

# Socialist Outlook

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2d.

## LABOUR!—MOBILISE AGAINST WAR!

### Attlee admits war plans mean end of Socialism

**AFTER** Mr. Attlee's shameful speech to the House of Commons on "defence" there can be no longer any doubt as to the Government's true intentions. They are preparing to make war on the Soviet Union at the earliest possible date. In the first twelve months of the new arms drive £1,300,000,000 is to be spent for this purpose—that is, 10s. per head of the entire population, man, woman and child! All pretence at safeguarding the living standards of our people is to be abandoned and men, materials, and factories, are to be mobilised.

### THERE'S STILL TIME!

**IT** would be utterly wrong for the Labour Movement to accept fatalistically, the inevitability of world war 3. The workers can still prevent it or, at the very least, by our anti-war activities, we can so demoralise the imperialists that if they still launch the war—they will do so under the most unfavourable conditions for the continued existence of capitalism.

Even now, in the midst of all the ominous war preparations, there can be detected a certain confusion and hesitation in the camp of the war-mongers. America is demanding that the United Nations brand China as an "aggressor" and prepare to make war on her 450,000,000 people. That is all very well for the most powerful capitalist nation

### Editorial

in the world, but it is not surprising that this sanguinary determination is not shared by the weaker partners in the imperialist alliance.

They are quite willing to bomb defenceless Malayan villages, but they have a clearer understanding than the thick-headed American capitalists that the consequences of a full-scale war against China might well be disastrous for capitalism everywhere.

Of course, they will close their ranks. They will be whipped into line. The big benefactor will use all his economic stranglehold on the European economies to compel obedience. But meanwhile there is doubt and hesitation at Lake Success. There is division and dissention, which means that the imperialists are in no shape to immediately launch war on the peoples of Asia. Labour is therefore presented with a breathing space in which to rally all its forces in a supreme effort to stop the war.

It is an opportunity which will not last for very long for, even while they hesitate, the imperialists go on perfecting their war-machines. Nevertheless, the opportunity is there—if Labour will have the courage to make use of it.

### WHOM SHALL WE THANK?

We should indeed be foolish if we imagined that this turn in the international situation is due to the efforts of Mr. Attlee, Sir Benegal Rau, or Mr. Nehru. Those who can willingly participate in the bloody destruction of Korea are not so easily converted to the cause of world peace.

Their feverish diplomatic haggling is not the cause of the division at Lake Success, it merely reflects it. The cause lies much deeper, in the victories of the Korean people

The disastrous effect this Attlee war-plan will have on the lives of ordinary working people has been described, with brutal frankness, by Mr. Woodrow ("atom-bomb-the-Koreans") Wyatt who is the Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party's "Defence and Services" Group. Writing in the *News of the World* (28/1/51) he says that our strivings to improve the social services and provide better living standards for all has "come to an end".

He goes on . . . "There will be no more improvements in the Health Service; there will be cuts. To talk of stepping up the rate of house-building is . . . to talk lunacy. To suggest that the cost of living can be reduced is dishonest; it is bound to go up. Income tax cannot be lowered; it is certain to be raised".

"In the shops", writes Mr. Wyatt "there will be a growing shortage of goods for the home. Not only will your money buy less; there will be less to buy".

All that he left out of this grim picture was the fact that, when all the preparations have been completed, hundreds of thousands of our working class boys will be sent out to die on the battlefields!

### IS IT WORTH IT?

The Government says it is. Why? Because through all these sacrifices we shall, they say, provide "a force large enough to deter the Russians from attacking Europe and so plunging the world into final calamity."

What dangerous nonsense! Every Government on the eve of every war has said exactly the same thing. America today is spending the staggering amount of £13,650,000,000 a year on armaments—13s. 10d. out of every £1 in its national exchequer! Can there be a greater show of force than this? Yet every sane person knows that all this wasteful expenditure has not brought the world one step nearer to

(Continued page 4, column 3)



### London's Opportunity

**THE SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP**—which is an association of Labour Party members—is calling a "No War and No Coalition" Conference on Sunday, February 25th. The organisers are convinced that the present disastrous pro-war policy of the Government does not represent the desires of the Labour Movement and, to test this opinion, they will move the following resolution at the Conference.

"This conference of delegates from the London Labour movement, being convinced that the threatening war can be averted only by international socialist action, pledges itself to fight inside the movement for the ending of all war alliances with capitalist countries; the withdrawal of British forces from Korea; the granting of immediate independence to those colonial countries at present under British domination; and the concentration of the energies of the Labour Movement on securing the complete and utter defeat of capitalism and the Tory Party as our contribution to the building of a socialist world."

Here is an opportunity for London's Labour Movement to rally against war and thus give a lead to the entire country. In our opinion, the Conference and the resolution deserve the widest possible support.

### BEVAN IN LABOUR

**WAR** now being the great priority, the Health Service becomes just a rather embarrassing reminder of what might have been. We are not surprised, therefore that Mr. Bevan has been promoted to the Minister of Labour while the department which is supposed to care for the sick, the aged, and the children, will no longer be represented in the Cabinet. That august body has much more important things to discuss these days—things like the mobilisation of manpower for the armed forces and the war factories.

Housing has consequently been tossed over to Mr. Dalton's department of "Town and Country Planning" but, thanks to the war effort, it will not add much to the Minister's burdens. The rest of the Health Service goes to Hilary Marquand who will get £2,000 a year less for doing the job than did his glamorous predecessor.

