

MILITANT

FOR YOUTH AND LABOUR

NUMBER ONE

OCTOBER 1964

SIXPENCE

DRIVE OUT THE TORIES

But Labour must have socialist policies

S. Mani
Wandsworth YS

A FIGHTING CAMPAIGN from now until the General Election can make certain that the Tories are decisively defeated and Labour is returned to power after thirteen long years in opposition.

Look at the Tories' abysmal record during that period. In industry they have the lowest growth record of the industrial states of western Europe, with the possible exception of Belgium. They have the worst growth record of all the major industrial powers of the world.

The Tories never tire of harping on the fact that Britain depends for her existence on her share of world trade. Yet the share of British capitalism in an expanding world trade has dropped from 25 per cent. since the Tories came to power, to about 14 per cent.

In the vital engineering and machine tools sections, British industry has not re-equipped to the same extent as rivals in America, Germany and Japan.

German capitalism re-invests 25 per cent. of the profits extracted from the labour of the workers. British only 15 per cent.

In the fields of education and technique, of expenditure on roads and social services in proportion to the national income, again the record is worse than that of any of the major industrial countries of western Europe.

From a long-term point of view, the prospect for British capitalism can only be one of catastrophe.

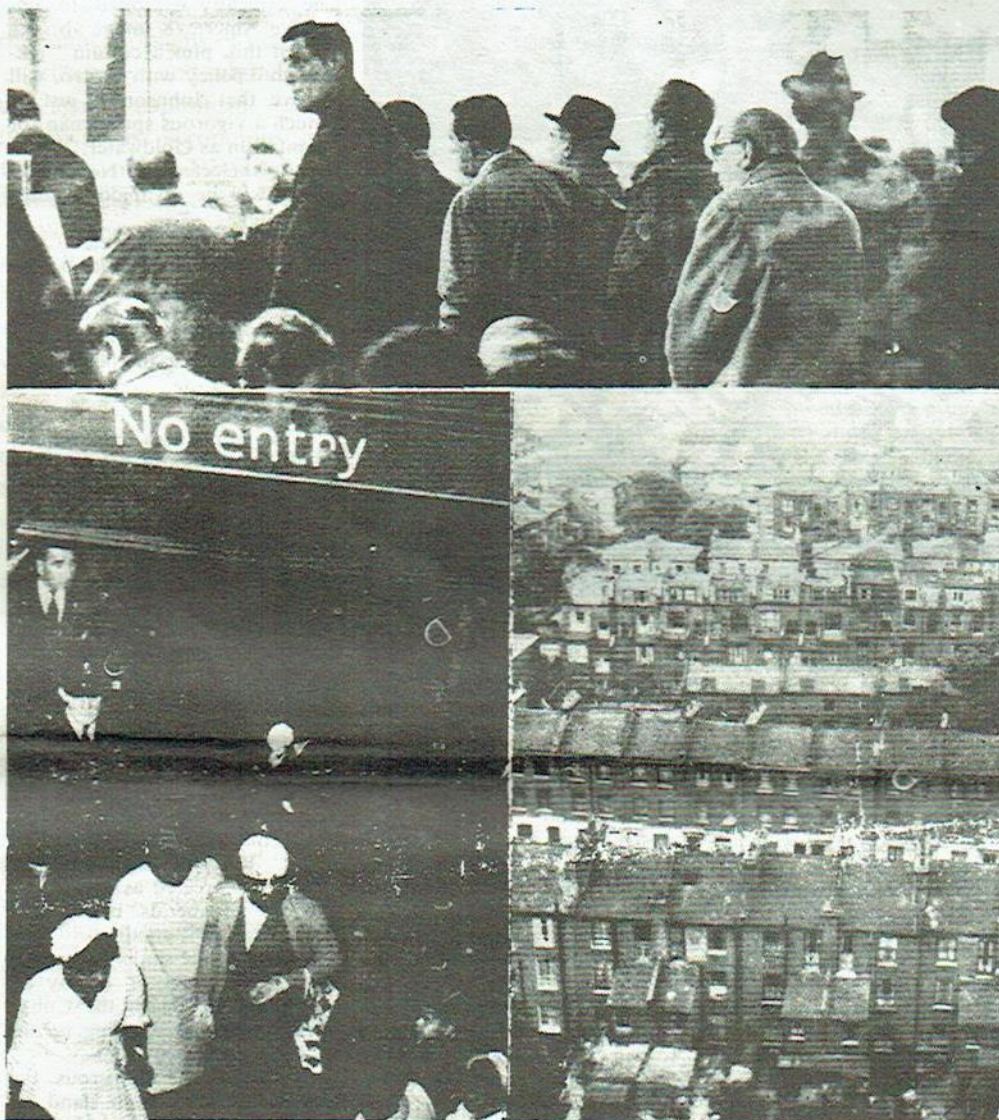
Only in the production of and expenditure on arms can the Tories claim priority in comparison with the main capitalist countries of western Europe. Nearly £2,000 million will be spent on arms this year, alone.

Wasted

Millions are wasted on weapons which become scrap as soon as they reach the production stage. It is terribly burdensome for the people and for industry as a whole, but terribly profitable for the arms manufacturers, as the Ferranti scandal showed.

Under the Tories, Britain has become a paradise for stock exchange swindlers, racketeers, speculators and rent-racking spivs and criminals. The enormous surplus of wealth produced by the working class has gone to the landlords, industrialists and their hangers-on the parasites, including the thieves, legal and illegal, who prey on society.

A few crumbs from the feast have fallen to the working class. But the increased standard of living has a very shaky basis: married women working, overtime, piece work and bonus systems—these are the precarious means by which it is obtained.



The legacy of 13 years of Tory government! Lengthening dole queues, growing slums and a foul campaign to lay the blame for such conditions on to coloured immigrants. Here alone are 3 good reasons for fighting to return a Labour government with socialist solutions to the problems facing ordinary working people.

The strike of the postmen this summer is an indication of the unsatisfactory basis of the fraudulent "average wage."

In spite of the record industrial production of the last 12 years, there are still 2 million people compelled to exist on the meagre hand-outs of the National Assistance Board. Widows, old-age pensioners, the sick and the unemployed, eke out poverty-stricken existences.

In housing and land, the Tory record is monstrous. Land which was stolen from the people centuries ago, has now become a source of gain to the profiteers and landlords without them having to lift a finger.

Cases even creep into the capitalist press of the fabulous sums made in land deals.

A plot in Birmingham for which the British Motor Corporation paid £2,000 is being sold for £64,000. A plot near London which was bought for £10,000 was sold to the LCC for over half a million.

The cost of housing and of all necessities has constantly gone up. Despite an increase in population of more than a quarter, fewer houses are now being built in Britain than before the war.

450,000 houses a year were built pre-war. The best post-

war figure is 350,000. The government has now set a target of 400,000, but this is far below what is necessary.

Every family has the right to a decent job, good wages and comfortable housing and amenities in pleasant surroundings, but for most families soaring rents, decaying properties and spreading slums are the most glaring legacies of Tory rule.

Attention is diverted from the real cause of this misery by blaming coloured immigrants, whose own conditions back home are a direct result of rapacious British imperialism.

While the cost of food and raw materials imported into the country has dropped in proportion to the industrial products exported, the benefits of this have been swallowed up by the giant monopolies and trusts and not passed on to the consumers. The economy has become a racket for the combines.

Even in the field of social services and standards of living, the once pre-eminent position of capitalist Britain has been lost. Western Germany, for the first time in 50 years, has now reached a standard of living equal to Britain's and, according to some economists, is now even higher.

Sweden has a standard of living one-third higher than that of the British people.

Britain is even falling behind the other countries of western Europe in the actual hours worked and the length of holidays enjoyed by workers. The worker in Britain works longer hours, including overtime, than in any other country of western Europe, while his holidays are shorter.

The health service initiated by the 1945 Labour government has been deliberately gerrymandered by the Tories and has now been surpassed by most rival capitalist countries.

The concessions which the working class has gained from the fabulous increase in the wealth of the capitalists have only been achieved through the pressure and strength of the organised labour movement.

But there are still large sections of the working class earning less than £10 per week—the sweated catering trade is an example. Most women workers take home less than £10.

Young people remain the target of extreme exploitation and are blamed for many of the ills of a society over which they have no control and which has a cynical disregard for their educational, sporting and cul-

tural interests.

This shabby record is the best that capitalism can offer. When the long, postwar economic upswing falters and the boom gives way to recession then the employers will try to unload the burden on to the shoulders of the workers.

Behind all the false glitter and phoney affluence, capitalism is still a treadmill, with only short periods of uneasy solace for the workers. It can only offer, in the long-run, war or slump, annihilation or penury, to the people of Britain and all other countries.

Recent opinion polls indicate a fall in the number of people determined to vote Labour and a corresponding increase in the number who will vote Conservative. The Labour leaders' policy of "playing it cool" and not launching an offensive against the Tories has had the opposite effect to that which they expected.

By showing themselves as "safe" and "responsible" leaders, not fundamentally different from the Tories, the Labour leaders have played into Home and company's hands.

Wilson's hobnobbing with the directors of ICI and other big business concerns, the jingoistic references to Aden and Cyprus and the shameful silence over Vietnam have alienated many militant voters in the labour movement, without in any way placating the so-called "floating voters."

Prefer

If a big business policy at home and a militaristic policy abroad are to be carried out then the voters prefer the direct representatives of big business to take control.

But it is not yet too late for Labour to make up lost ground.

Now is the time to launch a campaign of militant exposure of all the crimes of capitalism. This is the only way to ensure a worthwhile victory.

Wilson has warned of the hell which automation and the second industrial revolution can bring to the British people. If the present policy of private enterprise is continued, there could be 7 million unemployed by 1970 in Britain, 30 million in the United States.

In the U.S. automation of industry is gathering speed and more than 2 million jobs are being eliminated every year. In spite of the colossal production of wealth in America, two-fifths of the population live below subsistence level.

In Britain, the almost derelict areas of the north-east, Merseyside, Scotland and Wales are a terrible warning of the shape of things to come under capitalism. Industrial production, even during a long post-war upswing, has lagged at 75-80 per cent. of full capacity and has now only reached 90 per cent.

