Join the **LABOUR PARTY TODAY** 

# Socialist Outlook Help the Fig AGAINST TORYISM

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

FRIDAY, APRIL 30, 1954

Help the Fight and WAR!

## WORKING CLASS UN

## THE START OF MAY DAY By Reg Groves

T was in the year 1889 that the Socialist International resolved to organise a universal demonstration for the eight-hour day.

The day chosen was May First, traditionally a peoples' day for centuries. The International, however, made its choice on more immediate grounds: the American labour movement had already chosen this date for its eight-hour-day demonstrations, which had started three years before.

On May 1st, 1886, Chicago workers had come out on strike for an eight-hour day.

Prominent among the workers leaders were a group of Anarchists. These men used strong language about the evils of capitalism: they used even stronger language about the civil authorities when the police made brutal baton charges on peaceful crowds on strike and took shots at strike pickets.

At one meeting, the police arrived armed; as they began dispersing the crowd, a bomb was thrown and seven policemen were tilled. No enclose the policemen were tilled. thilled. No one knew who threw the bomb: no one was ever found who had seen it thrown: it was almost certainly the work of an employers' agent.

It gave the authorities the pretext they had long been seeking to institute a reign of terror against the labour movement. Socialists and Anarchists were arrested in large numbers; labour newspapers were suppressed or heavily cen-

### Continued on page 4

Comrade the world is loud with songs of freedom Mankind is breeding heroes

On high the scarlet banner the earth re-echoes Below liberty!

Martin Carter, (British Guiana)

working-class to defend improve working-class no longer carried in British May Day processions for it has, by working-class unity, been achieved.

The owners of wealth and property have been compelled to concede—over the years and after much strugglebetter living conditions to a better organised working-class, they ever—grant security to those whom they exploit

### Editorial

If security of employment today exists for most British workers it is only because capitalist society is embarked upon a criminal (but from their point of view, logical!) arms drive. compelling the working-class to devote their energies to the production of guns, tanks, planes and atom bombs, and by conscripting the youth, the rulers of the old society have temporarily over-come the nightmare of unemployment-only to create another (and more hideous) nightmare—atomic world war!

Security of employment has been achieved at the expense of the security of the whole of mankind!

Is there any wonder that, in face of the ghoulish nature of the old order, the socialist and communist movements of the world have grown by leaps and bounds since the end of the last World War Is there any wonder that great areas of the world like China have, through the struggle of their common people, broken away from this nightmare of monopoly capitalism so wrongly named private enterprise"?

Is it really surprising that the colonial peoples of the earth prefer death rather than con-

WHAT LIES AHEAD? This fine study of a Negro worker

## May Day should mean May Day Answer To War Plans

living conditions. The Eight play anything but a thoroughly re- capitalist exploitation; which possesses no owners of private property in the means of pro- in the world. duction, and is, as a consequence, free to develop its resources for the betterment of the lives of all its producers.

but they have never—nor can country today remains firmly they ever—grant security to capitalistic, its working-class still

mass revolt in their overseas possessions—or both! For this reason it is the United States which, possessed as she is of great wealth and tremendous productive capaci-ties, today leads the capitalist world and, moreover, leads them in one direction—to war!

War to seize back the "lost"

war to Europe. Hour Working Day is a slogan actionary role. Commencing with keep in subjection the colonial no longer carried in British the Russian Revolution of 1917, peoples of the earth whose labour more and more people have are so urgently required to feed broken the chains which bound the war machine and provide it them to the old order until today (cheaply) with the vast accumulamore than one third of all huma-nity lives and works in a system greedily devours; war, in fact, war. which possesses no owners of pri-against social progress everywhere

> To further this reactionary aim, the rulers of capitalist America
> —by a mixture of threats and ts producers.
>
> bribes—have forged a "Holy
> Indeed, only one important Alliance" of all who dread the march of human progress. English capitalistic, its working-class still relatively passive. (Although this last factor is bound to change, and, indeed is already changing). That country is the United States of America.
>
> All the others including Great Shek and Syngman Rhee who re Britain—are faced either with main in public life thanks only mass socialist opposition at home, mass revolt in their overseas.

"Come Weal, Come Woe, my never succeeded in developing an Status is Quo." That old saw is independent socialist foreign the battle cry of the "men-of-policy.

The Labour Government developing an independent socialist foreign policy.

peoples of the Soviet Union and nationalise the Ruhr industries of

But unfortunately this great force, which is absolutely capable of frustrating the evil plans of the rulers of a decadent society is not united. It must be -if humanity is to be spared the terrors and agonies of an H-bomb

That in our opinion, is the message of 1954's May Day. Unity of the international working-class - against war and against the capitalist order of society.

Among the many reasons for this working-class disunity there is one which members of the Labour Party can do something about. Our party, which should, by its very nature and its workingclass composition, be in the camp of human progress, is tied up to support the policies of United States capitalism. For all the fine work it did in the field of social welfare, the Labour Government

Under pressure from U.S. capi-Against this alliance of world talism, Ernest Bevin agreed to reaction there should stand the abandon Labour's pledge to territories of the Soviet Union, China, the colonial peoples in re-Germany and handed them back Eastern Europe and China for volt, and the workers of Western to the biggest enemies of the Germany and handed them back

same pressure the Labour Government became embroiled on the wrong side in the war in Malaya, it assisted the Dutch in Indonesia, agreed to intervention in Korea, became a party to N.A.T.O. (the 'Holy Alliance') and, as a consequence, leased British territory from which the United States Air Force now plans to launch H.-bomb assault on the Soviet Union.

Thoroughly alarmed at the dire consequences of these wrong policies, the ranks of Labour are now seeking to reverse them. volt commenced on the issue of E.D.C. and West German re-arma-It was given tremendous impetus by Nye Bevan who resigned in protest as it became clearer every day that the Tories and their American backers are planning to unleash the Third World War in Indo-China.

Resolute action by the rank and in the Labour and Trade Union Movement can now com-pletely isolate those leaders who have dragged us into this Atlan-tic Alliance. Having regained its freedom and independence, British Labour will be capable of initiating an international working-class movement against the "men-of-the-old-order." That must be our vision for this May Day. The way ahead out of the nuclear nightmare must be chartered by these rallying cries:

Hands off Indo-China! Freedom for all Colonial Peoples! Unre-stricted East-West Trade! Stop E.D.C.! Break with N.A.T.O.! Prevent the re-armament of the West German capitalists! Clear Troops out American Britain! A United Socialist Europe! All possible links with United the American working Clear out the Tories! working-class! For a Labour Government and a Socialist Britain!

## Hands Off Indo-China

Then the economy was slipping into a depression; there were 4-5 million unemis operating at 69 per cent. of capacity. There are again almost as many unemployed as

Will Big Business—and the Republican Party—run the risk of the "re-adjustment" becoming a full-scale depression? Or will the war up to ruling the war up to ruling the war the war has become a they seek salvation in another

N many ways there is an Indo-China has become universally ominous parallel with 1949. detested in France, considered the root of all evil and misfortune.

