

YOUNG GUARD

No. 16. MARCH 1963

4d.

While Capitalism Fiddles.....

With all the double handed treachery which marks the way capitalists conduct their relationships with each other, the door of the Common Market has been slammed in MacMillan's face.

Despite talk about "a great victory for reason" and "the saving of independence and the British way of life", being heard even in some quarters of the Labour movement, Labour can spare no time for irrelevant plaudits now being offered for the "glittering alternative" of Empire and E.F.T.A.

Other more significant words are being spoken by the Tories which Labour must take note of and act on, before it is too late. British capitalism is now faced with a major problem of how to get in to a position to meet the intensive growth of competition from the United States, Germany and elsewhere.

It must reduce costs and above all the size of the wage packets it is paying to the workers. In one sentence this means an accelerated drive to more automation and redundancies in industry coupled with the spreading and intensifying of a wage freeze.

Already the Tories, and their magazines such as "The Statist" and "The Economist" are spelling this lesson out plainly for all to see. Thus the

Economist leader writer;

"From membership of Europe's broad market we hoped to get the chance of bringing the SHAPE AND SIZE (my capitals) of investment, in quality and kind of investment, in line with the sternest and best twentieth-century requirements. Now we have to pursue the same purposes by other means, which will be painful and may have to be unorthodoxly novel".

From such ministers as Home "now is the time for work, work and more work", Hailsham "we must tighten our belts" and Macmillan himself "shoulder behind the wheel", the initial propaganda campaign is getting under way in preparation for an intensive attack on wages and living standards.

Never in its history did British capitalism need more investment in the flagging industries which, in the soft boom years since the war, have been picked clean of profits by the bosses. The savings for this investment can only come, under capitalism, from the workers.

If the U.S.A. is any precedent, and it usually is, then it is clear that unemployment is going to be here to stay. As the bosses are forced to instal cheaper machines, we can expect a rising level of residual unemployment which will be little affected by

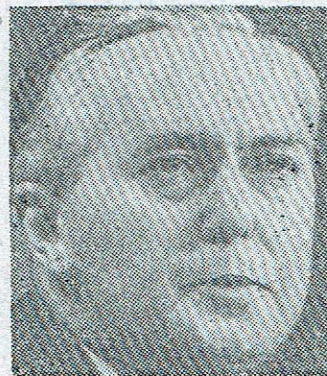
any of the Tory gimmicks such as lower purchase tax and so on.

Indeed if the Tories get their way and get an agreement with the American and the E.F.T.A. capitalists for a major cut in tariffs we can expect to see some worsening of the position. It is noticeable in this connection that the Tories have raised dole payments although they won't come into force until May, indicating that unemployment will prove more than a phenomenon of the ice and snow.

The lessons for Labour are clear. With an election imminent and the need to wed the working millions of this country firmly to Socialism it is vital that the Party and Trade Unions prepare now to combat this new Tory offensive being mounted. They must also prepare their demands for "work or full pay" and also for the nationalisation under workers control of those industries suffering under the Tory blight.

Labour must see now that fiddling palliatives such as the "use of Industrial Development Certificates" and tax and other fiscal measures "to stimulate" the economy are hopelessly inadequate.

In some conditions a patient will benefit from such medicine...such is the ailment of the British economy that the only answer is the surgeon's knife, to remove the disease of capitalism.



LABOUR MUST ACT!

YOUNG GUARD REPORTS

N.E.B.

'Young Guard' is an open and democratic paper produced and financed entirely by Young Socialists. Its editorial policy is generally representative of the Young Socialist Movement and its pages open to young people of all opinions. It is run by its readers who hold regular readers' meetings wherever there is support and elect representatives to an editorial board which meets quarterly. This editorial board elects the editor and assistant editors necessary to produce the paper. 'Young Guard' is financed by its supporters who contribute up to 2/6 monthly towards the printing costs. Our basic points of editorial policy are enumerated below. These can be changed at any time that the readers decide.

OUR AIMS

OUR AIMS

Unilateral renunciation of all nuclear weapons and the withdrawal from NATO and all existing military alliances;

The return of a Labour Government, nationalization under workers' control of the banks, insurance companies, land and major industries;

The self-determination of the colonial peoples and the withdrawal of all British troops from overseas;

An internationalist policy based on co-operation with genuine labour movements throughout the world;

Votes and full legal rights at 18;

Three-year apprenticeships, full trade union rights and the ending of blind-alley employment; free access to the highest educational facilities for all and the replacement of the tripartite system of education by comprehensive schooling;

The building of a democratic Young Socialist movement within the Labour Party pledged to achieve the above programme working in conjunction with young socialists from other countries.

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172 Queensbridge Rd., E.8
To: Jenny Davison

Who says it is not possible to have a democratically run Young Socialist paper with representatives from every region on the Editorial Board and all sections of opinion represented?

The weekend of January 19th and 20th saw delegations from every region making their way to Nottingham and back home, through some of the worst weather and travelling conditions of our long snowed-up winter, for the Annual General Meeting of the quarterly held Young Guard National Editorial Board meetings. Some came by bus over the Pennines, some hitched from Leeds, a van that looked like a "Meat" wagon, but now where near as comfortable, brought over a dozen delegates and visitors from the Glasgow area overnight, and a car load got stuck in a snow drift in a snow storm on the way back to London.

The meeting was held over "The Foxhound" Pub in a working class area of Nottingham, from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. Saturday and 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. Sunday.

From the previous minutes it was pointed out that whilst all positions came up for election at this meeting, that all elected were subject to recall at any National Board meeting.

Business and Circulation reports were given and will be found in detail elsewhere. These two positions were merged and the idea to have the job done in Glasgow was defeated. Reports from all regions were given, progress being made in most areas, witness the increased, national circulation and improved paper.

Out of the Editorial Report it was agreed that in future each month issue be published on the 25th of the previous month. A resolution from London calling for a more campaigning paper turned outward to give a political lead to young people and more factual articles backed by concrete demands, was agreed overwhelmingly. An apprentices pamphlet would be produced in time for the Young Socialist conference. A resolution from East Midlands that the Working Editorial Board be situated in Glasgow where the paper is printed was defeated.

A short discussion sparked off by "Youth for Socialism" a policy for youth produced and supported by some Young Guard supporters, on the need for a 'programme for youth' was led by Peter Taafe (Birkenhead). Finally it was decided that over the next six months, amendments to this and alternative documents be produced at individuals own expense and circulated throughout Young Guard circles, culminating in the N.E.B. after next agreeing the final Y.G. document.