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Neither Goldwater nor Johnson for US labour

SENATOR BARRY GOLDwater's barnstorming victory at the Republican Party convention, where he seized the presidential nomination with a crushing majority over his "liberal" opponents, has sown confusion and consternation in all quarters.

Bourgeois commentators, alarmed at the damage the Arizona senator might do to the western alliance and the image of capitalist democracy and stability, have waxed eloquent in their denunciations of his extreme home and foreign policies.

Much of the alarm and hysteria is designed to stampede support for Johnson who, despite ominous Gallup poll predictions, is now more certain than ever of winning the White House ticket in November. In effect, Goldwater's nomination means that the all-important votes of the lower middle class, small farmers and workers will be safely channelled to the "progressive" Texan.

All ready, the AFL-CIO—the American TUC—has called for a massive trade-union campaign to elect Johnson, a capitalist politician who, beneath a thin veneer of liberal respectability, continues abroad the same imperialist buccaneering fostered by his predecessor Kennedy.

It can surely be only a matter of time before the American Communist Party follows the AFL-CIO bureaucrats and calls for support for Johnson, as they did for Kennedy.

Fascist?

Even if Goldwater were the arch-fascist that many on the left think, it would not be the task of the American labour movement to fight for the lesser of two capitalist evils but to rigorously attempt to get their own candidates on the ballot and into the White House.

But Goldwater is no fascist. While Nazis believe in totalitarian state control, Goldwater stands for decentralisation and laissez-faire. He is not the new fascist menace but rather the last exponent of the American frontier spirit which demands that everyone stand on his own two feet and fight and scramble his way up the ladder.

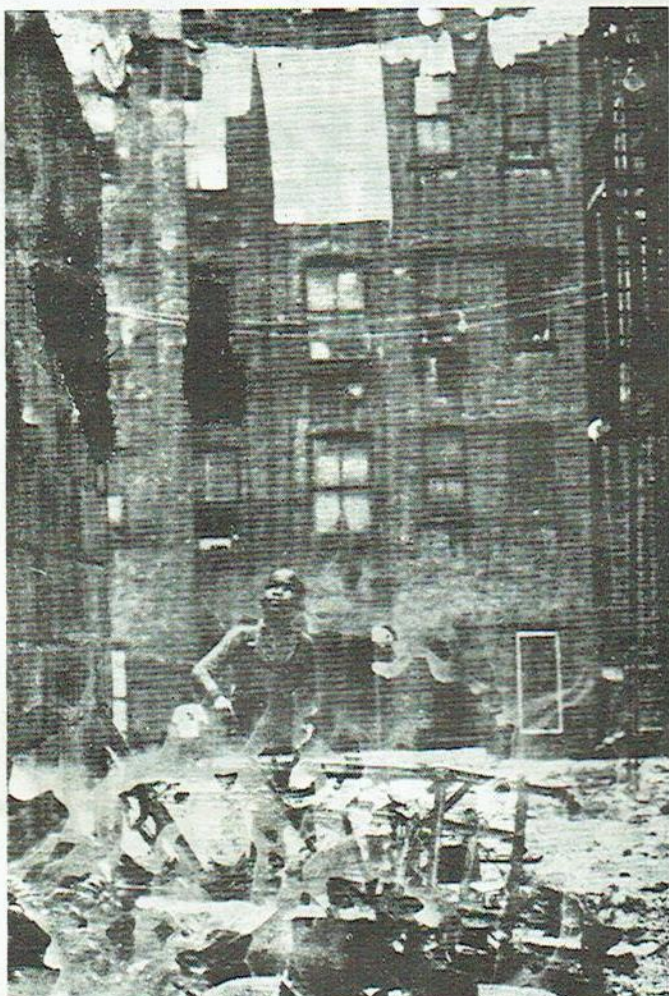
It is a backwoods philosophy that has no time for the sick, the aged or the needy, who are all victims of their own incapacity to fit into the capitalist rat-race. But this is not fascism, as a glance at the programmes of Hitler, Mussolini and the American Nazi Party will show.

The danger is not so much Goldwater, but the reactionary elements who are flocking enthusiastically to his banner, the "lynch the niggers, shoot the commies" brigade who will undoubtedly for in the nucleus of a mass fascist party when the withering world market brings the American economy to the brink of disaster and when unemployment and social upheaval force the American ruling class to abandon democratic conventions.

Families

The important point that is overlooked during the pre-election bally-hoo is that American party policy is not decided by the Goldwaters, the Johnsons or their interchangeable capitalist parties. This distinction falls to the giant monopolies and corporations and the mighty dynastic families who control them.

While they are in charge and



A rotten, festering slum in Harlem—this is 'home' for this young Negro boy and millions of other 'second-class citizens' through the United States. Neither Goldwater nor Johnson can or will do anything to improve these conditions or stop the beatings meted out to Negroes by racists and thugs. Only a concerted effort by the American labour movement to build its own independent party can change American society.

not threatened by the labour movement, the man who resides at the White House will unquestionably continue to put into operation their short- and long-term policies. Differences within this tight-knit ruling group determine the actual choice of candidates by the two parties; occasionally a major row breaks out and there is a sharp tussle to decide who will be their men.

In 1952, for example, one faction wanted Senator Robert A. Taft, then the most popular figure in the Republican party. His nomination was cut and dried, until the all-powerful Eastern bloc, whose mammoth commercial, industrial and financial power has long given them the final say, decided they wanted Eisenhower.

The General was neither a professed Republican nor Democrat (let alone an intelligent politician) but he suddenly found himself with the GOP ticket in his pocket and a safe route to the White House.

Goldwater has his capitalist backers, too. They are a powerful but fairly new group, comprising the Texas oil barons and the S.W.-west manufacturers of war material who grafted their way towards power during and after the second world war. They are not yet part of the ruling class's superstructure; they are thirsting to join the honourable company and are not averse to engaging, through Goldwater, in a little reckless politicking to secure their places.

But while Goldwater has been more successful than Taft, Johnson has established himself with the dominant sectors of the ruling class. He is certainly the darling of Wall Street, America's stock exchange, the centre of big business.

In the short period since Kennedy's assassination, Johnson has proved himself more than a worthy successor. He skilfully organised the coup d'état in Brazil, that removed

a "dangerous" left-wing government. The American-backed Fshombe, incredible though it seems, is temporarily president of the Congo.

The war in Vietnam has been dangerously hotted up, as a last-ditch effort to bolster their puppet dictatorship in the south.

At home, Johnson has pushed through the Civil Rights Bill; although it is a major concession from the ruling class, it is also an attempt to heed of the more militant sections of the Negro movement and it will be cynically exploited to improve America's image abroad.

All this, plus a certain "get-tough" policy with Castro, will prove that Johnson is just as much a vigorous spokesman for capitalism as Goldwater. Whoever is elected in November, there will be no major change in policy.

Certainly, Goldwater will have to modify his ideas, (he has already begun to do so) but a three-years extension of office would give Johnson a mandate to move further to the right.

'Liberal'

This emphasises that there is nothing to choose between the two. In fact, a study of recent American history shows that the "liberal" presidents have often outshone the "reactionaries."

Truman was "liberal," Dewey, whom he defeated, "reactionary." But Truman plunged America into the Korean War, opened the way to McCarthy and, of course, gave the order to drop A-bombs on Japan.

Eisenhower, on the other hand, labelled a reactionary in comparison to Adlai Stevenson, took the US out of the Korean war. Kennedy, who followed him, was greeted as the liberal to end all liberals, but, despite the boyish goodlooks and Maclean-white smile, he jumped far to the right of Ike by attempting to smash the Cuban revolution and stepping up the war in South-east Asia.

Goldwater is dangerous, but so is Johnson. Both stand for the maintenance and domination, at any cost, of capitalism.

While they are in power world peace is in the balance, bombs of mass destruction will continue to be stockpiled and tested, working-class movements in many countries will continue to be discriminated against, beaten and persecuted.

The only way out is the creation of a mass Labour Party based on the trade unions and the Negro movement, that will counterpose socialist policies to the reactionary ones of both Democrats and Republicans.

This is a gigantic task. It means fighting to overcome a centuries-old legacy of anti-socialist propaganda.

It means a fight to kick out to the despicable bureaucrats in the AFL-CIO, who have provided an armour plating to the soft underbelly of American capitalism.

It means a difficult struggle to unite white and black, to break down ingrained hostility and prejudice.

It means a battle to get Labour candidates on the ballot in every state. (While Republicans and Democrats automatically go on the ballot, socialists and progressives are prey to the decisions of the local political machines, housed by reactionaries, who have the final say in who can present their ideas to the electorate.)

It is one of the most formidable tasks that has faced any labour movement. But, however great the odds, American workers must succeed.

If they fail, by the end of the decade, Goldwater's successors could make him look, in comparison, the tamest liberal who ever stalked the stage of American politics.

LIFE IN HARLEM

A 23 YEAR OLD NEGRO mother, on her way home from a relative's apartment in Harlem on the night of July 18-19, found herself near the fighting at the corner of Lenox Ave. and 128th Street. Not wishing to become involved, she looked for a cop to help her flag a taxi. A cop came at her with a drawn gun, took careful aim and shot her in the groin.

'You shot me, you shot me,' she cried. The cop looked at her and said: 'Well, lay down and die then.'

A woman from East Harlem brought her aunt and her 7-year-old son to the New York Lower East Side Rent Strike HQ. The little boy looked worn out and his mother was near to hysterics.

Her youngest child, a little girl, no longer lived with her, after having been bitten by a rat a week before. Then her little boy awoke with a rat walking across his face and hadn't been able to sleep since.

She herself had woke up that morning with blood gushing from a finger that was now swollen and infected.

The woman in desperation caught one of the rats in a can and rushed to the landlord's office with it. He said: 'Are you trying to scare me with it?'

Aid sought for victims of Verwoerd

AFTER BEING PHYSICALLY attacked by warders, Dr. Neville Alexander, Fikele Bam and Don Davies, political prisoners in South Africa's concentration camp at Robben Island, are now in solitary confinement.

Four other prisoners who witnessed the assault have also been put in the solitary cells. Classified as a maximum security prison, Robben Island houses 1,395 prisoners. Some 900 of the inmates are classified as political prisoners. Both Nelson Mandela and the Pan-African leader Robert Sobukwe are jailed in this former leper colony.

