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TODAY

# Socialist Outlook

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## OUR AIMS

"To secure for the producers by hand and by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and distribution . . ."

Labour Party Constitution.

## BEVAN FLAYS THE HUMBUGS

Reported by  
Jim Allen (Manchester)

**T**OM O'BRIEN, Chairman of the T.U.C., has now discovered the uncomfortable difference between working out a reactionary policy within the safe precincts of Transport House and defending that policy before the rank-and-file.

Addressing a gathering of some 2,500 workers in Manchester, last Sunday, Mr. O'Brien dealt with the important question of recruiting non-union members into the trade unions.

When he referred to the divergences between the N.E.C. of the Labour Party and the T.U.C., he was subjected to several interruptions from members of the audience who resented his "message of goodwill to Mr. Churchill". One indignant heckler had to be forcibly restrained by the stewards.

The T.U.C., according to Mr. O'Brien, was often "misunderstood". He reminded the meeting that the Trade Union movement was a separate organisation from the Labour Party, with the right to formulate its own policy.

### THE COLONIES

He then spoke of the "good work" done by the T.U.C. in "organising the colonial workers". This, without even a passing reference to the 185 Malayan Trade Union officials, who were arrested and thrown into gaol in 1948—when Labour was in power.

In conclusion, Mr. O'Brien stated that the cause of war is the poverty that exists in the underdeveloped countries. This brought him his first round of real applause, of which he took full advantage by sitting down.

### APPLAUSE FOR NYE

The next speaker was the man who has become the recognised spokesman of the rank-and-file—Nye Bevan. The continued applause which greeted him must have chilled the hearts of his opponents.

Having just visited India, Pakistan and Burma, Mr. Bevan

said he felt "greatly ashamed of the poverty British capitalism had left behind in these countries". He paid a fine tribute to the good work done by Harold Laski in these countries.

Full employment, he said, can only be maintained by taking over private industry.

We must extend nationalisation and those people inside our movement who think more nationalisation is no longer necessary, have no right to be in the movement any longer. Their place was outside.

Anybody who suggested that we could have full employment without a large increase in public ownership, was speaking "sheer humbug".

Our party, said Nye Bevan, must have a new policy, a policy which took into consideration the changes in Society.

## The World's Hardest Job

These miners are working in a 2 ft. seam. If they received £30 a week for this work they would still, in our opinion, be grossly underpaid.

(See article on page 3)



# Strikers Defy All Tricks Of The Austin Octopus

## All Trade Unionists Must Help

Reported by  
**HARRY FINCH**  
(A.E.U. Shop Steward)

**T**HE Austin management is becoming frantic in its effort to break the great vehicle builders strike now in its fifth week. Every conceivable trick is being used to break the will of the workers.

But these men and women remain defiant before the whole power of the mightiest motor combine in Europe. Truly these trade unionists have proved themselves to be men and women of courage, devotion and loyalty.

Realising that they can never beat the strikers 'en masse', Austins are trying to put pressure on the weaker elements. They have sent the works' supervisors round to strikers' homes asking them individually to return to work. But the number who have returned is infinitesimal. In fact, a few workers who returned last Tuesday voluntarily came out on strike again on Friday morning!

Other firms in Birmingham are

going on short time, alleging this to be a result of the Austin strike. Press sob-stories are being written around the suffering of wives and children of both strikers and those out-of-work.

The answer to all this is so simple and so easy. Let the Austin Company honour its promise to re-employ "redundant" workers before taking on fresh starters.

It could honour this promise and in doing so take back McHugh—and the strike would finish tomorrow.

The responsibility for all the hardship and suffering that exists rests squarely on the arrogant Directors of Austins. Let none forget this.

Their latest move to frighten the strikers is to issue a statement that all workers not returned to work by Friday will be considered as having left the firm. They have small hopes of being able to bluff workers with such high-handed "your Union or your job" stuff.

Employers and their lackeys have never been able to understand that workers engaged in struggle for their rights will only bend when literally beaten to their knees by starvation. People of oppressed classes and oppressed nations have many times in history died, and will go on dying, to defend just principles. Since the rich do not even know what sacrifice is, they think that any trick can defeat workers engaged in strike action or battling for national and economic freedom.

The tricks and lies of the employers will not sway the Austin workers. They remain defiant even though they are really feeling the

pinch, for they understand what is involved.

They have already stated in their latest leaflet, that it is an "attack on all engineering workers—and in particular all those in the Motor Trade".

"The next moves by this Octopus are clear—more output from fewer workers, and lower earnings for the workers who remain."

"However, before Austins can carry through their policy, the strong Trade Union and Shop Stewards' Organisation must be broken down."

For these reasons the strike committee calls for help and solidarity from all workers in the industry.

And that support is now beginning to show. Messages are pouring in from all over the country. More important, so is the money. On Monday, March 16th, over £200. By Friday, March 20th, over £1,300 and by Monday, March 23rd over £1,500.

Here is the tangible proof that workers know full well that the Austin vehicle builders, in fighting victimisation, are fighting the battle of the whole Labour movement.

The T.U.C. is still considering the strike. But surely there is no need to consider it further. The urgent need of the hour is to throw the whole weight of organised Labour behind the strike. A total withdrawal of all Unions at Austins would quickly win the strike.

Meanwhile, the strikers, at their mass meetings on Monday, agreed to ask the T.U.C. to approach the Ministry of Labour for a court of enquiry.

The strike goes on. No effort must be spared to gain moral and financial encouragement for these gallant fighters. They fight to uphold trade unionism free from fear. They have not failed us—let us not fail them.

All donations, without delay, to F. Wilkins, 142 Wolverton Road, Rednal, Birmingham.

## London L.L.O.Y. Sends Aid to Austin Strikers

A RESOLUTION passed unanimously by the Federation of London Labour Party Leagues of Youth "pledges its full support to the workers of Austin's in their strike against victimisation of militant trade unionists and donates £1 as a token of its support".

A collection for the strikers after the meeting realised an extra £2 10s. 0d.

## Fords, Briggs Workers Rally In Support

**W**ORKERS in that other great Motor Combine—Fords and Briggs plants at Dagenham, Essex—are showing their solidarity with Austin strikers.

Following approaches from the Austin men, the Ford Shop Stewards Committee immediately sent a donation of £10 and are now organising factory collections which will bring in very much more than this.