Over 1,000 billion francs have been spent to keep it going. This is at least 300 million francs more ployed. Today the economic than the French have received in curve is again downward. Steel Marshall Plan aid. On top of chronic government deficits, the military expenditures have been a constant source of inflation, keeping wages low, preventing any housing programme or moderniza-tion of industry.

native politicians; on the other side are the guerrilla armies of the

them, the war has become "haemorrhage" which has b tinue in the misery they are condemned to suffer under the white man's rule?

Capitalism has long ceased to 

Korea?

Since the French imperialists France militarily to the point undertook to reconquer a people where it can no longer act as a determined to be free, the war in great power in Europe.

Since the conflict began, France has lost some 30,000 men and 1,200 career officers in Indo-China. Some 300 000 men. together with 38,000 officers and sub-officers are actively engaged in combat there today.

French rulers feel themselves im- uses two out of every three kilopotent in their military rivalry metres of railroad now in operawith Germany on the European continent. Not all the French capitalists hold this position to be sure. One group is making billions from speculation on the dollar. Another gang of reactionaries sees in it a hope for McCarthvism in France, just as the Korean war was the spur for McCarthy in the U.S. They naturally want the war to go on.

### NO ORDINARY WAR

Despite the fake "victory" reports issued by the French high command in Indo-China, despite the constant promises of "show-downs" and final settlements, which never materialise. the military situation of the French in Indo-China has steadily deteriorated. Nobody in his right mind in France believes the war can be

This is not because of the incompetence of French generals or strategy, or for lack of the most modern means of murder. It is because the Indo-Chinese war is not an ordinary war; it is a war of national liberation and social revolution rolled into one.

It is the same kind of war that the Chinese fought against the Japanese from 1937 to the end of World War II, and in many ways similar to the war fought the North Koreans against the U.S. in the last few years.

On the one side are the mercenary imperialist troops, equipped with jet planes and napalm bombs, supported only by a handful of wealthy landowners and corrupt Viet Minh resistance, who are supported by millions of peasants, workers, students and intellectuals.

An army can defeat another army, but it is a different matter against an insurgent people in

### POLITICAL FACTS

Conservative French sources admit that the Viet Minh rebels million of the 23 million Indo-Chinese people. This is a minimum figure, but it means Viet Minh dominates more Without men, and especially the country, that it harvests 55

> The influence of Viet Minh penetrates directly into French territory, in the big cities. There into French is a constant undercover trade between the farm products of the Viet Minh-controlled countryside and city goods. Every Indo-Chinese family in the French zone

is torn by divided loyalties; it

■ Continued on page 4

### THEY WON'T TALK!

OW many Constituency
Labour Parties have opposed the N.E.C.'s support for West German Re-armament and how many have demanded a Special National Conference to determine policy on this issue?

We don't know, but we do know that when one Labour Party requested this information it was refused by Transport House.

Why all this secrecy? What is there to be frightened of in telling party members what others members are thinking and proposing?

Is it because the opposition to the N.E.C. is so overwhelming that its publication would vastly encourage the movement and influence the Trade Unions to take similar decisions?

London's May Day **ALL OUT ON MAY 2nd!** United Labour **Demonstration** 

Assemble 1.30 p.m Victoria Embankment

### THE CONSTRUCTIONAL ENGINEERING UNION

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE UNION

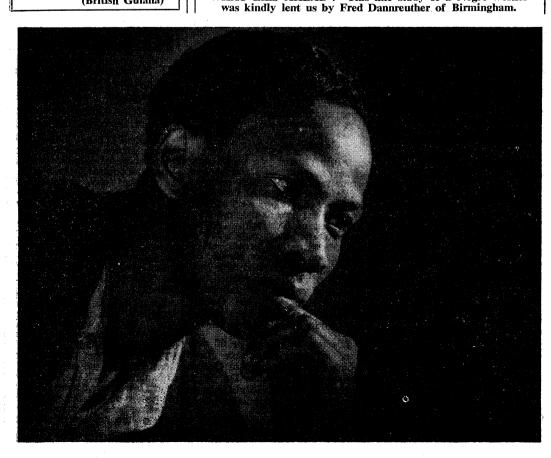
Sends Fraternal Greetings on this, Labour's own day, to all

our Members and WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The threat to Peace, by the explosion of Atomic Weapons, particularly the Hydrogen bomb, against the results of which there is NO adequate defence, make it ever more necessary that the Workers of ALL Nations combine together to defeat this Imperialist and Capitalist design to preserve their fast decaying system

MAY THE FIRST attempt to use it spell their own DOOM.

W. F. KENT, President JACK STANLEY, General Secretary



Martin Carter, (British Guiana)

WHAT LIES AHEAD? This fine study of a Negro worker was kindly lent us by Fred Dannreuther of Birmingham.



### 'End Foreign Rule In The Shame of Kenya OUNTRYMEN, fellow Party members, sup-My Country' porters and sympathisers the Convention Peoples'

I am very happy to welcome you all here today on behalf of the Central Committee and the National Executive of the Convention Peoples Party. We are assembled here on this momenthe electioneering campaign for the forthcoming general election foreign domination and just as in upon which the future of this war a united and disciplined army country depends.

The History of the Convention People's Party is the history of the this. struggle of the militant masses of this country against imperialism;

When in 1950 a "bogus and fraudulent" Constitution was fraudulent" Constitution was thrust upon us, the people of the Gold Coast under the leadership of the Convention People's Party demonstrated their aversion to it assumed the reins of Government by the declaration of Positive straight from jail and the three

Then in 1951 when some of my freedom, the people of this country once more demonstrated their confidence in the Convention People's Party and vindicated their reputation for political saga-city by voting overwhelmingly for

Our Party has been in power for barely three years, and you can testify to the fact that its achievements — political, social and economic—have been quite spec-tacular. In all these fields our Party has so impressed the world with its performance that the old imperialist myth that Africans cannot govern themselves has been expladed.

The confidence of the outside world in the ability of the African to manage his own affairs has been created and now the whole of the black world looks to our country and our Party for inspiration.

### PLEDGES FULFILLED

What is more, the Convention People's Party has been able to fulfil its important pledge, namely that it will use its position in the Legislative Assembly, not only to prove to the world the ability of the African to govern himself, but also to fight for a more democratic constitution which will lead us to full Independence. The new constitution will give us a fully elected Assembly and an all-African Cabinet collectively responsible to it. For such an achievement the redit goes to the Convention People's Party. After the next election the requisite and neces-sary arrangements will be made for the final transfer of power.

This transitional period is the most hopeful and yet the most difficult in the struggle of emancipation, for it is the last opportu nity that the protagonists of imperialism can bring out their wicked and venomous plans to demoralise and create confusion division within the ranks of the fighting masses. This therefore is one of the reasons why the Convention People's Party has made an open declaration to win all the 104 seats in the new Legislative Assembly.