Warders attempt to obtain "co-operation" by burying prisoners up to their necks and then urinating in their mouths.

Beatings with pick handles are another favoured technique.

As in the Nazi concentration camps, criminals are used by the administration to discipline the politicals and are actively encouraged by the warders to practice homosexual perversions on them.

This savage persecution and imposed isolation hinders the attempts of Dr. Alexander and his friends to prepare their appeals. In April this year he was sentenced to ten years imprisonment for alleged contravention of the "sabotage" act.

Two teachers, Marcus Solomons and Elizabeth van der Heyden, African law student Fikele Bam and Don Davies, a minister, also received ten year terms. Lionel Davies, and

Gordon Hendriks each got jail sentences of seven years.

Ian and Doris van der Heyden, Dulcie September and Dr. Alexander's sister Dorothy were jailed for five years.

The prosecution alleged at their trial that they had organized the National Liberation Front and by their study of marxist works they had committed a "conspiracy." The presiding Justice, Judge van Heerden, admitted that no actual acts of sabotage had been committed.

In May this year the same judge refused the defendants a right to an appeal. He did allow however "special entries" to be made on certain irregularities at the trial and these can constitute the grounds for

another appeal.

Money is urgently needed to help this appeal. None of the defendants have any private resources. (Alexander's mother is their family's sole means of support and she is soon due for compulsory retirement from her primary school teaching job at Mowbray.) His father is an unemployed and disabled ex-service man.

Young Socialists are urged to help in this appeal. Send a donation to the Alexander Defence Committee:

C. KIRKBY,
THURSLEY HOUSE,
HOLMWOD GARDENS,
LONDON, S.W.2.

MILITANT

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ABOUT OURSELVES

The MILITANT is being published at the present time because of the need to provide a conscious socialist lead for the labour movement, particularly the Young Socialists, in face of the problems that loom before us. The chronic crisis of British imperialism and capitalism are spotlighted by the recurring balance of payments crises which affect the economy every few years. British capitalism endeavours to solve its problems at the expense of the working class through such measures as wage freezes. At the same time the profits of the capitalists rise to record levels. The uneasy pretence of "You never had it so good" is only a trap for the unwary and more politically backward sections of the middle class and the workers.

For conscious socialists the problem is to make the mighty labour movement aware of the impossibility of solving the national and international problems of our time such as peace and security, prosperity and abundance, without taking decisive measures against capitalism.

Only through the most meticulous, scrupulous and patient arguing to convince the mass of the labour movement of the need for international socialism can a way be found to the broader masses of "ordinary" "non-political" people who are not consciously devoted to politics. On all the important issues we will endeavour to mobilise the left-wing workers in the Young Socialists, the trade unions, the wards and GMCs of the Labour Party, and the Co-operative bodies.

Transport House has especially shown its bureaucratic ineptitude in its treatment of the Young Socialists and its fear of healthy discussion among young people. At the same time certain tendencies have played into the hands of Transport House by their sectarian and hooligan attitudes. Instead of trying to win the sympathy and support of the labour and trade union rank and file which has always had a sympathetic attitude to the enthusiasm, energy, drive and even impetuosity of youth, they have alienated this sympathy by going outside the movement with futile adventures, which in any case only involved a handful of people.

The Young Socialists can only be a spearhead if it remains an organic part of the movement itself. The resolutions of the YS must be carried into the broad labour movement. Above all, the YS must understand that at the present time, although an invaluable component, it is still only a small part of the movement.

The job is to carry the message of Marxism to the ranks of the labour movement and to its young people. There is room for all tendencies in the labour movement, including the revolutionary Left.

Above all the task is to gather together the most conscious elements in the labour movement to patiently explain the need for these policies on the basis of experience and events. MILITANT will endeavour to seriously gather the facts and arguments to provide the ammunition for this struggle to rearm the labour movement. Soberly we hope to present a Marxist analysis, whether of industrial disputes, the housing crisis, or the crisis in the Congo, to take a few examples at random, with suggested solutions in the interests of the working class. The most important thing is that we wish to tell the truth to the working class, against the lies and exaggerations of the capitalist class and the half truths of Labour's officialdom.

It is only the rank and file of the labour movement who can defeat or change the leadership if it does not carry out the measures which are necessary for the movement to survive. We need to educate and be educated. In the beginning ours can only be a monthly voice, but within that confine we will endeavour to deal with the main problems that face the movement.

Our aim is to be the Marxist voice of the Young Socialists and the militants in the labour movement. The sacrifice and collection of money among militant workers and Young Socialists has made possible the production of the paper.

It is your paper. Write for it, sell it, criticise it to make it a better paper, send reports to it, collect money for it. Make it the mass journal of militant labour and socialist youth.

The policies of Militant are reflected in editorial statements; signed articles express the views of their authors and not necessarily those of the editorial board.

Flogging and ballot fiddles in British Guiana

WE CAN BE SURE THAT when the Governor of British Guiana decreed recently that anyone found carrying arms in the colony would be liable to flogging and life imprisonment, it was not because he was distressed at the spectacle of African workers fighting Indian workers.

A quick glance at the background of the present trouble shows that racial friction was deliberately fomented in a desperate attempt to prevent the united Guianese workers from turning on the British imperialists.

These gentlemen, through careful practice in Ireland, India, Palestine, Cyprus, Malaya and many African colonies, have perfected to a fine art their cynical technique of splitting the working class along racial lines and then kindly sending troops in to preserve law and order.

This may provide the answer to Douglas Jay's bewildered question last May Day: "Why should British troops have to be sent all over the world to keep the peace?"

RICH

The main reason why Britain is trying to "keep the peace" in this sole British colony on the American continent is that it is extremely rich in sugar, rice, bauxite, gold, diamonds, iron and manganese.

As soon as the Guianese workers free themselves from the exploitation that keeps their average annual wage down to £61, they will be able to create for themselves a standard of living that could inspire revolution throughout Latin America. British economic interests and American fears of losing half its total foreign investments thus coincide to suppress and sabotage all the efforts of the Guianese workers towards emancipation.

SUSPENDED

The extent to which the imperialists were prepared to go was first revealed in 1953, when the People's Progressive Party, a left-wing mass party of the workers and poor peasants, won a resounding majority at the first full elections. Horrified, the British suspended the constitution, sent in troops and arrested Cheddi Jagan, the PPP leader.

While clamping down on any hint of revolutionary activity, they were clever enough to leave the "moderate" wing of the party, led by Forbes Burnham, free to organise along opportunist lines, now racial, now "anti-communist." Burnham, of course, praised the suspension of the constitution and in 1955 split away from the PPP, taking with him some of the relatively pampered African intelligentsia.

DISBANDED

The militant TUC was disbanded. The economic strategy of the "interim" government was to damp down revolutionary fervour with slight increases in poor relief; but naturally it did nothing to reduce unemployment or remove the fundamental cause of poverty.

The only result was to widen the National Debt from 34.9 million dollars in 1955 to 90 million in 1960.

By 1957, when the next elections were held, the constituencies had been carved up into such unnatural shapes and

Roger Silverman Hampstead YS

unequal sizes that there were as few as 3½ thousand electors in a Burnhamite constituency, and as many as 32 thousand in a PPP one.

In spite of the overwhelming odds, the PPP obtained 9 seats to Burnham's 3. The Governor then proceeded to nominate six anti-PPP members, thus equalising the parties strengths and giving himself the casting vote.

MAJORITY

The British were quite prepared to let the strait-jacketed PPP remain nominal government while economic conditions deteriorated.

When the next election was held in 1961, despite even more blatant gerrymandering, the PPP won a majority of seats on a minority vote. The British had to use subtler methods now to retain domination: they plan to introduce proportional representation, which would mean Jagan would have to win a clear majority of votes, not just seats, to form a government.

At the first budget (it had been drawn up on the advice of an Oxford economist and was hardly too revolutionary) Burnham and other puppets tried to call a general strike. The workers refused to fall for this manoeuvre, and the strike was called off.

STRIKE

A year later, a bill was introduced to outlaw "company" unions; and although this measure had been part of Burnham's own programme, he was pushed in to engineer a "general" strike against a government fighting to strengthen the workers' hand.

Jagan panicked and asked Britain to put down the strike. Britain agreed willingly; this was a perfect opportunity to intervene and drive deeper the racial wedge in to the working class.

Jagan displayed tragic naivety in trusting the state institutions moulded by imperialists in their own interests, in relying on British forces to save his government from crises that they had deliberately engineered, in failing to mobilise the workers behind him. While he was appealing to the United Nations and pleading with Sandys, he missed the revolutionary opportunity and allowed the racial issue to be used as a pretext for greater military repression than existed before.

HELP

Issues like this are the acid test of the nature of the next Labour administration.

There can be no compromise. Either a Labour Government will send British troops to Aden to die for Shell Oil, or it will support revolutionary movements staunchly and help the underdeveloped countries to industrialise.

If it chooses the second course, a basic change will have to be effected in our own economic system; if the Government is not prepared for that, it will be forced to continue the dirty imperialist policies of the Tories.

**Angry?
Confused?
You agree
with us?
Whatever
your views,
let us have
them in a
letter**

Militant launches big fighting fund

THE FIGHT TO WIN THE labour movement to active support for socialist policies grows daily more vital. A paper is urgently needed to spearhead this fight. We hope to make MILITANT that paper, with a large circulation and readers in the Labour Party, the YS and the trade unions.

We make no apologies for appealing for funds. Socialist papers are always difficult to maintain in a period when ideas are stronger than either support or finances. We are confident that MILITANT can play a vital role in the coming struggles, but we need your support to help build the paper and allow it to pay its way.

We are launching a £500 fighting fund to finance the paper's printing and circulation, to help us promote it, illustrate it, increase its size and frequency of appearance, and hold regular readers' meetings throughout the country.

Please help us NOW, to ensure that issue number two appears on time. Send donations and ask your party, YS or TU branch to aid our appeal and take regular standing order for the paper.

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by Roger Protz

(This article is the first contribution to a discussion on the YS. The views expressed are solely those of the writer.)