An excellent clear resolution from Leeds moved by Chris Harmon called on all Y.G. supporters to conduct a huge campaign throughout the Labour movement in defence of the Young Socialists against the attacks from Transport House.

Resolutions from Merseyside and Leeds criticising the Young Guard supporters on the National committee of the Young Socialists, and the Working Editorial Board members for failing to give a decisive lead to the Young Socialists on the Expulsions and Prescriptions, were defeated.

The next National Editorial Board meet-

ing is on April 27th and 28th, and you can have your say by selling and supporting the paper. That Young Guard can be run by the voluntary effort of Young Socialists in such a democratic manner, proves the lie of the N.E.C. and their full time stooges with all the machinery and means of the Labour Party at hand, that it is not possible to have a democratic New Advance, and that the Young Socialists are not capable of running their own organisation. The truth is that they are afraid of a large Young Socialist movement revitalising the Labour Movement and committing it to a militant socialist policy which will undermine their bureaucratic behaviour.

Keith Dickenson
N. Paddington Y.S.
South West

The resignations from the NC have served at least one useful purpose; they have stimulated branches in the Gloucester area to show some militancy against the attempted Transport House domination (This is unprecedented in this area).

A resolution prepared by the ex-NC member for the South-West, Jim Barnes, calling for reorganisation of the YS structure and a change in the attitude of the Right Wing towards the YS has been passed by the Gloucestershire Federation.

The Cheltenham YS have passed a vote of no confidence in their prospective Parliamentary candidate who by all reports resembles the NEC Organisation Sub-Committee rolled into one.

The MP for Gloucester, Jack Diamond, has already had several angry clashes with the Gloucester YS over his pro-Common Market and Right Wing views. He recently attempted to persuade the GMC of the Party from inviting Michael Foot to open their new Party HQ. Fortunately for party democracy the GMC sent Diamond packing.

Jim Barnes reports some strange behaviour by the Regional Youth Officer, Paul Carmody, Comrade Carmody made a habit of inviting the previous NC member, John Dickinson, to address YS meetings throughout the region. Despite the fact that he was elected in April 1962, Jim Barnes has yet to be invited by Comrade Carmody to address any meeting. There are no prizes for guessing the political views of the two comrades.

Mike Coggins
Gloucester Y.S.
East London

In East London there is the base for a strong federation. Unfortunately in the past few months the delegates from branches have been spasmodic in their attendance and as a result some of the excellent day schools arranged were poorly advertised and poorly supported.

Only the efforts of comrades like Cliff Cover of Hackney YS held the federation together. The AGM is on 28th February and by the time comrades read this there seems sure to be a new spirit and enthusiasm in East London. For we are determined to make it the powerful vehicle necessary to forward socialism in East London.

Meanwhile the epic struggle of East Islington YS continues against not only the local party but the NEC who recently upheld the decision to exclude Gus Mc-

Donald from party membership. Little co-operation is being received from Transport House about the outstanding membership applications of over a dozen other YS members. The East Islington comrades hope that all branches will support their demands for full recognition and their right to delegates to the London region and National YS Conferences. In London Young Guard continues to go from strength to strength. Last month circulation in the region jumped by nearly 300 copies and the readers meetings are now attracting about 80 supporters who decide the policy and structure of the paper.

Scotland

Scotland - Clydeside - Unemployment they have been synonymous in the Labour movement for a long time but to-day they have achieved greater importance. It was around the fight against Unemployment that resolutions to the A.G.M. of the reinstated Glasgow Y.S. Federation were framed. At this meeting quite a few theories were proved about a few so-called revolutionaries when these people took part in some shady tactics. The duty of the Y.S. Federation must be to build new branches in Glasgow as well as strengthen those already existing. Gorbals Y.S. have started out on this, with a campaign for membership for Adult Party and Young Socialists. New Y.S. branches are to be started - Bridgeton being the first. Govan and Gorbals Y.S. have both given their support to Gus Macdonald - in his fight to join the East Islington Labour Party.

The Youth Officer's Report to the "Second" Annual Regional Conference of Scottish YS (it is really the first) makes depressing reading. Last year there were 72 known branches. This year there are only 48. And of these only about 27 are of reasonable size and active. There is no mention in the Report of the reasons for this sharp drop in membership and interest. Perhaps the main one is that the YS in Scotland have been completely ignored by the party officials. Branches in outlying areas have been deserted, and have faded away. In a huge area like Scotland it is more than ever important that contact is maintained between branches and Federations. The work done by the new Youth Officer, John Muir, to convene this conference 'may prove a bright omen for the coming year.'

In Lanarkshire, the federation can't get off the ground - which is the fault more of the YS themselves than the party officials. There seem to be people in the movement who simply refuse to call Federation meetings once they have gained power in them. This sort of thing will destroy the YS faster than all the bureaucrats will ever do.

Jimmy McCallum
Govan Y.S.

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Songs of hope and survival

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London, E.8

Y.S. NATIONAL COMMITTEE FROM WHERE I STAND:

The National Committee of the Y.S. is in ruins, destroyed by the Transport House machine. Of the eleven members elected last Easter only two remain. Three members were expelled because of their alleged connections with the paper Keep Left, yet when they were elected by their regions the paper had not been proscribed. Their crime seems to have been that they were popular enough to have been elected to the National Committee. Four others have resigned refusing to be used as a cover for the ruthless attacks being made on sections of the Left. We stand by them in their action. Dave

Abblitt and Janet Dugdale (the acting Chairman) withdrew during the same session. **Young Guard** is disturbed by these latest developments in our unfortunate NC but we fully support the actions of these six comrades. Slandering attacks have been made on the two comrades who withdrew but did not resign. Their decision to withdraw was taken for principled reasons and by nominally remaining on the NC they have prevented Transport House from replacing them by their runners up. Only two now remain on the Committee. Have these comrades the support of the

young socialists in their region? It is important but it is the job of the YS conference in April to show them what our movement thinks of people who condone the destruction of democracy in the Y.S.

The fight inside the Y.S. must go on. Socialism and Democracy are synonymous but the Right Wing seem determined that we should have neither. Let us show them through our decisions at regional and national conferences that we shall defend both to the last. The Labour Party can only benefit from a strong and democratic Young Socialist movement.

a column

by 'Fianna'

Watch Out!

Watch out! When ever I hear the expressions "shoulder behind wheel" - "all pull together" - "greater national effort" etc etc I start getting apprehensive. When these words come from Tory ministers after having their faces rubbed in it by de Gaulle then it is certain that they are planning to tighten their grip on the workers' wage packets. We have seen far too often that it is the workers who will make the "sacrifices" the "effort" and so on and not the idle loafers whose only occupation is to clip shares or sit in ministerial seats in the Tory Government.