### DEMOCRATIC ELECTION

The election will be conducted on purely democratic lines and every registered elector will be perfectly free to vote for a candidate of his own liking. Each political party in this country wil be free to place candidates in al the 104 constituencies and try to win them. Therefore, there is nothing wrong about our determination to win the 104 seats; it will be a democratic election and its results will reflect the demo-cratic wishes of the people of this

I have always looked upon the colonial struggle as a war against

> Socialist Outlook

59 FLEET STREET, E.C.4.

Editor: John Lawrence

## Says Gold Coast Premier Kwame Nkruma

assembled here on this momentous occasion to rededicate ourselves anew to the struggle against foreign domination and to launch the clear domination and to launch the clear domination are served to the struggle against foreign domination and to launch the clear domination are served to the clear than clear than the struggle against foreign domination and to launch the clear to the clear than the struggle against foreign domination and to launch the clear to the clear than the struggle against foreign domination and to launch the clear than the struggle against foreign domination and to launch the clear than the struggle against foreign domination and to launch the clear than the struggle against foreign domination and to launch the clear than the struggle against foreign domination and to launch the struggle against foreign domination and to launch the clear than the struggle against foreign domination and to launch the struggle against foreign domination and the struggle against foreign domin

war a united and disciplined army is the biggest asset for victory, so also is an Assembly united under bold leadership at a time like

The forthcoming General Elecit is a history of which every true tion will determine the future of patriot of Ghana must be justly the Gold Coast. The eyes of the world are on us; Africans and people of African descent everywhere also look to us for inspiration and we must not disappoint

Friends and comrades, years of a semi-C.P.P. administration have been years of achieve-ments. The people of this country comrades and I were in jail for the part we played in the struggle dous strides we have made every-

### **REAL ACHIEVEMENTS**

A tour throughout the country mic policy of our Party. will reveal these signal achievements of the Party. Roads and bridges are being modernised; new ones are being constructed; schools and colleges are on the increase; water supplies are being provided in an ever increasing number. Besides, in the Public Service, Africanisation has gone forward so very rapidly that now we can boast of African Directors and Deputy Directors. We have also seen to it that farmers, cattle dealers and fishermen, as well as traders are being encouraged to improve their business by granting embark on OPERATION 104 with them loans.

It is a source of gratification to note that the Cocoa Purchasing Company has done so much to Company has done so much to help our cocoa farmers; arrangements are afoot to give even further aid to them. There is general prosperity in the country and the prosperity in the country, and the Government, by realising a surplus DOM!



of 16½ million pounds in one year has demonstrated the sound econo-

The aims of the Party with reare outlined in the Manifesto: briefly, they are: first—to get the British Government to declare the Gold Coast a sovereign and inde-pendent State within the Commonwealth; secondly—to pay sufficient attention to agricultural development and to the economic and productive services, thirdly—to promote a higher stan-dard of living among the people.

zeal and determination to end foreign rule in this country. The eyes of the world are on us. The

Stand By The Kikuyu People!

wish us to believe that this Presumably those attempts are offensive is against a minority what General Erskine meant of the Kenya people enrolled in terrorist bands of "Mau terrorist bands of "Mau May" a rayoroion to borbar they have ever been hit before." Mau "-a reversion to barbar-

The very scope of the offensive which began with the breakdown of "surrender" talks makes that clear. Thousands of troops with armed police are involved in this armed police are involved in this colonial war. In twenty four hours after the beginning of the offensive, 700 suspected "Mau Mau supporters" were interned in "special camps". (For "special camps" read concentration camps.) By April 13th the newly arrested suspects numbered 1,200.

Whether a manoeuvre or no,

### 'VILLAGISATION'

The Acting Governor, Sir Frederick Crawford has said that with the new offensive the Kenya Government would institute measures designed to control the for Kikuyu tribe: "One thing we Kiku shall do is to go full out on the villagisation of Kikuyu because it is a means of getting some control over them.'

Thus the aim is to drive a million Kikuyu—a vast number of them in the towns—into settlement camps in the hope that they can be isolated in small groups and suppressed.

The Kenya Government has announced that there is little

NORWOOD LABOUR PARTY **LEAGUE OF YOUTH** 

MAY DAY GREETINGS TO ALL WORKERS

T dawn on April 11th, a full scale offensive was launched by British troops and armed police in Kenya. The Tory Government, and the supporters of colonialism in Kenya, would wish us to believe that this

### A TRAP

Presumably everyone is to be-That is not true. The colonial war in Kenya is being waged against the majority of the exploited inhabitants of Kenya.

Presumably everyone is to beevery encirclement and operate as a popular movement—in the rear
of the colonialist forces, in the mountains as before, in the requarters informs us that the

### By A. Banda

Whether a manoeuvre or no, the surrender talks had one purthisers. It has a million pair of pose—to disarm the insurgents in eyes and ears in its intelligence

for the capitulation of the Kikuyu. They promised only not to shoot at them while surrendering, not to illtreat them after surrender and not to execute them for crimes committed before

To the basic question in Kenyo that of the desire of the native inhabitants in this country for their own land, the colonial im-perialist forces can only offer a solution of brute force and re-pression. That must be realised by every member of the British Labour movement.

Dedan Kimathi, Field Marshal of the African Land Freedom Army, the so-called Mau Mau, wrote to Lyttelton at the beginning of the year and declared that now is the last chance for the Whites to make peace if they want to remain in Kenya, but they must

### POPULAR REVOLT

It is now one year and five months since the declaration of the Emergency in Kenya. All attempts to crush the Kenya people have so far failed. The "Mau Mau" have broken through every encirclement and operate as serves, and in the towns.

Not only the Kikuyu but Meru, Embu, Masai and Indians have been accused of aiding and sheltering "Mau Mau".

The African Land Army has created its own organisation. It is organised into regular military formations with their own staff and committees on a territorial There is a kind of commisariat of supply with its liaison committees with civilian sympa-Kenya—so that White settler and service, as has every peoples' imperialist Government could ensure their own "peace" and rule.

The surrender "terms" called tem of law and order pitted tem of law and order pitted against another system.

### LABOUR'S DUTY

The duty of British Labour is to support those forces which are fighting for the freedom of the African in Kenya. Without a betraval of socialist principle it can neither stand aside nor support the Tory Government and white settlers settlers who have launched thenew terror offensive against the Kenya people.

No real socialist could experi-what has been done and for which I thank them." He expressed his hope that "they will continue to support us so that the law breaker will realise that in these matters they are dealing with a united British people."

Let us shatter his hopes. Our oft repeated support in resolutions and speeches for colonial free-dom demands it.

Let us end the coalition on colonial affairs. Let us counterpose to the Tory imperialist policy our own socialist policy to conform to the interests of the crucified people of Kenya. Let us de-mand the withdrawal of the troops and self-determination for the Kenya people. Let them decide what kind of Government constitution and laws they desire.