NUMERICALLY AND POLITICALLY, the Young Socialist movement is at a low ebb, just four years after its inception. Wracked by intense factional feuding and attacked and mutilated by Transport House, it seems that little can be done to save the YS from following the fate of the League of Youth in the mid-fifties and sinking ignominiously from view.

If the YS dies it will be a tragedy, not only for the hundreds who have fought to establish and maintain it, but for the broad labour movement as well. Whatever its faults—and they are many—the Young Socialists has been an arena in which political ideas have been discussed and developed and for the first time in many years real socialist policies have appeared to challenge the reformism and opportunism that riddle the adult party.

In the months and years ahead, the YS, if it can be maintained, strengthened and broadened into a real political force, will have an important part to play in the struggle to defeat the Tories and to extend socialist ideas to all sections of the labour movement.

Why?

What has gone wrong? Why is the YS on the verge of collapse? Why cannot the largest social-democratic party in the world, with the support even in defeat of 43.7 per cent, of the electorate, organise and build a successful youth movement?

Before any solution can be discussed for saving the YS, it is necessary to try to answer these questions, even if it means going over familiar ground.

It is now a hackneyed cliché to say that the YS was formed out of the defeat of the Labour Party at the 1959 general election, but clichés have a habit of being right. The party emerged from that third successive trouncing demoralised, undecided and suddenly aware of its ageing membership.

New life had to be pumped into the organisation and clearly a youth movement was necessary, in spite of the unhappy experience of the League of Youth.

Not everyone welcomed the formation of the Young Socialists. The regional organisers for example, fought a strong rearguard action against its formation, reasoning that it would make them even more over-worked and underpaid.

They were disregarded and the YS duly emerged with a constitution that was a considerable improvement on the one that had hampered and hamstrung the League of Youth. But constitutions have to be made to work; intentions are more important than words and Transport House officials soon proved in action just what their intentions were.

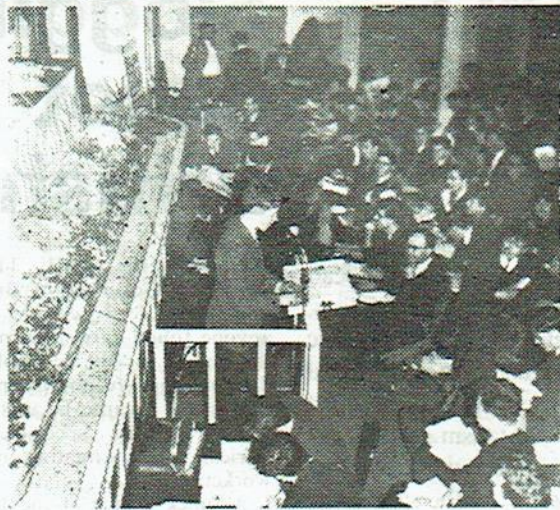
Machine

To a Labour Party bureaucrat obsessed with paper work and utterly disinterested in policy-making, political orthodoxy is everything. Members who challenge party policy are a danger not because of their ideas—bureaucrats are uninterested in ideas—but because they upset the smooth running of the machine; routine is upset, new files have to be opened, circulars printed and despatched to warn constituency parties against the new heretics.

Transport House was determined from the outset that, constitution or not, they were going to keep a rigid hold on the new youth movement.

ACT NOW TO SAVE THE YS

YS conference—will there be another



New Advance, after a few uneasy editions, quickly became a mouth-piece for the National Agent's department and a caricature of what a youth paper should be.

Expecting criticism even before it began, the officials hit out wildly at half-imagined "subversive elements" who were, apparently, out to smash the new-born infant before it had time to wet its first nappie.

Here is the major reason for all the ills of the Young Socialist movement: Transport House created, crudely and blunderingly, an atmosphere of mistrust and intrigue before the movement had scarcely time to set up its branches and elect its officers.

Keep Left, then the only national independent paper, was the main target for attack and abuse. Such was the climate of opinion deliberately created by Transport House that, within six months of the formation of the YS, any *Keep Left* supporter who visited a branch other than his own stood a good chance of being treated like a Negro trying to get a meal in an all-white restaurant in Birmingham, Alabama.

Abuse

At the first YS conference, because of the spate of circulars and visits from regional youth officers warning against *Keep Left*, the paper was the main subject for discussion. Transport House ushered in the arch demagogue, Ray Gunter, to launch a virulent campaign of abuse against the paper and its supporters, misrepresenting their policies and not affording them the chance to reply.

Thinking back it is almost impossible to believe that even Transport House could make so many crass, clumsy blunders. To understand why is to understand those who control the Labour Party.

The party is dominated by a conservative bureaucracy which prides itself in its "British" disregard for theory. Witness, for example, Morgan Phillips' famous remark, "The British labour movement owes more to Methodism than to Marxism" and, more recently, Harold Wilson's laughing boast that he could get no further than the footnote on page one of *Capital*. (There is no footnote on page one of *Capital*.)

The bureaucracy is concerned solely with running the party machine, keeping it in good order for each five-yearly battle for parliamentary "power." Party policy is only a hasty, pragmatic adjunct to the machine.

Left-wing socialists who challenge the machine-minders are vitriolically attacked. "They're rocking the boat." "They're old-fashioned extremists." "Why don't you form your own party if you don't like our

policies?" are remarks that most Young Socialists know by heart.

Theory is anathema to Wilson and company because they have nothing to answer it with. One of the main causes of the problems in the Young Socialists is the appalling lack of political education.

Transport House are quick to attack the Marxists in the YS for their "cloth-cap, 1930s ideas," but there is no attempt to challenge these ideas with their own.

So they resorted to all the old cowardly devices of divide-and-rule, of creating non-existent enemies that would turn attention away from their own glaring deficiencies.

The result was that a handful of people suddenly found themselves in the spotlight, being given the star treatment. They (or, to be strictly honest, we) by playing to the gallery, answering Transport House tit-for-tat and now manoeuvring for a quite deliberate head-on clash with the party that will only give succour to those who are pressing to have the YS closed down for good.

The major portion of the blame lies, then, at the door of Transport House. But we are far from blameless. It is easy to turn the bureaucrats into bogey-men, too, and absolve ourselves from all responsibility, but it is time we stopped taking the easy way out and faced up to reality.

For a start, let's stop kidding ourselves that we are a mass movement. Let's stop kidding ourselves that the youth of Britain are about to flock to our banner. Let's stop kidding ourselves that capitalism is about to quietly keel over and roll into its grave.

Weak

Our movement is weak, demoralised and insignificant. Before we can even think of turning it into a mass movement, let alone start to fight our enemies, we have got to get the movement straight and on the right lines.

At the moment it is rent and fissured by an obscene faction fight. Members who should be uniting on the many policies they can agree on, are heaping abuse on one another. The air is full of "scabs," "traitors," and "right-wing agents."

Unemployment campaigns, mods-and-rockers campaigns and lobbies of parliament are cynically mounted to prove that the adherents of one group are stronger than another. When campaigns are over and the dust settles, there are no new recruits, just a few more bemused and apathetic members.

In many parts of the country untouched by the factional warfare, confusion reigns. Branches that were once strong and

active have fallen into decay, the handful of members who remain wondering what to do next.

There are no easy solutions. But certain things can be done.

To begin with, though it may have escaped the notice of some members, there is a general election looming. Whatever our conception of the Labour Party may be—and every other Young Socialist you meet has a different one—if we are in the party we must work diligently for it and throw ourselves wholeheartedly into the campaign to annihilate the Tories on polling day.

The struggle to win the labour movement to socialist policies will take a new and perhaps decisive turn with the election of a Labour government, enabling the working class for the first time in thirteen years to see the right-wing in action and to compare their policies with those of the left.

The YS must prove in action the strength of their anti-Tory policies by fighting shoulder to shoulder with the local parties for the return of every possible Labour candidate. Far too many YS branches have virtually no contact with their constituency parties; the election provides a valuable opportunity to remedy this fault.

Attack

We can expect further blows against the youth movement from Transport House, not a major, national assault, but a quiet, insidious attack through local parties to smash the main areas of "subversive activity."

The dirty, underhand methods used to officially deprive Dave Ashby of his chairmanship of the National Committee—the North-west Leeds party closed down his YS branch—show the pattern of events we can expect.

This proves just how necessary are the strongest possible links between YS branches and constituency parties. The best way to build such links is during the election campaign, by pouring ourselves into the foot-dragging work that is so vital if every last Labour vote is to be secured.

If we can prove that we are not a tiny ginger group obsessed by in-fighting, but are a determined part of the broad labour movement, we will have valuable allies in the struggle to defend the YS from closure after the election.

We must build a massive resistance in the local parties to any further attempts to manhandle and weaken the youth movement with bans, proscriptions and expulsions, which are the hallmark of political bankrupts and cowards.

Immediate success cannot be guaranteed. The next few months may see the forcible closure of many branches and feredations. But however great

the odds, we must hang on grimly to what remains and fight desperately to recruit and build again.

There are no ready-made formulas for success.

But certainly nothing can be gained if a large section of the movement is engaged in a vacuous campaign of slander and abuse.

The same old dreary slogans are tossed around, the same empty clichés churned out as though they contained some new contribution to socialist thought rather than adding to its sterility. And all the time, while the debate rages on such momentous issues as state capitalism, Pabloism and the Socialist Labour League, the great mass of the present young generation are untouched by and completely disinterested in political action.

The Young Socialists need desperately to get into focus. Such issues as the development of the Soviet Union are important and need to be amicably discussed, but they must take second place to the need to analyse modern society and, in particular, the obscene and scientific exploitation of young people, which now holds them pawn to commercialism 24 hours a day, from the factory and the office, to the dance hall, the record shop, the tailor and the hairdresser.

It is not enough to jerk into action once a year when some new phenomenon appears, like the current Mods and Rockers issue, to launch a brief and opportunistic campaign, which is dropped as soon as something new appears to replace it.

The YS needs a programme that will appeal not only to jobless youngsters and Mods and Rockers but to every section of young people, including those who, under capitalism, are earning large amounts of money but who are at the same time driven into boredom, apathy and even violence by the dull, crippling routine of their lives and the complete lack of educational and sporting facilities.