Brunei Barbarism.

Of course it is us also who will have to pay for the cost of sending the battalions of troops out to Singapore and Brunei to help force the Malaysian Federation down the throats of the people, who in the case of Brunei have voted overwhelmingly against it.

The usual excuse about Communists has been used as a cover to round up hundreds of trade unionists and members of the Barisan Socialist Party in Singapore. The funny thing is, as a comrade from that part of the world told me the other day, the local CP is very suspicious of the policies of the Barisan Socialist Party. Here is a clear case of the army being used as a kind of gangster strong arm patrol to guard the interests of the estate planters and the oil kings. Labour must use every weapon at hand in a campaign to put a stop to this and get the release of all our comrades in Singapore.

... and Indian intolerance ...

Just nearby another old old story is being played out. Under the excuse of the emergency of the Chinese invasion, the Indian ruling class is slapping down on the Labour movement and throwing hundreds of industrial militants into jail. (In one strike recently police attacked workers demonstrating for a wage of about 15s. a week).

Torn between their masters in Moscow and Peking the local Communists do not know whether to praise the success of the military dictatorship of the Chinese ruling class or the "progressiveness" of the Russian bosses in sending Nehru Mig fighters for his air force. In neither case has one child been fed nor the position of one worker been strengthened by the thugs in Delhi, Peking or Moscow.

One branch—One vote. ...

A great deal will depend on the outcome of the forthcoming YS annual conference. It is essential that every branch is represented by a delegate and that we speak as one against the victimisation of our comrades on the National Committee and demand full democracy in the Y.S.

I hope professional scabs like Master Davy Warburton are made to account to their YS branches in their regions for taking positions on the National Committee after their candidature was thrown out by those same branches last year.

Why we Resigned

MALCOLM TALLANTIRE
(London Middlesex)

On the 12th Jan. four members of the YS National Committee resigned and two withdrew from active participation. As usual the official channels of the Labour Party have been used to misrepresent the actions of these comrades in leaving a completely undemocratic committee where attempts to implement YS decisions had been continually obstructed. It is of the utmost importance that the membership should understand the reasons that led to our resignation.

Since the first NC met in 1961, it has been clear that it was intended to be a talking shop, powerless to implement the policy of the YS. For instance, the resolutions passed by the 1st Annual Conference were largely ignored and only the resolution 'expressing concern at the activities of Keep Left' was acted on with any enthusiasm. The excuse that they were contrary to official party policy was used at every turn but when resolutions calling for a campaign against Polaris were passed, in line with conference decisions, they were all rejected.

Unlike the 1961 NC, that elected last Easter had a clear left-wing majority. Transport House reacted with a swiftness born of fear. Almost at once four NC members were suspended including myself. After investigation I was reinstated but the other three were expelled. Their expulsion was the final blow to a committee which had been unable to make any binding decisions during its existence. We were told that no attempt would be made to replace them by democratic means.

The issue at stake is democracy. We will not be party to any attempt to destroy it.

ADRIAN JONES
(Wales)

I believe that none of the members who resigned would have done so, had there been elections in the 'axed' regions to ensure just one representative meeting before the next YS Conference.

In fact the NC had asked the NEC to convene elections and call a full NC meeting within two months. Reg Underhill told us just before we resigned that the NEC did not even discuss this request, so he took it upon himself to install the runners-up. He assures us that this was done with the best of intentions to comply with our request. I quite believe

him-but this is only part of the issue. Why were we led to believe that elections would be convened? and why was the committee not consulted before runners-up were installed. Why did Reg Underhill try to cover up by saying afterwards that to instal rejected candidates was constitutionally correct if previously he had led the NC to believe that there would be elections should expulsions occur? He cannot have it both ways.

Who is right? Nine members of the NC and the entire Left of the movement or Bessie Braddock, Reg Underhill and Vician.

In his *New Advance* editorial of Feb., Underhill mentions casually, that three of the NC were expelled. I hate to be cynical but dare we ask why?

He discreetly fails to mention why the four members resigned but implies that they are organised YS branch destroyers.

In a nutshell the NC was faced with the choice of serving the Transport House oligarchy or the young socialists who elected them. As far as I am concerned, having been elected to reflect the left-wing opinion which my region adheres to, on a committee which has been ridiculed and is constitutionally incapable of achieving anything the NEC frowns on, my position is such that to continue on this unrepresentative body would equal betrayal of my comrades who elected me to vote for their interests.

JIM BARNES
(South West)

It all boils down to a question of democracy. I am a member of the Labour Party because I believe emphatically in democracy and see Socialism as an extension of it. When there is a lack of democracy in what should be the instrument for extending it then there is need for drastic action.

It is obvious that the NEC does not wish the NC to represent the real feelings and views inside the YS. The inquiries, the suspensions, the expulsions and the fact that a Transport House official edits *New Advance* show the official intolerance.

If a stand is not made to show that we are not going to accept this treatment, then next year's committee will undergo the same humiliation and the YS will remain powerless at national level. I think the only way the YS has a chance of expanding is by changing the constitution to leave us with much greater responsibilities for running our own movement.

BOB GILLESPIE
(Scotland)

I have been forced to resign my position as a member of the National Committee of the Young Socialists because of what in my view have been blatantly undemocratic measures and suspicious attitudes adopted by Transport House in their dealings with the YS, and also because of the restrictions placed on the constitution of the YS by the same people, with the aim of effectively putting an end to any useful socialist work that the NC might be able to perform.

There is a very evident lack of democracy in the Labour Party; I have experienced it at every level of activity. I refer to the investigations, disbandment, expulsions proscriptions and so on undertaken by Transport House and other local bodies without consultation with the National Committee. My resignation is not only an expression of my personal disgust at undemocratic procedures; I also hope that by resigning to show clearly where the blame for the ineffectiveness of the NC lies - with Transport House again who formulated the YS constitution.

why I withdrew
DAVE ABLITT
(East Midlands)

Crisis again loms over the Young Socialist movement. The collapse of the National Committee and the tendency of some people to believe that the YS can exist without the Labour Party makes the task of building a mass YS movement a difficult one.

These latest developments in the unfortunate history of our NC are disturbing but the six members could see no alternative if the NC was not to become a puppet of the NEC. National Conference must support and re-elect the members concerned. All genuine young socialists must condemn and reject the slanders which have been made against Janet Dugdale and myself, for our action in withdrawing was taken for principled reasons and by nominally remaining on the NC we have prevented Transport House from replacing them by their runners up. We ask that the YS and the labour movement give their full support to all six members, and to reject the slanders and rumours put around by people who suffer from the "infantile disorder of ultra-leftism".

