform.

### CONFLICT MUST BE RESOLVED

A party cannot live for ever with such a division. One way or another the conflict must be resolved. The recent "discipline" sessions of the N.E.C. directed against Mr. Bevan and his friends emphasise, in no uncertain manner, the approach of "operation showdown". It is no accident that Herbert Morrison supplied the spark for the recent flare up. That is his job. It was precisely for the fight against "Bevanism" that he was hoisted on to the National Executive by the efforts of some of the big Trade Unions. Morrison thus speaks and acts for them. His naive remarks about assuming the resolution on personal attacks had lost its validity, is taken seriously by nobody. He, above all, is at least well dressed in party procedure.

The whole episode was another step towards tightening the organisational noose around the left wing on the eve of Scarborough. It is useless and dangerous for Labour's left wing to blind itself to these real facts.

### MARGATE AND FOREIGN POLICY

Last year a compromise was reached by the N.E.C. on foreign policy. At the last moment, without the rank and file being consulted, it was introduced into the proceedings. The majority of delegates heard of it first through the national press. The result was bitter resentment from the rank and file.

The nature of the statement itself is worth thinking over. Some left wing comrades on the platform sincerely attempted to justify this foreign policy statement on the grounds that it had some "good points" and included some of the decisions of Morecambe. But what did it achieve? It created confusion in the ranks which threatened the unity of the

left on the floor with the left on the platform. It solved absolutely nothing so far as the general unity of the party was concerned. A few months later the crisis on German Re-armament burst the movement wide open again. The lesson, therefore is, such a compromise with the right wing on policy is not only impossible, but disastrous.

### BOLD SOCIALIST POLICIES NEEDED

All experience goes to show that Labour's left must prepare for Scarborough by the presentation of bold socialist policies which are vital for the future of the party. Mr. Bevan implicitly himself recognises this when he speaks of past errors in the field of foreign policy. The country itself emphasised the need when it routed the Tories in the recent

## Editorial

local elections. The left has the only alternative to Toryism. The people would stand behind that. The task now is to press ahead with a socialist policy which will sweep the movement to power in the next election.

On home affairs there must be no retreat on our policy of nationalisation. Not only must this be extended to cover all major industries and the land, but the whole system of compensation must be reviewed. Except in needy cases to be decided by appropriate commissions appointed by the Labour and trade union movement there should be no compensation payments to Big Business.

The democratisation of industry follows as a necessary socialist corollary to nationalisation. Workers' control exercised by the trade union rank and file is absolutely essential.

The backbone of Labour's foreign policy must be all-out opposition to the war plans of American Imperialism against the colonial revolution, the Soviet Union and the non-capitalist countries. No support for N.A.T.O. or E.D.C. The withdrawal of troops from Germany which are propping up German militarism.

### HOW TO PROCEED

Labour must march in a truly internationalist spirit with the working people of all countries in their opposition to war. The fight against war means a struggle against the policy of the Tories both at home and abroad. It means:

Breaking the Anglo-American Economic and Military Alliance, and withdrawing U.S. troops from Britain. Ending secret diplomacy. Let the people know what is being discussed.

Opposition to the Tory policy of military expenditure and conscription. No support for war in Indo-China. Hands off Asia. Freedom and independence for the colonial people.

Withdrawal of all British troops from overseas colonial possessions. Let the inhabitants of these areas choose the government they think best suited to their interests. That would end the scandals of Malaya, Kenya and British Guiana.

If we proceed at Scarborough along these lines our movement will not only be strengthened considerably but will have taken the necessary steps to defeat the Tories in the next election.

# Railwaymen Fight For Principle

By Our Industrial Correspondent

**O**VER 3,000 drivers and firemen are now on strike against what they consider to be an attempt by the Railway Executive to return to the much hated pre-war frequency of "lodging turns."

Strike action became necessary when the union leadership, disregarding the high feeling in the ranks (at least 20 resolutions hostile to lodging turns are down for discussion at the forthcoming conference of the engine-drivers' and firemen's union) arrived at an agreement with the Railway Executive for extra lodging turns on freight services.

Eight important depots—Old Oak Common (Paddington), Bristol, Newton Abbot, Cardiff, Banbury, Severn Tunnel, Wolverhampton and Llanelli are now involved. Sympathy for their action is increasing in other regions, and there is a growing confidence

among the men that the strike can be successful.

From the start of the strike a barrage of abuse has spewed forth from Fleet Street. The "funny paper"—the "Daily Mirror" howled over "This Mad Strike." There has been a campaign to whip up public opinion against the men in a manner typical of the labour-hating Tory press.

The sincere desire of the men to

arrive at a solution has been carefully obscured. At Newton Abbot, where the strike began, the secretary of the local branch of the A.S.L.E. & F. declared: "We only want the position to return to the status quo in order that we may get round the table and go fully into the question of efficiency and economies."

The British Transport Commission flatly rejects this modest proposition to discuss with the men

who suffer under the changes. It thus bears the full responsibility for the strike. As usual Fleet Street is busy laying the blame on the wrong shoulders.

### TORY POLICY INVOLVED

The railwaymen on strike are fighting for a principle which affects the whole of the Labour Movement. As an article on this page by a railwayman makes clear, they are fighting against a return to the bad conditions of pre-war days. The Tory policy ever since the present government obtained power on a minority vote in 1951 has been directed in a thousand and one ways to this end. The time has come to call a halt and the rail strikers have done just this.

Labour Parties, trade union branches and factory committees must support these men. Donations and messages of support should be forwarded to:

**Mr. Fred. Tregidden, 58 Greyhound Road, London, N.W.10.**

## Lodging Turns . . . A Cancer

By Bob Shaw

**T**HE strike of engine men over the introduction of new lodging turns has given fair warning to the Management that their declared intention to save £16½ million by "economy" measures will be resisted, if by economy is meant worsening conditions. And it is now clear that, so far as the Transport Commission is concerned, efficiency and economy on British Railways does mean a return to the pre-war hey-day when the Companies' word was law.

Train crews must work at hours at which most workers would boggle but they are accepted as unavoidable. Lodging turns, however, can be kept down to the minimum by the proper planning of train relief and with just as much economy. In some parts of the country railwaymen accept a certain amount of lodging as part of the job, largely because the lodging turns have never been abolished since before the war. In the Western region—where the Management is now trying to introduce more lodging turns—they

are resisted because they are clearly seen as the thin end of the wedge for a return to pre-war conditions when about 1,300 lodging turns were worked in this region per year.

