

# Socialist Outlook

## STOP THE WAR!—LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE!

### LABOUR MUST WELCOME CHINA'S PEACE PROPOSALS

CHINA has presented to the world a solution to the Korean conflict which can really prevent it developing into the third and bloodier world war. Speaking, as he said, on behalf of 450,000,000 Chinese people, Mr. Wu has proposed a cease-fire on the condition that all foreign troops—American, British, and Chinese—be immediately withdrawn from Korea, leaving the fate of this devastated little country to be decided by the Korean people themselves.

This is a solution entirely compatible with socialist and democratic principles. It is, therefore, a solution to which British Labour must lend its whole-hearted support.

The alternative "cease-fire" proposals of the United States and Britain do not envisage any such withdrawal from Korea. On the contrary, the spokesmen of both countries have made it clear beyond all doubt that they intend to stay. Their "cease-fire" is simply an attempt to win for General MacArthur time to re-group his armies after the battering they have received from the Chinese.

#### "SURRENDER OR DIE"

It is not hard to understand why the Chinese and the Koreans will not accept the Truman-Attlee proposals. Why should they display such leniency towards an armed force which



has brought such misery and wretchedness to their country and which they have now defeated in battle? Why should they parley with those who have protected the gangster police of Syngman Rhee in its hideous murdering of the best sons and daughters of Korea? Why indeed!

When MacArthur was marching triumphantly on the Manchurian border he did not display any such leniency towards his victims. He did not offer cease-fire proposals. *Surrender or Die!* That was all he offered the Korean people—and die they did, in thousands, rather than bow the neck to the imperialist invader. And then, gloating over the dead bodies, MacArthur issued his now infamous statement—"the sight of these dead communists gladdens my old eyes"!

#### PEACE IN ASIA

It is absolute nonsense to think that the Chinese and Korean peoples want to be involved in war. They have so far been its chief victims. It is Korean towns and villages that have been reduced to rubble; it is the mothers and children of Korean workers and poor peasants who are daily being blasted to pieces by the guns of the United Nations.

As for the Chinese—they have already been at war with reaction for over twenty-five years! They have suffered incredible hardships to free their land from the Japanese imperialists and then from the grip of the feudal landlords who served the corrupt regime of Chiang Kai Shek. Peace, and with it the possibility of cultivating the land they have paid so dear to win, must be the foremost aim of every Chinese worker and peasant. But—and this is something the arrogant imperialists will perhaps never understand—the Chinese and the Korean peoples will not accept peace at any price.

Together with all the oppressed peoples of Asia, the Chinese and the Koreans have had enough of imperialist exploitation—enough of being kicked around by foreign invaders who for centuries have kept these countries in backwardness, and their peoples in poverty, to serve the interests of the financial magnates of London, Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, and Washington. That is why the Chinese peace proposals are conditional upon the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops.

#### WE MUST ACCEPT

Naturally the rulers of the western world will never agree willingly to withdraw from the Far East. It is there that they derive so much of their super-profits; it is there that they can steal, from lands which do not belong to them, the raw materials needed for their insatiable war-machines; it is there that they can station their armies in strategic positions for the war that they are daily preparing against the Soviet Union.

But we, the working class, can make them withdraw. We have absolutely nothing to gain from tying our fate to the war-plan of this out-moded capitalist system. There is no future in it—except to die, to sacrifice our lives, our homes, and our children, to the over-open jaws of the imperialist war-machine.

Unless we quickly realise that the cause for which our Government wants us to fight is both hopeless and thoroughly reactionary, tens of thousands of British workers will be killed in a vain attempt to shore up the crumbling structure of imperialist rule in the Far East.

That is why the Labour Movement must refuse to be used for this most reactionary purpose. We must insist on a real and democratic solution to the Korean war. We want to live in peace with the peoples of Asia and the world. We have nothing to fear from this tremendous national liberation struggle which is sweeping throughout the former colonial world. The exploited masses of Asia fight the same enemy as our own Labour Movement is pledged to overthrow—world capitalism. The war of MacArthur is not our war! The Chinese proposals must be supported by the British working class.

Withdraw all foreign troops from Korea!  
Let the Korean people decide!  
Stop the war NOW!



### A Call to all Trade Unionists

THE right note was sounded by Jim Figgins at a recent meeting of the T.U.C. when, on behalf of the National Union of Railwaymen, he moved a resolution calling for a conference of British and Russian Trade Unionists to be held in Russia to discuss ways and means of preventing the third world war. His motion was seconded by Ted Hill of the Boilermakers.

It is a proposal that every trade unionist should support. Have we not all witnessed the utter failure of Governments and diplomats to prevent war? Is it not time that the organised workers of the world took a hand—regardless of the propaganda of their Governments?

Those who want war are only a small minority—but they are a powerful minority because they own and control all the resources of the capitalist world. They must be removed from their positions of economic and political power. And only the international working class can do that job. It won't be easy, but when it is done THERE WILL BE NO MORE WAR.

The sooner we get started the better. That is why it is so important that we repudiate the action of the T.U.C. in turning down the motion of Jim Figgins. The British Trade Union Movement, armed with a programme of socialism at home, freedom for the colonial peoples, and defence of the Soviet Union, can yet rally the international working class for the final prevention of war.



HATCHED AT LAST!