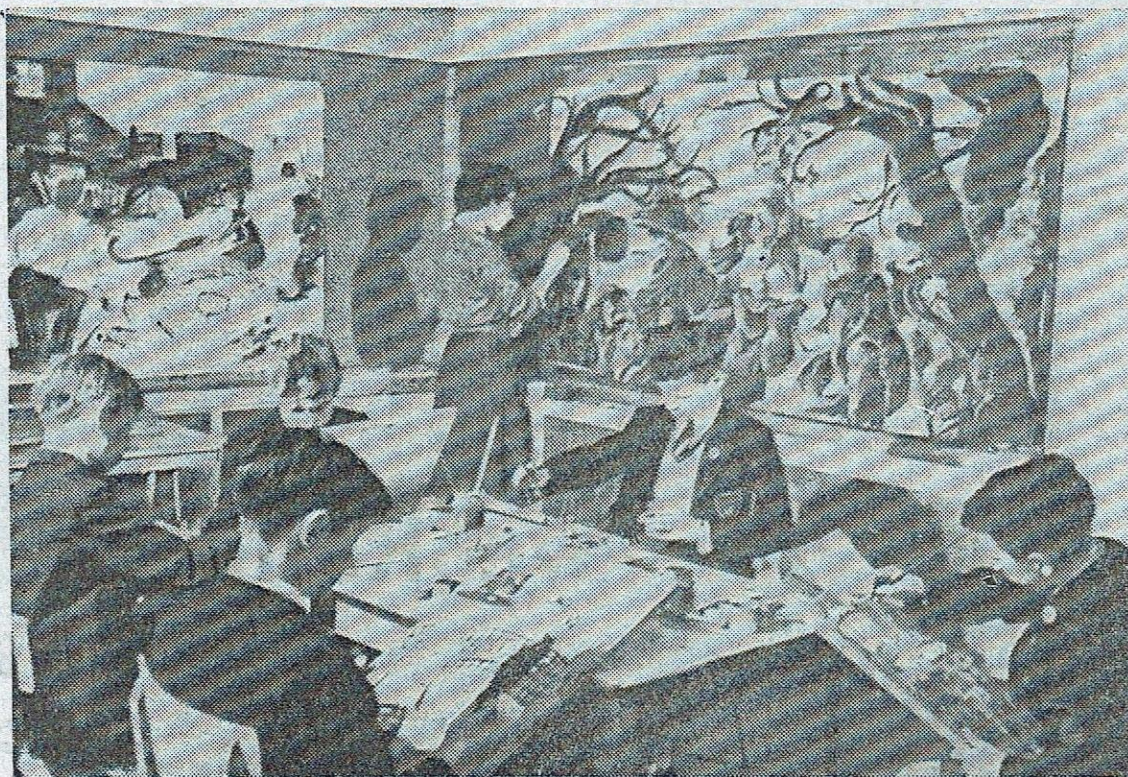
EDUCATION IN

A Feature

by London Young Socialists

'Here you go up the line; fail to get into the A stream at 8; get in the A stream but fail the 11 plus; pass the eleven plus but fail to get O level; get O level but fail A level; pass A level but fail to get to university; get to university but fail to get a first class honours degree. And only .001 per cent come out at the end with success'.

Paterson



Who Gets Where?

MARION HIGGINS, Harrow Central Y.S.

Education today clearly serves the needs of capitalist society, and starting from unequal beginnings, aggravates inequalities in order to give each class what it requires in adult life. Basically the main reasons for the reforms which have taken place is economic necessity rather than educational theory. The rise of state grammar schools illustrates this. Their pupils man the institutions and machinery of our advanced state. Theoretically it is possible for any child to reach the upper levels of the educational ladder, but if we look at the figures we find that the proportions are by no means equal. The working class child is discriminated against in education right from the start. Jean Floud's survey of schooling in South-West Hertfordshire and Middlesex, called *Social Class and Education Opportunity* shows that in 1952 51 per cent of candidates from middle class homes were awarded grammar school places in South-West Hertfordshire, as against 27 per cent lower middle class candidates and 15 per cent working class. In Middlesborough the percentage of candidates awarded grammar school places was; middle class, 68 per cent, lower middle class 27 per cent, and working class, 12 per cent. When we consider that manual workers form over 70 per cent of the adult male working population we can see how overwhelming is the weight of environment compared to any other criterion of the ability to learn. Selection still relies mainly on intelligence tests, but different tests give dif-

ferent results, and the IQ score can be altered by practice and coaching. Obviously the working class child is at a great disadvantage. Usually his home provides no background of books. Often living conditions are crowded, money is short, parents harassed and tired, lacking education themselves, might not realise its value. Of course the working class child develops initiative and independence, but these are not the skills tested in the 11 plus, which is so constructed that it tends to measure the skills more readily acquired by middle class children. Once this selection has been made, the children go off to their schools of supposedly equal status (anyone who has heard the comments of secondary modern schoolchildren about their school will realise how fallacious this is). There they are again divided into streams. It is unfortunate that so many people look upon this as simply an organisational matter, a technique for making teaching easier. In fact the most important part it plays is in reinforcing in young minds the idea that some people are superior - they go into the A streams - and others are inferior - they go into the B, C, D, or even E and F streams. I can imagine nothing more calculated to hammer home to a child his status in society than this. For many the time at school is passed just looking forward to leaving and beginning work (where at least they will be paid for the boredom and frustration endured). For others the A stream, now often with an

external examination at the end, is the path to the professions and the middle classes. The gap between the groups widens. The A's are pushed, have homework, are given responsibilities; the others pass their time away. Many teachers are cynical regarding the children they have to teach, and presuppose that they are incapable of sustained effort. Criticism of the children is often on a personal level, and obviously as so many teachers accept the present system, failure must be the failure of the children or their parents to take advantage of the good things provided for them. As the majority of teachers are either middle class in origin, or part of the "cream" of the working class struggling to forget its origin, the values prevailing are middle class values. Often a missionary spirit prevails. Form is substituted for content. Provided the children say please and thank-you sir (or even ma'am in many schools) at the appropriate time and close their eyes during prayers they will be looked upon with favour. Conformity is the object - accepted by many teachers because it is easier. Intellectual enquiry is often encouraged but if it reaches a point where it will hinder discipline then the "we know what is best for you" attitude prevails. Religious instruction remains the only statutory subject in the curriculum (which, if not desired, has to be opted out of). Genuine expression of lack of faith is too often treated as an attempt to avoid a boring duty.