## Police Rule In Guiana Emergency Orders are relaxed for

DR. CHEDDI JAGAN, deposed Prime Minima British Guiana and leader of the People's Progressive Party led the movement of defiance of the six month old Emergency Laws when he broke his restriction orders on April 3rd. Two days before, he had received the Governor's orders restricting his movements to Georgetown and requiring him to report to the police twice weekly "with a view to preventing his acting in a manner prejudicial to public safety and Dr. Jagan, who had left his den-

tal practice over a year ago when he began campaigning for the April 1953 general elections, made lans on his return from India in February to open dental clinics in the rural areas so that he could more conveniently continue his profession and keep in close contact with the people. He had cestablished two dental clinics, which were always busy due to the almost total absence of dental services in the country districts, except for quacks. (Out of a total of 36 registered dentists, only 19 are effective practitioners which were properties and the moment. Several spontaneous strikes had already occurred on the sugar estates. At Port Mourant over 65 workers were arrested holds no terror for me... I am and tear gas used as they protested the arrest of Dr. Lagan. As the are effective practitioners, which gives about one dentist to 24,000 persons. This average is even increased since 14 practice in Georgetown and 4 in New Amster-

### FLAGRANT VIOLATION



the city, where he was held for peaceful country. two days and two nights without

Dr. Jagan, representing himself

to disobey the order restricting my holds no terror for me... I am movements." holds no terror day when there Dr. Jagan was arrested over 40 will be a greater justice in this miles from Georgetown and brought to Police Headquarters in minions have sent troops to our

### FASCIST ORDERS

"They have deposed our elected Dr. Jagan, in a letter to the on the charge of breaking the government and destroyed our Governor, protested against the restriction orders, entered no plea constitution, limited though it restriction on his movements before Magistrate Sharp'es who was. Where then was the crisis? incidentally, is the brother of Dr. They created it. Out of the dismy democratic and civil rights as Sharples who was defeated by Dr. order which they created, they as a citizen of Guiana. I have neither Jagan in the 1953 elections. "To sume Emergency powers. But let committed nor have been charged for any crime. In addition this guilty would be to presume the fascist order. Those who are their restriction denies me the opportunity of pursuing my professional calling." He applied for permission to visit his dental clinics on the sum of t

some members of the puppet government. 'You have refused me the

privilege of calling Governor Savage as a witness. He should be brought here to give evidence as to why he placed a restriction order on me. He deems my free movement as prejudicial to public safety and order...This whole trial is a farce...I will not obey the Emergency Orders. I advise the people not to obey these laws."

Dr. Jagan was immediately sentenced to six months imprisonment with hard labour. On the second charge of holding an illegal procession he was sentenced to two months imprisonment or £100 fine.

In the week following the arrest of Dr. Jagan, over seventy persons were arrested on various charges, including disorderly behaviour, holding illegal processions with the stand against the standard the st sions and meetings, assault, etc. One demonstration involving arrests was a march of women before Government House.

the arrest of Dr. Jagan. As the police carried away only a few of the demonstration leaders, others jumped on the police lorries, de-manding to be arrested with their comrades. Forty-five refused bail. That area was then proclaimed by the Governor. On the Queen's birthday, the people wore mourning colours as a sign of protest.

Leading the campaign of defi-ance of the Emergency Laws which deny the people of Guiana their legitimate rights, Dr. Jagan

### WHAT **N.A.T.O.** MEANS

and support the stand against war that Bevan has taken.

Already T.U.'s and Constituency Labour Parties are recording their appreciation of Bevan's initiative and undoubtedly, the whole of the political scene in Britain will be transformed by the action of Bevan. The left of the L.P. has a duty not only to assist Bevan in his fight in the Parliamentary L.P. and on the N.E.C., by resolutions of support, but it also must discuss and re-discuss the political issues involved in order to clarify the Labour Party and Trade Unions.

Bevan raises the problem of America's role in Europe and Asia. So far as the "Pacific N.A.T.O." is concerned he sneaks out sharply (Tribune, 16th April): The demand that we should join an alliance for the containment of Communism in S.E. Ana is not sought as an instrument for the prevention of war, but rather as an extension into the international field, of the defence of American

## Wage Claims: No Bluffing Summing Up USDAW's

ing Unions' leaders. This is the outstanding fact to be noted by all engineering Thus, the criticism levelled by the

leaders of the first offer of 7/4d., levelled against their own claim 6/8d. and 6/-d. has proved to be of 1953. worth the magnificent sum of onethird, one-quarter and one-seventh of a penny per hour to skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled respectively. These fantastic weekly sums of 1/2d., 10d., and 6d per week represent the price accepted by our leaders to call off the Overtime and Piecework Ban. Is it not therefore apparent that the threatened ban was the merest bluff so wages behind the cost of living. far as the leadership was concerned?

To appreciate fully the enor-To appreciate fully the enormity of this fiasco, we should recall the basis and circumstances of the 15 per cent. claim. The 15 per cent. claim represented 20/8d. weekly for skilled, and 17/6d. for weekly for skilled, and 17/6d. for leaves the engineers already approximately 2 per cent, behind unskilled, on District rates

N.A.T.O. which is already in existence and which is five years old? At the

N.A.T.O. was brought into be-

Soviet Union and the colonial revolution. The proof? A White Paper on the North Atlantic

Treaty issued on March 19th, 1949 by the U.S. State Department: "alluded to the attempted Soviet intimidation of Turkey

Soviet intimidation of rune, and to the Communist coup in

Czechoslovakia adding that Soviet obstruction in the U.N.

with the excessive use of the veto

and the Soviet failure to line up to

N. Atlantic Treaties . . . Acheson, at a press conference America.

its obligations under the Charter

argued that an internal revolution

would be considered as an armed attack if assisted from the out-

side (and we now know, so far as

America's spokesmen are con-cerned that every Colonial revolu-

tion is assisted and inspired by

Russia and/or China!). According to the Treaty (Clause 5) "if such

an armed attack occurs, then each of them will assist the party or

parties so attacked by taking ac

tion forthwith...including the use of armed forces..."

An armed attack could also be

any incident, in Europe, North America, or the Algerian depart-

ments of France, such as firing on an aeroplane, vessel or service

In 1949, Acheson, explaining Article 6, said "he thought that

an attack on one of the Berlin air-

lift craft flying over the Soviet Zone of Germany would constitute

As we are still committed to this

alliance, it requires little imagi-

nation to see that an incident, rea

or fabricated, could start the 3rd World War, more or less when re-

quired by America! Furthermore, it is through N.A.T.O. that E.D.C.

and hence German re-armament

is fostered. Eisenhower admits as much in his statement to the

Prime Ministers of the six Euro-

pean Defence Community nations

on April 16th. Eisenhower also

lavs it down, quoting from the "rights and obligations" of the

North Atlantic Treaty that troops

will remain in Europe, including

man (Art. 6).