### Rearmament Workers Homes

by David Goldhill

THE Tories are broadcasting their "programme" for 300,000 houses per annum. Naturally, they ignore the contradiction between this and their demands for rearmament. But the significant point is that they appreciate the political dynamite accumulating under the Government as a result of the half-hearted approach to the housing problem.

Already the stockpiling of metals for rearmament has sent prices soaring—and at a time when metal has replaced wood for such items as windows and door frames. Gutters, pipes, tanks, and other fittings have still to be provided, and the increasing prices spread to other materials generally.

#### STANDARDS AFFECTED

The amount of money which any Council may lay out for housing is, in effect, controlled by the Ministry of Health and has been virtually pegged. Each new batch of homes has had to be built for the same price as the previous ones whose materials cost less, so that cuts have had to be made in equipment and materials.

The Ministry has in fact steadily reduced housing standards without having to publish this as its policy. Being price-conscious as well as dealer homes.

#### LUXURY BUILDING

Without the brake of rearmament, how many houses could really be built each year? Nobody can give more than a rough guess, for nobody can really say what might be the capacity of the industry if properly organised. But it is clear that the manufacture of homes is basically no different to the manufacture of other products in that they can be more cheaply and abundantly produced if production is properly planned and organised. However, the present Governmental policy is to reduce the numbers produced and to transfer workers to non-essential projects.

That is clear to anyone who cares to take a walk round the West End of London and note the number of hotels, clubs, and shops being altered and decorated. The same thing is going on in other cities. Large homes are being altered, in some cases practically gutted and rebuilt; a whole mass of smaller jobs are going on; garden layouts, and other luxury building.

Licenses for many millions of pounds are actually issued for the completion of such jobs. Adding in all the other unnecessary work, we can say that it is time a complete investigation of the whole industry were undertaken in the light of the new conditions.

At the next election the Government's housing policy is going to get a critical handling. The only way we can take an honest position on the housing problem is to get the Party to adopt a policy to take over the building industry for a maximum housing effort, to stop black market building, and so to build homes and more homes instead of guns and bombs.

### A PROGRAMME FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION From LABOUR To SOCIALISM

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of the Labour Movement by

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Tom Braddock

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**Editorial**

**Stand by the German Workers**

**T**O organise all Europe for war—all its production and all its manpower. That is the meaning of the Brussels Conference of the so-called Atlantic Council which recently appointed American General Eisenhower the commander-in-chief of an all-Europe "Defence" Force. Acting under his command will be a big-time American industrialist—a Mr. W. Blatt. His task—according to the official communique—is to "expand and accelerate production and further the mutual use of the industrial capacity of the member-nations." Marshall Aid is immediately replaced by "Eisenhower Aid"—strictly for war only!

With all the urgency at our command, we address this question to every member of the Labour Party. How far can we advance along the socialist road under the guidance and supervision of American generals and monopoly capitalists?

It is surely time for the Labour Movement to cry *Halt, Enough!* It is time to declare to the Governments and the peoples of the world that Britain—Labour Britain at least—will not take part in this downright reactionary attempt to crush the colonial peoples and the Soviet Union which, for all the many crimes of its Government, remains a conquest torn from the grasp of the imperialists—something to be defended, not smashed.

What have we to fear from such a policy boldly pursued? The forces of imperialist reaction may command imposing technical and material resources, but they no longer command the allegiance of the working class. And nowhere is this plainer than in Germany to-day.

**"NEVER AGAIN"**

The generals and the politicians of capitalism have decided that Germany must be re-armed. But there is one big obstacle to overcome. The German working class refuses to be re-armed for such a reactionary purpose.

In the recent elections which gave the German people an opportunity to express themselves on this issue of war or peace, the workers voted solidly for the Social Democrats. **AND THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS ARE AGAINST THE RE-MILITARISATION OF GERMANY.**

In all probability, the leaders of the German Social Democracy are against re-militarisation not in principle, but as a manoeuvre, a bargaining point with the occupying powers. But that is not the attitude of the workers. In the elections themselves, the chief election poster of the Social Democrats showed a rifle stuck in the torn earth of a battlefield and bearing the slogan "Never Again." It was for this sentiment that the German workers voted. They are against war because, from bitter experience,

they know exactly how futile it is in solving the problems of the working class.

**INTERNATIONALISM**

Hang your heads in shame all you war-time propagandists who tried to saddle the German workers—the first victims of the Nazi terror!—with responsibility for the foul crimes of Hitler. The workers of this stricken land have given the lie to that rotten propaganda—which emanated from ALL the war-time Allies, including the Russians—which tried to sow national hatreds among the international working class. German working men and women—these "Huns," "Prussians," and "militarists" as they were so cruelly described by the jingoes, have, by their refusal to be re-armed, set an example to the workers of the world.

Theirs is the spirit that will bring to nought all the war plans of the imperialists. Theirs is the spirit the imperialists fear even more than they fear the armed might of the Soviet Union. As the "New York Times" nervously commented at the time, "the election results in Germany are a serious set-back to the Western Allies and their plans for German participation in Western defence."

All praise, then, to our fellow-workers in Germany who have shown us the way. Let us not betray them again. They do not want another capitalist army fastened around their necks. Neither do we. But unless we fight against it, the imperialists will create an army in Germany. And it will be a Nazi army, because that is the only kind of army that can be formed against the will of the German workers and used to fight the Soviet Union.