Most secondary modern schools fighting for status have taken over lock stock and barrel the traditions of the public schools. The children are arbitrarily divided into houses and then expected to feel loyal and compete against their friends for the honour of the house. Prefects rule over them and staff expect to be regarded as a caste apart. Competition is the important thing, only rarely is it suggested that co-operation might be better. But how do the children who pass the 11 plus fare? Grammar schools are geared to university entrance, but the figures shown from the 1959 Crowther Report show the low percentage of working class children completing a grammar school course. In the case of university education the class bias is even more marked. Of all admissions in 1955-6, 74 per cent came from the upper class, 21.7 per cent were children of skilled manual workers, 3.4 per cent semi-skilled manual workers, and 0.9 per cent unskilled workers. The picture at Oxford and Cambridge, 13 and 9 per cent respectively from manual workers' homes, is even more sharp. (These figures are similar to those prevailing in the 'thirties). The inequalities existing in the educational system are a relatively faithful reflection of an unjust and unequal society. The unfair, illogical and inefficient fetter on juvenile intelligence can in the final analysis only be broken by the ending of this unequal society.

School Leaving Age.	15 or less	16	17	18 or more
Father's Occupation,	%	%	%	%
Professional/Managerial.	25	24	17	34
Clerical or Non-Manual.	59	22	9	10
Skilled Workers.	78	15	3	4
Semi-Skilled Workers.	85	11	2	2
Unskilled Workers.	92	6	1	1
% On All Groups.	72	15	5	8

CLASS SOCIETY

LEARNING TO KNOW YOUR PLACE

Jenny Davison
Hackney C Y.S.

Education for all came about only after a long struggle against powerful interests in the capitalist class who believed that should the workers become 'educated' they would soon realise their lowly position in society and revolt against it. How ever today education has become an essential weapon in the hands of capitalism for consolidating its power over us. It is used to 'socialise' us by making sure that each child fits as smoothly as possible into its class in society.

Thus for the rulers a wide knowledge is gained in a manner which encourages individual initiative in continuing the class traditions of Britain and her Empire; for the middle class sufficient knowledge is gained largely through spoon feeding and cramming to undertake fairly complicated but predetermined tasks and the child is instilled with the belief that he is superior to those who do manual jobs. The working class child is given a knowledge of the 3R's sufficient to enable him to undertake the tasks required by industry, and is taught in a way which encourages submission to authority all along the line.

The public schools ideally carry out the function of educating for the ruling strata of society. The emphasis is continually on individuality, the children are encouraged to work on their own, and to study with as little guidance as possible. In the grammar schools future technicians, managers and professional men are crammed with all the necessary technical know how for their future jobs. For the child in the secondary schools (where the majority of children go) second best is always good enough, equipment is usually completely inadequate, teaching is at a very poor level. It is here that the great emphasis is laid upon nationalism, patriotism and relig-

ion all of which are treated in a mechanical and uncritical way.

Many of the seeming oddities of school life now fall into place. The continual preoccupation with discipline and authority which nulls the brain and squashes any individuality continually bringing home to the child that it is far easier to conform and unquestioningly do what it is told. The hierarchical system of headmasters, teachers, prefects, sub-prefects, monitors etc, which teaches the elite few how to rule ('how to handle men'), and the 'masses' to be good subjects, and to accept a hierarchical society as quite normal. The often pointless absorbing and reproducing of facts; production before human values in a classical capitalist sense. In all, a working model of society today.

On a more general level the emphasis is always on competition and 'climbing on the other mans shoulders to get to the top' rather than on co-operation for mutual benefit. Democracy is out except perhaps in the form of a 'mock parliament'; the lesson being that democracy is to do with electing MP's to parliament every five years and nothing else. It is clear then that our criticism of the present educational system goes much further than demands for reforms (more teachers etc), it goes right to the roots of our class divided society. Therefore although we must necessarily be concerned for much of the time with such reforms we must never lose sight of our ultimate aims - the creation of a classless society, the elimination of the arbitrary division between manual and mental labour by educating everyone to the highest possible level, and the substitution of ideals of co-operation for those of competition and of democracy for authoritarianism.



PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Alan Woodward S. W. Islington YS

Public schools exist for privileged adults to purchase privilege for their children. This is well-known. Some of the means by which the system is upheld - further deprivation of the already deprived - are not so well-known.

The general idea that fees by private individuals save the state that amount of money which can be used for state education is so much eyewash. On the contrary, since the 1944 Education Act gave Local Education Authorities the power to arrange for some of their children to be accepted by independent schools large sums are earmarked to pay the exorbitant fees required by the small handful of usually clever children who are picked to leave the state system and go to the public schools. Thus although it costs about £70 a year to educate a pupil at a state secondary school, Middlesex pays £126 a year for a place at University College School in NW London; the LCC pays £117 a year for a place at Dalwich College; and Berkshire, Bucks, London and Middlesex all pay £117 a year for places at St. Benedict's Ealing.

Over half the 84,000 pupils in Direct Grant schools (which must put 25 per cent of their places at the disposal of the LEA's) have their fees paid by the LEA's. They also receive £36-40 a year per pupil from the Minister of Education, and half the superannuation contributions for their teachers.

London ratepayers are providing Dulwich College alone with over £52,000 a year in fees. Middlesex sends pupils to 161 different independent schools at a total cost of £206,116 a year.

The very harmful result for children in the poverty-stricken state sector can be seen from the example of Coventry. There 1050 boys are sent to independent schools at a cost in school fees in four years that would provide the city with a new secondary school for about 1200 pupils.

It is therefore quite untrue that private education is not a burden on the state.

The money spent buys real de-luxe service.

1. Small classes - one teacher to 12 pupils as against 1 to 21 in the state sector (This does not indicate actual size of classes, as Headmasters etc. are included in the ratio).
2. Highly qualified teachers, attracted by above-scale salaries.
3. Excellent facilities (e.g. £3. 8s 10d a year per pupil taking science, as against anything between 1s 1d and £1 8s 8d in maintained grammar schools; the amount in secondary modern schools may be left to the imagination).
4. Almost automatic acceptance at Universities, especially Oxford and Cambridge where almost half the entrants come from among the tiny 4 per cent of public school children).
5. And finally, top jobs in all walks of life (see, as an example, advertisements in the Times; "In replying state public school attended", etc.).

What to do? The state must take over the schools and use them for the education of various kinds of needy children, such as those from broken or otherwise unsatisfactory homes, those whose parents need to spend long periods away from home, those from remote areas, etc. Justice will then have been done.