**Atlantic Alliance** 

(from p. 2)

social, political and economic Germany...while a threat to that values." In other words,

Now that the meaning of a Germany, whether her people want "Pacific N.A.T.O." is brought home so vividly, what of that and occupied for an "indefinite period"

Is N.A.T.O. an "alliance for the I moved an amendment in the

reservation of peace "? Is it pos- name of the Norwood Labour sible that American policy five Party to the main policy resolu-

years ago was fundamentally tion asking the "Labour Party on different? Can we separate a its return to power to abrogate European N.A.T.O. from a Pacific N.A.T.O.? This was defeated.

ing as an instrument aimed at the N.A.T.O. is exactly the same as

had motivated the Rio, Brussels the abrogation of all military

THE Engineering Employers successfully called the bluff of the Engineer- the bluff of the Engineer- the bluff of the Engineer- the whole Labour

Vorkers. leaders against the 1952 claim (£2)
The indignant rejection by these as being "unrealistic", cannot be

Eight per cent. of the 15 per cent. was based upon the lag of

- By — Norman Dinning

The remainder was related to productivity increases reflected in astronomical profits.

It must be remembered that the living-cost increases since 1947 laim was formulated by the (the wage freeze period) while the

Germany, whether her people want

At the Morecambe Conference

History shows that the policy of

that of the projected Pacific Alliance—a "cover for counter-

that many members of the party

will now reconsider their attitude

to the N.A.T.O. in the light of the

discussion on the Dulles-Eden

If we are to put our whole

strength into the fight against war

the Labour Party must stand for

alliances, secret or open, with

T is no use denouncing

trionics" and "manoeu-

Bevan's walk-out as "his-

vres". Because he made clear

that his action was meant to

prevent Dulles and Co. from

world in a tangle that can only

the American war drive is hinged

in Europe. These are the issues that Bevan has raised. And there

country are acutely aware of the

great dangers facing them as part

of mankind. And even if they are not entirely clear about the whys

on the other side of the Atlantic

That is why they are bound to nav

scuppering"

as time goes on.

D. FINCH

proposals for South East Asia.

revolutionary measures."

full fruits of increased produc-tivity will continue to simply swell the already exorbitant profits of the industry.

It should be stated that Bros Scott (A.E.U.), Michael (Black-smiths), Hill (Boilermakers), and Gardner (Foundryworkers) opposed this acceptance.

Previous claims formulated by and file bodies included a claim that increases be retrospective from the date of application It is true of course, that this was never implemented, but it is significant that this clause was not even included this time in the claim formulated by the leader-

This fiasco, particularly in view of the December 2nd demonstra-tion, has a logic all of its own. Jack Tanner, amongst others, expressed concern to the 1953 A.E.U. National Committee over the employers' attitude to Annual wage claims. Yet already, in the midst of capitulation, these leaders are discussing a new claim. Thus reality forces faint-hearted "leaders" along the road they least wish to travel.

If this betrayal seems to have a passive acceptance in the rank and file, it is because the projected Piecework Ban was viewed with mixed feelings. Many workers saw it as an evasion of real action. This is a guide for the future. One thing is certain—the wages battle in Engineering is not ended, it is merely postponed. But the new claim, when formulated, will require the careful and organised preparation for all-out action.

U(NYE)TE!



We understand that it wasn't Herbert Morrison who sug-gested the above as a May Day slogan.

Movement have been inspired by U.S.D.A.W.'s Conference help in the formation of working Labour movement as a whole and the probability have to

to make up for the increased cost nation, equality of opportunity, of living and they are not to be both educationally and socially, put off by considerations of soculled "participal" interests. put off by considerations o called "national" interests. defeat of the Executive on this question (their only defeat on an important question during the next Labour Government's Coloconference) should make them nial policy and it is up to us to see

the question of German Re-armament, with Alfred Robens armament, with Airred Robens joining in the attack, coupled with a mild speech by the Chairman of the Labour Party, Wilfred Burke, who did no more than go through the motions of defending an indefensible policy, indicates quite clearly that the Right Wing are in an entirely defeatist mood.

### **COLONIES AGAIN**

Even more astonishing were some of the other resolutions that were carried that did not get the headlines.

The Executive sponsored an Emergency Resolution on Colonies which backed up to the full the demands of the African and other colonial peoples "to set pons."
target dates for the achievement of During these debates I have self-government."

This too was never seen more serious and sin-

nialism and will demand that san foreign policy."—that potenthe movement act jointly with tial graveyard of the British their freedom. their freedom.

In the same debate a resolution calling for "the withdrawal of all overwhelmingly defeated. This demand was shown by more than one speaker to be against the wishes of many of the African peoples themselves who did not wish to be left, in their present relatively backward political state, to the mercies of Malanite racialists in the South or White settlers with the barbaric outlook of the Kenya whites elsewhere.

reported last week.

First of all, the rank and file are determined to have wage increases to make up for the increase to make up for

Conference

tional withdrawal of troops must only be presented where it is the

– **By** – John Goffe

demand of the indigenous population for example in Egypt, in Malaya, in British Guiana and Indo-China.

### THE BOMB

The Conference unanimously demanded the banning of the hydrogen bomb and "the immediate cessation of all further experiments with these wea-

carried with only two dissentients. cere discussions of these problems The meaning of this is that whose solution the people must Union has set its face take into their own hands, thus against the continuation of colo- ending the fatal drift of "biparti-

> Delegates were in no mood to tolerate attempts at superficial smart politics by bringing in the

A discussion on Social Ownership brought unanimous endorsement of the policy laid down by past Conferences for an extension of social ownership in the movement is in no danger. Whilst country's major industries, but there remains much to do, many

### **END TORYISM** Two resolutions were passed on

The parations for independence on this dates to be mutually agreed. This must be the basis of the next Labour Government's Colonial policy and it is up to us to see Bill on a basis of "all-out opposidecide to carry on a policy of a fighting leadership, preparing the well organised membership for the battles that lie ahead.

Secondly the crushing defeat of the N.E.C. of the Labour Party on the question of Green Page.

The demand for the uncondistance to specific and it is carried out in a genuine tion," stated: that the only solution was to be found in Labour's policy of "an extension of public ownership of rented property." It friends of Big Business.

The demand for the uncondistance of Green Page.

The demand for the uncondistance of Green Page. should be drastically reduced to permit the lowering of rents to council tenants.'

> The other resolution asked the National Council of Labour to initiate a nation-wide campaign, which should include such measures as the organising of a monster petition, mass meetings, demonstrations, etc., designed to sweep the Tories from office in the next six months and to replace them with a Labour Government pledged to bring into being a Socialist order of Society."

It ended with a call to the Union's M.P.s to step up the struggle in parliament.