That is why we must compel our Labour Government to oppose this re-militarisation of Germany. As in Korea—where British workers are dying in a vain attempt to stop the colonial peoples achieving their freedom—so also in Germany, the solution is essentially the same.

**Withdraw all British troops !  
 Let the German people decide !**

**Press Lords Prepare For War**

by **FRANK ALLAUN**  
 (member of National Union of Journalists)

**I**N every land there are powerful newspapers spreading hate daily and deliberately on a scale never known before. And the British press, with few honourable exceptions, is now amongst the worst in the world, as I shall show. As a working journalist myself I say that many newspapers no longer even try to be fair or objective about the world situation.

Some newspapers are whipping people up to such hysteria that millions of decent people will be ready to slaughter when the signal is given, a slaughter that will be carried out by atom bombs on both sides.

Day after day the stress on anti-Communist news is intended to "condition" us along Dr. Goebbels' well-tried method: if you "plug" a line often enough it eventually gets over.

**ATE BABIES**

From the 1917 revolution in Russia right up to 1941 the Russians, according to "our" news, were bearded Bolsheviks who ate babies for breakfast. We were misled, particularly about their military strength, so that thousands of British soldiers lost their lives because of the under-estimation of a potential ally.

When the Bolsheviks did become our allies on June 22nd, 1941, they changed into heroes and angels overnight—which was equally daft. Since Hitler was defeated the newspapers have reverted to their previous treatment of Russians, but with even greater bitterness.

Now for a few quotations from the big newspapers.

On April 9th, 1950, an American bomber plane was reported to have been shot down by Russian fighters near the Baltic. Washington sent a note to the Russian Government. The Russians replied that the note was groundless. They said the plane was a Flying Fortress photographing Soviet defences.

**SECRET MISSION**

Front page stories splashed the incident for several days. Newspaper editors waxed indignant and wrote warlike leaders.

It appears from an interview with the pilot's widow, reported in two American newspapers, the *Times-Picayune* and the *New Orleans Item*, that she had received a letter from her husband before the flight telling her how excited he was about the fact that he was going on a secret mission. Which puts an entirely different light on the matter.

Millions of readers in Britain and America have never heard of this important letter sent by the pilot, because most newspapers have taken damned-good care that they didn't.

Out of 134 daily and evening papers only two or three printed the facts. The others kept their readers in ignorance.

On July 12th, several British newspapers had the honesty to report that Syngman Rhee's South Korean forces had slaughtered 1,200 North Koreans they had taken prisoner. There were authenticating reports from International Red Cross observers.

It was not even mentioned in four of our national daily papers.

When, however, the North Koreans have committed atrocities they have been given tremendous prominence both in the Press and, particularly, in the cinema newsreels.

**"CHOOSING" THE NEWS**

It is this careful selection of news which misleads millions of people daily.

Mr. Ernest Thornton, General Secretary of the 150,000 strong United Textile Factory Workers' Association, knows more about the Far East, both theoretically and at first hand, than probably any other important British trade union leader. He has been there twice since the war.

After the last visit he issued a long report in which he stated (*Reynold's News*, August 27th, 1950):

*I am profoundly convinced that the fighting in Korea, at present between North Koreans and the Americans, will have the effect of uniting the Far Eastern peoples (except the very small wealthy classes) against the Americans, the British and the other white races.*

Now, whether one agrees with Mr. Thornton's views or not, this statement, coming at such a time, was "news."

Three—and only three—newspapers printed it. If, on the other hand, Mr. Thornton had taken the "popular" line and had attacked the Chinese or the North Koreans, then his statement would have been given high-powered publicity.

Surely the most sensational case of interference with the freedom of editors to publish "unpalatable" news in recent months has been the dismissal of the editor of *Picture Post*.

I will quote two significant passages from the *Observer* of November 5th dealing with this scandal:

*Discreet notices appeared last week in the newspapers, stating simply that Tom Hopkinson had been removed from the editorship of the Picture Post. The Press has less to say about its own changes than similar moves in the B.B.C.*

*What had in fact happened was that Mr. Hopkinson wished to publish a report about South Korean atrocities; Mr. Edward Hulton, the proprietor, forbade its publication; the editor included the report in the make-up of the magazine; Mr. Hulton thereupon replaced him. . . .*

*Hopkinson is not the first editor to find that Hulton alternates between long periods of accepting advice, and sudden irrevocable decisions of his own.*

**IN THE PAST TWO YEARS HE HAS REPLACED SIX EDITORS IN HIS ORGANISATION.**

(The emphasis is mine to impress upon readers that journalists do not decide the policy of newspapers for which they write—not even editors. Lord Kemsley's *Daily Graphic* has had no fewer than seven editors since 1945! The proprietor decides. He who pays the piper calls the tune. And as the proprietors of most of the million circulation Press are millionaires with a reactionary outlook, we should know what to expect.)

In this case, too, only a handful of papers have printed the facts of the case. Only one—the *Observer*, has reported that Hulton has fired six editors in two years.

There is nothing like a little publicity to keep journalism clean.