Links

The task then is two-fold: to build links with the adult party (and, incidentally, the trade unions, an aspect which has been alarmingly ignored) which will help put the maximum pressure on Transport House to end the ceaseless sniping and attacking of Young Socialists who hold sincere beliefs that are sometimes contrary to official policy; and to win new recruits to a youth movement that is vigorous and active, which has an extensive programme of political education and which debates ideas and differences in an atmosphere of comradeship.

This is no utopian plea for brotherly love. Any live socialist movement will have many fundamental differences that will be thrashed out at considerable length, but they are less important than the overriding aims of the movement itself.

At four annual conferences, the Young Socialists have heavily voted in favour of major socialist solutions to the evils, corruption and degeneration of modern capitalism.

This is something unique in the British labour movement. While other organisations flounder in a sea of reformism, the YS relentlessly pose revolutionary ideas to the working class and to young people in particular.

With such policies, we have a decisive part to play in the labour movement's coming struggles. We must ensure in the months ahead that neither bureaucrats using the power of the political machine nor sectarians blinded by their own insignificance stop us from bringing those policies to fruition.

Two articles of vital importance to the labour movement

AUTOMATION

Julian Atkinson
ex secretary
of NALSO

NO OTHER TECHNOLOGICAL innovation poses social problems as acutely as automation. This advance, which has scarcely begun to be applied in earnest, could change the whole fabric of life as we know it.

It is estimated that in this country the steel industry will be completely automated by 1969, oil, water, electricity and gas by 1972 and it is hoped that the motor industry will have achieved this position by 1979.

The labour movement will be faced with tremendous problems. A report to the National Economic Development Council suggested that the economy will require in 1970 1,350,000 less unskilled workers and 1,395,000 less skilled workers. The example of the coal industry can be quoted to show this trend: since 1957 the number of workers needed to pro-

duce the same quantity of coal has slumped by 25 per cent.

It is not only the industrial workers who have to fear redundancy. The post-war trend of a falling proportion of production workers to white-collar workers could well be reversed.

The white-collar workers are fast becoming the most vulnerable sector to the advance of automation. In large firms some secretarial jobs could disappear altogether, while the installation of expensive computers to deal with wages demands shift work to ensure their economic functioning.

Costs

Already the clerical unions are reporting large increases in membership as the threat of redundancy grows. The extent of the future change is indicated by the fact that now some 95 per cent of all rationalisation research is devoted to cutting administrative costs.

The experience of automation in the United States cannot

give socialists any confidence in the ability of capitalism to carry through this scientific revolution for the benefit of society as a whole.

Agriculture over the last 15 years has increased its production by 135 per cent. This enormous increase in wealth has not been passed onto the workers in that industry in the form of either higher wages or shorter hours, but rather have 40 per cent of them been sacked.

These unskilled workers find it increasingly difficult to obtain any alternative employment. Similar catastrophes have occurred in the mining industries.

These processes have given rise to a steadily increasing pool of permanently unemployed. In 1948-9, the unemployment rate was 2.6 per cent; 1953-4, 3.9 per cent; 1957-8, 5.0 per cent; 1960-61, 5.3 per cent and in 1963 it had risen to 6.1 per cent.

The next cyclic recession will, according to some commenta-

tors, push the figure permanently over 10 per cent. Official figures give 40 million below the headline in America today; some trade-unionists would double that figure.

All this is within the context of an increasingly rich society.

The growth of automation has put the bargaining power of many of the unions in jeopardy. The oil workers' union has over the last few years been heavily defeated in strikes. This has been due to the fact that a mere handful of supervisors have been able to keep the automated plants running in spite of strike action.

Society

It would be very wrong to suggest that automation in itself was guilty. It is society that decides whether the social production should be geared to the good of the human race or for the maximisation of private profit.

In a socialist economy, auto-

mation could be one of the greatest blessings that man has known. If these new means of production were allowed to function efficiently and to produce as much as people needed rather than just what could be sold, then world poverty could be ended.

Routine

The working week could be slashed and whole new areas of leisure opened up for humanity. Automation is even now displacing many of the routine tasks of management and could certainly help to alleviate some of the purely technical problems of industrial democracy.

The contrast is immense. If we do not unshackle these potentialities from the anachronistic social system called capitalism, then we shall see the growth of unemployment, the world's hungry remaining unfed, while a minority work overtime to produce cars with bigger fins.

WORKERS' CONTROL

Peter Redfarn
Chiswick YS

THE TORY PARTY WAS unwilling to make a direct attack on the trade unions in an election year by repealing the Trades Disputes Act of 1906, which safeguards the right to strike for trade unionists.

The Tories acted instead through their noble stooges in the House of Lords, who declared in the recent Rookes versus Barnard case that in certain cases strike action and the threat of strike action (particularly where contracts are held to have been broken) constituted "intimidation" and were, and always have been, illegal.

The reason for this increased militancy by the capitalist class is that, for them, strikes now have a greater disruptive effect, mainly because the giant monopolies plan their production very tightly and do not carry large stocks of parts and accessories.

Stock

This is shown by the wide spread effects of strikes in the motor industry: a dispute at, say, Smiths, who supply BMC and other combines with accessories, can hold up the entire industry within a few days, as the motor manufacturers keep only a limited stock of accessories on hand and rely on frequent deliveries.

Among the new scientific techniques which capitalism uses to increase profits and which depend on the co-operation of the workers for their effectiveness, is work study.

Work study relies on the timing of each operation performed by individual workers in order that an average time can be worked out. This "mean time" constitutes a rate which the workers must not fall below.

It is generally in the workers' interests to perform their opera-

tions as slowly as possible when work study is being carried out. The result is that such study has the perverse effect of slowing down production, or the work-study engineer is forced to guess at a required time rate; in either case the scientific aspect of the work breaks down.

As well as needing the co-operation of the workers, scientific management requires, for complete effectiveness, exchange of information between enterprises. But the monopolies are engaged in deadly rivalry and fear that exchange of information will give competitors an advantage.

Thrive

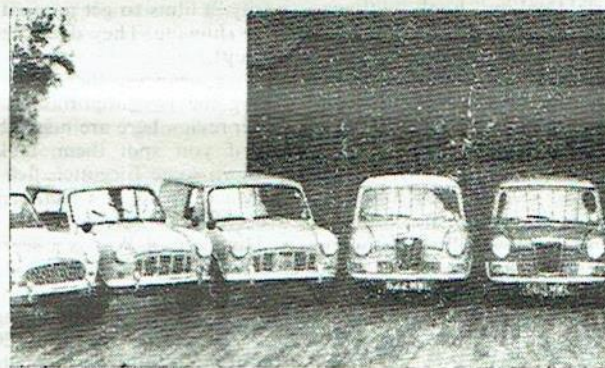
New scientific discoveries are patented by individual monopolies, and other firms who try to make use of the discoveries can be sued for infringement of copyright. The monopolies also thrive by deceiving the tax authorities and by concealed government cash handouts.

The left has opposed the Tory attitude to "planning" and incomes policy. Profits cannot be controlled under the capitalist system, where management is solely responsible to the employers and owners.

It is clear that the policies put forward by Harold Wilson will fail: it is utopian to expect capitalists and workers to act against their own interests, the one to control profits, the other to increase production without reward. The lack of success of the Monopolies Commission and the National Incomes Commission prove this.

Priority

The first priority of a Labour government, if it is to solve the problems of British industry, is to abolish the domination of capital and the attitude of "profit before people." Management must be made answerable to the workers and although this will involve re-



BMC: shortage of spare parts means major production hold up.

adaption and rethinking there is no reason to believe that the majority of employees engaged in management and "white-collar" occupations will be unco-operative.

It is the workers themselves who are best able to raise productivity by co-operating with one another in decision-making as well as in production. They will not co-operate if one section fears it will lose out financially or even face redundancy, a fear engendered by the profit system, which successfully divides white-collar and manual workers.

Skill

It is often said that workers' control and management are impracticable, because ordinary workers do not have the skill to deal with the complex problems which face management.

This attitude is unconsciously inherited from society and overlooks the benefits of both a socialist education system and co-operation between all sections of workers in industry, who will have at their command the technology of the computer, which enables decisions to be made more easily by representing the facts relevant to a decision in a clarified form.

A further advantage of the new technology is that alterna-

tive methods and decisions can be worked out at great speed. The efficiency of the method depends on the quality of the information fed to the computers.

In the capitalist system, workers have to be coerced into accepting the employers' terms. In a socialist society, workers will have direct control of production and their own decisions will be fed through the planning mechanism and the enterprises will be able to adjust their plans accordingly.

It would be possible to make the planning so flexible that a factory might at short notice decide to take a week's holiday, without causing any significant disruption to industry as a whole.

Confusion

There is widespread confusion over the difference between workers' control and workers' management. Workers' control of industry envisages a period of social crisis and upheaval, when workers have forcibly taken over individual industries even though there is still a pro-capitalist government in power.

Workers' management comes into operation when a socialist government has taken power and workers and sympathetic

management employees, scientists and technicians unite to run industry on a planned basis.

As a socialist, I do not claim that the problems of control of industry, far less those of society as a whole, can be all solved overnight. Nevertheless, if a future Labour government is prepared to appeal to people on the basis of a socialist programme which included workers' management and was not turned aside from such a course by threats of "liberation" from across the Atlantic, then we would have little to worry about.

There need be no fear of sabotage by management. Many involved in present-day management will have an important part to play in planning and decision-making.

Exploited

Management today contains some of the most exploited sections of the working class—the computer programmers and most junior managers, who are frustrated by the situation they find themselves in.

The transition to workers' management will be a process of mutual education. We are not facing the problems that starkly confronted the Soviet Union in 1917, of a shortage of people who had both the desire to make socialism work and the technical skills with which to do it.

**Ask your
trade union
or YS branch
to take a
standing
order for the
MILITANT**

IN VIEW

BOOKS

The Rise of the South African Reich by Brian Bunting. Penguin African Library 4s 6d
German Social Democracy 1918-1933 by Richard N. Hunt. London Yale University Press 56s

A Faith to Fight For by Eric Deakins. Gollancz 18s

Brian Bunting is an experienced and courageous South African journalist who worked on a number of left-wing papers that were either banned or forcibly shut-down by the Nationalist government. He lives and works in Britain as he finds it impossible to earn a living in his own country.