A leaflet they have issued calls attention to the fact that Austins were among the first to help the Ford workers when they were on strike last year. This fight of Austin workers can, they say, decide the future attitude of the employers in the whole motor industry.

They have also sent a letter to Sir Vincent Tewson, urging that the T.U.C. intervene with the aim of ensuring full and complete victory for the Austin men.

At Briggs, delegates from the Austin plant have addressed the shop stewards committee. Among those attending was the victimised Steward, John McHugh. Already £25 has been sent and factory collections have realised £50 at time of going to press.

The N.U.V.B. (Dagenham branch), has sent a letter to the Shop Stewards saying "that all work, including components, intended to be incorporated in the Austin body at the Birmingham factory should be banned as being 'black' work and members are instructed to act accordingly".

Steps have been taken by the Joint Organisation in Briggs to make the blacking of this work effective.

The 1/1107 Branch T.G.W.U. composed of members from these two plants have already passed a resolution asking the Union officials to give them the full facts about the dispute in order to decide what attitude to adopt. 1/667 Branch of the T.G.W.U.—which is a Briggs Branch—has given financial support.

# It's Your Money They Want!

★ The First of Three Articles on Tory Economic Policy ★

**A**S Budget Day draws closer, so louder and more furious grows the demand to reduce the level of taxation of company profits. If the City gentlemen are to be believed, the British people can escape mass unemployment and mass poverty only by agreeing to a lightening of the burden of taxation which at present falls on the well-padded shoulders of company directors and shareholders.

and provide the necessary incentives to investors."

"The advice that is therefore being showered (!) on the Chancellor of the Exchequer is to reduce taxation to enable companies and individuals to save more. To do that Government expenditure must be reduced."

Now "Government expenditure" covers all sorts of things but mainly in these days it is expen-

## Editorial

diture on armaments, on guns, battleships and aircraft, and on the maintenance of the soldiers, sailors and airmen who man them. This item costs around £1,500,000,000 a year!

But Sir Charles isn't making out a case for reducing the arms programme. Indeed, he completely ignores that little item and demands instead a reduction in "some of the subsidies and services

which a benevolent welfare state provides". That is, he demands a reduction of your standard of life, not his!

If only he (and all the other Sir Charles's), can persuade Mr. Butler to cut the Health Service still more, reduce education spending, lower pensions, abolish housing subsidies and food subsidies, then the money so saved can be used to reduce the amount of taxation on profits and dividends.

Leaving aside the "fatten-me-up-still-more" mentality here revealed, isn't it a remarkable thing that these industrialists (and they all adopt the same attitude) should make absolutely no demand for a reduction in armaments? After all, guns must be paid for out of taxation—including the taxation of profits—yet there is not one whisper of protest.

It's as though they were watching a lot of men trying to swim a river with millstones tied round their necks. But if anyone suggested that removing the millstones would help the swimmers, Sir Charles and his fellow industrial-

ists would reply that the millstone is a wonderful thing and actually prevents drowning! If the swimmers want to make better progress they should eat less food and other 'luxuries'!

Are they mad? Well, yes, but it's a special kind of madness. They don't demand a cut in arms expenditure because, in the first place, they aren't carrying the millstones—we are!

Arms production, it is true, does not create any new wealth, things that people can eat, wear or enjoy. All this "defence" activity therefore does not raise the general level of material well-being by one iota. Nevertheless, as all the company reports show very clearly, an arms programme is a highly profitable business for the big industrialists. Their profits are now reaching record levels.

And in the second place, armaments and preparation for war is the only 'solution' to their problem. Making guns is the only way

Continued page 3, Col. 1

# BANNERS



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CAS

# Higher Rents: Is There A Socialist Solution?

WITH the possible exception of education, housing is the most important and the most difficult question facing Labour Councils—and the problem grows more acute every day the Tories remain in power.

It may be argued, and it is true, that housing is a national problem and even, in many respects, an international problem. The number of units erected is dependent on the demands for steel, lead, timber etc., nationally, which is in turn contingent on the rearmament programme. This article, however, will not concern itself with that aspect of the question, which requires from the movement a socialist attitude to foreign policy.

The existing reasons for high rents are fairly well known but a brief enumeration will not be out of place.

If the present cost for erecting a 3-bed-roomed house is £2,400, then at the present rate of interest (4½ per cent.) the local authority pays back over the loan period (60 years) more than £6,000! These figures may be put another way.

If maintenance is approximately 8/- per week, (as in the case of Lambeth) then, if no subsidy (Local, County Council, or Exchequer) were paid, the rent of

## A Socialist Councillor opens a Discussion on Housing and rents.

such a house would be £1 3s. 0d. But with interest paid the rent is £2 6s. 0d. (to the nearest shilling). Double!

The subsidy for an ordinary house (before the rate was increased) was £22 per year (exchequer and rate contributions), or about 8/6d. per week. Arithmetic demonstrates that a rent with subsidy, but no interest rate, would be about 14/6d. per week for a £2,400 house! No wonder Mr. Wheatley (Minister of Health, in the first Labour Government) said:

"... that section of the community who lend, not their labour but their credit, their surplus wealth—normally not their savings but their leavings—take twice as much out of the rent of the house as all the useful contributions to the erection of the house."

Interest is certainly the biggest factor, but when other factors are investigated it can be seen that the rent quoted above of £1 3s. 0d. (no subsidy or interest), could be reduced still further.

## LAND AND RENT

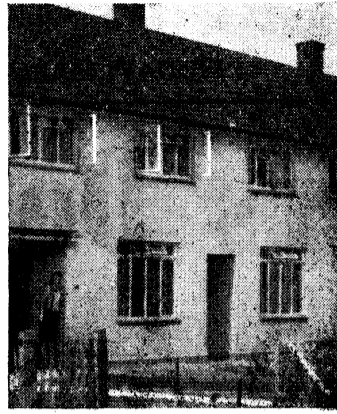
The £2,400 cost of building a 3 bedroom house (quoted above), has been arrived at after land has been paid for at exorbitant rates, especially in the towns.

An acre of land in a typical London borough may cost £30,000—£40,000. The building industry is inefficient and subject to control of tenders, supplied by the various firms, while the building materials are controlled by price rings.

All these facts are easy to establish and well-known to local authorities. The nationalisation of land and the building industry is overdue. The arguments for loans, interest free or at a very



Too much of the cost of building these Council houses goes to the bankers.



low rate, to local authorities are justified and the building workers unions are on record in favour. A large section of the Labour movement, probably the majority, do not agree with the rearmament programme either in total or in part—but a Tory Government is in power and the national problems raised can only be solved nationally by a Labour government in power, pledged to a socialist programme.