**THE SOCIALIST OUTLOOK MUST BECOME A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER**

*How YOU can help*

**D**O not think that your Editorial Board has forgotten all about its determination to turn the *Socialist Outlook* into a WEEKLY PAPER. We have gone a long way towards achieving our aim, but there is still a lot to do—and once again we turn to our readers for help.

Last July we said in an editorial statement: "Whatever the sacrifice involved, the Editorial Board is determined to develop the *Socialist Outlook* into a weekly paper. We know it is an ambitious step but two things encourage us to take it. The first is the wonderful response we have received since the paper was launched over 18 months ago, and the second is the need to combat more effectively the policies of retreat and capitulation which are emanating from the Party leadership. . . ."

Those policies of retreat and capitulation have now become a full-fledged gallop towards—the Third World War. More urgent than ever is the need to pound out a socialist alternative inside the Labour Movement. A monthly paper is not good enough. We need a weekly at the very least.

Yes, an ambitious step—but one which has been applauded by many readers. We were confident it would be, just as we were confident

when, over two years ago, it was decided to launch the *Outlook*. All we had then was an idea and lots and lots of enthusiasm. The money was subscribed by supporters up and down the country who formed themselves into the Labour Publishing Society and raised the capital by means of £1 shares.

To become a weekly presents even greater problems—and calls for even greater sacrifices. The problems are MONEY—PRODUCTION—DISTRIBUTION.

**MONEY**

Money can solve most problems and it is undeniable that if we had the resources of the capitalist press neither production nor distribution would worry us. But we haven't. We can't solve it but—YOU CAN. Send us then all the money that you can spare. That is the first problem.

We shan't waste your money. Already we HAVE BOUGHT OUR OWN PRINTING PRESS out of the shillings and the pounds subscribed by our readers. Some have made really tremendous sacrifices but they know that it has been worth it. For now we can confidently say that PRODUCTION does not present us with an insurmountable problem.

**DISTRIBUTION**

It will be readily appreciated that selling a

WEEKLY is a different proposition to selling a MONTHLY. It is, for example, no good waiting for the monthly meeting of the ward—or even the fortnightly meeting of the trade union branch. The paper must be got into the hands of its readers within a day or two of coming off the press.

It must therefore, be TAKEN to the readers—either at work or to their homes. And it must be paid for—otherwise we shall soon run into serious financial difficulties. In other words, whatever arrangements we may ultimately make with the wholesale distributors, we need NOW a band of socialists who will guarantee to sell a stated number of copies EVERY WEEK.

Ask yourself this question. **HOW MANY COPIES OF THE "SOCIALIST OUTLOOK" CAN I TAKE, SELL, AND PAY FOR EACH WEEK?**

When you have thought seriously about it, fill in the form you will find on this page and send it to us without delay. The sooner we can estimate what our regular weekly sales will be—the sooner you will get a weekly *Socialist Outlook*.

Don't leave it until to-morrow. Let us know immediately what YOU PERSONALLY can do towards solving our distribution problems.

Whether you can take 2 copies or 200—LET US KNOW NOW.

And when you send in the completed form, try and send us some money, comrades. Believe me, we need it if we are to combat the present horrible drift of the country towards war.

**Fill it up NOW**

I will guarantee to take, distribute, and pay for.....copies of a weekly *Socialist Outlook*.

Name .....

Address .....

Post this form to The Editor, 177, Bermondsey Street, London, S.E.1.

# RAILWAYMEN WON'T WAIT MUCH LONGER

by BOB SHAW (N.U.R.).

**NINETEEN FIFTY-ONE . . . Festival of Britain year.** The dollars will come rolling in, and all must put on their best smirk for the visitors. Even the Railway Executive hopes to recoup its losses and will be busy putting out the red carpet and issuing all station masters with new top hats. Perhaps even railwaymen will get some of the crumbs. There will be the handsome tips, the overtime, the Sunday work and lodging turns. But, no wage increases, and no pensions or sick pay.

Sir Eustace Missenden has already got going with a "message" to all railwaymen, his loyal servants. He is, he says, convinced that there is "a wealth of talent and initiative among the staff of the British Railways," and he is determined, he says, to provide conditions in which these can be fully developed freely to the benefit of each individual and to the betterment of British Railways as a whole.

Obviously Sir Eustace has one of the most remarkable talents—he is able to promise nothing at all in sentences of the most beautiful prose. I doubt if he will impress one rank-and-file railwayman with his "message." It is doubtful if he even hopes to, unless he lives in a dreamland of his own. The intention is more to impress upon the public that if railwaymen do come out on strike then the Railway Executive is the last body which should be blamed, they at least have tried!

The general public is not told about the real conditions under which railwaymen must work and live, and, should he be interested, the dollar visitor will not be encouraged to see into these things.

## DOUBTFUL HONOUR

The fact that bottom grade men must "live" on a take-home pay of around 90/- is carefully hidden in a mass of deceptive figures covering overtime, and higher grade earnings. Nor does the general public realise that most railwaymen do not know what regular hours of employment are; that many must get out of bed at any hour of the night as required by the "company"; that meals must be taken when and how you can; that leisure,

recreation, sport, family life, all must be sacrificed to the railway mogul. No pension for the railwayman after 30, 40 or 50 years' faithful service, and no sick pay when he is serving either! Railwaymen have only the doubtful honour of being amongst the lowest paid workers in the country. Despite nationalisation we toil only to make the job pay for the shareholders.