Why did the "left" Mr. Bevan accept what is bound to be a most unpopular job? We cannot hope to plumb the depths of Mr. Bevan's ego and, in any case, we don't think it would be a very profitable pastime. Certainly his "left" reputation—largely mythical in our opinion—is due for a more or less certain deflation in the very near future, but the fate of Mr. Bevan is only important to Mr. Bevan.

What we must be concerned about, however, is that his reputation doesn't deter us from resisting the war's encroachments on our living standards. We must show Mr. Bevan that although he has deserted the sick and the aged—*Labour hasn't!*

### Engineer's Wage Fight Spreads

**THE** movement for direct action to compel the employers to grant a wage increase has spread from Manchester to most of the big engineering centres in the north.

One of the best attended meetings ever held in Newcastle took place on Saturday, 27th January. The hall was packed tight and many were turned away when the Shop Committee of **Vickers Ltd.** (Elswick) called a mass meeting to discuss the recent "rise" of eleven shillings. The presence of the managing director was noted, on the first floor of the cafe opposite. We hope he noted the turnout and the decision, which was unanimous, to go on to time work if a rise in piece work prices of 17½ per cent was not granted by the 19th February.

Vickers' interpretation of the wage "award" is typical. Machinists, according to the printed report of the "award", are entitled to 11/- on their time rate but they only get 8/-. Labourers who get the 8/-, find it docked from their bonus.

The anger which this "award" has stirred up throughout the country, proves that if you really want trouble in an industry, don't look for a few dozen communists—just get yourself a nice arbitration "award".

JACK JOHNSTON

### 1951 Fall in!

The New Year cartoon is late - but it still epitomises this epoch of militarism.



LABOUR PARTIES-TRADE UNIONS  
CO-OP. PARTIES!

Are you sending delegates to the

**ANTI-WAR  
RALLY**

organised by

**THE SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP  
HOLBORN HALL**

Sunday, Feb. 25th 2-45 p.m.

Credentals and Enquiries to:

FRED EMMETT, 36, Gilbert Rd., S.E.11

**VISITORS WELCOMED**

## Help the German workers fight Re-armament . . . . .

# WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM GERMANY!

An appeal from

A GERMAN TRADE-UNIONIST

**G**ERMANY more than any other country still suffers from the after-effects of the last criminal world war. Yet the victorious powers, having already inflicted so many additional wounds on the German workers through dismantling, reparations, and the cost of occupation, and who have put Germany into a straight-jacket of control, are now calling for re-militarisation. As was the case not so long ago with fascist Hitler-Germany, world imperialism lacks lebensraum. To defend this lebensraum, and to extend it as far as possible, has become a matter of life or death for capitalist survival. That is why the imperialists are preparing another world war. And for this they need not only atom bombs but more and more "human war material." That is why they demand the re-militarisation of Germany.

The numerically small but politically powerful capitalist class of Germany wants, of course, to participate in this re-militarisation—although they are still haggling over the price of their participation. But the overwhelming majority of the German people is as opposed to this capitalist clique, who are hungering for more wealth and power, as they are opposed to rearmament.

"Count me out!" is the most popular expression of the German workers' point-of-view. In fact, there is not a German trade unionist capable of thinking along class lines, who is prepared to participate in this criminal re-militarisation.

### DEMOCRACY NEEDED

If any real democracy existed in Germany world imperialism would be forced to relegate its war plans to the museum of antiquities. But there is no democracy in Germany—only a camouflaged capitalist dictatorship supported by the occupation powers. Therefore the profiteers of newly-acquired wealth wrung from the famished and frozen German masses have been able to re-establish their economic and State apparatus and, by means of the Press, the radio, the Church, and the schools, are once more trying to confuse the workers into supporting this criminal project of re-militarisation.

But the capitalist clique alone could never succeed in this evil design. The German workers have had too many bitter experi-

**T**HE author of this article is a leading trade unionist in the huge steel and engineering works in the British Zone of Germany at Watenstedt-Saltzgritter (formerly known as the "Hermann Goering" Works). For reasons our readers should understand we are not publishing his name.

ences during the last few years; too great is their hatred of those who have so shamelessly exploited their misery. The real danger that the imperialist war plans might yet succeed lies in the ambiguous positions taken up by the leaders of the German Labour and Trade Union Movement.

### SOCIALIST COMPETITORS

The opposition of the Social Democratic Party leaders is only apparent. In reality they are in favour of re-armament. Dr. Schumacker is not a principled adversary. He is a competitor of Adenauer who tries to outbid him by demanding even greater guarantees from the Western Powers. The only reason why a considerable section of the German masses have been taken in by Schumacker's demagoguery lies in the absolutely false policy of the so-called German Communist Party which, by its unconditional submission to the narrow nationalistic directives of the Russian occupying power, is pushing the German workers into the arms of the lackeys of imperialism.

Like the Social Democracy, the leaders of the German trades unions (the D.G.B.) have an ambiguous position. Bro. L. Rosenberg who is a member of the D.G.B. Executive writes, for example, in *Welt der Arbeit*, central organ of the D.G.B. on December 1st 1950, that the Germans "view such re-militarisation with horror as it would mean the re-establishment of the military cliques". An absolutely correct statement. But at the same time he, and the D.G.B. Executive, consider that "next to this idea (of re-militarisation) there exists a political reality which no European can escape."