Meanwhile, the councils must operate with Toryism at Westminster. How, under these conditions can rents be kept down? How can the effects on the rates of borrowing money at high interest for housing, schools, roads, sewers, etc., be avoided?

## RENT REBATE SCHEMES

Many councils have attempted to deal with the problem by what is known as a Rent Rebate Scheme. Understanding that, due to the present level of rents, many workers could not afford to take a subsidised council flat or house, they have attempted to ease the situation for the lowest paid workers. The common principle in all these schemes is to put into a pool all or a major part of the total subsidy the Council receives and then from this pool give to tenants a larger or smaller subsidy than normal—depending on income.

All these various rebate schemes are open to several objections. First, a 'Means Test' is neces-

sary (in part or in whole). The Labour Group on the L.C.C. rejected a proposal from the Tories for the introduction of such a scheme precisely because they were opposed to a "means test".

## WORKER AGAINST WORKER

Furthermore, serious anomalies occur in the assessment of the tenants means. It frequently happens that one worker with a higher income in fact, may, because part of that income is discounted, pay less rent than workers with a lower income. (In Lambeth, for example, overtime is not included). Consequently bad feeling between workers is created even on the same estate.

Again, many of these schemes operate with a lodging allowance. This means that rent is increased when children go to work. The effect may well be for friction to develop in such families.

The rent rebate scheme does not even vaguely approach an answer to the problems facing local authorities and may easily lead to a fogging over of the real reasons for high rents. It is the kind of solution whose only result is to create in the minds of council tenants the idea that Labour Councils are the cause of high rents. Thus the real culprit—the bankers and big business generally—goes free.

Next week I shall attempt a socialist solution to this problem.

# Coronation Has Its Sinister Side

Says TOM BRADDOCK

THE spiv demand must be met; there is a drunken thirst for easy money. How it is got matters little, but something patriotic is the best pipe line for an easy flow.

Wars and the preparation thereof are, of course, the all time tops in that line, but the chances of dipping into that kind of big money are open only to a limited number of the most respectable and high class spivs, the sort that can attract ex-admirals and generals on to their boards of directors. After all, they once gave out the orders; who can be better fitted to take the money?

Other opportunities with a similar patriotic gloss must be found. The African ground nuts scheme was most useful; here were noble pickings, not nuts, but money (and whiskey) galore. Glorious, no questions asked, old war-time equipment given, if not a new lease of life, the sight of a new country, all expenses paid, cost plus rates, spivvery worthy of the highest circles. The scheme failed, of course; it could do no other under such management. What matter? The rake-off was prime.

Then we had the Festival of Britain and Battersea Park—a brilliant idea, patriotic once again (what did Dr. Johnson say?). It would show the world, it would boost trade, it would make life gay. Of course it did none of these things but it cost an enor-

mous amount of money, labour and material. Nobody knows how much, it is bad form to ask questions of that sort. If you write to the newspapers on the subject your letters will not be published.

We do know that all the estimates were exceeded, we soon learnt that first estimates are given only for the purpose of jollying us along. Once the pipe line is open public money swills down like suds down a sink.

Enough labour and material were used on the Festival to have made a substantial bite into the slums of London and Glasgow. No advantage has been obtained and the slums are still there.

After it was over, life seemed flat again; only work to do and the ordinary daily round of family life. Nothing for the papers to get excited about, no sale for cheap and nasty souvenirs. Crime, sex, and the doings of the Royal Family were well worked, but there was little money in all that. People were beginning to think about Korea, atom bombs and rockets.

What a relief, therefore, when the King died. All the possibilities of a coronation spree came to the rescue. With what zest it has been taken up; as the "New Statesman" rightly says: "Coronation preparations become every day more extravagant, expensive, exotic and extraordinary". The plea of the Queen herself for moderation swept on one side, all in proper

# The Importance of the Comprehensive School

By Jack Johnson

Prospective Parliamentary Candidate, S. E. Leicester.

THE development of comprehensive schools is the declared aim of the Labour Party, enunciated time and time again by the unanimous decision of Annual Conference. It is only too evident, however, that it is far from being the accepted policy of the Labour movement.

Year after year, having declared decisively against the tripartite system of secondary education, delegates return to their localities and associate themselves with policies and plans which solidify education in the present mould and render experiments in the field of comprehensive secondary education increasingly more difficult.

The reasons for this paradoxical attitude are not difficult to discover—nor, for that matter, are they difficult to answer, as I hope these articles will show.

It is necessary to show first why the Party has associated itself—albeit uneasily—with the idea of the Comprehensive School.

## IRRESISTIBLE CASE

The pivot of the tripartite system is the selective examination at 11 plus, the influence of which in the primary school sphere is little short of disastrous. The spectre of the "scholarship exam." haunts parents almost from the day the child starts school, and though teachers deny vehemently any suggestion that the content or method of their teaching is influenced by the form of the selective examination, experience tells a different tale.

In the eyes of the public a successful primary school is one which does well in the "scholarship". The popularity of certain types of text-books, the incessant testing and grading of junior children, the pressure in the 'A' classes compared with the placid resignation of the 'B's, 'C's and 'D's, all indicate only too clearly that primary education is pinned down by the straitjacket of competitive selection.

What is the effect on the children themselves? Conscious of their superiority, one in five pass on to the grammar schools, many on the shining new bicycles bestowed by proud or relieved parents. The rest, stigmatised as

second-rate, drift apathetically on to the modern schools to play out time as pleasantly and passively as circumstances allow. That some of them subsequently regain their self-esteem and realise that, far from being failures, they are in fact the backbone of the nation, is a tribute to the untiring efforts of our modern school teachers. It most certainly is not a justification of the system.

That the system distorts and perverts the purpose of primary education and endows the entire educational process with a completely false set of values is, surely, a most disturbing assertion. But it is not the whole of the story.

The most damning indictment of the existing set-up is that the selective examination does not and can not do what is claimed for it.

The idea that children can be sorted out at the age of eleven into three categories—academic, technical, and practical—is based on no educational or psychological principle. It is in fact, an administrative decision, founded not on the needs of the children but on the educational facilities available at the time the Butler Education Act was passed.