In those days lodging turns were the general rule and trainmen were more often away from home than not. In some cases the train crews would spend 3 or 4 nights or days away from home, in each week. Many tales are now told about the "private" lodgings to which men were obliged to go, in some of which the beds were never allowed to get cold and a great number were of doubtful repute.

Railwaymen are determined not to return to those conditions and yet the leadership of both the A.S.L.E. & F. and the N.U.R. have agreed to a return of the old system of private lodgings. Even where railway hostels are provided these are often badly sited, noisy and badly kept. A notorious one in the north is inside the loco yard and opposite the coal hopper! Good food is a rarity and men are reduced more often than not to feeding for themselves with the traditional "fry" resulting in stomach complaints galore.

Mr. Allen, ex-General Secretary

of the A.S.L.E. & F. now a member of the Transport Commission stated in 1947, before taking his £5,000 a year job, "Double home work is the cancer eating away the home life of our men." Mr. Allen has now conveniently forgotten his words and the union leaders are not sufficiently aware of them, but they are true nevertheless, and give the real reason behind opposition to lodging. The home always suffers where the husband is more often than not away from home, and many are the trainmen who have in desperation chucked the job for "regular days" and a happier home life. It would be interesting too, to look into the suicide rate amongst enginemen and see how many of these can be traced to a dislocated home life coupled with an exacting job.

For the Management, economy and efficiency is now the magic phrase and one with which they have hypnotised the leadership of all three railway unions. All is sanctioned in its name because we are told a crumb or two may fall for the rank and file table.

The Management's intention is clear, their policy is to save money by cutting down the staff and if this means trainmen lodging away from home every other week then they must do it or else! The rank and file are not to be consulted, the agreement of the leaders is enough. For the rest use the whip and back to the good old days.

But this is not the 1930's and railwaymen will have the last word. There is a growing opposition to the cutting drive, and a determination not to accept even a slight worsening of conditions. The Western men are the spearhead of this opposition but the attack must be broadened to include all railwaymen and in opposition to all the Management's economy measures.

The leaders must demand that all the cutting schemes including lodging turns, must be suspended pending a satisfactory settlement on wages, pensions and welfare. Demand a trade union sponsored enquiry into railway finances, including the compensation payments. Here is a cut which could be made, of some size. Give railwaymen a square deal. Support the fight of the Western men.

### CONSTRUCTIONAL ENGINEERING UNION

#### Increased Wage Application

A MASS MEETING will be held at the **CENTRAL HALL, BATH STREET, GLASGOW** Sunday, 30th May Commencing 7 p.m. prompt

Mass meetings are to be held in every division in the country in connection with the union's claim. Members will be advised through the press and by other methods when they are taking place.

Jack Stanley, General Secretary, C.E.U.

## An Appeal to Readers

By the Editorial Board

**M**ANY letters have been received by the Editorial Board of "Socialist Outlook" hailing the decision of the shareholders of the Labour Publishing Society to retain the paper on the original socialist course for which it was founded.

The new Editorial Board has proceeded in line with the responsibility vested in it by the Annual General Meeting. We intend to keep our readers fully informed of our perspectives, our successes and our difficulties.

... We are equally opposed to sectarian dogmatism as to opportunism. We are firmly convinced that the application of socialist

policies will enable the maximum unity of all forces in the Labour Movement.

Our paper will continue to strive to win the Labour Movement to a consistent left wing policy. A policy of opposition to the war drive on the colonial revolution, the Soviet Union and the non-capitalist countries. A policy for colonial freedom, for the withdrawal of troops from the colonies, for an end to the Tory Government and for the pursuance of vigorous anti-capitalist measures on the home front.

The columns of our paper are open, as before, to all who wish to help this struggle along regardless of whether or not they agree with the Editorial Board.

In the field of administration our first task is to place the paper

on a sound financial footing. Here, we have decided on a course which we believe is unique in the history of Labour weeklies. "Socialist Outlook" is now being compiled and dispatched by voluntary labour. To cover expenses we need to maintain the Fighting Fund at £70 per month. We feel confident that this appeal will meet with a ready response.

We are pleased to note that circulation campaigns are being planned in a number of cities. We will place at the disposal of supporters of the paper in these districts a loudspeaker van for week-end campaigning. All we require is adequate notice.

All readers or shareholders who desire to help should make contact with the Editorial Board who will put you in touch with your local "Outlook" agent.

### Change of Address

Socialist Outlook address is now **177 Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1**  
Phone: HOP 3227  
All correspondence must be addressed to the Editorial Board.

### Editorial Board

**M. BANDA  
G. HEALY  
W. HUNTER  
T. MERCER  
J. STANLEY**

# Can Eden Bring Peace?

## Labour Must Have No Illusions

**H**AS Eden assumed the mantle of a peace-maker? Is he the bearer at Geneva of a policy for peace; the restraining hand on Washington, the cooling influence on nations; the great figure on which can rest the hope of fearful peoples haunted by the spectre of hell-bomb war?

Truth answers no! A brutal answer? Only to those who live in a world of illusion who believe that the peace of the world can be guaranteed by the statesmen of capitalist governments—or indeed any statesmen bargaining in secret.

Illusions in general are dangerous. Particularly so, on the vital questions of war and peace. It is highly dangerous to believe that Eden's role at Geneva is to make the conference work for peace as against Dulles' attempt to disrupt it, or that Eden is telling the U.S. Government to go it alone on the South-East Asia Alliance.

True, there have been reports of

By  
**Bill Hunter**

differences between American and British Governments over procedure at Geneva and over the South-East Asia pact. But it is necessary to be clear just precisely what those differences are and just how deep they go.

Right at the outset let us say that these differences are tactical not fundamental. The basic aim of the British and American Government is identical in Asia. Both agree on the need to "contain" communism—in the terminology of the Western diplomatic world, that means both agree that the colonial revolution must be suppressed. They said as much in the Dulles-Eden communique issued after Dulles' visit to Britain last month. There they made plain their common aim to build up a firm imperialist front in Asia.