It can be seen, therefore, that Rosenberg takes his stand, not on the point-of-view of the German working class but on the point-of-view of a German and a European. He stands on the same side as the "German" Adenauer and the "European" Churchill. Therefore he stands against every class conscious German worker who rightly sees in Churchill and Adenauer the sworn class enemy.

### END OCCUPATION

In spite of the tremendous confusion which their leadership has created among the German workers, the great majority instinctively perceive the consequences of following this wrong road their leaders are taking. The more advanced workers are seeking a new leadership but it can never be formed and fully developed so long as Germany remains under the pressure of the occupying powers. The departure of all occupying troops is the necessary preliminary condition for a Socialist Germany. The German workers must have their hands free to deal with the enemy at home. Then Germany will cease to be a hot-bed of war and become the best guarantee of world peace.

Until now the German workers have stood alone in their difficult struggle. That is why every example of international solidarity will be enormously appreciated in Germany. And that is why we are pleased to see the internationalist position taken up by your *Socialist Outlook*—a position which is, generally speaking, the same as ours.

## A Policy For Socialists

### SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMME

Reviewed by TOM BRADDOCK

**WHAT** is the use of digging coal, working and building, if we are only to slide into another world war? What is the use of organising for a big output if we can't make things our families need but instead are obliged to produce death-dealing instruments of a most wasteful and horrible character?

How do our beloved leaders answer these questions? It's not our fault, comrades, they say, it's those deceitful Russians, those cunning Chinese, those cowardly North Koreans, those Viet Minh rebels, those wicked Poles, etc., etc. If it was not for these misguided people we could soon finish off capitalism. After all, "it can only function at the cost of conflict between nations and classes". But stop! Why the quotation marks? Please sir, Chief Officer Morgan Phillips wrote those words for our Party's latest publication *Handbook for 1951*. You will find them on page 5, right bang up to date. Then how comes it, since we have it on such high authority that capitalism can only function by waging war, that we find ourselves pals with the capitalist nations and engaged now in fighting the non-capitalist ones? Listen again to our read-the-lessons-in-Church-leaders.

What about "our way of life", they say. (Cheers for Mr. Attlee at the Lord Mayor's Banquet). Our Party is "humanitarian and ethical in its approach, representative of all classes in the community". Morgan again—and of course from the pulpit. May John Wesley lean down from Heaven's bar to bless him, the dear man.

In between the two wars, one of these "humane and ethical" classes—the capitalist one—kept 25 per cent of our people under-nourished and half-starved and forced the rest of us to maintain them in that condition. What a suggestion that we, the Labour Party, should represent ruffians of that sort!

### THE SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

About two years ago a few Party members got worried about all these things—they had an idea that arming to keep the peace had let us down once or twice in the past, and they were troubled with the thought that American business men were lending dollars for some other reason than a desire to see our Socialist plans succeed. And they had good reason to be worried for now the birds have come home to roost—and very ugly birds they are. Generals

MacArthur and Eisenhower, U.S. bombers, atomic bombs stored in strategic places . . . The sort of place where YOU live, comrade, is a "strategic place"!

So the *Socialist Fellowship* was formed. Its work went on although its M.P. members went off, and now the Fellowship has put forward, for your kind consideration, a new type of programme for the movement. It is well worth your while getting it.

### THE PROGRAMME

The *Socialist Fellowship* evidently recognises that we haven't yet got Socialism in Britain; that democratic values in Britain are not yet safe; and that they will not be safe until the principles of an acquisitive society have been supplanted by those of a socialist democratic society.

They further recognise that democratic institutions are not universally the same, but are historically and socially conditioned. For this reason the Fellowship is not in favour of making war, or helping others to make war, on countries whose historical development is not quite the same as ours. They have very definite proposals to secure peace with the colonial peoples now struggling for freedom.

Finally, this little pamphlet (advertised on this page) makes it clear that Parliament is being made responsible for the government of the nation—but that private property operates all the levers. There is no half-way house here at all. The mixed economy is nuts. And the Fellowship utterly condemns the idea that we can continue it. *From Labour to Socialism* contains a programme that would make us a 100 per cent socialist democracy—and it would have it done NOW.

Altogether it is a most refreshing document which will bring life and vigour back into a very worried movement. Read the programme yourself, see that your party or trade union branch gives it attention, get resolutions passed to bring its proposals into the official programme of our party and—cheer up, comrades.

## The Month's Propaganda

in the

PRESS, RADIO, AND CINEMA

By FRANK ALLAUN

(member of the National Union of Journalists)

"Murderers are hanged for their crimes, but great Press proprietors, who poison the minds of millions and through great wars cause the deaths of whole generations, are awarded the greatest wealth and title of the land."

ERNST TOLLER.

**J**ANUARY in the newspaper world was a month of Beehooftful Headlines. Along with the radio and news reels they strenuously continued to persuade us that our present policy—manifestly rushing us headlong into a third world war—is really a peace policy.

Take as an example the front page "splash" headline on January 9 from the *Daily Dispatch* belonging to one of the Big Three Tory newspaper combines. Think of the colossal contradiction it contains, breathing-taking in its impertinence:—

### U.S. MOBILISES FOR PEACE

Capacity Plan

50,000 Planes

35,000 Tanks

Europe is our Defence

Newspapers "put across" their propaganda sometimes by downright lies but more often by careful "selection" of the news. Here is an instance:—

On January 4th, Ernest Fernyhough, Labour M.P. or Jarrow, made a tremendous anti-war speech at a well-attended meeting in the Friends' Meeting House, Manchester.