Having been arrested and tried under the Suppression of Communism Act, he knows at first hand how the Verwoerd government acts. He has written a powerful case history of South African nationalism—the white variety—and traces the rapid descent towards barbarism by successive governments led by Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd.

This is no superficial work by yet another angry "liberal." Mr. Bunting, who sat in parliament for a very brief time, as a Communist MP in 1952, has written an exhaustive analysis of white nationalism, tracing its roots back to the 17th and 18th centuries.

He tells dispassionately of the passing of one reactionary act after another, all designed to clamp down on free speech and the right to organise politically in opposition to apartheid, the banning of parties, the smashing of trade unions and their replacement by safe, puppet organisations designed to keep the "Bantu" shackled to avaricious capitalism.

Some of the most telling episodes deal with the role of the Nationalist Party in the second world war, when they consciously and deliberately worked for a Nazi victory, forming their own equivalents to the Blackshirts and the SS, expecting that when Hitler triumphed in Europe he would aid them in setting up their own totalitarian state.

Their brand of Nazism was to be called "Christian (sic) Nationalism": their papers were full of foul anti-semitism and racial prejudice.

One item emerges from the book that will be a fresh shock to most readers: that in 1924 the Labour Party, now virtually defunct, allied itself with the Nationalists in order to help the party that stood for vicious discrimination and white minority rule to form the government: it acquiesced in the reactionary measures the Nationalists put forward.

As Bunting says: "It is to the lasting disgrace of the Labour Party that, while preaching the brotherhood of man, it restricted that brotherhood to men with white skins only."

The author is content to let history slowly unroll and, because he avoids breast-beating and emotion, the story he tells is all the more terrible and worthy of serious attention.

Professor Hunt should also be congratulated on a work of considerable scholarship. Many socialists are happy to frequently disclaim at great length on the period of German history that led up to the advent of Hitler: the "lessons of pre-war Germany" is one of the most worked-over discussions in the left-wing manual.

But such discussions are usually only too superficial. With the dreadful disease of hindsight, so many modern "Leninists" can tell us they

pile slogan upon slogan, heap cliché on cliché, just what went wrong in the 20s and early 30s.

But the stock answers are no longer good enough. The Social Democratic Party aided by its inactivity, the coming to power of fascism, we are repeatedly told.

Yes, but why? Professor Hunt, though undoubtedly not a socialist, attempts to answer this question and by doing so has added a very useful volume to the socialist library.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany was the oldest socialist party in the world, the first mass working-class party, the pride of the whole international movement. But that once great party became an empty, bureaucratic shell, an adjunct of bourgeois law and order, that voted to support 'its' country in 1914 and ushered in the troops that brutally suppressed the Spartacist revolution in 1919 and smashed the chances of establishing a socialist Germany.

Professor Hunt carefully traces the history of this once-great party. He is not concerned here with the overall objective situation in Germany during the period—though he cannot ignore it—but mainly with the degeneration of the SPD within that framework.

It is an ugly picture of naked careerism overcoming socialist principles and expensive though the work is, it should be read by all thoughtful socialists who see the seeds of similar degeneration already flowering and multiplying in our own Labour Party.

Eric Deakins' book outlines his ideas on what socialism is and should be. It might seem rather cruel to dismiss it as stodgy and uninspired, for certainly the author cares strongly about his subject, but his book is so awkwardly written, his thoughts so confused and his bland ignorance of Marxism so jarring that few will read it with any great enjoyment.

By far the most interesting part of the book is the foreword by Tony Greenwood, MP, who castigates what he calls the "naive revisionism which still has its adherents in the Labour backwoods."

GET U.S. TROOPS OUT OF VIETNAM

John Riddell

(This article is reprinted from the Canadian paper "Young Socialist Forum," available from Box 939, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ont. Annual sub. 50c.)
THE US GOVERNMENT has been filling the headlines with its warnings that it will risk nuclear war rather than give up its attempt to "liberate" Vietnam.

What is the American army doing in Vietnam? Early in June American troops moved into an area of South Vietnam whose inhabitants were suspected of sympathy with the rebels. The "Vancouver Sun" report reads:

"Armed helicopters poured 3,000 rockets into villages along the river. They burned to the ground every hut they could find. Sampans were sunk and bullock carts were smashed."

"Some 700 women, old men and children were driven from the area. . . . About 1,000 tons of rice were destroyed. Thousands of animals were slaughtered or carried off. A 20 mile stretch . . . was left scorched and barren."

This was the first incident of the new American "scorched earth" policy, only a single incident of a war where the US government has taken on a whole nation and seems deter-

One passage in particular is worth repeating here:

"If a party is to have a reason for its existence it must have certain principles it seeks to apply, and not merely a machine with which to win positions of power, nationally and locally. And a party which believes in socialism must have firm socialist principles, the aims of which remain the same but the application of which must vary with changing circumstances."

"It was fear that the abandonment of principles was involved in the proposal to amend Clause 4 (which its critics seemed not even to have read before proposing its amendment) that produced such opposition from every shade of the Labour Party's wide political spectrum."

Our sectarian friends in the YS who, in the midsts of their political myopia see only scabs and traitors on every side, have recently dismissed Mr. Greenwood as a renegade because he is currently chairman of the Labour Party NEC!

He may not fit into any ready-made stereotype of a "good left-winger," but Mr. Greenwood is at times an eloquent enemy of reformists and revisionists. While he remains so he deserves to be considered seriously and not set upon by mindless morons outside Transport House.

FILMS

The Face of War (Gala Film Distributors)

The Lord of the Flies (British Lion)

A Hard Day's Night (United Artists)

With the cinema circuits tightly bottled up by two monopolies, Rank and ABC, it is almost impossible for interesting (labelled "off-beat" or "minority") films to get a country-wide showing. They don't make money!

Your chances, therefore, of seeing the two important films under review here are negligible, but if you spot them, tucked away in some forgotten flea-pit in Macclesfield or Cleethorpes, make the effort to see them.

The Face of War is a searing indictment of the modern society that has spawned hate and bloody destruction throughout the world in the 20th century. It pulls no punches, piling horror upon horror, massacre upon massacre, as it traces the brutality and misery in-

flicted upon the human race by those who seek merely to grab fresh lands, larger markets and greater profits.

Perhaps unconsciously, perhaps deliberately, the film proves that it is capitalism that is solely responsible for all the slaughter and carnage of the last 60 years. The film has its faults: like even the most bourgeois commentators today, it condemns unequivocally the first world war, but the nearer it gets to the present day, the safer it tries to play it.

The second world war was a "necessary evil"—and even as the indescribable atrocities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are paraded before us, the commentator repeats the Yankee "excuse" that by dropping the A-bombs they risked no American lives, only those of defenceless Japanese. But perhaps he was being cynical.

There is one important episode in which the film unquestioningly stands on the side of the working class and labour movement: the Soviet Revolution. It shows the incredible conditions of the Russian soldiers at the front as they were forced to fight without weapons for Tsar and country.

And the film proves that the darling of social democrats, Kerensky, failed not because of some wicked Bolshevik plot simply because he wanted to continue that war, continue to let thousands be mown down in the defence of reaction.

This is a very important film. Try to see it—and take with you any young people who, raised on a diet of pulp comics, think that war is "fun" and rather noble.

William Golding's novel "Lord of the Flies" is one of the most controversial and discussed modern works. Peter Brook's film version is disturbing and thought-provoking but is unlikely to be controversial for the simple reason that no one is anxious to give it showing.

When a group of young schoolboys are plane-wrecked on a desert island they quickly lose the thin veneer of civilization and, covered in war-paint, become young savages, hunting animals and lusting in the kill and murdering two of their companions who had refused to join their way of life.

Brook's film, shot several years ago but only now on limited show in Britain, was made on a shoe-string, using young boys with no previous

acting experience. Yet so good is the direction and so dramatic the story that the boy's inadequacies are soon forgotten.

But what is Golding saying? Most of the boys are from public schools, typical young blue-bloods, proud of being English (their leader looks like a young Ted Dexter). Is this an attack on class, on capitalism, or does Golding think that everyone, regardless of background, will revert to savagery if given the chance?

There are no easy answers to the questions posed by the book and the film, but they are worthy of serious consideration.

The third film is not only the worst, it scarcely merits mention in the same company as those already commented upon.

We are approaching the stage now when, as the Beatles reach new heights of bourgeois respectability and are feted by all those who would usually travel a good distance to avoid contact with working-class young people, it will soon be possible to coolly and calmly assess "Beatlemania," the most hideous and extreme exploitation of talent and youth's spending ability ever known.

Approaching, but not yet ready. All the critics of the respectable press have poured acres of praise upon the heads of Beatles and film director alike—but this is hardly surprising as most, if not all of these papers have, or will at some time, spend a great deal of money in promoting the Beatle cult themselves.

No film critic who savours his job would dare breathe a word of criticism of the young money-spinners. We, however, have nothing to lose.

It is a dreadful film. The Beatles, for at least two-thirds of its duration, are embarrassingly gauche in front of the camera. Alun Owen's much-praised dialogue must be amongst the corniest ever written for a major first-feature film.

The camera-work—full of speed-ups and slow-downs and strange angles—is Britain's "new wave"—but the *nouvelle vague* is pretty *vieux chapeau* these days.

But the film will make lots and lots of lovely money for all concerned, especially the circuit monopolists. That's why everyone can see it, if they haven't already done so.

And that's why you won't see *The Face of War* and *Lord of the Flies*.

R.P.

GET U.S. TROOPS OUT OF VIETNAM

to move arms and personnel into the south.

Their puppet dictatorship in the south refused to permit the elections and war broke out again—this time against American imperialism.

The US has tried just about everything in its war in Vietnam. It tried to force two-thirds of the population into "strategic hamlets"—which differ from concentration camps only in that inmates are allowed to leave to work in the fields during the day—under armed guard.

Most of the camps have been destroyed by Viet Cong attacks in union with the villagers inside. The US brought in helicopters—and the wrecks now litter the jungle.

In the past year they have backed three dictatorships, each as unpopular as the one before. They have attacked the forests with chemicals and the villagers with napalm bombs—60 per cent. of "Viet Cong" casualties are now inflicted by American troops.