These decisions of U.S.D.A.W. Conference, and the trend of which it is a part, show the way forward for British Labour in the coming period. Socialist in essence, practical in character, the decisions were concerned with the immediate problems before us. They leave on one side those conceptions of a "national" interest above and interest above and apart from that of the workers which has so confused the movement for many years and, on the Red Bogey, who, in past years, ment for many years and, on the has been a large and intrusive other hand, they eschew sectarianism and rigidly pure formulas.

If other sections of the movement follow the path laid down by U.S.D.A.W. at Easter the future of the British Labour settlers with the barbaric outlook of the Kenya whites elsewhere.

The speech of the Rhodesian lic ownership and castigate the African fraternal delegate demonstrated practically the kind of help the Africans wanted from the help the Africans wanted from the British Labour movement; practical was making headway with the there remains much to do, many questions to clarify and many battles to be won it is no exaggeration to state that the Labour movement has entered on the second stage of the British revolution.

## What Bevan Said

the Geneva conference and thus embroiling vice gains—is today regarded universally as justified. this country and the rest of the

### TRIBUNE ARTICLE

The reasoning behind Bevan's lead to the Third and Last -World War. The great resignation from the Parliamentary Committee of the Labour majority of people will under-Party is best expressed in his "Tribune" article. His explanation of the background to Labour's stand and appreciate that more It is no good making a great affairs is forthright and frankly to do about a Labour split. Because there is no split in Labour's Be-

an armed attack on the occupation forces of the Treaty Power and would thus involve the application of Art. 5"—"i.e. action forthwith...including the use of armed forces."

Tranks in the sentiment against in the sentiment in a new form of colonial war in Indo-China, and Asia as a whole. Because there is no split in Labour's ranks in the sentiment against E.D.C. on which the American war drive is hinged Therein is the beginning of all that Bevan has raised. And there is unity on them not only in Labour's ranks, but even far bevond the party, in the population of Britain as a whole.

Even if they are not vervlearned or politically minded, the average man and woman in the country are acutely aware of the issues. Therein is the beginning of all wisdom on the whole question of the containment of Communism in South East Asia" which Bevan very containment of Communism in South East Asia" which East Asia" which Bevan very containment of Communism in South East Asia" which East Asia" which this step was a clear enough clue to the anti-Labour character of U.S. policy in Europe.

not entirely clear about the whys and wherefores, they sense very tangibly that the main dancer is reactionary government has been the other cides of the state o financed into existence in Western Germany and the evidence availincreasing attention no matter able points to a revival of what the Press and the politicians of Mazism..." "We preferred to do, to the great questions raised offend our Socialist Comrades (in by Aneurin Bevan. This is parti- Germany) rather than risk the cularly so, now because the matter anger of the ruling circles in the resignation from the Labour bitterly shall we repent it!"

Government in 1951—the runingular In other many forms of the labour bitterly shall be repent it!"

result in an attack on social ser- American Capitalism instead of

### By G. Healy

socialist internationalism. There revolutionary plans of Big Busicry for international working-class is good ground to "repent" it. ness. "We should tell America action. Implicit is his attack on

4. Finally, there is the demand to join an alliance "for the containment of Communism in South East Asia" which Bevan very cor-

### PLAIN LOGIC

A plainer exposure of the mechanics of Labour's involvement in imperialist scheming will be hard to find anywhere. The force of its logic is becoming more apparent universally. This is evident not only from the reaction in Labour, Co-op and Trade Union ranks over the Easter week-end, that the status que It is also emphasised by public and he continues: opinion in India and in Ceylon.

"Shall we agree in the end or should we carry our opposition to effect of a re-armament programme lessons of history, Labour took chould we carry our opposition to upon the economy, its inevitable and a collaboration with the point where it might mean a

The answer is along the lines Bevan suggests:

No participation in the counter-As Bevan points out there so in the plainest possible terms. followed consequently:—

1. The inflated arms programme and sacrifice of part of the social services, weakening the British Labour movement and disuniting it.

In the plantest possible terms, possible terms, then she must do so alone." Thus Bevan concludes. And it is a forthright conclusion that fits a forthright posing of the issue. It deserves full support from all socialists.

cause there is no split in Labour's ranks in the sentiment against involvement in a new form of colonial war in Indo-China, and Asia as a whole Research to their formation of the control 3. Even the Mashall Plan aid to which Bevan still does not with-bold tripute turned out to had and present colonies throughout to the native brand of Fascism. restored to their former owners. which Bevan still does not with and present colonies throughout We did this against the facts of hold tribute turned out to be a the world against the horror of H.-Bomb annihilation and for a socialist world which alone can simply to aid in making fully ex-History and in spite of our instinc- programme of military assistance tive distrust of the circumstances." only. prevent it.

For, it puts the finger on the main source of the disease tearing at the vitals of humanity; the rapa-cious ruling class of America which is today the mainstay and sole base of support for tottering marised as a programme of intergangrenous greedy capitalism.

marised as a programme of international Labour struggle against gangrenous greedy capitalism.

### NO STATUS QUO Bevan correctly declares of In-

do-China:

"They must be independent of everybody. France as well as China, and that goes for the United States as well. The independence of Indo-China cannot be traded away.'

Bevan rejects the assumption that the status quo can be frozen

"The rule of collective peace in Bevan is getting a resounding the world must provide for social answer to the question he poses progress and for the attainment of progress and for the attainment of self-government by subject peoples Peace and injustice can never live long together. There are no qualifications to this. If the Indo-

Chinese elect to go Communist they should be allowed to do so.

Again, we have here a position deserves full support from all socialists. Implicit in the position put forward by Bevan is the recognition that what the world faces today in its struggle for survival is an international class struggle. Implicit in the statement of policy he proposes is a rallying cry for international working-class counter-revolutionary plans of American Big Business is an appeal for solidarity to the great and traditional militant American working-class and the common people of the United States—anxious as people everywhere are, over the H.-Bomb horror, apprehensive as we are over the involvement in Indo-China, and stir-

plicit the account Bevan has given of Labour's past experience and the policy he espouses. Our task is to aid in spelling out the programme for Labour implied in his stand. That programme can be sum-

capitalism, H.-Bomb annihilation and war—the only way to peace and socialist plenty.

READ

Britain's only T.U. Weekly Newspaper

### The Railway Review

FEARLESS. FACTUAL. STIMULATING and packed with information.

Price 3d.

Obtainable from any newsagent or bookstall.

"Malan wants the British Protectorates. What the People of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland can expect from Malan.' Read Solly Sach's Book:

"The Choice Before South 5 shillings

6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

## -and what Labour now should do

## Our Readers Write

### Lyttleton in Kenya

Half dead from exhaustion, the deer can only wait to be torn to pieces by the hounds! The hunt looks on !

people who call this are the same class of people who seek our protection in Kenya against the people who are really entitled to our protection (the Kikuyu). If this is called Sport in a 'Civilised' country Sport in a 'Civilised' country what would they do to the unprotected coloured folk, that they consider are in the way of their

understood in quarters that Mr. Lyttelton has relations, who are big share-holders, in one of the biggest Estates in Kenya, if that is so, it appears to me that he has a personal interest, in the affair, especially as his cousin is reckoned to be the chairman of that Estate.