**Not a single daily or evening newspaper sent a reporter. If he had taken a pro-war line he would have received plenty of publicity.**

During the month the B.B.C. has given us plenty of controversy on every subject under the sun—except the vital matter of foreign policy.

### OFF THE AIR

No real opponent of our subservience to America which is dragging us into war is given an opportunity to put his point of view. Labour men Emrys Hughes, S. O. Davies, Tom Braddock, I.L.P.-er Davie Gibson, or Independent Zilliacus might not even exist for all the chance they have of approaching the 10,000,000 audience the B.B.C. on many occasions provides. (It should not be imagined that they speak for a tiny majority. From my experience as an active member of the Labour Party I should say they have support in every constituency Labour Party in Britain).

The nearest the B.B.C. got to the peace or war issue was an objective talk on China by Leonard Constantine.

The news reels have weekly continued what has now become the Great Korean Serial. The audience is being steadily "conditioned" by this hate propaganda. Recently they showed the long, struggling column of pitiful refugees. "They are fleeing from the glories of life under the Communist Paradise," said the commentator sarcastically.

The fact is: they are compulsory refugees. A few days later the Press told us in a moment of unusual frankness and before General MacArthur imposed his total censorship:—

**"United Nations troops are being ordered to burn every house as they retreat" (January 2nd).**

Incidentally my 7-year-old son has been so affected by the sight of a little Korean boy left crying on the roadside that he is continually referring to it and asking most searching questions regarding what the war is all about.

### THE UNION PROTESTS

Meanwhile the National Union of Journalists have expressed their disgust with the stooge constitution and composition proposed by the newspaper proprietors for the Press Council.

**This would contain but two members of the Union out of 25.**

Such a Council would be more likely to whitewash than to expose the misdemeanours of the newspapers.

I am pleased to be able to report that the Society of Socialist Journalists has got down to serious consideration of steps that could end the present domination of our newspapers by reactionary, Tory, millionaires. Of which more later.

### BEHIND THE GOLDEN CURTAIN

"If Peace is actually assured everything will fall to pieces."—"United States News", organ of the American Financiers.

Behind the scenes I stand;

The Chancellor of Fate;

The Kingdoms of this World

I render desolate.

The Cohorts of the Dead

My Majesty uphold;

In my Imperial Courts

Beauty and Truth are sold.

None dare oppose My will:

I am the Lord of All,

And Church, and Press, and State,

I hold in golden thrall.

I hold the World in pawn:

The Souls of Men I buy;

They prate of Liberty,

But serve My will—and die.

PERCY ALLOTT.

## A PROGRAMME FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

### From LABOUR To SOCIALISM

Issued for the consideration of the Labour Movement by

THE SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

Foreword by Tom Braddock

Price 3d. each - 2/- per dozen

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# Priority job in the unions Build a union Left Wing

by NORMAN DINNING (A.E.U.)



TWENTY-FIVE years ago, the chairman of the T.U.C., A. B. Swales, then a member of the A.E.U. Executive, made this stirring call to trade unionists: "All around us," he said to an applauding Congress, "are signs of awakening consciousness in the people of all countries that the present system of society is condemned . . . It is the duty of all members of the Working Class to so solidify their movement, that . . . we shall be wanting in neither machinery nor men to move forward to the destruction of wage-slavery and the construction of a system of society based upon co-ordinated effort and world-wide mutual goodwill and understanding."

## Railway Notes

### Who causes strikes?

by BOB SHAW (N.U.R.)

IT is now clear that the claims of the Railway Unions will not be met. The "conditions" of the Railway Executive will certainly be upheld, in part at least, and the most that £5-a-week men can expect will be a 5/- increase. All this, after 12 months' negotiation, loss of time, and increase in prices.

If anything has been learnt, it is surely that arbitration is a trap. Its purpose is simply to delay wage increases, and in this era of inflation, delay means defeat. Even if railwaymen are now given the meagre 5/- increase, we are no better off, because price increases have already wiped out its benefit.

A railwayman who managed to scrape together £6 a week in 1947 (and so just kept his head above water) needs in 1951, £7 (according to figures given by the Labour Research Department Fact Service) to exist on even the living standard of 1947. Not 5/-, but at least £1 is needed—and needed now — to check the decline in the living standards of railway workers.

Meanwhile, vast sums are being syphoned off into the pockets of the employers; £2 million for the Brabazon planes; £36 million for the ground nuts scheme; £32 million interest to railway shareholders; £360 million for rearmament.

In the face of these figures, and the complete refusal of the Labour Government to act in our interests, is it any wonder that the temper on the railways has reached the pitch where mass strikes are pretty well inevitable for 1951. Nobody wants to strike—but the Government and the Railway Executive leave us no choice.

### 'Our' way of life

by

HARRY SHINDLER (A.E.U.)

#### For All in Class "Z"

This is the way of life we are asked to defend:—

"A.C.V. profits climb" (Herald—11/1/51).

"Clay profits soar." (Star—11/1/51).

"Profits in Lancashire cotton mills in 1950 were biggest since the 1920 boom—£7,446,000" (Herald 5/1/51).