## THEORY AND PRACTICE

That Act laid down the "age, aptitude, and ability" of our children as the decisive criteria in our educational arrangement. It is just not possible to sort out children at the age of eleven on the basis

## German Socialists Praise 'Outlook' Supporters

A BRITISH soldier stationed in Germany has sent us this cutting from the German Left Socialist paper "Pro und Contra".

"The English working class is today in the vanguard of the European movement. The strong forces which are pushing the Labour Party into genuine socialist developments are an example to the continent. The growing strength of the left wing is reflected by the growth of its press—Bevan's "Tribune" will shortly become a weekly and the "Socialist Outlook" has given notice that it, too, will start weekly publication on November 21st. We rejoice with our English comrades over this jump to the fore and heartily congratulate them."

"But we must also respect the courageous sacrifices of the ordinary English workers and readers of these publications. In No. 50 of the "Socialist Outlook" there are acknowledgements to its Fighting Fund of over £50 which is over 600 Deutsch Marks. This willing and self-sacrificing assistance, without which no big successes are possible, shines throughout Europe." ("Pro und Contra", October, 1952.)

So there you are Comrades. By giving so generously to the Fighting Fund you not only help the "Outlook", you also inspire socialists in other parts of Europe.

Can we appeal to you to give even more this month. Our target is £70 a month and we always reach it. Can we ask you for an even greater effort to bring the target up to £100.

If we get that amount we can improve our service to the readers in a hundred different ways and we can adequately finance the Summer Campaign which we wrote about last week. We know you will do your best.

lying implications are dangerous to the last degree.

Let us remember George Bernard Shaw's advice to the British public prior to the second world war: he warned them where world events were leading them and he closed with the words "Look Out". Is the 1953 Coronation to be the prelude to the Third World War? Look Out!

of aptitude for the simple reason that very few children show any pronounced aptitude at such an early age. Local Education Authorities are well aware of this and consequently do not attempt the impossible.

Instead they seek to draw up an order of merit based on ability in those subjects which can be objectively measured, and from this list allocate the children, not on the basis of suitability for a particular type of secondary education, but in accordance with the number of places available in the different types of secondary school under their control. Which is very far from being the same thing.

Nor is this the end of the tale. To produce an order of merit which will reflect fairly and accurately the ability of every child under consideration is beyond human capability. Indeed, if any educationalist could devise tests to ensure such a result he would be showered with fees from overjoyed Local Educational Authorities.

## L.E.A. EXPERIMENTS

As it is, the unfortunate L.E.A.'s have been driven to experimentation with a wide variety of selective systems, the diversity of which indicates the underlying confusion.

One Authority pins its faith on intelligence tests and urges parents not to spoil things by coaching their children; another seeks to get round the difficulty by arranging for systematic coaching in the schools; another roundly condemns such tests as indicating little more than a kind of 'cross-word-cunning' and plumps for tests of attainment in Arithmetic and English (whereupon the coaching experts really get to work); another, knowing something of 'examination nerves', falls back upon the judgment of the teachers, from whom it obtains school merit lists based on the age and progress of the children (and then delivers itself body and soul into the hands of the statisticians whose job it is to correlate the lists obtained from the various schools into one list valid for the whole group of children under consideration). And so we could go on.

But the average children persist in being average and indistinguishable, to the joy of the 'experts' who wax fat on the confusion and the despair of Headteachers who have to face and fob off the disappointed parents of the unlucky losers.

Such is the system under which we now operate. That it should be accepted complacently by the parents and teachers of the lucky minority, or by Ministers and Ministry officials who send their children to private schools, whose admission tests are well within the capacity of the average child, need occasion no surprise. What is more difficult to comprehend is the ease with which such people, whose 'interest' in the preservation of the status quo should be obvious, have been able to hoodwink so many Labour M.P.s, Councillors, and teachers so that they too look askance at those of us who seek to establish an educational system based on sound educational and social principles.

To the solution of this mystery I propose to apply myself in my next article.

## Flogging in South Africa

The following resolution was unanimously adopted at a meeting held under the auspices of the Union of Democratic Control in the Conway Hall, London, on Monday, 16th March, 1953.

In the chair—Lord Faringdon. Speakers—Vera Brittain, E. S. Sachs, (formerly General Secretary, Garment Workers' Union), Harold Davies, M.P.

"This meeting of citizens of London, which includes many South Africans indignantly protests against the introduction of flogging in the Union of South Africa of persons convicted of political offences. The imposition of corporal punishment upon people who protest against oppressive laws is a clear demonstration of savagery and barbarism revolting to civilised people."

"This meeting sends warmest greetings to all victims of racial oppression and fascist tyranny in South Africa...."



Who The Hell Started This!



# There's No Gold On A Miner's Shovel!

Says this Colliery Worker

CONTRARY to the impression that the outside public must have received through various Press reports, miners do not get astronomical wages. The Press gives the average earnings of mine-workers as being between £11 and £12 per week. The figure includes all overtime earnings and piece-work earnings.

Of the 700,000 British miners, by far the largest proportion are surface workers and underground haulage workers—earning now a minimum wage of £6.7.6. and £7.6.6. respectively. Only a small proportion of underground workers get relatively high wages.

When stoppages are taken out (surely the highest of any industry) the men are left with something like £5.12.0 and £6.12.0. Far different from the general Press-cultivated impression of miners living in the lap of luxury.

Due to the fact that wages are not as high as imagined, the majority of the men, like workers in most other industries, are enforced to depend on overtime if they are to have anything like a reasonable standard of living.

The miners didn't go on strike when the 30/- claim was turned down and the 6/- award will mean that most miners will be placated at least for the time being. But the Tory Government's attack on

the workers standard of living is bound to continue and the coal industry, being the most basic industry, will have to bear its full share of the attack.

If the miners standard of living can be forced down then the standards of all other workers will very soon after be forced down also.

The attack, however, cannot be too sudden or too obvious because coal is still urgently needed, yet it can be carried on by other more subtle means so that most workers do not really notice it—just vaguely wonder why their wages will not go as far as they used to.

However, in time this vagueness will turn into a full realisation of the position. When this happens would the miners be justified in going on strike—or as it is more fashionably termed these days—taking industrial action. I think they would, if no other course would suit their purpose.

The N.U.M., like all other Trade Unions, was formed inside of, and because of capitalism, to defend and improve its members standard of living. As long as we have capitalism, each union will be forced to work in the interests of its members only. They cannot subordinate their members' interests to any other interest.