## BITTERNESS

The message of Sir Eustace is therefore thrown into a sea of mistrust and hostility, and it is doubtful if it will leave even a ripple. Two years ago, at the beginning of nationalisation of the Railways, the Government and the Railway Executive had a valuable capital asset in the goodwill of the rank and file. But, that asset has, during the succeeding two years, been frittered away—leaving only bitterness and a determination to put things right.

The most recent kick in the teeth was administered by Mr. Allen, one-time secretary of the A.S.L.E. & F., in his reply to the wage demand of all three railway unions. He said in effect that we will give you one-quarter of what you ask provided that in return you give us back half of all you have gained during the last 30 years. The reply is cynical enough, but that it should come from an ex-union secretary underlines the lofty contempt which is typical of the bureaucrat's approach to the rank and file.

Why should railwaymen be treated in this manner? Why should policemen, teachers, M.P.s. and higher civil servants get wage increases without strings attached, but not us? We are human, too.

## RESPONSIBILITY

Surplus revenue is now running at the rate of £30 million for 1950. This is enough to give every rank-and-file railwayman an increase of £1 per week, plus pensions and sick pay . . . provided the shareholder goes without. How about a little determination here Sir Eustace?

Nineteen fifty-one begins with the threat of trouble in nationalised transport. The use of the strike weapon is now widely discussed and in some cases even decided upon. That railwaymen should have to resort to such methods under a Labour Government may well be unfortunate. The blame, however, for what is to come must rest squarely on the shoulders of the right wing politicians who have insisted that the shareholders "shall be paid first."

Five weeks, on the recommendation of the Union Executive, the workers went back defeated and the trade union suffered a blow in that factory from which it is only now beginning to recover.

Such examples demonstrate the use to which the Order can be put under a Labour Government. But what if a Tory or Coalition Government should come to power under this Order? 1305 would then become a major disaster for the organised movement in Britain.

## "IN OUR INTERESTS"

Some trade union leaders wish to convince us that the Order is in our interests! "Recalcitrant employers can be brought before the Tribunal"—so we are told. "The prevailing district, or trade, rate can be enforced," etc., etc. However, let us note (a) that the prevailing rate is maintained by the struggle of trade unionists, and (b) that the conditions of the vast body of badly organised workers in the smaller trades come under the Wages Councils, not the Tribunal.

That leaves only a very small section of wage-earners who could possibly gain by the N.A.T., while the majority, on whom the general level of conditions depends, are tied hand and foot.

Thus, 1305 tends towards a general downward levelling of wages accompanied by a decline in the membership and strength of the trade union movement—not to mention the question of imprisonment of workers in the name of the law.

For all these reasons we must—

**Abolish Order 1305!**

# ABOLISH 1305!

by Joe Pawsey (U.S. D.A.W.).

**I**N the last issue of the *Outlook*, Norman Dinning of the A.E.U. condemned the action, taken under the infamous Order 1305, of prosecuting the Gas strikers, and he went on to show how this Order in fact prohibits ALL strikes. I would like here to examine some further implication of Order 1305.

First of all, the Order is supposed to apply to strikes AND LOCK-OUTS. But no employer has yet been sent to gaol, fined, or prosecuted—nor even threatened with prosecution—although there have been several lock-outs in the past few years. The most recent concerns the London Master Printers who dismissed thousands of members of the London Society of Compositors during their recent wage negotiations.

If such mass dismissals of workers in order to impose the employers' conditions during negotiations are not defined as lock-outs, then it means that all employers are above the law and immune from prosecution.

Indeed, in this particular dispute, the Union itself was threatened with prosecution because of the defensive actions it took as a consequence of the lock-out.

## ANTI-T.U.

There is another aspect of Order 1305 which needs examination. Under clause 3, the Minister must refer any dispute reported to him to the National Arbitration Tribunal, or some other Tribunal he may establish. Yet, although the N.A.T. has declared itself incapable of adjudicating in certain types of dispute (victimisation, Union recognition, 100% trade unionism, and other organisational questions), the Minister has refused to appoint a single Tribunal competent to decide such questions.

One might conclude therefore, that strikes on such issues must be legal. By no means! A year ago last November 500 workers at the Alaska Factory, Bermondsey, went on strike for 100% Trade Unionism. The Ministry of Labour intervened, and, in front of the employers, told the Union representatives, who recognised the strike as official, that it was illegal and that if they did not get the workers back to work they (the officials) would be prosecuted!

It is not surprising, therefore, that after

**Does Your Trade Union Branch  
Take supplies of Socialist Outlook?**

## SOLIDARITY WITH GREEK WORKERS

HERE is a chance to cut through the tangle of national barriers and show that working-class solidarity is really international.

The Editor,  
"Socialist Outlook."

5th December, 1950.

Sir,  
We learn from Switzerland that the International Red Cross is appealing to Aid to Greece committees throughout the world to send the following urgently needed relief supplies for the 29,000 men, women and children who are still held (many without charge or trial) in Greek prisons and concentration camps. They report that the most urgent needs are blankets (the prisoners' own having completely deteriorated during their long captivity), men's clothes, underclothes for the numerous sufferers from tuberculosis, and nourishing foods for the children and for the more seriously undernourished.