As it became obvious that the rebels were winning the war, they threatened to extend it by invading independent North Vietnam. When this had no effect, they threatened war with China.

These threats were based on

charges of foreign intervention which have a strange ring: as Democratic Senator Wayne Morse has pointed out, the only foreign troops in Vietnam are the Americans themselves.

The Vietnamese are fighting for their independence and their right to determine their own future. The US has declared itself ready to plunge the world into war to prevent this.

Where does Canada stand? as a member of the Geneva commission, Canada is obliged to prevent foreign troops from entering Vietnam.

The only foreign troops in sight are 15,000 Americans. Has the Canadian government made any protests? New Democratic Party leader I. C. Douglas has demanded in parliament that Canada dissociate itself from the American imperialist policy.

Canada's prince of peace, Lester Pearson, refused to do so. In fact, Canada's representatives on the Geneva commission have persistently refused to take a stand against American intervention.

Canada must act to stop the war in Vietnam! As a member of the Geneva commission, Canada must demand withdrawal of American forces and assert the right of the Vietnamese to determine their own future!

THE MODS AND YS nail racialist lie

ROCKERS PROBLEM

Peter Taaffe
Walton YS

A SURVEY BY SMETHWICK Young Socialists found that only 77 of 1,000 people interviewed were afraid to go out at night because of immigrants.

Immigration has been deliberately made an election issue by Smethwick Tories as part of a campaign to unseat the sitting Labour MP, Patrick Gordon Walker.

Although Smethwick Tories deny coining the slogan "If you want a nigger neighbour, vote Labour," their leader on the town council, Alderman Peter Griffiths has made much of the immigrant "problem" and he recently stated that people living within five minutes of the Council House were afraid to go out at night because of disturbances by immigrants.

The YS survey set out to test public feeling on the matter. 1,000 people were asked if they were afraid to go out at night.

To the question, "Do you believe the statement to be true?" 32.5 per cent said "Yes." 51 per cent thought it was false.

82.8 per cent answered "No" to the question, "Are you afraid to go out at night. The remaining 17.2 per cent were afraid for varying reasons.

Of those who said they were frightened, 44 per cent (or 7.7 per cent of the total canvassed) gave the reason as "immigrants."

The Survey was conducted mainly in areas where most immigrants reside — Victoria, Sandwell, Spon Lane and Soho wards.

D. Harper, chairman of Smethwick YS and assistant secretary of the borough Labour Party, said that documented findings of the survey would go to both political groups on the council and to Patrick Gordon Walker.

Mr. Harper said the survey was not designed to politically discredit Alderman Griffiths. Its purpose was to give an accurate picture of the extent to which people in the town were indeed frightened to go out at night.

"We want the Labour group to convince people that the vast majority of residents (98.3 per cent) are not afraid to go out at night because of immigrants," he said.

IF THE KING OF PRUSSIA once said of his peasant army, "We are lost once the bayonets begin to think," then the capitalist class and their mouthpieces in the press must repeat this a thousand times in relation to young people of today.

Plaudits are heaped on Dr. George Simpson, the Margate magistrate, who said of the young people paraded before him, "You are the dregs of the vermin who infested the town;" all manner of social quacks rush forward with their "explanations"—too much money, lack of discipline, etc.

Any and every argument is valid so long as youth violence is not related to the social system. Even "The Times" descended from its lofty perch to inform us that "boys clubs" are the real answer to the problem.

Behind the vicious denunciations and subtle explanations is concealed a real fear of young people by the bosses. Although Mods and rockers comprise only a minority, they nevertheless reflect the conflict of our generation with corrupt Tory society.

The youth hauled before a magistrate at Hastings and fined £50 cannot fail to understand the hypocrisy of Tory elder statesmen who mouth phrases about "good citizenship." He will contrast their pompous moralising with the hate, greed and violence which are the very symbols of Tory society.

The punch-ups at Easter, Whitsun and August are child's play to the organised violence of the Rachmans and gangster landlords, the hooliganism of the government with its priority for nuclear weapons, carrying with it vast profits for the Ferranti's of this world, and the waste of young workers on the dole, condemned to fritter away their talents in enforced idleness.

We do not condone violence or hooliganism, but to those in the labour movement who dismiss the bank holiday clashes as such, we ask them to look at the cause not the effect.

The Puerto-Rican and Negro gangs who battle with each other in the slums of New York are no different from the Mods and Rockers here. Their

"battles" are blown up by the American press, just as Fleet Street set-up the south coast fracas involving a few hundred young people.

The press tycoons sell more papers and make more profits; the stories encourage other bored youngsters to join the gangs and ape their styles. The dance-hall owners, the dope peddlers and the vendors of cheap clothes also make more profits.

Only the youngsters themselves make nothing; they are merely the source of the exploitation.

Violence is rooted in the system we live in. When young people react in a wild, frenzied way against society they are condemned, fined and imprisoned.

But, as the "Daily Express" was quick to point out at Easter, while these "hooligans" are beating up a few jaded sea-side resorts, other young people are doing a fine job for "their" country in Aden and Malaysia and Cyprus.

To bomb defenceless villages and shoot poor peasants is all right, as far as the press and their owners are concerned. Organised, planned violence is OK when it is aimed to defend the interests and profits of the big oil companies.

The main concern of the magistrates who fined the Mods and Rockers was with the damage done to private property; they were less concerned with the fact that the brief holidays of some working-class families had been disrupted.

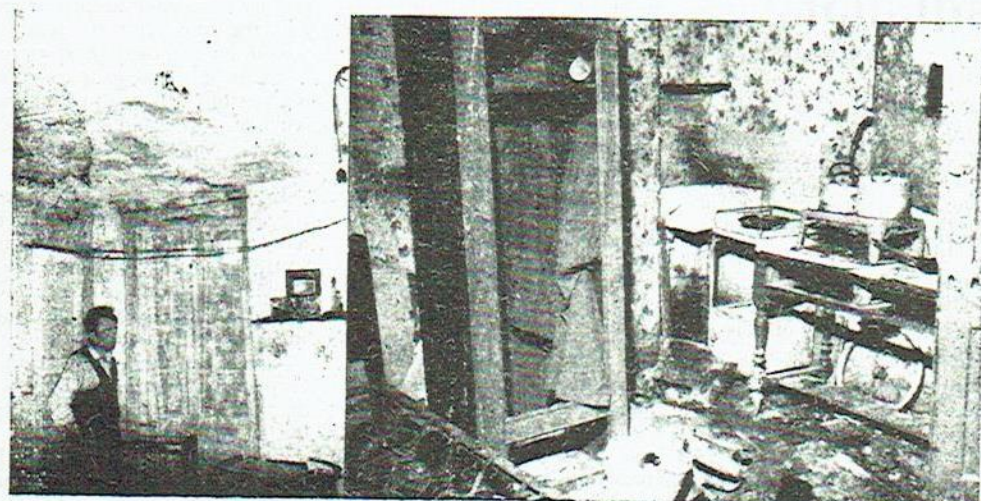
But property is all in Tory Britain. The mail train robbers received sentences far more vicious than those meted out to Nazi war criminals. The Nazis only murdered people!

Young Socialists should explain these facts to young workers who provide cheap entertainment for the jeering spectators in Fleet Street.

We can and must win to our movement these young people who unconsciously react with violence to the deadening blind alley of capitalism.

To do this does not mean, as some Young Socialists think, pandering to the backwardness of some young workers. It means transforming their negative, fratricidal struggles into a clear-cut fight against the bosses and their system.

Rachmanism - one example of a society that breeds violence



For further details and new subscription rates contact:—
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Letter

Tories, cash and the election

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN is in full swing. There is an exceedingly grave crisis ahead. It is whether an opposition party should be allowed to rule.

Our democracy does not just depend on the right of an opposition party to exist. It depends on the right of that opposition party to rule.

The Conservatives are busily undermining that right. Big business has taken over the running of the general election.

The Tories spend £1 million on the election.

The Liberals spend less than £100,000.

Labour spends £300,000.

Neither opposition party can hope to find as much cash as the Tories.

Who gives cash to the Tories? The merchants.

They regard it as an investment to keep the Tories in power. After all, what Tory would be so unsporting as to tax their fortunes.

However, who really pays for this election? The public. In fact anyone who pays the extra penny on well-known branded goods. So the public are unwittingly paying the Tories to stay in power.

The Tories employ the most underhand tactics to win votes. They prey on peoples ignorance, they pander to greed,

violence, sexual lust, aggressive-ness, in fact all the base feelings.

They conceal the truth deliberately. The Tories have outdone Dr. Goebbels.

This is a travesty of democracy and an insult to the British people. An election should be conducted with dignity. It should not be run like a TV commercial.

The Tories are making parliament into a cheap comic opera punctuated by sickly smiles and sugary soothing from Uncle Smart-Alec. The Tories have become one big mutual back-slapping club whose aim is to deceive the public with slick salesmanship.

Labour must rise and defend the old virtues of honesty, unselfishness and dedication to duty.

Election expenditure must be limited to £100,000 per party. It would permit the minority parties to afford seats in parliament.

No private company should be allowed to support a political party.

DAVID SEAGRAVE
Hampstead YS

We hope to make a lively correspondence page a major feature of the paper. Letters are welcome on all subjects. Please keep them as brief as possible.

POEM TO THE SAILORS OF THE AMERICAN WARSHIP "OXFORD" CRUISING OFF HAVANA HARBOUR, APRIL 27th, 1964

Do you really want to kill all the people on this island?

Is your weaponry bow and arrows, ballistae, or good old clean H-bombs?

In any case they ought to be able to do an effective job

of knocking down the new model housing units; demolishing the theatre where Alonzo danced

"The Black Swan" last night;

and demonstrating the well known thesis that you have to hit the other guy first,

even if he weighs 50 pounds less and wears a funny foreign beard—

Of course you'll lose a man or two yourself, but that doesn't matter, does it?