Their fundamental aims at Geneva have also been identical. They have proceeded with the intention of probing in the secret discussions just how far the Soviet leaders go along with the colonial revolution. They have proceeded to exert pressure on them and aim to strike a bargain with them at the expense of the colonial revolution.

On Indo-China they aim for the best possible grounds to stabilise the situation temporarily and prevent an extension of Vietnam—the real power in that country. As stated in the "Socialist Outlook"

of last week American Big Business hopes to involve as many allies as possible in the guaranteeing of a "settlement" which is bound to blow up sooner or later. That is also the aim of Eden and his government.

Whence then arose the differences? Certainly they arose around the question of the South-East Asia Alliance. But both Governments agreed on the purpose and need of such an alliance. "There is no question of British aloofness from considering the subject of collective defence in South-East Asia" commented the "Times" on May 20th. The discrepancy between the British and American views, it declared to be one of "timing". That is, precisely one of tactics. American Big Business would prefer to see an Asian pact now as an added weight to its bargaining at Geneva. President Eisenhower's remark last week to a press conference that a workable South-East Asia Alliance might be built without Britain was evidently meant to prod the British Government along.

The British Government under the heat of a greater anti-war pressure at home, wishing to involve the Asian countries wants the actual conclusion of the pact to be held over till after Geneva. It hopes to be able to lay the blame for a breakdown there, if a breakdown occurs, on the Soviet and Chinese leaders—thus whip-

ping up more support from its population at home and in Asia. If there is a "settlement" at Geneva it hopes to involve the Asian nations in the pact to guarantee that settlement itself.

The "New York Herald Tribune" on May 20th gave the views of the British Government as being: "...Creation of a pact prior to the outcome of the Geneva Conference will endanger its chances of success.

"Action at this time will destroy the chances of securing participation of such Asian countries as Burma and Ceylon."

What disrupts all timetables is an anti-war sentiment of the peoples. In face of that the U.S. could not go it alone in Indo-China. In face of a greater pressure the British time-table for the Alliance is slower than that of the U.S.

It is not any "new peace-look" of Eden, it is the opposition to war of the mass of the people, which disrupts the war plans and slows down time-tables. It is on that opposition that the Labour Movement must base itself and not on any illusions in capitalist statesmen or secret meetings of the Great Powers. A sustained campaign against the South-East Asia Alliance and a positive organisation of the sentiment against war—that is the only way to fight the preparations for the Third World Atomic conflict.

## SPOTLIGHT ON COLONIES

By  
**Bernard Dix**

**T**HE 1953 Annual Conference of the Labour Party had very little to say on the subject of the colonies—"Challenge to Britain" also devotes comparatively little space to this extremely important subject; its main outline on the colonial question may be determined from the following extract:

"We believe we have a duty to help countries in Asia and Africa to combat hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease... We are convinced that it is only by raising the standard of living of the poverty-stricken areas of the world, even at the cost of sacrificing something of our own standard of living, that there can be

any hope for the survival of humanity."

What, in fact, has been done in order to pursue these objectives during the past few years?

### THE COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE ACTS

The Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 was revised by a similar Act of 1945; under this act provisions were made whereby the sum of £120 million could be made in grants to the colonies from British taxation—this sum was to be spread out over a period of ten years and in no one year could the sum expended exceed £17½ million. In 1949 and 1950 new amending acts were passed so that the total sum available over the ten-year period was increased from £120 million to £140 million and the maximum which could be expended in any one year was likewise increased from £17½ million to £25 million.

By March 1952, just a few months after the defeat of the last Labour Government, the total sum made available for welfare purposes in the colonies under the provisions of these acts amounted to £55 million—this amounts to 15s. 9d. for each of the seventy million inhabitants of the British Colonies, or 2s. 7½d. per person per year!

Further provision for the colonies were made under the Overseas Resources Development Act of 1948; under this act the Colonial Development Corporation was established with powers to spend up to £110 million. By the end of 1951 it had actually spent a little over £21 million for capital investment in the colonies—and it must be remembered that some of this expenditure was made on schemes like the poultry farms in Gambia in which a great deal of capital was lost.

There have been, in addition to the provisions already mentioned, other sources of capital investment to the colonies—but these have been made by British, and American, capitalists who are motivated by the desire for personal profit and therefore cannot be considered to be primarily concerned with providing the means of raising the living standards of the colonial peoples.

### THE STERLING BALANCES

The colonies produce a large quantity of primary products, in

**M**ANY resolutions have been passed in connection with the question of East-West Trade and the desirability of expanding same, in view of the possibility of a lessening of Britain's trade with Western Countries, that it is now one of the most important features of political controversy both in the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party.

The Working Class, however, particularly the engineering and textile sections, are concerned at the barriers placed in the way by the American "Battle Act" which prohibits hundreds of articles from being exported to the Eastern Countries, particularly those behind the so-called "Iron Curtain" on the basis that they are war potentials.

All goods are to some extent war potentials, the main one being, of course, food, and it should be understood that the U.S.S.R. has been exporting to European and Western Countries many of these articles that are scheduled as wartime potentials.

The visit of the businessmen to Moscow, led by Mr. Scott of Messrs. Crompton Parkinson, gave an impetus to this trade, for as readers will be aware, the U.S.S.R. intimated that they were prepared to place orders to the amount of £400,000,000 within a period of a few years.

It is a striking commentary when the "Observer" of Sunday,

May 23rd, published an article indicating the difficulty and the delay in issuing the necessary permits for these goods to be delivered.

Readers will be under no doubt as to the value of gold as a war potential and the Russians have sent into this country £35,000,000 worth of gold as payment for goods ordered but possibly not yet delivered. As the article in the "Observer" states, in the six months ending May 15th, 216 applications for licences 61 included 52 for which no licence was required, leaving actually only 9 licences that were granted. On May 15th a further 154 applications had been made

By  
**Jack Stanley**

covering goods worth £25,156,884, and if the same delay occurs in granting licences to the extent to export machine tools worth £27,707,628 were received by the Board of Trade, 61 of these applications being allowed, but these quired it will be a long time before there is a resumption of trade on the basis demanded by the trade unionists.

The serious feature of this matter is the fact that if we, as a country, are not prepared to grant the necessary licences, other countries are not so reluctant to do so, although these countries have been in receipt of Marshall Aid and should, therefore, come under the ban of the "Battle Act". Many small countries have defied the American ban and taken the lead which Britain, if she wishes to retain her independence, should have taken long ago.