A bleak Christmas indeed faces these unfortunate people. Many, including 550 women and their young children, have only tattered tents to protect them from the bitter winds. May we appeal to your readers to extend the hand of friendship and make it possible for us to send a substantial shipment of relief for distribution by the International Red Cross.

Gifts in kind or in money to buy supplies and pay for transport to Greece should be sent to the Relief Committee, League for Democracy in Greece, 189 Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2.

Yours faithfully,

Sgd. Lord Boyd Orr.  
Dame Sybil Thorndike.  
Compton Mackenzie, O.B.E.  
Canon F. Lewis Donaldson.  
Prof. John Mavrogordato.

## Wages and Prices

# A.E.U Must Fight For Its Own Policy

by NORMAN DINNING (A.E.U.)



**T**HE national wage claim of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions has been settled by "agreement" with the employers on the recommendation of the National Arbitration Tribunal. The result—a meagre increase in the money wages of a very few and nothing at all for the great majority. One more instance of the anti-working-class character of arbitration in the relations between employers and workers.

The fact that the "recommendations" of the Tribunal would have been implemented by a binding decision if the Unions had failed to accept them still does not excuse our trade union leaders. They had absolutely no right to accept an "agreement" which contradicts the declared policy, not only of the Confederation, but of the entire Labour Movement.

It will be remembered that the recent Margate Conference of the Labour Party carried a resolution on *Wages, Prices, and Profits* which demanded "improvements in the REAL wages of the workers"; the control and reduction of profits; the stemming and reduction of prices; and, finally, called attention to those industries, and sections of industries, in which the workers are still paid wages too low to enable them to benefit from the fair shares policy of the Government.

Why wasn't the Arbitration Tribunal instructed by the Government to implement this decision? They were certainly instructed firmly enough when "wage freezing" was official trade union policy!

## REARMAMENT AND INFLATION

The employers' point of view on wage increases has been well put by Sir Alexander Ramsey, President of the Engineering Employers' Federation. During the recent negotiations he put that point of view quite bluntly. "Re-armament," he said, "is uneconomic production, that is, making things without economic utility except insofar as they are going to preserve the peace (the 'peace' of capitalism! N.D.) but there is nothing that you can sell or get in exchange and, therefore, the real economic story of the future . . . is not an expansion that will provide for greater charges and costs, but a sacrifice from all sections of the community."

We may note in passing that the sacrifice from the workers is well in evidence but—but where is the sacrifice from the other "sections of the community," Sir Ramsey? However, it is true that re-armament causes inflation and inflation undermines the REAL wages of the working class through the operation of higher prices. Does the Labour Government accept this as inevitable? If they do, then they are in sharp conflict with the movement, as is shown by the Margate resolution I have already quoted.

But for engineers the question is even simpler. Our wage claim had a clause which demanded that the increase be met out of the profits of the employers. The Party Conference resolution on *Wages, Prices, and Profits* called for a reduction of profits. Why then, we want to know, did not our Trade Union leaders insist on this clause in our wage

claim. They had behind them the entire Labour Movement. And they would have been entitled to demand their support—including the support of the Government itself which is supposed to honour Labour Party Conference decisions.

## UP TO US

But all these experiences must teach us that, unless the rank and file intervenes, nothing will ever be done. As has already been pointed out in the pages of the *Outlook*, the Amalgamated Engineering Union holds the solution to this problem. Our official policy resolution on *The Economic Crisis and Equality of Sacrifice* reads as follows:—

"This Congress declares that in consequence of the Economic Crisis, a greater burden has fallen on the workers than on the Employing Class.

"As a step towards an equality of sacrifice, Congress demands:

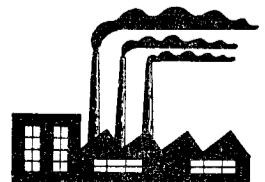
"(a) The suspension of interest payments on compensation in Nationalised Industries, except in needy cases to be determined by Committees established by the Government and Trade Union.

"(b) The prevention of Tax evasion and the hiding of profits by the opening of all Company books and Expense Accounts to inspection by elected Trade Union Committees.

"(c) The pressing forward of the Extension of State Ownership of all the basic industries, and the elaboration of a plan of production based on the needs of the people, and not on the needs of the Capitalist market."

I urge every engineer to memorise and inwardly digest that resolution—and then demand that the Union campaigns for its adoption and operation by the Labour Movement. I am sure we can win and, if we do, there really will be "equality of sacrifice."

THIS PAGE IS FOR



**MILITANT TRADE UNIONISTS  
SEND US YOUR VIEWS  
ON INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS**

# WHERE IS TITO GOING?

by JOHN HEAD (Richmond League of Youth)

I WAS one of many who went with the British Youth Work Brigade to Yugoslavia last summer. But it has always been clear that this tiny workers' state could not exist for a very long period in isolation. The 1948 split with the Cominform precluded any possibility of a return to the camp of Stalin. Sooner or later Tito would have to align himself either with the international working class—or with the West. The foreign policy of Yugoslavia in recent months shows, unfortunately, that it is the latter course that is actually being followed.

The position of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as a workers' movement independent of both the world capitalism and the Soviet Government has been an inspiration to young socialists like myself.