#### Spectacles Needed

Dealing with the British Electricity Authority's Report, the City Editor of the News Chronicle says (6/12/50):

"There is this year a surplus of £7,163,000—an increase of £2,771,000 over last year . . . Interest on B.E.A. stock, etc. was £17,550,000." He goes on: "A quarter of the cost is in respect of new buildings and civil engineering. Surely economies are possible here."

Maybe, but how about a few economies in the £17,550,000 paid out annually as interest to the ex-owners?

#### They Fell, Too!

Referring to the U.N. retreats in Korea, the City Editor of the News Chronicle (30/11/50) said:

" . . . Stock Markets took a really bad toss yesterday . . . everything fell . . ."

Including some working-class conscripts!

This is a typical example of the sort of revolutionary statements which abound in the personal histories of our present so-called leaders.

Our own Brother Tanner, during the 1926 General Strike sharply criticised the General Council of the Trade Union Congress for "not making full use of the weapons at its disposal." Today, however, so completely has he forgotten his criticisms, he can tamely say that the payment of wage-claims out of profits is "a very complicated question!"

#### POLITICAL POWER

Twenty years before A. B. Swales' statement quoted above, the Trade Union movement had concluded, after bitter struggles, that economic security for trade unionists could only be gained through political power. Is it not strange, therefore, that at the 1950 Labour Party Conference — the very hub of such power—an amendment to

#### Not to be read by railwaymen or others with wage claims pending.

"Higher pay for directors of Enfield Cycle Co., drawing £14,320 (against £12,736) between four of them. Profits of the company also permitted a higher dividend." (Herald 10/1/51).

the constitution was moved to limit trade union representation!

Though wrong in its approach, this attempted amendment represented the concern of Constituency Labour Parties at the way in which genuine socialist resolutions are repeatedly defeated by the Trade Union block vote. What members of the Party have got to understand is that the block vote is not used by the rank-and-file, but is wielded almost exclusively by trade union leaders. The same leadership which accepted the wage-freeze and order 1305 with a docility in sharp contrast to the militant phrases upon which most of them were elected to their present offices.

The problem of the trade union representation at Labour Party Conferences is not, therefore, a mere question of numbers. It is a question of ridding ourselves of officials who insist on regarding the unions as glorified "Hearts of Oak", "Foresters", or any other friendly society.

"It is the duty of all members of the working class" said A. B. Swales, "to so solidify the movement that we shall be wanting in neither machinery nor men." Today that means building a left-wing in the Unions. If we leave the "solidifying" process to the present leaders we shall only solidify the trade union movement into a huge jelly which shakes every time an employer passes by.

No longer can we allow the right wing to gain from the dis-unity of the left.

#### MAKE THE EFFORT

The real strength of the lefts in the A.E.U. is reflected in the Union's policy. On paper it is very good, but it did not get there by accident. It was the result of the pressure of the left wing membership. In the same way, co-ordinated action by the A.E.U. left wing can be the means of giving a real socialist lead throughout the entire trade union movement.

Get down to it, brothers. In the workshop, in the branch, on the trades councils, in the Labour Party, wherever in fact, you meet members of other trade unions, push the idea of a Trade Union Left Wing. If we can be successful then our future will be socialist.

# BRITAIN'S WORST JOB Deserves better treatment

by ex-miner PETER GRIMSHAW

RECENTLY I asked a number of men whether they would work in the mines. "Not for £20 a week," they replied. They were men who live among miners and they know the arduous nature of the work.

It is no use asking miners to work an extra day a week, nor is it any solution to make wage awards of 5s. or 7s. The question of attracting manpower into the mines calls for a complete re-evaluation of the miner's worth to the nation. And it had better be done quickly, because the average age of the miners today is 40 years! Moreover, it will get higher and higher unless youth can be attracted into the mines.

#### WAGES

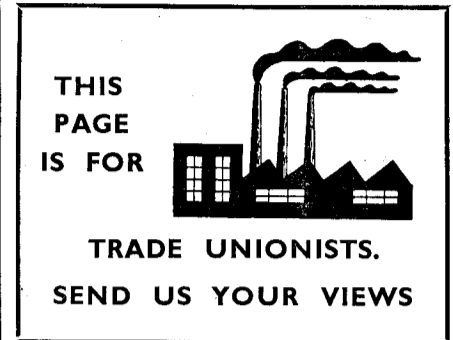
The minimum wage for underground workers should be £7 at least per week, so that he hasn't to work overtime in order to supplement his wages. The bonus shift as it operates at present must be scrapped. A miner gets 6 days' pay for 5 days' work, but if he loses a day, whether deliberately or through sickness or oversleeping a few minutes, he loses a day's pay AND his bonus shift. (Remember this bonus pay is included in the £6 7s. minimum).

The £6 7s. minimum should be divided by five so that the loss of a day's work means only the loss of one-fifth of a miner's wages.

#### HOLIDAYS AND PENSIONS

When you consider that in the winter the miner rarely sees daylight, it is surely not too much to ask that he be given a fortnight's holiday—just an extra week of the sunshine he so rarely can enjoy. And is it really necessary to state a case for a pension for miners, when policemen, and civil servants, already enjoy it.