Much more could be written in regard to this matter, but readers who have followed the "Socialist Outlook" will have seen from time to time articles in connection with the necessity for East-West Trade. We find, for example, Canada concluding a trade agreement with Japan, the amount of goods concerned in this agreement, already supplied, one way and the other being in the neighbourhood of 25,000,000 dollars. Here, therefore, we find one of the partners of the Commonwealth concluding an agreement with an enemy country when we as a Nation are debarred from supplying and receiving goods from a country that was one of our allies and assisted us to win the war.

Were all these permits granted there would be no possibility of the engineering trade in this country suffering any slump, and consequently the workpeople would be fully employed at decent rates of wages.

It is therefore of the utmost importance, that all trade unionists

## TORIES AND EQUAL PAY

**T**HE government has promised to introduce equal pay for men and women in the Civil Service. This is the final act in a struggle that has been going on for decades. The victors are the civil service unions who fought this issue with the support of the mass movement of the working-class.

The fight was in fact won when

the N.E.C. capitulated and agreed to introduce equal pay whenever the Party was returned to power. The Tory leaders understood that they could not possibly win an election if they opposed the measure any longer. So, now they will do as they have always done, they will claim the credit for the measure themselves. Having resisted it for decades they will make the best of it and will now try to make what capital out of it they can.

### WHAT IS THE SOLUTION?

In spite of the fact that the question of the colonies was largely overlooked at the Margate Conference last year there has been more discussion on this question within the Labour Movement during recent months than there has been for a long time past. As a result of these earnest discussions which are taking place there has been a flood of pamphlets and articles from various sources within the Movement which present a wide variety of methods whereby the problem of the colonies—as the various authors see it—can be overcome.

One such article appeared in the March edition of "Socialist Commentary" and, as it raises fundamental issues, will be analysed in a further article in the "Socialist Outlook."

and members of the Labour Party, who have the economy of the country at heart, should voice their objections to the operation of this invidious "Battle Act" which is definitely stifling the expansion of trade with Eastern countries.

## Needed: Leadership

**T**HERE is again pressure for a wage increase in the engineering industry.

Since the beginning of the war and for nine years after the war overtime has been worked at overtime rates giving the wage packet a false sense of security, only by this means have we been able to cope with the increased cost of living. Repercussions from this policy are now evident. Sickness today among engineers shows a sharp rise particularly in stomach troubles (ulcers), nervous disorders and heart trouble.

The Employers, however, have looked after their interests so well that they have amassed record profits and a record capital reserve.

The leaders of the Confederation are coming under fire from the rank and file for their handling of the 15 per cent. wage claim. Resolutions from J.S.S. Committees are swamping the District Committees expressing bitterness and disgust. Any change of the claim we had mandated should not have been made without our consent.

In the Confederation, the A.E.U. are a deciding factor. Because of this, we in the smaller Unions, take a great interest in the key officials of this Union. I am afraid that the new President of the A.E.U. in his address at Blackpool to his National E.C. has created a very bad impression by advocating what is in effect a return to the "Wage Freeze" on the assumption that a standstill in the cost of living can be maintained. Bro. Openshaw should know that the Economic Committee set up by the T.U.C. to watch the interests of the workers during a "Wage Freeze" never functioned despite a strong Labour Government.

I wonder how Bro. Openshaw under his own suggested scheme would deal with redundancy caused by speeding up on jobs. One method is to shorten the working week at the original pay. This would mean an increase in the hourly rate. Bro. Openshaw would be hoist with his own petard. In the engineering factories we have amended the Lords Prayer as follows:—"Oh Lord send us this Day some strong fighting Leaders."

**D. BURGESS**

## Readers Write...

### German Re-armament

Are the Germans any different from the British, Americans, French or Russians? Is German militarism different—in principle from British, French or Japanese militarism? Are the German workers—Socialists and Communists, any less heroic than British workers? If not, why do we concern ourselves with problems that are their concern. The Western and Eastern Zones of Germany are occupied by the victorious "Allies."

The West German Adenauer Government is still not a fully sovereign government. It is the Occupation of Western Germany by the United States, Britain and France that prevents the German socialists from solving their problems.

It is nonsense to talk of German Re-armament until the Germans

are in a position to decide for themselves whether or not to re-arm. That cannot take place until the Occupation forces (the firmest allies of the reactionary Adenauer government) are withdrawn. Then there will be a real problem of German re-armament, which can and will be settled by the German workers themselves.

Hampstead E. S. Hillman

★

### Herbert Morrison

I note that Herbert Morrison was appealing, at a dinner given by the U.N.A. for German Re-armament, and that during the appeal he said "That opposition only came from interested totalitarian quarters.

Apart from him calling 50 per cent. of Labour M.P.s and 99 per cent. of Labour's rank and file interested parties in so-called "Russian Totalitarianism" I believe he will have great difficulty in classing people like Soper and the Quakers in this group.

We know this is not just a personal feud between politicians, but a life and death struggle between the rank and file and the right wing leaders.

Croydon S. Mills

(More Letters on page 4)

### Ourselves and Contributors

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the Editorial Board, even when written by Editorial Board members themselves.

**T. MERCER**

# The Plot Against Guatemala

By Peter Ibbotson

This article deals with an imperialist plot against Guatemala, and the reasons for it. Since it was written, the campaign against this Central American Republic has increased, both by the U.S. State Department and by its agents in the surrounding countries. After having refused to permit the Government of Guatemala to buy surplus military materials in the U.S.A., after preventing the Swedish Government from selling to it outmoded P51 fighter planes; the American Government now denounces as a "Communist conspiracy" the purchase of arms from Poland for Guatemala's defence. The Nicaraguan Government—in the pocket of U.S. Big Business—has now broken off diplomatic relations with Guatemala. The stage is being set for a new imperialist intervention in Central America.

**G**UATEMALA is Communist—"Red Guatemala"—these are the cries now being raised against the Central American Republic of Guatemala. Since 1944, the United States press has been consistent in accusing Guatemala of Communism; it has been abetted in this by most of the British and Latin-American press. One British journalist even said that Guatemala was a secret submarine base for the U.S.S.R., and Halcro Ferguson has said in the "Observer" that Guatemalan trade unions are directly controlled from Moscow.

under a semi-feudal regime, with low wages and hundreds of thousands of workers living in inhuman conditions.