By political means (cuts in subsidies, etc.) the Tories have and will continue to force down the workers standard of living. What can be done?

The N.U.M. and other unions can adopt the constitutional method of negotiation with the employers (I have heard, though, that this method sometimes fails). Or the Labour Opposition in Par-



liament can voice its objection to the lowering of the workers standard.

But it does not matter how virile or skilled in the art of debate they may be, they are still in a minority when it comes to a vote and therefore they are more or less ineffective. By constitutional rules the miners and other workers must wait until the end of the Government's term of office and hope that the election will result in another Labour Government being elected.

Can the miners and other workers afford to wait so long?

The miners, like all other workers, have a direct interest in getting rid of the Tories as soon as possible.

E. Price Jones

## BILL MURPHY'S CORNER

A U.S. master sergeant in North Africa was talking to his Texans. "Our job here is to promote goodwill and friendliness," he told his men. "We've got to be friendly and polite with the natives. If they say Africa is bigger than Texas, agree with 'em."

# Its Your Money They Want (Continued from page 1)

left to private enterprise to get rid of its 'surplus' produce.

With the world market reduced to the extent that nearly half of Europe and the whole of China have joined the non-capitalist world, with the former colonies either in the hands of the native capitalists or—as in the case of S.E. Asia and Africa—consumed by social revolt, and with the

in the form of interest on 'defence' loans or fat arms contracts which swell both profits and dividends.

But what they object to is any of their profits being used to look after the welfare of the workers. This, to the industrialists, is a sheer waste of money. And that is why they are pressing Mr. Butler to dissolve the welfare state as quickly as possible, which, of course, Mr. Butler will do. How quickly, however, is a political question concerning chiefly the degree of resistance by the organised Labour Movement.

'Guns and the whole cow' is not a feasible policy for British capitalism. The profitability of industry is not great enough to permit armaments and a Welfare State. Most workers—and a large section of the Labour Party—understand this. That's why there is such a widespread opposition to rearmament, and why the Butler Budget will cause bitter opposition. Experience has shown that it's just not possible to defend living con-

ditions and support the arms drive at the same time.

Nevertheless, this self-evident fact is still disputed by some of the leaders of our Movement, and next week we shall attempt an analysis and a criticism of their arguments.

## NO STONE WAS LEFT UNTURNED!

ANTHONY EDEN gave us his promised Statement on his visit to Eisenhower and Dulles. Never have I seen the Foreign Secretary look so uncomfortable. His Backbenchers were silent and ours were restive, receiving his remarks with sarcastic comments. Almost every cliché was uttered except that 'no stone was left unturned.'

The Foreign Secretary knew that he had little to tell us that was of any real economic satisfaction. Of course, to show the haste with which we rush to implement American policy, we had placed before us a Statutory Instrument to Control the Trade of China by Sea. This Order came into operation on 17th March. The Labour Members are getting tired of these uninformative Government Statements. Here, though we were dealing with matters of vital importance to the destiny of Britain, we listened to the platitudinous nothings of a Foreign Secretary who is losing his stock with his Party.

## COLD SHOULDER FOR BRITAIN

Mr. Eden and Mr. Butler received the 'cold shoulder' on this trip. The contradictions between British and American economic interests grow, despite the goodwill that we wish to build up between us.

This blockade of China will increase the numbers of our unemployed.

It has come to my knowledge this week that the Board of Trade has refused a licence for an order for about £½ a million of tin from South Wales. I needn't tell readers what a jam the Welsh tinplate industry is in at the moment, yet because we are following this line we endanger not only the industry, but the livelihood of our workers. Hungary, too, I am told, wanted to make an order for tinplate. This is suicide.

# Transport Workers Must Prepare For Next Time

By Alf Yates  
Manchester Lorry Driver

THE General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union has resigned himself to the denationalisation of Road Transport. He calls it, in an article in our Union Journal "Tragedy: the last act?", and goes on to criticise those who were prepared to take action to prevent it.

Mr. Deakin refers to the Labour Party policy of re-nationalising "that part of the transport system covered by the present bill".

The old set-up was based on Sir

## The Finance of Strikes

### A LESSON FROM BRIGGS

DONATIONS to the Briggs Strike Fund last summer totalled £1,384, made up of donations from T.U. branches £498.4.9., factory collections £796.15.3, personal donations £26.6.9. and miscellaneous £63.3.3. Among the miscellaneous it is interesting to see the names of Labour Parties.

Every donation is listed in a detailed report now issued by the Briggs Stewards "with gratitude to all those who so generously contributed".

Of the lessons they learnt during the strike they say . . . "One is that financial assistance should be sent as soon as the money flows in, rather than wait until a factory collection is completed, which in some cases, results in assistance being delayed for two or three weeks."

"That is why we decided to send £50 to Park Royal Vehicle workers immediately out of our strike fund after we returned to work, pending a factory collection being made amongst our own workers."

"A further lesson is that it is imperative that the publicity involving the issuing of statements daily be maintained throughout the period of the dispute to offset the reports in the capitalist press. We had to face the full blast of the Press campaign with its distorted versions of every phase of the dispute solely with a view to alienating support and undermining the morale of the workers involved."

Stafford Cripps' slogan "The workers are not yet ready to control industry", and was for that reason very inadequate. The old bosses and their faithful "yes men" have held the key positions throughout—and what a gold mine it has been for them.

Favoured conditions for certain workers has created ill feeling between the men. Two men doing identical work might be receiving £1 or more difference in wages, and Union officials have accomplished nothing to alter this position. In fact, officials have declared it to be their policy—although at one time stewards had been asked for suggestions to eliminate it.

De-nationalisation will, I believe expose many enemies in our midst, and we must ensure that re-nationalisation takes in all hauliers regardless of operational areas. And "storage", that ticket to escape, must this time be swallowed.

The old bosses must be rooted out completely, and key workers put into these positions. That is why workers must take a keen interest and study during the next two years in preparedness—even though they might be out very soon.

We must never lose sight of the fact that trade unionists, through resolutions in their branches, were responsible for nationalisation. And if, in the main, we have been slow to rectify mistakes we must learn from experience. During the lull before re-nationalisation we must have regular conferences to prepare and shape a new nationalisation, modelled more on socialisation.

We must train the 'cadres' for the new take over, and expose the 'hangers on' and lackeys of the past position holders. If we fail in this we will be back to the same inefficiency that our enemies have been able to use against us, solely on the basis of having their friends in our camp.