They once bought seats in parliament or officerships in the army. This has been abolished. Their right to buy privileged education should be done away with too. It is a basic requirement before beginning to think about equality of opportunity.

THE UNLUCKY ONES

Shirley Sen Gupta
S. W. Islington YS

	SPECIAL SCHOOLS	TEACHERS	CHILDREN	CHILDREN AWAITING ADMISSION
1960	820	5389	65950	15309
1961	829	5509	66863	15384

The number of maladjusted and handicapped pupils who require attention is growing steadily, yet timely treatment is impossible owing to scarcity of places in special schools. If and when the child is treated, his condition has deteriorated to such an extent that he requires a much longer period of special care.

These figures do not show the extent of the problem. Some parents are not concerned with getting their children into the schools. In any case it is the policy of

the authorities to keep children in ordinary schools wherever this is possible.

Oversized classes are one of the chief factors responsible for late recognition of symptoms of maladjustment. So many children are taught in conditions which make it almost impossible for the teacher to be alert to the early signs or to give sufficient individual attention which in many cases would obviate the need for special education or treatment.

"Education and Social Class"
Peter Ibbotson.

"The Castle" 44 Commercial Road,
Wednesday, 8 p.m.

And March 6th, 20th, April 3rd.
Tube Aldgate East.

Buses; 5, 5a, 10, 15, 23, 25; 26; 32;
40, 42, 48, 67, 78, 253.

E. London Young Teachers (NUT).

SPAIN

Dear Comrade,

I have just come across a copy of the October edition of *Young Guard* and would like to say how impressed I was by your article on Spain. However there seems to be one major factor missing for no mention is made throughout the article of the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist movement in Spain, its origins or its achievements. To quote George Woodcock, the historian, in the Jan. edition of "History Today". "Its great trade union, the C.N.T. was the largest working class organization in Spain with a membership that reached two million during the Civil War. It was strong enough to defeat the Army in Catalonia when the General rose in July 1936 and to establish in Barcelona a collectivized economy that seemed like the beginning of the revolutionary order Kropotkin had dreamed of half a century before in "The Conquest of Bread". It was the Communists who refused to supply arms to the Anarchist units at the front, purposely sabotaging the military efforts of both Anarchists and the Trotskyist POUM with whom George Orwell fought. Workers' collectives and Communes were openly attacked by Communist troops who were aided in this by the POUMists in Aragon till they (the POUMists) became truly revolutionary in 1937". Of these sometimes gloriously successful collectives Mr. Fenner Brockway said in the House of Commons 6/3/58, "The philosophy of the CNT is the anarcho-syndicalist philosophy....I had the good fortune to visit some of these CNT fishing towns where the whole population lived in equality and where the catch was divided equally among them. Except in Israel, I doubt very much whether there are any communities in the world which express the spirit of co-operation and of equality in the same manner as did these villages I saw in Spain".

Again, I would like to thank you for an excellent article but please, comrades, give credit where credit is due.

R. J. Lewis, BATH.

SOCIALIST DEMANDS?

Comrade Editor,

At the risk of being pilloried by fellow socialists, I wish to point out the absurdity of the 'demands' made by *Young Guard* in general and comrades Mullaney and McCallum in particular. After reading the latter's article in the January YG I began to wonder if it was not the political consciousness of socialists we should be trying to raise. These comrades make four demands; — work or full maintenance; shorter hours, higher pay; nationalisation of failing industries; return of a Labour Government.

Now in isolation I have no objection to these demands if they are to alleviate a temporary situation (ie a reform), but if comrades Mullaney and McCallum think that they are 'seriously threatening the capitalist system' then I would be interested to learn their reasons for thinking this.

In my opinion none of these demands seriously threaten the system - capitalism is a lot more subtle and infinitely more adaptable than the above comrades appear to believe. My reasons for rejecting their logic are as follows.

Work or full pay; this is quite within the capability of capitalism and it could be achieved without any loss of economic power. In Germany unemployed benefit is 90 per cent of wages - can anyone say

that German capitalists have felt threatened? Even if implemented this proposal would not threaten capitalism here - increased benefits are paid for by increased contributions.

Shorter hours, higher pay; this also is within the capability of capitalism. Electricians in New York work a 30 hour week and have been campaigning for a 20 hour week. As Automation increases hours will decrease but this does not alter the control of industry.

Nationalisation of failing industries; this would be a godsend to capitalism. The last Labour Government nationalised coal and railways and the shareholders today are receiving dividends which they could only have dreamed of had these industries remained in private control!

Return of a Labour Government; what can one say about this? The last Labour Government failed to solve unemployment and the next one is pledged to no further nationalisation (except steel which is hardly a failing industry). It is however, determined to "plan the economy" - but how can it do this when it will only have direct control of 20 per cent of the economy? Admittedly the last Labour Government directed a few industries here and bribed a few industries there but is this threatening the system?

As I have stated I am not objecting to these demands if they are to be instituted in a policy of reform, but if demands which make definite and lasting inroads into the control of the economy are to be made then Young Socialists will have to analyse the "new" capitalism as Marx did the old and come up with equally devastating theories and solutions.

George Monies,
HILLHEAD (Glasgow) Y.S.

PROFIT NO PROBLEM

Dear Comrade,

The desire to seek panaceas to our ills seems endemic in man; from the urgency of Common Market negotiations urged by frustrated capitalists, the 'New Jerusalem' after disarmament advocated by many of the more naive CND'ers and the paternal protection of 'the Bomb' sought by their opponents to the simplification of economics of Paul Foot is, in principle, not far.

The apparent simplicity of a Marxist analysis of the effects of profits and the profit motive belies the true nature of industrial economics. "The profit is the life-blood of the boss. It enables him to re-tool his factory to stay in competition with other typewriter manufacturers throughout the world". Would Paul Foot advocate no re-investment for replacement, modification, modernisation and development? Surely not. But what else is profit? Taking off all those parts of the taxable profit that can be presumed necessary for the future good health of the undertaking there is left the dividends and interest on shares. Get one thing straight; in the interests of social equality and the integrity of the worker I would abolish these elements totally under workers' nationalization. But the profit margin on most mass-production units today is so small, in the last analysis, that arguments such as Comrade Foot's are ridiculous. The profit on a Mini Minor is less than 30/-. Does he imagine that 0.3 per cent is an important figure economically?

Dave Spilsbury, SELLY OAK YS.