In 1944 there came a change. The military dictatorship of General Ponce was ended; and the democratic regime of Dr. Arevalo supplanted it. (The present President is Jacobo Arbenz). The aim of the democratic regime in Guatemala is to transform the country from a semi-colonial dependency into an economically independent country.

### U.S. MONOPOLY INTERESTS

The dependency of Guatemala on United States monopoly interests is well illustrated by some of the concessions granted by the dictatorial regimes. The United Fruit Company was the largest landowner in Guatemala, growing bananas and hemp on some of its land but leaving much land idle. The Company controlled directly or indirectly Guatemala's only three ports; it held a large number of shares in the International Railways of Central America, which held the rail monopoly in Guatemala, and charged the highest passenger fares and freight charges in the world. In fact, as the International Bank for Reconstruction discovered, the charges were fixed arbitrarily by the Company, so that Guatemalan traders had to pay more for the transport of their goods from Guatemala City to Puerto Barrios—200 miles—than from Europe to the port of Puerto Barrios. United Fruit's boats carry almost all of Guatemala's imports and exports; electricity is the monopoly of the Guatemalan subsidiary of the trust Electric Bond and Share Company.

The Labour Code of 1944 first excited the anger and opposition of the United Fruit and other companies. In an attempt to make the Code unworkable, and to secure its repeal, the companies tried economic sanctions against Guatemala, such as suspending the regular service of United Fruit's ships; threatening the mass dismissal of thousands of railway workers; and engineering, and then prolonging unnecessarily, a number of labour disputes. The 1948 labour dispute between United Fruit and its workers was compulsorily sent to arbitration; that said President Arbenz on 1.3.54, "was another reason to accelerate the use of the trite phrase communist against the government of Guatemala."

Also earning Guatemala the sobriquet of communist is the 1952 Agrarian Reform Law, by which land not under cultivation is expropriated and distributed to the peasants. Cultivated land is not expropriated; nor uncultivated land under 225 acres. Nor is the land expropriated without

compensation. Since the law was passed, over a million acres have been expropriated and redistributed by DAN (the National Agrarian Department), though redistribution lags behind expropriation at present.

The big landowners try to evade the law; United Fruit has had 174,000 acres expropriated and has received interest-bearing bonds to the declared tax value of the land in exchange; but it still claims the law is discriminatory and has involved officials of the United States government in its efforts to evade it. The U.S. Government which has, according to the "Times", filed a suit against the Guatemalan Government, on behalf of U.S. citizens affected by the Agrarian Law, for \$16 million compensation! Yet under international law, Guatemala has a perfect right to expropriate its own territory, and without compensation if it wished.

The stronghold of the United Fruit Company in Guatemala is the Tiquisate area where, the Guatemalan Government recently announced, weapons for use against the Arbenz regime have been clandestinely transported by the International Railway Company. The government also an-

nounced details of an armed invasion plot it had uncovered. A Nicaraguan business-man, Colonel Somoza, son of the President of Nicaragua, handled the commercial transactions on behalf of the counter-revolutionaries. Somoza was negotiating for napalm bombs and jet planes manufactured to U.S. specifications; they were to be supplied by a German firm, H. F. Cordes of Hamburg.

French mortars, tommy guns, machine guns, revolvers and ammunition, were also being acquired; to the value of many million dollars. Leader of the invasion of Guatemala was to be General Ydigoras Fuentes, defeated candidate (supported by the foreign monopoly interests) in the Guatemalan Presidential elections of 1950. And as technical director the insurrectionists had enlisted former U.S. army colonel Carl Studer of El Paso, Texas; his passport is American. The Guatemalan Government's information is that when he left Texas, he went to work for the United Fruit Company...

### PLOTTERS' BASE IN NICARAGUA

The exposure of this plot against Guatemala, a plot or-

ganised by foreign interventionists in foreign countries (principally Nicaragua, where one of the chief agents of the plotters was J. I. Delgado, commercial attache of the Panamanian Embassy), shocked even the opposition when it was announced in the Guatemalan Congress.

### WHY IS GUATEMALA CALLED COMMUNIST?

As the tempo of achievement of economic independence increases, so do the slanders of the American press; yet all Guatemala wants is a good-neighbour policy with all countries. Without, of course, sacrificing her newly—and hard-won gains along the path to economic self-determination. So to all the slanders, and queries as to just why Guatemala is called Communist, let the words of Foreign Minister Guillermo Teoriello suffice.

Speaking against the United States steam-roller atmosphere at the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas in March he said, "Why is Guatemala called Communist? The answers are plain and simple. The plan of national liberation which my government is executing had to affect the privileges of foreign enterprises which were holding back the progress and economic development of the country..."

# "Contagion" in Africa

**I**N the Socialist Outlook of last week I commented on the spread of revolutionary "contagion" to another powerful tribe in Kenya—the Kamba. Now there is news of a further deterioration of the situation for imperialism in West Africa.

There has been a declaration of Emergency in Tanganyika's Northern Province, around Arusha, sixty miles from the Kenya border. Engagements between a "Mau Mau" gang and security forces is reported. This development, in the opinion of Army Intelligence, is quite "serious".

When is British Labour going to realise that what is taking place in East Africa is not a "reversion to barbarism" on the part of a small group of the population? It is a part of the historic revolution against imperialist oppression that is erupting in the world through Asia, Africa and South America.

That revolution cannot be ended by repression. Whatever brutal methods the colonial oppressors employ, the contagion continues to spread—proof positive that this revolt has deep popular support.

The duty of British Labour, in its own interests and those of the oppressed and martyred peoples of East Africa, is to demand the withdrawal of imperialist forces. Without a consistent campaign to end colonial oppression in Kenya, to withdraw the troops, all talk of colonial freedom for the colonial peoples remains mere phrases.

Labour with a white skin can never be free while labour with a black skin is in chains.

A. BANDA

# Stop the "Dirty War"

A REPORT FROM FRANCE

**T**HE announcement of the fall of Dien Bien Phu caused little surprise to the general public in France. The bluff of the General Staff communiques had fooled very few. A few politicians only had stuck to their illusions until the last moment. The final communique threw panic in their ranks as well as those of the military chiefs, each doing his best to clear himself of responsibility.