The great progress made by the Yugoslavs has been due, in my opinion, to the stimulation of the C.P.Y. caused by the break with Stalin. Even during my short visit in 1950 we saw clearly the results of the progressive laws in workers' control, the tremendous enthusiasm of the youth, the eagerness to discuss any socialist ideas which had not previously been included in their political curriculum. In fact, despite the economic blockade, we had the impression that the Yugoslav revolution had made inspiring progress in a generally leftward direction.

### DISCREDITED

The latest moves of the Tito Government have been, however, as far away from the left as they could possibly be. They originated in the condemnation of the North Koreans by a secondary newspaper in Belgrade and have now swollen into full dimension with the action of the Yugoslav representative on the Security Council supporting almost the entire line of the United States on the Korean and Chinese questions.

Precisely because the Yugoslavs had a particularly great responsibility to the international working class, it is necessary to be very sharp. By their actions on the Security Council they have discredited themselves in the eyes of the international working class.

### COMINFORM RESPONSIBILITY

There can be no doubt at all, of course, that the primary responsibility rests with the Cominform. Vicious and distorted propaganda linked with a most cruel economic

blockade has had a ruinous effect on Yugoslav economy. The resulting famine has forced the Yugoslavs to make economic concessions to the Imperialists. But the political concessions are mainly due to the weakness of the Yugoslav C.P. itself.

Lenin has shown that a step backwards on the economic field can be completely justifiable under certain conditions—but on socialist principles there can never be any excuse for ambiguity. Opportunism in these matters can never be justified—not even by a Cominform-made famine.

### THE LESSONS

The evolution of the Yugoslavs illustrates a fundamental truth better than any amount of text-books. No socialist Government can solve its problems if it tries to build socialism in its own country alone. A progressive internal policy for a period can never replace internationalism which is the only hope for socialism in Europe. Tito has also proved—albeit from the negative side—that any socialist who wants to fight Stalinism can only do so by standing firmly on the socialist side of the fence. A leadership which claims to fight Stalinism but which refuses to defend either the U.S.S.R. or the colonial peoples against Imperialism merely becomes an accessory of Imperialism and thus plays right into Stalin's hands. Tito has failed to learn these important things.

We must urge the Yugoslavs to change course—to take again the socialist road. It is still necessary to defend Yugoslavia, just as we must defend Russia, against imperialism—for both are basically workers' states with planned economies. And socialists must still defend Yugoslav independence against the attacks of the Cominform, but we cannot condone in the slightest way Yugoslavia's present foreign policy. The flag of the *Socialist Outlook* must stay red!

## THE CASE OF THE SUDAN

The present conflict between Britain and Egypt has thrown into relief the British imperialist domination of the Sudan. Much more will be heard of this country's struggle for national independence in the future. The Assistant General Secretary of the SUDAN UMMA (INDEPENDENCE) PARTY here states the case for immediate self-government for his country.

by YACOB OSMAN

SINCE the dawn of history the people of the Sudan have lived their own life as an independent and separate entity.

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True, during the early periods of the Egyptian history the Sudan had dominated Egypt, and Egypt the Sudan, but only for very brief periods. Apart from that, and a few isolated skirmishes between bands of Egyptian intruders and Sudanese manning outposts adjoining the Egyptian borders, there was no major contact worth recording. It was only in 1820 that a Turkish ruler—who by accident dominated Egypt on behalf of the Turkish Empire and finally established the present Egyptian dynasty—invaded the Sudan.

There was no provocation on the part of the Sudanese except perhaps that they were defenceless to meet a full-scale invasion. A reign of terror, bribery and corruption followed, culminating in the Great Mahdi's Revolution. Thereafter, for nearly sixteen years, the Sudan was once again independent.

In March, 1896, the Sudan was once again the scene of another invasion. This time by a joint British and Egyptian force. Again the Sudanese people demonstrated their will to fight and die for the defence of their country and independence. And in January, 1899, a pact was signed by the British and Egyptian governments, which ushered in the Condominium regime.

It is interesting to note that the Egyptian Governor to-day disclaimed completely the validity of the 1899 pact, and not without some justification. They say rightly that it was a one-sided pact, since the Egyptian Government at that time was completely under the domination of the British representative in Cairo. They do not, of course, recognise any pact or treaty concluded over their heads. It must also be emphasised that the Egyptian Government has remained, from the start, a dormant partner, and the administration remains exclusively British.

### DIVIDE AND RULE

To-day the political scene in the Sudan is somewhat confused. Perhaps the greatest



### Morgan Phillips Take Note!

I have long been very disillusioned and disgusted with the policies being pursued by the Government and the support given to it by the right wing element of our Party. The only reason I have not resigned from the Labour Party is the encouragement I have received from *Socialist Outlook* that there are still many in our ranks who have not forsaken socialist principles. I will devote my energies to influencing a real "keep left" movement within the Party. . . .

Amersham.

D. Rowley.

\* \* \*

### Stalinism—Cause and Effect.

oppose the communist forces fighting throughout the world to rid themselves of corrupt capitalist domination and to side with these capitalist forces, as Mr. Weil advocates, is like fighting a disease with the very conditions that caused it to develop.