And when you take over here the gambling casinos will open again;

and whores will walk on the Prado tempting the clean-cut Yankee sailors

for the price of two bucks American;

and maybe Batista can get a piece of the game again;

and the price of sugar on the world market

will drop 2 points;

and the blacks here may have to use a different toilet—
Think of, sailor—

lounging out there under a green horizon, where the seabirds sing privileged lullabies occasionally overheard, and heat is an irritating thing from the sun around the crotch of your pants,

and the natural swagger of youth has turned to the cocksure grin of power

on the face of a likeable dangerous freckled boy from Illinois or Ohio—

Well son, what are you thinking of out there?

It couldn't be Lincoln—

AL PURDY

(From Fair Play for Cuba Committee's summer bulletin, available from FPCC Box 923, Adelaide St. PO, Toronto, Ont. Canada.)

Terry Harrison
Walton YS

WILL A LABOUR GOVERNMENT reintroduce conscription? This is a problem the labour movement cannot ignore.

The 1964 Young Socialists' conference declared itself against conscription in any shape or form. The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, whilst agreeing with this resolution in principle, said they must support the re-introduction of the call-up in the event of a national emergency.

Who are right? The YS, in their complete opposition to the call-up, or Labour's executive who, by "national emergency," mean a threat, in some shape or form, to British capitalism?

For young workers in Britain and the people of those countries still under the direct or indirect rule of Britain, this is a vital question.

When Labour took power from the Tories in 1945, the government inherited many of the problems which the Tories had been unable to solve. One of the major ones was the struggle of the colonial people for freedom and independence from British rule.

India, Burma and Ceylon were given their independence, but only after a protracted struggle had been waged by the masses of those countries. But the Labour government held on to the other colonies, which were vital to British big business if it were to continue to screw vast profits out of the poverty-stricken people who lived there.

To hold on to these territories Britain needed a highly trained and well-equipped army. Labour's problem was that the British people were sick of war.

Employment was rising as a result of vast post-war reconstruction and the army was no longer an attractive meal ticket, as it had been in the 1930s for hundreds of thousands of workers on the dole.

The British army could not find new recruits to do the dirty work for big business in the colonies. Anxious to help, the Attlee government brought in the call-up.

Young workers were taken from their jobs and families, thrust into uniform and sent to hot-spots like Malaya where they joined in the savage, often barbarous slaughter of the people fighting for freedom.

In a bloody atmosphere of "might over right," many young workers forgot their class interests and became willing tools of the army officers, who offered prize money for the decapitated bodies of Malayan rebels.

Little has changed since then. £2,000 millions per year of the tax payers' money goes on defence ("attack" would be a better word).

Britain's NATO and SEATO commitments involve thousands of men for two great armies poised and openly prepared for war with the eastern block countries.

Britain's UN commitments

The horror and misery of the Korean War (taken from the documentary film 'The Face of War,' reviewed on page 6) shows the dead and the dying left in the wake of the UN war waged for democracy (i.e. Yankee-backed dictatorship in South Korea) against 'dictatorship' (i.e. democratic people's government in North Korea). The last Labour government enthusiastically supported this bloody war, in which thousands were burnt to death by napalm bombs. British workers were conscripted to fight in the UN forces and old-age pensioners had to pay health service charges to help pay for the war. Here is the real meaning of capitalist war and conscription.



SAY NO TO THE CALL UP

are made in order to prove that the Tory government is "peace loving." Though these commitments are financially crippling they have to be maintained in order that the Tories can foster the myth that Britain is still a world power.

Children are taught at school that the army is needed to protect "us" from enemy attack, but a study of the colonial wars fought by Britain show that, on the contrary, the army is maintained to fight at all costs to defend profits and property.

If Labour forms a government this autumn, they will once again inherit problems that are growing daily more critical. British Guiana, Cyprus, Borneo, Swaziland, Kenya, Southern Arabia and Malaysia are the new "hot-spots" where big business interests must be maintained.

But the defence of profits in these countries is stretching to breaking point the famous "thin red line" of the British armed forces.

Ramsden, the Tory Minister for War, (and surely, to be consistent, the Tories should call him "Minister for Peace") has admitted that recruiting is his greatest problem. Another is the quality of the recruits he does manage to get.

The war machine is becoming technically complex. Every year industry skims off the

cream of the school leavers.

Those left who are cajoled into the armed forces do not have the ability required by many sections of the machine.

Conscription can solve most of these problems that are worrying the Tories, the employers and certain influential Labour spokesmen, ever anxious to fight and die for British capitalism or, better still, to get others to fight and die for them.

"Colonel" George Wigg has waged a consistent campaign on behalf of Her Majesty's Forces in the House of Commons. His Labour colleague, Reginald Paget, sympathised with Ramsden's recruiting problem on December 9, 1963.

He reflected that he had similarly felt sympathy for Ramsden's predecessor, John Profumo. "I regretted," said Paget, "I though sitting on this side of the House, the disaster which befell the Right Honourable gentleman."

He was referring to Profumo's lack of army recruits, not his misfortune of being caught in bed with a lady other than his wife. And Mr Paget went on to emphasise his allegiance to socialist principles by advocating the recruitment to the army of unemployed colonial workers.

Army officers are still recruited almost solely from the

public schools and the upper middle class. They are diehard reactionaries to a man who use recruit and conscript soldiers as pawns in power politics.

Every soldier who is posted to the colonies is trained in internal security methods. Baton-charges, bayonets, tear-gas and bullets—these are the answers to demonstrations by colonial workers.

The brutal repression of trade unionists in Swaziland a few months ago and the swift airlift of British troops to that country show the real nature of army life and its intimate relations with big business.

The Special Air Service and, to a lesser degree, the airborne forces and commandos are highly adaptable to guerilla and anti guerilla warfare.

Soldiers are not allowed to join trade unions or political parties but are constantly brainwashed by the "Land of Hope and Glory" attitude of the officer class.

If fellow workers in the colonies make a "take-over bid" against British rule, or trade unionists assert themselves in Aden or the Shell oil interests in Southern Arabia are threatened, will a Labour government term these "national emergencies"? Will they bring back the call-up?

The labour movement must declare itself against conscription in any form and call instead for the immediate withdrawal of all troops from the colonies and overseas posts.

Instead of fighting to hang on to ill-gotten gains, a Labour government must grant independence to colonial countries, give them the right to choose their own governments free from British interference and give them financial and economic help without strings.

The people of the world will watch with keen interest how a Labour government acts in foreign affairs. The labour movement in Britain must jealously guard its tradition for international solidarity and make sure that a Wilson government's foreign policy is a socialist one, not one geared to the murky interests of big business and bribery.

TORIES from page one

The arms race abroad and the recurrent balance of payments crises at home demand a socialist solution to the problems facing British workers.

In August the government and industry "misplaced" millions of pounds worth of exports. If this is how Tory planning works, the case for nationalisation has never been stronger.

The private joint stock banks, the insurance companies and 400 combines and monopolies control the major part of the economy of Britain. The leaders of the Labour Party have pledged themselves only to renationalise steel, road transport and water.

This would leave the control of the major sectors of the economy in the same ruthless hands as at present. Big business would continue its parasitic grip on the lives of the British people.

They would sabotage and undermine any reforms introduced by a Labour government. It is impossible to organise and control the resources of Britain while the octopus of private ownership of the major resources remains.

Without a fight against big business and the monopolies, high finance would play cat and mouse with a Labour government.

It is time to launch a campaign to take over the land, the 400 big combines, the banks and insurance companies—all the institutions that dominate and seek to control our lives—with the minimum compensation to the blue bloods who own them.

If the labour movement used the resources of the trade unions, local Labour parties and co-operative societies to prepare a detailed plan of production for the next five years, on the basis of state ownership of all industry employing more than 20 workers, drawing in shop stewards, technicians and even small shopkeepers (who, despite their conservatism, are the next to be axed by the monopolies) they could draw up a perspective of undreamed of increases in wealth and standards of living.

A campaign along these lines could mobilise and rouse the overwhelming majority of the workers and middle class.

This is the only "realistic" and "practical" plan which could guarantee victory for Labour at the polls and assure a change in society that would make a return to Tory reaction impossible. Labour may well win without such a programme, but it will surely go down to bitter defeat, crushed by big business.

Capitalism, which once played a necessary and progressive role in developing society, has now become a monstrous incubus to it and must be replaced if the world is to go forward.

If Labour's foreign policy, instead of dragging in the wake of the Tories, was directed at linking the economies of Europe and the undeveloped areas, it would be a means of showing to the people that their interests are no different to those of the Russian, German, Japanese, Indian, American or Chinese people.

In place of the narrow nationalism of capitalism, which has resulted in two devastating world wars and now threatens humanity with nuclear extermination, Labour should put the internationalism of socialism.

A socialist policy at home and abroad could gain the support of the overwhelming majority of the British people.

It is the only policy which guarantees a future for the labour movement, a Labour government and ultimately all mankind.

MPs admit soldiers live in squalor

THE CLASS-RIDDLED NATURE of the armed forces was brought home to soldiers and civilians by a report published in August.

Prepared by a Select Committee of MPs, it admitted that ordinary soldiers live in squalor while officers are provided with luxury accommodation.

The all-party MPs recommend a drastic overhaul of Ministry of Defence spending.

The committee found in Gibraltar that luxury flats are being built for officers at a cost of £9,000 each while not far away 200 rank and file soldiers and their families are living in rented accommodation "well below the standard a serviceman overseas is entitled to expect."

At El Adem in Libya some married quarters have cost more than £9,000 each. But other service families in nearby Tobruk are "living in squalor."

Gibraltar boasts a well-appointed gymnasium and a beautifully-fitted hairdressing salon. These, say the MPs, "may be desirable in themselves," but they are ludicrous when compared with caravans, provided partly from charitable funds, which are eagerly sought by naval families in preference to official accommodation.

The report also revealed that army brass-hats are not above a little property speculation.

In Hong Kong the MPs found that the War Office had sold 20½ acres of land to the local

"socialist" government for £3 million.

But the Hong Kong government are better speculators than the army colonels. They resold one acre of land within a very short space of time for £890,000, to the builders of a new Hilton hotel.

The MPs also found that £1,300,000 a year is spent on domestic servants for officers in Hong Kong and Singapore.

This evidence shows that officers live in splendid luxury, with servants at their beck and call, while other ranks live in squalid conditions. But when it comes to fighting, it is the "other ranks" who do the dirty work.