The panic is justified. If the military caste feels harshly the loss of 700 officers and the 21, irreplaceable, elite battalions, the French capitalists have yet to pay the political price of Dien Bien Phu.

The victory of this colonial revolution in Indo-China, without

By Jean Cazeneuve

tanks or planes, in a close battle against the forces of French imperialism represents an event well noted by other peoples in the French Empire. Fouchet, a de Gaulle member of Parliament, pointed out in the National Assembly the dangers for French rule in North Africa.

The activity of the fellaghas (partisans) in Tunisia has been spreading recently to various districts. The national resistance movement in Morocco has unequivocally warned the French colonialists by leaflets stating: "Casablanca will be the second Dien Bien Phu of Imperialism."

In France itself, as a result of the fall of Dien Bien Phu, there were the incidents of Sunday, May 9th. Veterans of the Indo-China war and fascist-type hooligans attacked the paper-sellers and several local headquarters of the Communist Party. Although the latter does not appear to wish for active resistance to these provocations the political life is charged with electricity.

In other times, the events of the past few weeks would have been sufficient to upset the basis of the governmental system. Sixty years ago, at the time of the conquest of Indo-China, a lesser military defeat created a serious political crisis and overthrew the Ministry.

The whole of the French ruling class itself has not an ounce of confidence in the Laniel government. Yet twice in a week Laniel secured a vote of confidence from Parliament—the last time it is true, only by a majority of two votes. But as the capitalist politicians themselves admit, there is no other Parliamentary majority possible. They cannot offer any other possible policy than that of

Laniel for the defence of French Imperialism.

The French working-class could offer another policy—complete independence for the colonial peoples and unity with them against imperialism. But, it must be said that so far as the two great working-class parties are concerned, this, they do not offer. At the time when the capitalist government has demonstrated its lack of confidence in its "mission" and incapacity to carry it out, these parties are in retreat, frightened by the consequence of the crisis.

The Socialist Party sheds crocodile tears over "our" dead at Dien Bien Phu, and reproaches the Communist Party for not associating itself with its grief. The Communist Party, it is true, has not associated itself directly with the jingoist manifestations of the past week or two. But when the Communist Mayor of a little town in the South-East of France was relieved of his office for having publicly demonstrated in favour of the Vietminh victory, "Huamnite" was the only paper which did not report the incident.

That is why, despite the deep-seated opposition to the Indo-

Chinese war among the workers of France, there has been no action recently by the French people against its continuation and against those responsible for it. The dockers of Sydney, and Oran (Algeria) refused to load arms destined for Viet Nam but the Marseilles dockers continue to do so. The C.P.-led C.G.T. asked them to send a delegation to Geneva, which naturally did not have much success.

The fighters for Vietnamese independence cannot expect real satisfaction of their aspirations from Geneva. To ensure their victory it is necessary for the opening of a "second front" through the political struggles of the French workers for the real slogans for peace: "Immediate withdrawal of the Expeditionary Corps and the recognition of the Ho Chi Minh government as the only legal government of free Viet Nam."

It is clear to all observers here that the French working-class wants to put a stop to this "dirty war" as it is universally called. Its temper grows against the government and it is getting impatient of the passivity of its leaders.



**IN NAGASAKI, JAPAN**, a study of 30 pregnant women who suffered from radiation when the U.S.A. dropped the atom bomb in 1945, showed the following results: Three had miscarriages. Four still births. Three babies died in the first month. Three died in the first year. One died at two-and-a-half. Four of the surviving sixteen were mentally deficient.

**IN ROCHESTER** on May 17th, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury said: "The greatest danger of today is not the hydrogen bomb."

"At its very worst, all that it could do would be to sweep a vast number of persons at one moment from this world into the other and more vital world into which anyhow they must all pass some time."

**IN THE "AMERICAN FEDERALIST"**, March issue, Boris Shiskin (Director of Research—American Federation of Labour) points out that U.S. unemployment figures in February were 3,671,000, a rise of 2,500,000 in 4 months. The last paragraph of his article is headed: "The American economy is fundamentally sound."

**IN AMERICA** in 1953 there were 63 Corporations with assets of more than a billion dollars. In 1942 there were 32 such corporations and in 1929—America's "boom" year—there were 20.

**IN SCOTLAND** 41 per cent of the houses, accommodating two-fifths of the population, are over 70 years old. Twenty-six per cent of Scotland's houses contain no more than two rooms.

**IN NYASALAND** a leprosy survey carried out by the East African High Commission, during March and April, revealed an average incidence of 14 lepers per thousand inhabitants. In 1950 Nyasaland had one hospital bed for every 1,170 persons. England and Wales have approximately one for every 85 persons.

**IN KARACHI** on May 19th, a "mutual defence assistance" agreement was signed between the United States and Pakistan.

The agreement states "in the interests of mutual security"

Pakistan will co-operate with the U.S. "in taking measures designed to control trade" with "nations which threaten the maintenance of world peace." Among other things Pakistan will use the assistance given to maintain its "internal security."

"Personnel of the Government of the U.S." will be accorded "facilities and authority to observe the progress of the assistance furnished."

On May 20th, the "New York Herald Tribune" reported a U.S. State Department announcement which "noted the United States-Pakistan agreement is similar to other American military aid pacts with friendly governments."

**IN BRITAIN** the Ministry of Labour interim index of retail prices rose a further point last month. At April 13, the index (June 17, 1947 equals 100) was 142, compared with 141 at March 16th.

**IN SWEDEN**, the Prime Minister announced on May 18th that his country had "the most completely equipped nuclear physics laboratories in Europe after Great Britain." Sweden, however, could only afford research on the peaceful applications of atomic energy.

**IN ISTANBUL, TURKEY**, a professional sword swallower was arrested during his performance for being in illegal possession of arms. ("Times", May 21st).

B.P.

## Ceylon Workers Against War Bases

**Colombo, May 13th**  
**W**ITHDRAWAL of every single imperialist soldier from Indo-China, that is the only basis on which to conclude a settlement", said Colvin R. de Silva speaking at a demonstration held in the Town Hall, Colombo. The demonstration was organised as a protest against the use of bases in Ceylon by Britain and America for the war in Indo-China.