Mr. Weil may claim that he is against BOTH sides in the present world conflict. (See letter in December issue.) It is well known, however, that by the use of diplomatic language, one can cover up one's real meaning. But in the case of Mr. Weil it is all too clear. He is really "neutral" I wonder if he has written to any editors who support the capitalist side in this conflict protesting against such support? Why does he only write protesting against your support of the other side?

Stalinism—or any other totalitarian reaction—is the direct effect from the cause, capitalism. Eradicate the cause and you will remove the effect.

Richmond.

D. Da Costa.

\* \* \*

### From Austria.

Send us two more copies of the May, June, and July issues of *Socialist Outlook*. We are very pleased to learn of your courageous and determined attitude concerning foreign questions as, for example, against the dismantlings in Germany, and for the liberation of the exploited peoples of the colonies and the occupied territories. That, in our opinion, is a real way to fight.

Wien, Austria.

M. Gludovatz.

\* \* \*

### From Canada.

Enjoying the paper very much. Glad to see that you are not giving ground. Your influence is growing out here in the C.C.F. left wing.

R. Bullock.

single factor responsible for this confusion is the deliberate and consistent effort by the British administration to sow the seeds of division and discussions among the Sudanese people.

From the start the British administration has treacherously encouraged a set of phony religious sects in the country. In some cases they have even invited new sects from abroad—as if the scores already at work were not capable of furthering the ends of this administration! Every year the British Governor General bestows upon these religious leaders "robes of honour," classified mischievously into grades so as to invite keen competition among them!

Then there is the fact that whenever the British negotiator wishes to defer or obtain a concession from his opposite Egyptian number, he conveniently introduces the ambiguous status of the Sudan in accordance with the equally ambiguous pact of 1899 to the political bazaar of bargaining. During the recent Anglo-Egyptian negotiations the British Government has made solemn declarations that the Sudanese people alone can decide their future constitutionally. But no hint has been made as to when this promised day should take place. The period can range from a few months to a hundred years!

### THREATS

There is also the newly created Legislative Assembly. The role of the British Administration has been to create inside the Assembly, by means of promises and threats, a mechanical voting machine to follow faithfully the official line of policy. This fact was clearly demonstrated this week when the Umma (Independence) Party sponsored a motion "that an address should be made to the Governor-General asking him to approach the Condominium Powers with a request for a joint declaration that self-government should be established before the end of 1951." The debate was very stormy indeed, and everyone in the Sudan knows of the efforts the British high officials made, behind the scenes, threatening members who vote for the motion. The motion was carried, but only by 39 votes to 38.

★ Correspondence should be as brief as possible and addressed to The Editor, 177, Bermondsey St., London, S.E.1

### A Comrade of Lansbury.

How I wish our *Socialist Outlook* could substitute the *Daily Herald* which has betrayed all the ideals and principles of George Lansbury whom I used to help years ago.

Reading.

Roland Bishop.

\* \* \*

### Thank You, Comrades.

It is encouraging to see that the socialist principles are not being lost sight of, and my best wishes go to you in your courageous attempt to infuse some thought and action into the Labour rank and file.

London, S.W.9.

Miss E. White.

\* \* \*

May we congratulate you on the inspiring and realistic message contained in the November issue of *Socialist Outlook* editorial. Good luck, and carry on with the great work.

Norwich.

S. Clapham.

### EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE

"Legislative action should be taken by the Government to ban the Communist Party."

—A. Deakin.

"The Government cannot afford to implement its promise of 'Equal Pay' for the lower income groups of Women Civil Servants, or to meet the wage-claims of Railwaymen, Engineers, and other low-paid workers."

—National Press.

All Communists we now must ban

The Arthur Deakin way,

For Freedom's cause they sabotage:

Demanding higher pay.

And Civil Servants, too, we fear,

To-day are "Going Red,"

For low-paid Women Clerks still press

Their claim for "Daily Bread."

But "Equal Pay" we can't afford,

Nor sweated Wage-Claims meet:

The cost of killing is too high.

For Everyone to eat.

More Rockets, Bombs, and Tanks we need

To blaze the Empires trail,

And to destroy all Communists

That Freedom may prevail.

For Guns, not Butter, we must pray

To save the Nation's soul,

And Bond Street, Mayfair, Bethnal Green,

Must pay an "Equal" Toll.

Percy Allott.

### SELF-GOVERNMENT NOW

I appeal to every British man and woman, particularly workers and trade union organisations, to demand from the British Government an end to the present drift towards political chaos in the Sudan. Restore the country to its people! It will be an act worthy of the British people if the British Government takes the inevitable step—which will one day be inevitable—of introducing self-government in the Sudan immediately.

Only by such an act—which is in complete conformity with justice and the principles of the United Nations Charter—can the present political confusion be brought to an end. No ambiguous declarations in the House of Commons that "when the time comes" the Sudanese people will decide their future, can remedy the situation. Only a bold, swift, and clear-cut policy can serve the best interests of the Sudanese people and guarantee their future. That bold step is self-government now. No one in this country will ever regret such a step being taken. To delay it is the greatest historical crime ever committed against the Sudan and its people

### THE FIGHTING FUND

We gratefully acknowledge the following donations to our Fighting Fund for the development of the *Socialist Outlook* into a Weekly Paper.

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Thank you comrades. A workers' paper ALWAYS needs money. Send us something—no matter how small the amount—as often as you can.