The guts will be torn out of the organisation so an invitation

will have to be extended to all who have served the workers on the various committees as a nucleus to formulate policy, conditions, and determine future top managerial positions.

There must be a permanent committee to correctly operate seniority, instead of having the confusion—encouraged from the managerial side—where some operated it whilst others simply ignored it, forming cliques to suit the whims of the few. In this respect the present lists must be documented, kept in storage, and deserters reduced.

The Unions must take steps NOW to obtain these lists if we are to steer clear of the same chaos which has been experienced in compiling them.

Discipline to the benefit of the worker is a thing we should recognise; so top level discussion must take place, and we must succeed in impressing the workers that less hours of labour, not more, is the way to a brighter and more full life.

## NO MORE COMPENSATION

End the clearing house racket where goodwill has been paid several times over. Expose the managers who have become agents to private enterprise. No more loopholes in the future nationalisation act.

We must have a Government prepared to put these principles into practice, pandering no further to the enemies of the workers, but prepared to base nationalisation on true socialist principles. Thus we shall prepare for real socialism and even the most backward of our brothers will realise in which direction their true interests lie.

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Economist 21/3/53.

American colossus dominating what is left of the old capitalist preserves, there is only one solution for British capitalism—turn all the capital they can't profitably invest, and the produce they can't profitably sell, into armaments.

This kind of 'solution' has all sorts of advantages for Big Business. So far as its products are concerned, armaments is a field of investment not subject to the fluctuations of supply and demand, or to competition. The State buys all that can be produced, and doesn't quibble about prices.

And, over and above these economic advantages, an arms programme also coincides with the political aims of the capitalist world which is to "roll back communism" or, in plain language, to blast a way into Russia and China and re-open those countries to capital investment.

For this kind of objective, the collective body of company directors don't mind a little 'sacrifice'. They know that profits must be taxed to pay for the arms production. They don't complain about that. Why should they, since most of it is returned to them anyway

## Call For Special Conference On China

THE following resolution from the E.T.U. (Brixton Branch) has been sent to the three constituency Labour Parties in the area—Norwood, Brixton and Vauxhall.

"This party is alarmed at the dangerous situation in the Far East arising from the so-called 'denationalisation' of Formosa. It believes war against China may easily follow, which in turn may involve Russia and the whole of Europe in World War III. Consequently believing that such a war must not be supported by the British Labour Movement and believing that the Movement must be mobilised in opposition to the new aggressive moves of U.S. capitalism, the Party asks the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party to call an emergency conference of the Labour Party to discuss and decide on the most effective means of defeating the new war plans of the United States Republican administration."



# The Week at Westminster

by Harold Davies, M.P.

However, the Labour Members tabled a Prayer against the Order to Control the China Trade. Chuter Ede, Aneurin Bevan and others have now signed the Prayer. At Morecambe it was agreed as Party Policy that we do not extend our embargoes on East-West Trade.

At a time when it is getting more difficult than ever to find overseas markets, the Labour Movement cannot agree to this further limitation of our opportunities for markets. By Trade we stand a chance to break down the differences between East and West, and maybe a chance, too, to bring an end to the Korean War as a result of better understanding.

## IF THE BRITISH CO-OPERATE!

Ray Cromley in the "Wall Street Journal" for March 4, 1953, said, "Eden, Butler won't get promise of Aid without showing Self-Help too." This was his heading. The question was put quite bluntly thus:—"What will Britain get in the important economic talks scheduled to begin here to-day between President Eisenhower and his aides and British Foreign Secretary Eden and Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler?" Answer: Nothing right away; considerable later—if the British co-operate. (My emphasis).

The quote continues: "U.S. diplomats and treasury men are determined to promise nothing (they say); instead they aim to make the British show what they're going to do to get themselves out of

their financial difficulty, their perennial shortage of dollars and their unfavourable balances of trade. If the British don't propose to do enough for themselves to suit the American negotiators, the latter claim they're determined to say: 'That isn't enough; you've got to do more' (my emphasis). The U.S. side has decided to say: 'We'll look into what we can do—and we'll do something when you actually do enough yourself.'"

Ray Cromley adds that Eisenhower's team is in no hurry and there is a great deal of cynicism in Washington about making any new international commodity agreements for fixing wool, rubber, tin and other prices . . . Watch 'em tumble week by week!

American commercial policies are putting such a strain upon the Western world's economy that something is bound to crack. Labour can and must offer practical alternatives in its policy on the floor of the House.

## TERMS OF TRADE

M.P.'s have had their copy of the Bulletin for Industry this week and we find that as a result of the shift in world prices between 1938 and 1946 import prices rose by an average of over 110 per cent., while our export prices rose 95 per cent. The terms of trade had moved against us. By 1947 they were worse still. By

1951 terms of trade were 40 per cent worse than pre-war. These examples given by the Bulletin are worth considering:

Before the war 10 tons of imported wheat cost the U.K. the same amount as was earned from the export of say 26 bicycles; but 10 tons of wheat in 1951 cost 42 bicycles. In 1952 10 tons of wheat cost 38 bicycles. This improvement has helped the Balance of Trade.

One ton of imported copper was earned by exports of 16 sewing machines in 1938 but 21 sewing machines in 1952.

One ton of butter imported in 1938 was earned by exports of 21 radios, but needed 31 radios in 1951.

The Westminster Bank Review is now demanding that all 'shall work that goods are produced and distributed more cheaply . . . as a minimum, a return to the tempo of work in field, factory and shop which we regarded as normal before the war . . . through anti-inflation until we at least get to the point where the wilfully lazy are not worth employing.' (My emphasis again).

Who are the wilfully lazy? How do you measure 'em? So this is how we shall improve the terms of trade. Watch this next Budget! America has told us.

As the "Economist" said, "America should be talked to softly and told it can carry a big stick." Do you remember one of the big sticks? Eleven men looking for ten jobs!

## Socialist Outlook

177, Bermondsey St., London, S.E.1.  
HOP 4554

Editor: John Lawrence

# Malayan Atrocities—Do They Shock

Regarding the photograph in your last issue captioned "She only fought for Freedom", showing a Malayan girl shot by our Forces in Malaya. While it is a tragic and shameful thing (and so long as women are actively engaged in the fighting this will continue to happen) I think it very bad policy to publish such a photograph.

I don't doubt its authenticity, but it simply is not responsible evidence of an atrocity by British forces. (Note—I don't say British Troops don't commit atrocities).