Dust prevention, better bath facilities, canteen arrangements, improved safety wear, etc. In this field, there is tremendous scope for improvement. But nothing much will ever be done until we put the pits under the control of the mineworkers. Sack the Coal Board, nationally and regionally, and let the miners elect a new one. The industry must be democratised. Then, and then only, will we get the conditions that will attract the manpower needed to hew



the coal. And remember, without coal, industry cannot go on.

The reader is possibly wondering what the price of coal will be if all these demands are met. Well, not only do we need a re-evaluation of the worth of the miners, but we need, too, a re-evaluation of the worth of mine-owners—or the ex-mine-owners. If this was done honestly, the large sums of compensation being paid to them would be greatly reduced and we should find that we could not only meet the just demands of the miners but also reduce the price of coal.

#### Engineer's Appreciation

At a recent meeting of Left-wing Labour Party members of the A.E.U. the Socialist Outlook was discussed.

We placed on record our appreciation of the amount of space you are allowing and the prominence you are giving to questions affecting engineering workers.

It is indeed heartening to find that there is a paper in the working class movement that will give voice to the real feelings of the rank and file.

May we hope that your paper will act as a rallying centre for all Labour Party members of the Unions who do not agree with wage freezing, political purges, Order 1305, etc. Our very best wishes to you in your endeavour to become a Weekly.

Bethnal Green

Harry Shindler

## The answer to steel cuts must be . . . .

# Work - or Full Wages!

By H. FINCH

(A Birmingham Shop Steward)

A STEEL shortage exists because of a 5 per cent. cut in imported sheet steel plus a 10 per cent. restriction of supplies in order to "encourage" changeover to war production by motor manufacturers. It is, therefore, particularly acute in the Midlands.

Short-time working, and consequent hardship for the workers, undoubtedly exists as a result of the steel shortage.

At Austins, 2,500 workers were laid off for a few days. At Nuffields, 1,500 began a 35-hour week, to operate "until such times as deliveries of body shells from the Pressed Steel Company enable the five-day week to be resumed (Birmingham Mail, 16/1/51). But the number of workers affected in no way even approximates to the figures that the manufacturers have given to the national press.

#### SABOTAGE?

Headlines appeared in the Midland papers during the week of January 7th, announcing firms going into a 4-day week, mass sackings, factories closing down, and universal chaos. No wonder that Midland engineering workers felt apprehensive.

Later in the week, however, the Press eased the "crisis" atmosphere, and the big motor firms announced continuation of production.

Was this Press hysteria just the usual propaganda against the Labour Government, or did the fact that Vesting Day for Steel Nationalisation takes place on February 15th have anything to do with it? It is an interesting question and one which the Trade Unions should certainly investigate.

Without a doubt, the change to wasteful armament production is going to produce shortages, dislocation, and many dangers to the workers' conditions. The stockpiling by the American imperialists is having its economy repercussions throughout the world. Serious danger to small firms already exists in the Midlands in the non-ferrous metal trades.

The question which all militant trade unionists must answer is this: *Are we to be the mugs again? Are we to bear not only the monstrous re-armament programme, but also the hardships entailed in bringing it about? Are we to allow ourselves to be put on short-time, or to be kicked out of factories, while the re-tooling and change-over to war production gets under way?*

At a meeting called by the Birmingham District Committee of the A.E.U. some time ago, a resolution was passed, demanding that, in all cases of redundancy, the working week shall be reduced—without loss of pay.

That is the answer to short-time and unemployment. A full week's work or a full week's wages. Most of these big motor firms have made millions since the war—and they are planning to make many more millions out of the present re-armament drive. If anyone must suffer during these switch-overs to arms production, it must be the employers who want the war—and not the workers who don't.

#### 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—however small the amount—as often as you can.

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# Commonwealth Conference

## Conspiracy against Colonies

says M. BANDA (Ceylon Socialist),

*"To introduce socialism into foreign affairs by acting on the principle that the strong should help the weak and the rich should share their plenty with the poor."* (Labour's Aims—page 403. Speaker's Handbook 1949-1950).

WHAT Mr. Truman tried to dismiss as a "police action against bandits" in Korea has now developed into one of the most frightful wars in modern history, involving millions of Chinese and Koreans and directly affecting the destinies of all the peoples of Asia.

Men and materials from fifty-three nations have completely failed to stop the "Red" offensive. The seemingly formidable armies of MacArthur have, within the course of seven months' fighting, been battered and blasted out of shape by a relatively ill-equipped and under-clad force of peasants and guerillas.

It was against this background of war and revolution in Asia that the sixth Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was recently held in London. If we are to understand the real objects of this conference and the full implications of its decisions, it must be viewed against this background.

### THE REAL OBJECTS

As far back as April 1949, at the first Dominion Premier's Conference, the real objects were "to integrate all Commonwealth countries into the system of Western defence... in the historic task of containing Russia". (Daily Telegraph 14/3/49). Australia and New Zealand were to provide the air and naval forces, India and

(Continued from Page 1)

### Still Time!

and their Chinese allies—victories which have, literally, staggered the capitalist world.

It is then, not to U.N.O.'s diplomats that the world owes this precious breathing space—but to those nameless thousands of workers and poor farmers who lie dead and mutilated on the frozen, bloody battlefields of Korea.

By their refusal to bow the neck to the imperialist invader they have very seriously disrupted the time-table for world war 3.