Colvin de Silva is one of the leaders of the Lanka Samasamaja Party, the biggest of the left wing parties on the island. He explained how the Defence Agreement handed Ceylon's naval and air bases to Britain. This gave Britain the "right" to use these bases as it desired.

"Recently" he said, "a reporter from the 'Ceylon Observer' was told he couldn't enter Katunayke aerodrome without a permit signed by the Prime Minister of Ceylon, the British High Commissioner, and the U.S. Ambassador. One signed by the Ceylonese Prime Minister, without the signa-

ture of the British and American diplomats would have been useless! The agreement however was necessary to the Ceylonese capitalist class. Without the support of foreign imperialism they would collapse within 24 hours."

The speaker declared the way for the people of Ceylon to help the people of Indo-China was to struggle to remove the present Ceylonese capitalist government and replace it with one that was anti-capitalist.

"Vast numbers of people in other countries; in France and even in the U.S.A., were opposed to the subjugation of one people by another, or one class by another" said de Silva. "That was the common rallying point."

A tremendous number attended the demonstration. The Hall itself was absolutely full, the crowd overflowed into the corridor, down the stairways, and into the Town Hall grounds. There is tremendous opposition among the Ceylonese people to the Indo-China war and imperialist plans to hold back the imperialist people.

# Our Readers Write . . .

## Labour's Problem in Watford

Labour has a majority of Councillors on the Watford Corporation as a result of the recent election.

But when Aldermen are taken into account, a total of 22 Tory Aldermen and Councillors can outvote a Labour combination of 21. Labour can now appoint one new Alderman, which would equalise the opposing forces.

But the Tory Mayor retains the casting vote!

In casual conversation with the Press and colleagues, Watford Alderman R. N. E. Hinton voiced the "enlightened" Tory viewpoint on the situation.

"It's a hopeless case," he said in effect, "unless some kind of working compromise can be realised. The best thing would be to reach agreement on the chairmanship of committees. We could take Finance and General Purposes, they might have Housing, and so on down to Allotments, which nobody really wants."(!)

Watford Labour should reject this horse deal, if it is offered.

Let Watford Corporation's Labour Group demand an end to the unjust, undemocratic and iniquitous aldermanic system. Let them refuse to fill the vacancy on the aldermanic bench and thus strike the first blow in the fight for the removal of the bench altogether.

Watford's Labour majority must be allowed to rule.

Watford J. F.

## Bevan and Morrison

In his recent article in 'Socialist Commentary' attacking Nye Bevan, he informs us that Nye's 'vermin' speech lost us thirty to fifty seats in 1950. He goes on to say that "Electorally I fear he has cost us much." So, there we have, quite simply explained, the reason for the Labour Government's downfall—it was Bevan. Yet doubts still spring to my mind when I remember that almost the whole of the Constituency Parties are behind Bevan and that these organisations can be said to be pretty accurately indicative of the thoughts of ordinary men and women in this country. Can it be that Bevan's popularity with the average worker shows how much nearer he is to the thoughts and feelings of the workers than is, say, Morrison?

Yes, in spite of the reason put forward by "Our 'Erb" I am still inclined to think that my own thesis is the more accurate. I am helped to that conclusion when I read, as I did only a few days ago, that a Mr. P. Baines, prospective Conservative candidate for the Don Valley of Yorkshire has resigned from the Tory Party and is going to join the Labour Party. He says he has been asked to write some articles for the Labour Party and that he hopes to continue his political career. (My emphasis).

His remarks must mean that he would be prepared to become a member of whichever Party offered the greater opportunity to advance in his 'career'. (I wonder what would happen to the soldier who decided to go over to the other side because there he would be given a stripe).

I am aware that practically we cannot keep such people from coming into the Party, but as this is by no means an isolated case, we have to be continually on our guard against the possibility of them being elected as Parliamentary candidates or to any position where they may influence Party policy in any way. (There is far more danger of 'infiltration' from the Conservatives than from the Communists).

To win the next General Election we have got to convince the electorate that we have regained that dynamism.

Which is the more likely to convince the people—the reformist Liberal outlook of Morrison and Co., or the enthusiastic Socialist outlook of the many Party members who think along similar lines to Bevan?

Atherton Price Jones

# Problems of Youth . . . the Discussion Continues In Defence of the League

THE article of Mrs. Boltz was the first attempt, to my knowledge to present a rounded out theoretical justification for executing the League. Since it emanated from such "responsible" quarters and followed so closely on a National Conference of Labour Agents, at which the League was definitely discussed, it calls for a full and serious reply.

The opening sentence of the article gives the game away. It says: "Controversy about the League of Youth still continues within the Party and it appears to some that the League of Youth is out of keeping with the present conditions." (my emphasis).

This can only mean that there is a body of opinion within the party which favours abolishing the League. That opinion must be at the top of the party because among rank and file members, I have found no trace of it whatsoever.

Mrs. Boltz suggests that the League is out of keeping with present conditions because it does not recruit members at the same rate as the party. Thus the League, without the resources, manpower and apparatus of the adult party, and above all, without a programme of demands for youth is expected to achieve the same results as the adult party!

Is the League out of date because the working youth of Britain are not so exploited as pre-war? Mrs. Boltz thinks "that they have no reason to resent bitterly social conditions and therefore they are not fired with an urge to fight for change." Further, they are able to marry younger. Apparently a new dis-

Is the League of Youth now out of date? That was the title of an article appearing in "London News," a monthly publication of the London Labour Party. The article was written by Elsie Boltz, Labour agent for Vauxhall. The editor of "London News" asked for the views of its readers. A Van der Poorten, a member of Streatham League of Youth and of the E.C. of the London Federation of Labour Leagues of Youth accepted the invitation. His reply has not been published. It forms the basis of this article which we publish as part of the discussion on youth problems opened in our columns last week.

qualification from League membership!

The flaw in this reasoning is that it sees things in permanence. The "Welfare State" is not remaining untouched by the Tories. And the whole crisis of British capitalism is bound to destroy sooner or later the post-war social peace. Under the drive of increased competition for world markets the youth is bound to be among the first to suffer. As before the war it will become a source of cheap labour.

Even today, the general instability, the lack of prospects for British capitalism has its effect. All the exhortations for increased production at home, the increasing military intervention abroad, the insecurity of a world on the brink of atomic war certainly has an effect on the consciousness of youth. Youth turns away from all the institutions of society, and

that includes the Labour Party, since none will offer them a way out of the blind alley.