Under those circumstances I am wondering if he has any legal right to hold the position he does.

London, S.E.17 E. Chappell



### German Rearmament

internally divided at a time when we in the Labour Party need to devote all our efforts to the exposure and defeat of the Attlee faction as a preliminary to an allout attack on the Tory Govern-

As a Socialist who has no private connection with either yourself or Comrade Healy, may I be allowed to comment on the published controversy between you? I have read both your original article on Jennie Lee's speech in Paris, to which Comrade Healy takes exception, and your subsequent replies very carefully and (apart from the fact that Mr. Delargy's name is mis-spelt and M. Laniel confused with M. Coty as the recipient of a kick in the pants) I fail to see what the argument is about.

Surely the salient facts are these: Jennie Lee made it clear to a meeting of French socialists that the Attlee line on German arms was not the true expression of British Labour's opinion—all well and good; at the same time it became clear that, for various and dubious reasons of their own, many French reactionaries like Juin and de Gaulle were also opposed to E.D.C.—again all well and good, since every factor detrimental to the success of German remilitarisation is to be welcomed and exploited.

Did Comrade Lawrence advocate a Popular Front of Socialists and Gaullists, of Bevans and Juins, an Unholy Alliance v. E.D.C.? Of course not and Comrade by pretending he did.

The more opposition there is to the militarist adventures of Wash-ington—from whatever source the less chance there is of those adventurers succeeding, provided that we as Socialists keep our powder dry, strive for international Left solidarity and never lose the initiative in the struggle against U.S. militarism and world capitalism. Because the Biparti-sanship of Attlee and his dis-credited clique have lost us that initiative we must support Bevan's protest and work to bring down the 'Shadow Cabinet,' even though some of us are not altogether sure that Mr. Bevan has the calibre of a great leader.

The world is not perfect Comrade Healy, and the material we may have to use in our efforts to improve it will not be perfect either, but the whole business of life consists of making the best of a bad job—and political life is no exception. Let us have no more bickering and get down to the job in hand.

Carmarthen, (S. Wales)

David E. Painting

## The Beginning of May Day | Why The League of Youth Declines

sored; meetings were banned or are nine-hundred and ninety-nine stopped work and crowded to

degree murder, arising out of the

The men accused were August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert Parsons, Oscar Neebe, Adolph Fischer, George Engel and Louis Lingg.

At the trial, no evidence was brought forward to connect the eight men with the bomb throwing. But their radical opinions bitterly hostile to labour and vain. Parsons was firm. "I can't socialism; and throughout do it," he said to them, one by America, the men of money and property campaigned for their can't do it."

fifteen years imprisonment.

A new trial was asked for and An appeal to the Illinois Supreme Court was turned down. Belated but powerful protests ere organised all over the world,

and under pressure, the authorities decided to reprieve some of It was made known that Spies,

Fischer, Engel and Lingg would be hanged, but that Parsons, Schwab and Fielden—an Englishman—would be reprieved if they would petition the State Governor for a pardon.

Fielden and Schwab did so, and their sentences were commuted fifteen years imprisonment. Albert Parsons refused to petition. His family was influential: he knew that much private pressure It is particularly unfortunate was being exerted on his behalf. He felt that if he got his pardon, it would make certain the death of Spies, Fischer, Engel and

in a thousand that I will swing socialist gatherings. with them; that there isn't one In London, only all it is by my standing in with them, so that whatever action is taken in my case must be taken in equal propriety in theirs. I expect the result will be that I will hang with them, but I am ready."

I way First. London's main meeting was held on Sunday, May Fourth, and its size astounded even the most hopeful of its or ganisers. 100,000 people marched to the Park: inside, the numbers grew to 250,000.

His friends pleaded with him; the other condemned men urged Frederick him to petition and save himself; and cried: prominent Chicago newspaper editor went to Parsons' cell to the line of battle... were paraded before a jury of men get Parsons to save himself. In

Seven of the Anarchists were sentenced to death. The other—three anarchists—for Lingg had Oscar Neebe—was sentenced to died in prison—mounted the fifteen years imprisonment. died in prison—mounted th the scaffold in November, 1887. "The time will come," sai

Spies as the noose was placed around his neck, "when our silence in the grave will be more eloquent than the voices you are strangling."

"Let the voice of the people be heard," cried Parsons—who might have saved himself, but would not

Seven years later, the newlydeclared the trial unfair, the evithree who had been sentenced to less honest ways. fifteen years imprisonment.

following election.

was a success. "I know," he said, "the chances dreds of thousands of workingmen human solidarity.

In London, only a determined Eight leading Anarchists were chance in a thousand of saving and doctrinaire handful met on arrested and charged with first them; but if they can be saved at May First. London's main meetand doctrinaire handful met on

> the spectators Among Engels, who rejoiced "The grandchildren and cried: "The grandent of the old Chartists, are entering

An old Chartist was in the Park seventy-three year e Julian Harney. George Julian Harney. He looked back over his memories of the tumultuous Chartist gatherings of fifty years before and said: a greater number of people I ave never seen gathered tothe gether.'

Loudest cheer for all on that day was for the dockers, whose great strike victory of the previous year had given new stimulus to the labour movement, everywhere and whose leaders, John Burns, Tom Mann, and Ben Tillett, were in the forefront of the growing socialist

If May Days now are ragged, divided and dispirited; if they compare badly indeed with that first one of all, and with others that followed, it is because the elected Illinois State Governor, that followed, it is because the Altgeld went over the trial records, movement itself is checked, confused, uncertain, because we have dence of guilt insufficient, and the erred and strayed from the ways verdict unjustified, and set free the of bold rebellion and snatched at of bold rebellion and snatched at

For this act, Governor Altgeld raise again the old Red Flag of was driven from office at the Socialism, in salute to the old ollowing election.

guard, and to those who, like the anarchists of Chicago, died in the peoples' cause, and as pledge to fellow workers everywhere, Germany, Denmark, Austria and and to the peoples of Africa and France, where meetings or processions or both were banned, hunther common cause of freedom and

week sufficed to prove the decline of the League. A particularly scathing denunciation of the practice of the Tier upon tier of empty seats leadership to ascribe the League's attendance.

(1) Resolutions along with the relevant sections of the Report for the year 1953-54.

(2) Discussion of two documents, one on European Unity and the other on The Structure of Local Government.

The first section took all of Saturday and half of Sunday. The delegates expressed their dissatis-faction with the Report of the National Consultative Committee (the highest body of the League) on nearly every count being factually inadequate and evasive.

What stood out most clearly was the tragic decline of the League from something like 538 Leagues last year to 384 this year.