### WHAT TO DO NOW

THE PEOPLES OF ASIA WILL NEVER AGAIN SUBMIT TO FOREIGN DOMINATION OF THEIR COUNTRIES. That is the lesson we must drive home to the British people. Either we willingly withdraw all our troops from the Far East or—we shall, sooner or later be involved in a futile, reactionary, and most terrible war.

There are millions of people in Britain and America who are at last beginning to realise this truth. The resistance of the Korean and Chinese people has compelled them to realise it. Confidence in the ability of the capitalist politicians and generals to "see us through" is being shattered everywhere. The people want a new and a decisive course to follow—one which guarantees them some peace and security.

Labour can give that lead if it will place itself firmly on the side of the common people of the world and strenuously resist the efforts of its leaders to drag us into war.

It is our duty to drive deeper the wedge which the Koreans and the Chinese have inserted into the body of world capitalism. No War With China! Withdraw all British Troops from Asia and the colonies! Break the alliance with American capitalism! Here is a clear and simple programme with which Labour can rally the working class and all progressive humanity. In that way we can still further demoralise the imperialists, prevent them making war on our fellow workers in other lands, repay the debt we owe the peoples of China and Korea, and encourage the great American working class to throw in its lot with us in the building of the new society.

Take heart from the peoples of Asia, comrades! They have shown that imperialism is not all-powerful. If we can only find the courage to withdraw our support, the whole rotten structure will crumble, as it surely deserves to, into the ash-can of history.

Pakistan were to supply the ground forces, and "independent" Ceylon was to contribute the strategic base of Trincomalee.

Under this plan the Commonwealth was no longer considered an independent entity, but was to be relegated to the position of a junior partner in the North Atlantic Treaty Powers Organisation. The peoples of Ceylon and India, supposedly free, found themselves bound to the wheels of the Anglo-American war chariot.

In January 1950 another Commonwealth Conference was organised—the famous Colombo Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Conference, to which Mr. Bevin was transported in a sedan-chair. The specific purpose of this meeting was to devise ways and means of combatting Communism in S.E. Asia. That the colonial masses were not going to be consulted in the preparation of these "plans" was made perfectly clear by the absolute secrecy in which the meeting was held. (A chink in the door of the Senatorial Chambers was actually stopped up with wax).

### COLOMBO PLAN

From this Conference there emerged the Colombo Plan—a six-year plan of development for Asia which has come a hundred years too late.

Consisting for the most part of Fabian platitudes, this "plan", in so far as it aims at abolishing poverty and illiteracy in Asia, will prove as effective as a snowball in hell. The problems of industrialisation which is the main barrier in raising the living standards of the colonial masses, has been completely ignored.

Of the total capital estimates, only 10 per cent was to be spent on industrialisation! But even this meagre sum the Commonwealth cannot afford to advance. In Ceylon alone the balance of payments of "developmental" imports needed for the plan show a deficit of 550,000,000 rupees. The Finance Minister of Ceylon who conceived the plan himself admitted that even if the modest targets set were to be achieved "the advancement would be only very slight".

The lack of capital however did not prevent the Foreign Ministers from agreeing to grant the reactionary Burmese Government a loan of £6,000,000 for the "suppression of rebel forces and the maintenance of law and order" in Burma. Here was development indeed!

After what has happened at the previous conferences it does not seem either strange or surprising that the last conference should have coincided with the visit of General Eisenhower to Europe and the preparations for war. The Colombo "plan" like the Groundnuts Scheme is now a thing of the past. The desire to build a Fabian paradise in the East has been completely submerged in the far more urgent task of catering for the appetites of American Imperialism, the swift and smooth allocation of vital raw materials, the building up of the Commonwealth defences, and the suppression of all oppositional forces.

The Colonial peoples will have to bear the full burden of the coming war. This is the meaning of the Commonwealth Conference. It is the greatest conspiracy yet conceived against the colonial peoples.

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## Readers Forum

### Withdraw Troops from Korea

Our newspapers are now reporting the terrible plight of 3,000,000 Korean refugees.

"In a British sector", writes one reporter, "soldiers were forced to intervene to prevent many mothers from throwing their babies into icy streams to end their sufferings."

A fortnight ago U.N. Forces were ordered to burn every house as they retreated and to evacuate all civilians. In other words, these are compulsory refugees.

The average January temperature in Korea is 20 degrees below freezing point!

Humanity itself calls for the ending of this cruel destruction of homes and for bringing our men back from Korea altogether.

Manchester

L. Ball

### Church and War

Why does the Church always speak with two voices, one for war and one for peace? Is it not time now that the leaders of all denominations showed some moral courage and truly followed in their Master's footsteps who led the way to peace on earth and goodwill to all men.

I fail to see any connection between militarism and Christianity. When I find a socialist parson I will attend his church, until then, I will stay away, for I am much disgusted with all this humbug.

Mitcham

Mrs. E. L. Simmonds

### "Anti-Stalinism"

The Stalinist trend of the *Socialist Outlook* becomes more pronounced with each issue. The January issue shows this more plainly than ever.

Because, basically the U.S.S.R. is a workers' state (in itself incorrect), we are now asked to rally to its defence. We are told that the British Trade Union movement armed with a policy of defence of U.S.S.R., can rally the international workers to stop war. Let us make no mistake. The workers have no illusions about the U.S.S.R. Years of counter-revolutionary activity (Spain, France, etc.) have destroyed the high esteem in which the old Bolsheviks were held.