READERS' LETTERS

Two more letters on Cuba



The January YG contains a letter by M. Ratcliff denouncing Sergio Junco's criticism of the Castro regime with an amazing compendium of misrepresentation, phony logic and lies. And this, with the stylistic elegance equalled only by a sand bag dragged through glue. But as an American reader and supporter, one of his assertions has a unique repugnance and because it is particularly incredible, I hope that next to fact, Mr. Ratcliff's aversion and uncompromising hostility to reality may be dragged up to light.

In an effort to close his letter with a flourish of devastating disclosure he enquires of Comrade Junco's affiliation with the Young People's Socialist League (US) and then asks, if the YPSL "didn't support Kennedy in the Presidential election?".

If it wasn't intrinsically dishonest and misleading one would be tempted to inquire in Ratcliff's fashion, how someone from this country could assert anything about the socialist movement in the US when he doesn't live there.

The YPSL endorsed no candidate in presidential elections, because the parent party of the YPSL, the Socialist Party, was not able or inclined to run a candidate. The resources of a small, growing but isolated socialist movement could find better expression in the struggle for civil rights, peace, and the struggle against imperialism than in futile electoral activities which exhaust energies and finances.

The policy of YPSL is to support every independent political act of Labour Civil Rights and Peace movements. To be an active socialist of any persuasion in the US, (let alone a revolutionary marxist committed to the struggle against both war blocks) is a somewhat different matter than the comfortable and the elitist defense of either exploitative system and its allies. In demonstrations, protesting against the imperialist blockade of Cuba and the Russian missiles, the YPSL raised the slogan familiar to the comrades of *Young Guard*, ALL HANDS OFF CUBA.

Gavin McFadgen, YPSL,

Michael Ratcliff (January YG) should persuade Fidel Castro to choose his words in such a way as to make it easier for his apologists to do a better job; and since we are probably generous enough to assume that Castro is not lying all the time, perhaps the present Cuban regime could specify in its publications which of Castro's assertions are to be taken seriously and which are plain lies. This would save us a lot of controversy, wouldn't it?

On the question of the Cuban orthodox Trotskyist newspaper *Voz Proletaria*, I challenge Michael Ratcliffe to produce, before the Editorial Board of *Young Guard*, any 1962 copy of that newspaper. If it is true that the newspaper had reappeared, he should have no difficulty in accepting this challenge. I promise to pay all the mailing costs and any other expenses that Ratcliff may have in this connection. In this context, Ratcliff forgot to add that Che Guevara smeared the orthodox Cuban Trotskyists by suggesting that they were provocateurs.

While it is true that in Castro's speech of March 26th, 1962 he frequently referred to the incident with Escalante, the lines I quoted in my letter to *Young Guard* (December, 1962), referred only to Castro's views on the nature of "The Party" and what it should be like. Ratcliff shows great ignorance or dishonesty in suggesting that Castro was referring there to Escalante's points of view and not to his own. Let me remind him that the title of Castro's speech was "Some problems of the Methods and Forms of Work of the O.R.I. (Algunos Problemas De Los Metodos y Formas De Trabajo de las O.R.I.)". It is only natural that Castro would make normative pronouncements in the context of such a speech. The O.R.I. is not simply subordinated to the Cuban C.P. In reality, the O.R.I. is the old Cuban C.P. plus a group of neo-Stalinists with a Fidelista political background.

SERGIO JUNCO.

ANOTHER LETTER

Dear Comrade,
After my experience of two publications, supposedly YS papers, I was very sceptical when offered a copy of *Young Guard*. However, I must admit, I was impressed.

The fact that I do not fully agree with the policies does not deter me from becoming a regular reader. I disagree with certain points of YG policy because I am out of step with YS opinion not because I am out of step with the PLP or Trotsky. Consequently I have no complaints.

The fact that you place unilateral disarmament before the return of Labour Government alarms me to a certain extent and I do not agree with suffrage at 18 although full rights at that age is a good idea.

I was very pleased to see, however, that there is a considerable body of opinion which realises that nationalization, by itself, is not a cure-all. State ownership is not automatically socialism (eg Nazi Germany). It all depends on who controls the state. Although a non-marxist I accept the dictum that the state is a means by which the ruling class consolidate their power.

Socialism, to me, means taking power out of the hands of the few and spreading it as fairly as possible among everybody. In other words extending democracy to its fullest meaning in every facet of social life and not only in the polling booth. You cannot do this in industry simply by calling a business man a civil servant. By all means nationalise. No business whether under workers control or not can be allowed to work against the interest of the community as a whole. However, beware of concentrating too much power in too few hands. Workers control, by itself, is not enough; nationalization by itself is downright dangerous. Together, they are an integral part of a socialist society. Capitalism should be replaced by socialism not state capitalism.

V. E. Wood, MIDDLESBOROUGH YS

THE SECOND SEX

June Lester
Hackney South YS

It is 34 years ago that women aquired equal voting rights to men. Today, there is a pretended equality - in reality there is very little.

When a girl reaches her middle teens she is supposed to have only one purpose in life - to get herself a husband, a home and a couple of children. Within this narrow psychological barrier women are contained for all their lives.

At school a boy is prepared for the world - a girl is taught how to run a home. Why shouldn't boys be taught cookery and girls how to mend a car engine along with how to make a dress?

On sexual matters, the inequality gap widens. The boy who has pre-marital intercourse is looked on as 'one of the boys'. The girl, however, is expected to go to her wedding bed a virgin. In married life there is quite a lot left from the Victorian era when sex became a thing only for enjoyment of man and his wife was there for his enjoyment. A boy who trains for a profession and puts his studies before his girl friends is congratulated on being 'go-ahead' and in later years is called a 'Bachelor Gay'. His female equivalent is looked upon as a rather peculiar sort of girl and ends up, rather sneeringly, as a spinster. The teenage girls' magazines with circulations of over 5,000,000 per week are only concerned with romance, heartbreak, and the inevitable ending of orange blossom

and wedding bells. Everything else is shadowy and thrown off as not important.

Capitalism thrives on the economic unit of "The Family". In the USA there is an almost hysterical fever about it. Owing to their narrow confines women, particularly when married, begin to play a reactionary role. Throughout their lives they are taught to look only inwards, to their own home and family. To protect these is made into the foremost instinct. Even if there is contact outside of the home, as with working wives, it has very little effect. In factories, shops and offices where girls and women work, the main conversation revolves around fashion, boys and babies. To most working women the job is a 'stop-gap', either between the time of leaving school and getting married or else 'until we've got our home together', although the latter very rarely seems to materialise.