Sooner or later, a showdown with the Tories will take place, and there is no guarantee that it will be at the hustings. In that battle it will be youth who as usual will bear the brunt. I am sure it will not fail Labour. But what is necessary is a politically conscious youth leadership. It is the duty of the party to afford the youth in the League all the help possible to advance its political education.

The League can afford for young workers the only venue for a serious socialist education. If we fail to attract young workers we must admit that is because we have very little to offer them—we have not yet won even the right to decide policy as affecting youth.

Despite their smallness and difficulties, the best of the Leagues want a political life. We are neither "social" nor "matrimonial" agencies. It is time some members of the adult party had something more than what seems to be a cynical disrespect for human beings, especially young ones. It is time they learned to encourage talent and enthusiasm, because it is out of these few young people, the finest human material available under the circumstances, that the future leadership of Labour will be moulded.



"Dad; will the Queen come and shake hands with us all when we're a depressed area again."

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## Pensions Inadequate

SPAKING in New York, on May 21st, Lord Beveridge declared that the benefit and pension rates under the British social security schemes were "inadequate for the preservation of health and working capacity." They would need to be increased by about £150 million to compensate for rises in the cost of living since they were fixed in 1946.

# Nottingham Fights Colour Bar

IN a pleasant, somewhat select neighbourhood in Nottingham where large and stately detached houses offer quiet and comfort to some of the city's more wealthy residents, one house was unoccupied. Colonial students in the town thought that the house was ideally situated and could be well converted into a hostel for colonial students. It was a grand idea, but it didn't come off. The Town Planning Committee refused permission for the house to be used for this purpose. The Chairman of the Committee, a Tory Alderman, considered that this particular district should be reserved for a particular type of people.

Colonial workers are finding difficulty in obtaining employment even though jobs are reported to be available. Two coloured workers recently applied for jobs on the Nottingham City Trans-

## Trades Council Takes Lead

port Department where there is a big shortage of both drivers and conductors. On presenting themselves for interview they were told that no instructions had been received in relation to the employment of coloured labour.

The colour bar has raised its ugly head in this town. Students and workers alike are experienc-

### From Our Own Correspondent

ing this pernicious practice. Often when work is offered to colonial workers it is of a dirty and menial nature, the type of job which most workers shun, skilled and semi-skilled jobs are closed to coloured workers in many cases.

With a further increase in the coloured population which is anticipated, race prejudice and colour bar can quickly develop serious proportions.

The Nottingham and District Trades Council, has decided to tackle this problem and has expressed its policy in a motion condemning racial discrimination in any form and pledging to render all assistance to colonial workers in securing employment and integrating themselves with the rest of the community.

This is a step which will be supported by all good socialists and trade unionists. A feeling of uneasiness, however, has been expressed at the amount of publicity which this problem of colour bar is receiving and the point of view has been expressed that too much

# People, Places and Politics

By Cassia

## "THE BIG LIE"

BRITISH newspapers, particularly those appearing on Sundays, are vying with one another in the publication of exclusive and secret stories of the war—readers are being smothered with a deluge of articles containing all the necessary ingredients of "cloak and dagger" adventures.

The latest recruit to this particular type of feature is the co-operative Sunday paper "Reynolds News" which is currently running a series of articles by John Baker White, in which he recounts the part he played in the Political Warfare Executive. It is in fact the story of how the British propaganda machine created a number of deliberate lies in order to deceive the Nazis.

In the first article, John Baker White described how he was sent for by the Director of Military Intelligence who asked him if he knew anything about propaganda, and if it were true that he knew a good deal about the Nazis. White states that he replied he was a "publicist" by trade in peace-time and that he had "studied the Nazi movement from the inside from 1931 onwards."

I thought that this reply of John Baker White was extremely modest; he could have told the Director of Military Intelligence, and the readers of "Reynolds News", that since 1926 he had been the director of the Economic League—the highly efficient propaganda organisation of the British capitalists and the most useful "non-political" ally of the Conservative Central Office! He, in fact remained director of the Economic League until he was elected Tory M.P. for Canterbury in 1945—a seat which he held until February of last year.

I have no doubt that the apparent modesty of John Baker White is partly conditioned by the fact that "Reynolds News" feels that its readers may not appreciate a series of articles written by an ex-Tory M.P. and anti-Labour propagandist—even though the title of the articles is "The Big Lie"!

## THE FRUITS OF EDUCATION

THERE is a widespread tendency on the part of the national leadership of political parties to regard the prime function of their local organisations as purely administrative. They consider that the role of the constituency party consists, in the main, of maintaining an efficient machine for the conduct of elections.

From this premise there arises the idea that the main "educational" activity of the party is the instruction of the rank and file member in the technicalities of electioneering—it seeks to make the ordinary member highly skilled in the "science" of canvassing, addressing envelopes, running a committee room, and all the hundred and one other tasks which arise during an election. This particular conception of the role of a local organisation is nowhere more firmly rooted than in the Conservative Party and it was with some amusement, therefore, that I read of the following incident which occurred in Derbyshire during the recent municipal elections.

A Young Conservative—no doubt bursting at the trouser seams with enthusiasm—was asked to assist on polling day at the Conservative Committee Rooms, a request to which he responded with a great display of energy. Unfortunately this enthusiastic Young Tory became rather confused and it was only after twenty minutes hard work that it was pointed out to him that he was not in the Conservative Committee Rooms but was in the polling station handing out ballot papers to the electors!

This discovery caused great concern to the Returning Officer, as it constituted an irregularity in conduct of the election, but I am sure it caused even greater concern to the Tory Party hierarchy who must have paraphrased one of their long standing slogans to mutter: "And to think we waste Party Funds on education"!

## A DOSE OF SALTS

I SEE that the huge chemical combine, the I.C.I., has announced its intention of presenting nearly eight thousand of its employees with ordinary shares in the company. The directors of I.C.I. say: "By this means the directors believe that employees will feel that they have a stake of substance in the fortunes of the company which they will wish to retain."

In other words the directors of the I.C.I. hope that by making the workers into shareholders they will rise in a body to resist any ideas which the Labour Party may have about nationalising the I.C.I. It should be pointed out to the directors of this company that—just as one swallow does not make a summer—one share does not make a capitalist!

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