When asked to support the U.S.S.R. against imperialist America, the workers will rightly ask what is the difference? Is this not a struggle between two imperialist powers as war has ever been? No comrade, Russia is not the innocent victim of the cold war but a strong imperialist power striving for world markets and power!

If war is to be stopped this must be the slogan. Support for neither side! A plague on both these camps.

Ashford

Norman Willis

## THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR (continued from page 1)

peace—but, on the contrary, we are nearer today to Mr. Wyatt's "final calamity" than at any time since the outbreak of World War 2.

### A CRIMINAL STUPIDITY

Our leaders—and Mr. Wyatt, God help us, is one of them—are proposing to commit in Europe the same criminal blunder already committed in Korea. There too, despite all the warnings of the Chinese, it was said that a show of force would "deter the Chinese from intervening". Well, a lot of dead American and British conscripts—to say nothing of the crucified Koreans—could bear witness to the criminal nature of such arrogant nonsense. Yet they are now preparing the same blunder for Europe.

Eisenhower is busy trying to reconstruct the hated Nazi army against, needless to say, the will of the German people; the diplomats are wooing the Fascist Franco for his support in a holy war against Soviet Russia; the military strategists openly discuss the best way of invading her territory (see almost any edition of the *Sunday Observer*); and one influential American Senator has even blurted out that "it is time to organise the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union"! What, in the face of this mad capitalist war-dance, is it expected that Russia will do?

### THEY WILL RESIST

Can anyone in his right senses believe that the Soviet Union—a nation which was created in the fires of the 1917 Russian Revolution, whose workers have abolished Czarism and capitalism, and have suffered terrible privations to keep moving the wheels of the first fully-planned economy—can anyone believe that such a people will take fright and run from the sabre-rattling organisers of the counter-revolution! What a pipe-dream, what a very dangerous pipe-dream, this is. Truly Mr. Attlee, and all his war-like friends in high places, are

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

### A Useful Suggestion

I was recently given a copy of your paper and was pleasantly surprised to read the energetic articles contained therein.

The Communist Party, to which I have been attached, seems to me to offer nothing constructive to the problems facing the workers. I think that the reason is simply that their one big idea is "for Russia, right or wrong". However, there is a real need for a left wing in the Labour Party and it is necessary to elaborate the differences we have with the communists so that no confusion arises. Of course, just because the communists may be wrong on some things, does not mean they are wrong in everything.

Hampstead

S. Pulcher.

### America's Real Aims

In order to understand the present international situation, it is necessary to be clear about the implications of the Truman doctrine, proclaimed in 1947 and to know what lies behind it.

It is in effect a declaration that the U.S.A. intends to protect private enterprise everywhere in the world. This means that if Italy, or any other nation, decided to go communist, the U.S.A. would declare it to be "aggression" and would intervene with armed force.

It is for such a war that the world is now preparing. The first strategic moves have been made and the U.S.A. has its bases all round Europe and Asia—Iceland, the Arctic islands, Britain, Denmark, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Benghazi, Greece, Turkey, Persia, Indo-China, the whole chain of Japanese Islands, and Alaska.

This policy is the natural outcome of capitalist necessities in the U.S.A. which has 60 per cent of the world's productive power. She must either allow her own people to consume the equivalent of this enormous production, or export her surplus without corresponding imports.

The latter policy, which the Americans have adopted, involves a programme of huge investments in foreign countries, preferably under-developed lands like China. But China is now communist and will not accept investment for profit from anyone. Now, unless the U.S.A. can smash her way into favourable fields of investment abroad, she will, after all, have to allow her own workers to consume the whole fruit of their industry. And that would be Socialism.

And so, to maintain private enterprise at home, the U.S.A. is obliged to support and, if possible, extend it abroad. The pretext of Korean aggression is too transparent to be swallowed by any thinking person.

JIM MORGAN, Chester Labour Party

gambling with the very lives of Europe's millions of workers.

### LABOUR CAN END IT

It is time that the Labour Movement realised that war against Russia—and that is what is being openly prepared—is not an ordinary war, it is CIVIL WAR. Just as war against Korea, or China, or Malaya, or Indo-China, is civil war. That is why there is no possibility for any lasting compromise. One or the other must conquer. For what is at stake is the continued existence of capitalism which has already plagued the lives of the working class and the colonial people far too long.

We in the British Labour Movement will deserve to go down in shame if we do not exert every effort to frustrate the war plans of the imperialists. We must fight alongside those millions of ordinary people throughout the world who want to have done with this horrible capitalist system, who want to organise their lives in peace and security, who want to live in a world where landlords no more exact their back-breaking toll, and capitalists no longer steal the fruits of the worker's labour.

British Labour—the most powerful organised working class force in the capitalist world—can frustrate all the evil plans of the imperialists if it will speak out in one mighty voice, saying... *We shall not pause in our efforts to rid Britain of its wealthy and useless idlers; we shall not be used to slaughter the poor workers and farmers of the colonial world; we shall not allow the capitalists to attack the Soviet Union—not because we love Stalin but because Russia is a conquest for the international working class; we shall not allow our living standards to be offered up to the god of war.*

Such a policy will sow confusion and demoralisation in the camp of the warmongers. It will make all the Wyatts—big and little alike—scurry for cover. It can be done, and it is the only way to prevent war and secure victory for the workers. But, hurry comrades—for time is running short.