Blame was quite correctly placed on the Party's N.E.C. for refusing to permit the League of Youth in conjunction with the N.E.C. to discuss, formulate, and implement a policy as affecting Youth. Furthermore, it was apparent from the tenor of the remarks coming from the League's platform that its own N.C.C. was in no haste to press the issue firmly and relent-lessly against the N.E.C.

Only two attempts had been made in the course of the year to extract this concession from the N.E.C., and then too there had been no satisfactory reply. So, conference went on record for the second time in succession demanding the right to discuss policy "as affecting Youth.

The agenda for this year's conference was quite slim by the standards of previous years. By the time Conference had arrived it had been further reduced by withdrawals of resolutions and the prevent the delegates from affirming the following fundamental

- A National Plan by the N.C.C. to publicise the League in the country (Chichester).
- with Union Youth by approaching trade union national youth committees and unions with large numbers of young mem-

nishes with the platform right shackles that restrain its political from the start of conference, and life.

NE glance around the time and again references back of Conference Hall last certain sections of their report were carried.

-a bare 120 delegates in decline to public political apathy came from **G. Gale** of Leeds. He explained that the apathy sprang Conference deliberations broadly speaking divided into but from the apathy of the Party leadership in the fight against

Saturday afternoon witnessed the piggest event of any League Conference since the days of the National Status Movement in 1950-51. The battle broke out over Emergency Resolutions—one

### By Norman Atkinson (Leeds)

was on German Re-armament and another on Bevan's resignation from the Shadow Cabinet.

Conference Standing Orders Committee refused to permit these to be tabled as being out of the terms of reference of League Conference. Thereupon, all the pent up fury and frustration of the League broke loose.

The platform at this juncture considered it "wise" to make all further deliberation on the matter in secret session. All that emerged from that secret session was that the Resolutions were not placed on the Agenda. This did not, however, prevent over 90 delegates placing their signatures on a pledge of support to Bevan on his resignation.

After this set-back for the floor the initiative passed to the plat-form. Conference was exhausted by the tensions of the previous day and it was not until the final item on the agenda—the Study Group Reports—was reached that there was a revival of interest in the proceedings.

It was quite evident that the system of drawing up study group failure of Leagues to be represen-reports was completely unsatisted. It was quite evident that factory. No resolutions or amendapathy was growing in some ments were permitted. So delequarters. This did not however, gates had to be satisfied with expressing their disagreement with contents of the documents by Conference decisions by the N.E.C. (Clapton).

Next year's Study Group Report to be on "Conscription". (Richmond and Barnes).

Section. In the end, little—and, in the case of the document on European Unity, nothing—was left them. The whole practice proving a lamentable farce and a cynical waste of the time and energy of the Port.

ference points to one thing. If something is not done, and done quickly, the League will continue to decline.

This will, of course, suit Transport House excellently. The Labour Party must intervene **NOW** if it is going to save for our move-ment its most precious human capital—its politically educated youth. We must demand an League of Youth representation on the N.E.C. and at youth. We must demand an accounting from Transport House There were some sharp skirit frees the League from the

## **War in Indo-China?**

(from p. I)

is a rare family which doesn't have a brother, a son, or a cousin in the

PUPPET RULER The French have tried to convey the impression that they are not eeking to re-establish their colonial domination but merely to support the "free" Indo-China, headed by Bao Dai, against the communists. The lie may stick in America but it is only too transparant in Indo-China. Like Syngman Rhee, Bao Dai is a puppet ruler kept in power by imperialist guns. "Le Monde" says he is supported by only 20 per cent. of the population. That's a maximum figure.

Like all these "independent facades for imperialist rule, his government is shot through with corruption. A high official states that fraud is rife in all government departments.

The same goes for the native (Viet Nam) armies fighting on the side of the French. Most of these are coerced into the army by press-gang methods; at the first opening they quit in droves and or they go over, arms and all, to the Viet Minh side.

### CLASS STRUGGLE

The native allies of the French have been and still are a small group of privileged landowners; their opponents, some 700,000 landless families and 1,700,000 families with tiny plots of land. A breakdown of landownership by a French sub-commission, published in 1948, provides the following revealing figures for the province of Cochin China (the proportions are similar for Tonkin and Annam, the two other pro-

(65,750 or 26 per cent.) own 37 40 per cent. of bare miinmum exper cent; but 6,300 big farmers is thought of the cent. own 45 per cent. of the total.

For all the blare of trumpets Even when an entire family promising liberal land reform, works it can only realise some 50 only 3,600 of 1,800,000 hectares in per cent. of its needs.

Bao Dai's Indo-China have been affected by the reform.

Only in communist Viet Between the time of the French Minh territory has there been return to Indo-China and the



Meanwhile, French Capital, seeing the handwriting on the wall, ing the handwriting on the wall, is out to finish its 90-year plunder by literally sacking the country. Production of rubber, rice and other crops is beating all records, workers are driven at an inhuman other crops is beating all records, when the land is being explayated with the land is being explayated. pace, the land is being exhausted. would crumble like a house of

These huge sums are not being people. re-invested in Indo-China but taken out of the country. A case in point is the largest of the big French monopolies, the Bank of Indo-China, whose profits rose from 49 million francs in 1946 to 622 million in 1952. It has transferred seven-eighths of its Indo-China portfolio to Africa and France.

This plunder has meant terrible exploitation and suffering for the Small farmers (183,000 or 72 Indo-Chinese masses. Because of per cent.) own 15 per cent. of the land, an average of a half hectare each, or a little better than one acre: medium - sized farmers (65,750 or 26 per cent.) own 37 cent. of better than one acre: of living has been driven down 57 per cent. from its 1939 level. But if in 1939, the standard was only cent. of bare minimum exploitation and suffering from the resulting inflation, the standard world War III.

Don't let it happen. 14 per cent.

### **CRUCIFIED COUNTRY**

Between the time of the French

plains the support they receive a crucified country. War has from the peasantry on both sides never ceased. The French razed villages to the ground, burned people alive, killed between 500,000 to 1,000,000 of their foes,

51 companies have increased their cards, and Viet Minh would sweep profit from 2.5 billion francs in back in through a general election 1948 to 11 billion francs in 1951. with the backing of an entire

France is finished in Indo-China —she will either get out or be driven out. That will all be to the good for the Indo-Chinese, for the workers of France, for the people still under colonial rule in Asia and Africa-for the peace of the world. America alone can force a continuation of the war in Indo-China, But that will mean eventually, or sooner, American troops after that war with China and

Is the "SOCIALIST Even when an entire family OUTLOOK" in your Local Library?

If not—ASK FOR IT!

### **New Readers**

Take Out a Special Subscription 9 'Outlooks' For 2/-

Buy a subscription for yourself - and for your friend(s)

	uuaress below.	I enclose P.C	)
NAME	Z		***********
ADDR	ESS		***************************************

Nermal Subscription Rates: 1 year, 19s. 6d.; 6 months, 9s. 9d., 12 issues, 4s. 6d.

> SOCIALIST OUTLOOK, 59 FLEET STREET, E.C.4.