To a new reader this photograph is a shock. He can hardly believe it or dismisses it as a fake (especially as it is anonymous). On seeing it he probably dismisses the rest of the paper as Moscow-inspired. I have actually met with this attitude.

To print photographs of our own casualties among British Youth would be more shocking, but would not gain sympathy for the colonial peoples engaged in the fight against imperialism.

The BBC's Telefilm "Victory at Sea" drove home the harsh fact that in war atrocities are not a monopoly of any one side.

Socialists must control emotions with reason, and the "Socialist Outlook" must stick to authentic reports without playing on the emotions.

London, N.16. J. Pennington.

**Editor's reply:** The photograph in question may have come as a bit of a shock to some people. But to be "shocked" by it can only mean that they didn't know these things were going on every day. To bring that home to people is not "playing on the emotions" but is attempting to show part of that harsh reality which lies behind all the glib talk about "freedom" and "democracy".

We gave the history of this photograph. It was sent to a friend in England by a soldier in Malaya. Anyone who on that basis wants to "dismiss" it as a "fake", or the rest of the paper as "Moscow-inspired" will not, in our opinion, be open to accepting authentic reports with or without emotional background.

★ **Old Age Pensions**

The local press has this winter reported an increasing number of old people of both sexes "collapsing in the street" or dying "before reaching home" or hospital. But the well-to-do never figure in these tragedies.

What a reflection upon our boasted "Tory Democracy" and "British Way of Life" that old people, after a life time of work,



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are left to suffer and do without the essentials of life.

It is considered essential to spend a million sterling on a new Royal Yacht but Old Age Pensioners are denied a decent standard of life on the grounds that "the country can't afford it".

What a lack of equity is revealed by the press when they report the boasts of millionaires that their private yachts are loaded with provisions for cruises to the Mediterranean or the West Indies while old workers have to plead with the National Assistance Board for a few shillings to sustain a meagre existence.

It is high time the Trade Union Movement advertised the hardships of our old people and pressed for a weekly increase in the Old Age Pension of 7/6d. for men and 8/6d. for women — making a weekly pension of £2 for men and 30/- for women.

Southport. **Herbert Feilden.**

★ **Apology to C.L.P.**

We unreservedly withdraw our article on Municipal Policy appearing in "Socialist Outlook" of 23/1/53. We state that no imputations of any kind were intended against Labour Councilors anywhere, and hereby apologise to the Ardwick Constituency Labour Party and the Manchester City Labour Party and undertake that there will be no recurrence of such offending material.

Manchester. **Mrs. and Mrs. Penfold.**

**Most Reactionary Writer?**

Unhesitatingly I award the palm to Mr. Oscar R. Hobson, City Editor of the "News-Chronicle".

His column can daily and dependably be relied on to provide an argument from "sound" economics for freezing wages while encouraging unlimited profits. It will prove beyond any (of his) doubts why we must cut food subsidies and social services.

Recently Mr. Hobson has turned his eagle eye to housing. What does he find? That 1,700,000 families want a new home.

"What is to be done about it?" he writes. "Build the 1,700,000 houses and perhaps another million replacements for slums, etc., cost what it may?" (Don't get alarmed, dear reader, Mr. Hobson has no such dangerous intention in mind.)

"Or moderate the building programme," he continues, "and use the existing national stock of houses better by raising rents at least to the level at which houses can be kept in repair and so bringing pressure on people occupying too much room at too low a rent to remove to smaller accommodation?"

So the way to solve the tragic housing situation is—to raise rents!

I can imagine the comments of my friend, Jack B., who lives in a damp slum house with little prospect of getting a new home despite his own ill-health and the chronic illness of his two kiddies.

Amendment of the Rent Restriction Acts is, by coincidence, the desire of influential Conservative leaders at the moment. Fear of the electorate alone holds them back. For they understand more clearly than Mr. Hobson that raising the rent of homes, many terribly overcrowded already, will mean more misery—not less.

Manchester. **Frank Allau.**

# The Sad Tale Of East-West Trade

★ What China Blockade Means To You ★

**C**HURCHILL'S surrender to the wishes of America's Big Business government to boycott trade with China must make it clear to all how nearly we have been driven to war.

But the decision has an added interest for all those workers who earn, or should be earning, their living in Britain's textile mills, engineering works and ports.

The boycott on China is a further obstacle to trade with eastern countries, the lack of which is, in part, the cause of unemployment on the docks.

The losses of the last war seriously weakened Britain's trading position in the world, especially with dollar countries. The same was true of all Western Europe. But at the same time the countries of Eastern Europe had undertaken great plans to expand their industries and improve their agriculture. West and East could, and can help each other.

**SIGNIFICANT FIGURES**

Western countries need food and raw materials for which they cannot afford dollars. The eastern countries need machinery to build and equip their factories and increase the yield of their soil.

Before the war over 70 per cent. of Western Europe's wood supplies and over 90 per cent. of its wood pulp imports came from the east. So too came a fifth of the West's grain imports: but in 1949 and 1950, only about one tenth came from this source.

During these two years, ex-

ports of grain from East to West averaged only some two million tons as against an average of 4½ million tons in 1934-38.

Between a fifth and a quarter of Britain's total pre-war imports of food, drink and tobacco came from European sources, mainly in the east. But in 1950, Western Europe bought from the East only one ton of goods for every three before the war. Two tons only were exported for every pre-war three. Since then the figures have fallen even lower.

The peoples of lands stretching thousands of miles across Europe and Asia to the Pacific Ocean still

By **Alf Rose**  
Member of Bebington C.L.P.

need our machinery and our textiles. Unemployed cotton workers in Lancashire, feeling the pinch of competition now that Japan too is excluded from the Chinese market, would be glad to meet these needs.

For the teeming millions of these developing lands our Midlands engineers too would be pleased to provide their products and the workers in our ports to handle them.

In return Britain could receive all kinds of food and feeding stuffs of which we are short—grain and flour; barley and maize; meat, hides and skins; oils, fats; wood, timber and paper; and dozens of other things.

Why, then, is there not more of this trade?

**POLITICAL CONFLICT**

In these Eastern States the factories and fields are owned by the State and production is planned.

It is the wish of our capitalist rulers to wreck this system of economic planning established in the Eastern States which is the main reason for the small volume of east-west trade.

Were these countries freely open to profit-making by capitalist commercial methods and private investment, the flow of goods and money would be quickened. The profit-makers can only hope to gain this end by force of arms and the trade boycott is part of the preparation for such a war.

In 1948, the limiting of trade became an open part of American foreign policy. The U.S. Secretary of Commerce explained that the aim was "to obtain from Eastern

Revolution, it is only possible for a Workers' State to enter into trade negotiations with capitalist governments without compromising principles, if the Workers' State preserves a genuine, internationalist socialist policy which seeks support, not from this or that group of capitalist states, but from the international labour movement.

Like Stalin before him, this is a policy which is completely foreign to Tito's whole outlook. He prefers playing "great-power politics". That is why today he finds himself being courted by our Tory Government as a potential ally in the coming war against the Soviet Union.

All is far from lost in Yugoslavia, however. The Yugoslav working class is still a power in the land and they will resist any attempt—internal or external—to destroy the gains of their revolution. The regeneration of the Yugoslav revolution will be achieved but only if the workers of all countries recognise the fundamental socialist nature of the Yugoslav economy and their duty to defend the socialist achievements of the Yugoslav working class.

Irresponsible slander of Yugoslavia; calling Tito a "fascist" and so on, is a disservice to the cause of socialism. It helps to still further isolate the Yugoslav workers from the world labour movement.

**C. Van Gelderen**

Europe scarce commodities needed by the United States and Western Europe while maintaining strict control over shipments of industrial materials having military significance.

Consequently American exports to Eastern Europe (including Russia and Yugoslavia) fell from 426 million dollars in 1947 to 166 million in 1948 and 108 million in 1949. But other countries could still ship goods which the U.S. Government had prohibited.

So the U.S. Congress Foreign Assistance Act, which launched Marshall Aid, contained a clause (Sect. 117.d) which forced those governments seeking American benevolence to sign an agreement to copy the U.S. policy of limiting trade.

The tightening of the boycott after the outbreak of the Korean War was only an intensification of established policy.

In June, 1951, Congress adopted the **Battle Act** so giving itself enhanced power by limiting the discretion of the American administration to decide in consultation with its "allies" what goods should be black-listed.

**'PEN IS MIGHTIER . . .'**

In the same month the U.S. Government published a list of hundreds of thousands of items which countries receiving Marshall Aid were forbidden to ship to countries named as Communist. These items ranged from weapons, atomic materials, machinery, petrol, cotton and sugar to castor oil, women's clothing, feathers and swim-suits.

Two months later, with the assistance of a scare-mongering Churchill broadcast, the Labour Government was frightened into blocking the delivery of two almost completed tankers ordered by the Polish Government under the Anglo-Polish Trade Agreement of 1949.

Last year the Americans even refused licenses for the export of fountain pens to Hong Kong! It is no wonder that even Mr. Morrison, a fervent admirer of American democracy, has been moved to say that, "To do without the things we get from Eastern Europe would damage and dislocate our economy".

That it is already doing so is clear to all who see the growth of unemployment and short-time working in this country and the falling level of trade passing through our docks.

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# Yugoslavia and British

It is very easy to pass judgement on Tito and Yugoslavia on the basis of superficial observations. Tito parading in gorgeous uniforms; Tito lurching with the Queen at Buckingham Palace; Tito hobnobbing with Churchill and Eden and obviously enjoying it. How can this man be the representative of a workers' State?

But to fully understand what is happening in Yugoslavia, it is necessary to dig a little deeper into the facts and not to be taken in by these superficial manifestations.

In the course of the partisan fighting during the war, a social revolution took place in Yugoslavia. The old ruling class, the capitalists and feudal landlords, were driven out. A party representative of the working class, the Yugoslav Communist Party came into power. The land was taken away from the rich landowners and distributed among the peasants; the factories and mines became the property of the State.

A letter from a group of "Socialist Outlook" shareholders in Leeds asks us to state the attitude which we think the Labour Movement should adopt towards Yugoslavia in view of the forefront position occupied by that country today.

We are very pleased to do so and, in reply, we associate ourselves with the general analysis and conclusion contained in the article on this page by C. Van Gelderen.

Foreign capital ceased to play any part in the country's economy.

The state which emerged from the Yugoslav Revolution was fundamentally the same sort of state which emerged from the October Revolution in Russia in 1917. In appearance, it looked little different from the Soviet Union as we know it today—except, perhaps, that the workers and peasants played a much greater part in actually running the country, economically and politically, than they do in Russia.

Nothing that has happened in Yugoslavia since the war, has changed this fundamental fact—that the means of production are nationalised; that in the main sphere of the national economy, capitalist private enterprise plays no part. To write, as some do, of Yugoslavia having gone back to a "pre-war semi-colonial status", is the sheerest nonsense.

Having said, this, it is necessary to observe that all is far from well in Yugoslavia from a socialist point of view. As far as its foreign policy is concerned, the Yugoslavs are moving more and more into the orbit of world imperialism.

In their press they write about the North Korean "aggressors". They have entered into a military alliance with Greece and Turkey

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—two countries which are established bases for the American war plans against the Soviet Union.

**These acts are betrayals of the principles of socialism and must be condemned.**

But it is necessary to recognise why all this has happened. One of the main reasons is that the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party received their political education in the school of Stalin.

Like Stalin, they start from the premise that socialism can be built in a single country—if only military intervention can be staved off indefinitely. It is this conception of a national socialism (which led to all the opportunist mistakes of Stalin, culminating in the Nazi-Soviet Pact) which is leading Tito into unprincipled alliances with imperialism. And because Yugoslavia is economically weaker than the Soviet Union, the effects on the foundations of socialism in that country are even more dangerous.

Already there are breaches in the state monopoly of foreign trade—individual enterprises now have the right to enter into direct trade negotiations with foreign countries.

Under the pretext of "decentralising of economic controls" the whole principle of economic planning is endangered.

In agriculture, concessions to the peasants are leading to the growth of a new stratum of rich peasants. All this points to a very real danger of capitalist restoration.

It is true, of course, that after its break with the Cominform, Yugoslavia faced almost incredible economic difficulties. Infuriated by Tito's action, Moscow launched full scale political warfare against Yugoslavia, accompanied by military threats, provocative mobilisations on its frontiers, and economic blockade. This policy of the Kremlin was directly responsible for driving Tito into the arms of the imperialists. In order to live, in the simple physical sense of the term, Yugoslavia had perforce to seek economic aid from the capitalist west.

As Lenin and Trotsky showed in the early days of the Russian