For the non-working wife there is nothing outside of their homes. If her husband talks of industrial action at his work her first thought will be for Jimmy's new school uniform or next weeks Sunday Joint, etc. With their lives made narrow they take over the role of strike-breakers (e.g. The Fords wives). Their worry is only for the home, they cannot and will not see bigger issues. It would be easy to dismiss the Fords wives with a laugh as a few cranks, but the sympathy

of most married women was with them. And often, in industrial disputes, the men will get pushed back to work without having achieved anything because their wives are nagging for a wage packet.

As Socialists we can just shrug off this problem as 'part of the system', or we can try to do something about it now. I think there should be leaflets aimed for married women, particularly the younger housewife. The issues of today should be brought down to a more personal basis. Local issues (as with Fords) should be explained. Even more important is to bring the young girls into the Young Socialists. Special membership drives should be aimed at the older classes in schools and also at the first year at work.

As socialists we are fighting for the equality of all mankind. The battle for sexual equality, both materially and psychologically is of great importance. Among women are found some of the most militant reactionaries and until we appreciate the causes of this we will not understand how to combat it. Socialist education must not only be contained within the movement but must go outside on every issue. The Young Socialists should play their part in this as in every other battle with Capitalism.

JAZZ

Bill Vester, Eltham YS

In spite of many requests, this column makes another appearance. I would reply to January's "disgruntled jazz fan", if there was anything to reply to. Unfortunately, "Disgruntled", you make no specific criticism, except of my ignorance. It would be okay to publish a page a month from Leonard Feather's Encyclopedia of Jazz, but the aim of this column is to convert those who consider jazz as simply background music for taking drugs. Ideally we could dispute the rival merits of Acker Bilk and Ornette Coleman and it could be that 'Disgruntled' is annoyed by my approval of a particular type or period of jazz. If so he should write. On the other hand he may disapprove of the style of writing employed.

The plight of the English jazz fan is severe and he has a right to be disgruntled. The visits of American musicians are rare, and hearing them when they do come is a pricy business. Brubeck and Duke Ellington have been over on concert tours, but of the concert tours of the past 12 months only that of Ellington could really be described as exciting.

A welcome development has been the visit of Zoot Sims and Al Cohn to the Ronnie Scott club. During their visit, however, the cost of listening to such great tenor and sax playing worked out at the ridiculous figure of 15s for visitors and 10s for club members.

Speaking on the Monday night B.B.C. jazz programme last month Scott forecast the visit of John Griffin and Sonny Rollins (not together). The visit of these two great tenors cannot be missed - yet it costs a guinea to join Scott's and nearly as much to get in. (The price rises when a superior artist is playing). The only bright spots for jazz fans recently have been the release of some good LPs, many of them old material such as Billie Holliday, and the appearance of the aforementioned jazz programme on radio.

KHRUSHCHEV

AND

CULTURE

Peter Lyons

Hendon North YS

Culture, ie the Arts, says Mr Khrushchev, must and will be directed by the Central Committee

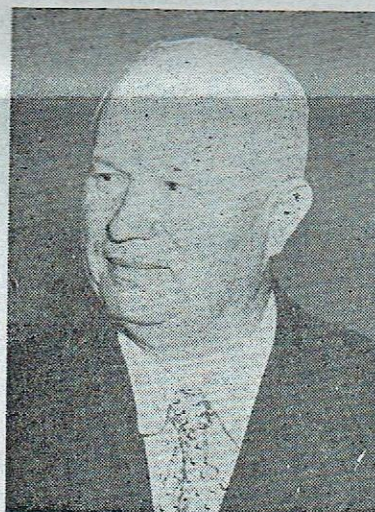
Well really Comrade! One would have thought such blatant audacity died with the Pharoahs, but no, here it is in all its prickly splendour; the Central Committee joining in like the Nun's Chorus from a rather good supporting cast in this very depressing opera. Recognition that the Central Committee have been responsible for so many great musicians, artists and thinkers (e.g. Beethoven, Mozart, Bertrand Russell, Plato etc. etc.) must keep dissenters on the right and proper road. After all, it wouldn't do for talented Soviet artists to cease painting hefty peasant lads ploughing fields on happy collective farms with state tractors.

And what of the musicians? Well, just think of all the chaos that would ensue should they begin to think along independent lines; why, they might produce anti-collective symphonies; and could you, by some stretch of the imagination, conceive an audacious musician entitling his newly finished masterpiece Variations on a Stalin Theme in G Minor? Why, if allowed to run away with itself another Boris Pasternak might rear his ugly head.

Such nightmares must haunt poor Mr. K; these worries cannot be good for a Premier.

Every time Khrushchev brandishes the name of Socialism, he pushes it a little farther into the mud.

For myself, and I hope many other socialists, I think we may completely disassociate these actions with anything remotely



connected with socialism. It would seem that Mr. K's trickle of freedom has a long way to go before it becomes a full gush.

To think that if all the great artists, poets and thinkers of the last few hundred years had been suppressed by such dogma we should have had the rather dubious pleasure of feasting our eyes and ears upon the most uninspired hackwork ever to clutter up culture.

It is my hope that socialist ideals are never corrupted by such nonsense, for it would be irony indeed if a so-called socialist state were to be far less democratic than its predecessor, capitalism.

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Today from all the evidence available China represents objectively enemy number one for the Indian Capitalists, to the extent that its economic and cultural progress contrasts more and more with the stagnation in India under the regime of the Congress party and Nehru.

The famous five principles of co-existence were jointly initiated by India and China in the Panchaseela pact. This friendship was predicated mainly on the existence of a social barrier, the feudal regime embracing the whole Himalayan region separating the two countries. This barrier to some extent damped the dynamism of the Chinese Revolution and considerably lessened the danger of its contaminating the feudal capitalist India. The Tibetan events forced the Peking Government to proceed with a radical social transformation of the Himalayan Zone and as a result it is not surprising that the peasants, serfs and sharecroppers of the Himalayas and beyond the Himalays deep into Indian territory, are influenced by the social transformation of Tibet and the Revolutionary Chinese countryside.

The Indian Capitalists and Imperialists have instantly understood the danger. This is the precise reason why Nehru is raising Churchillian slogans even calling for the emulation of the British Dunkirk. The Indian Communist Party roused by the fervour of patriotism, needless to say Chauvinism, and with the blessing of the Indian Capitalists suffers at the present moment from the pressure of 'public opinion' to which it has shamefully capitulated.

The frontier line drawn by British Imperialism was never accepted by China. The STUDENT'S ATLAS OF INDIAN HISTORY by Thomas Mark published by Macmillan & Co. Ltd, traces the traditional frontiers of India from the Vedic Age till 1950. In the Eastern sector the boundary runs along the southern foot hills of the Himalayas, and in the western sector along the Karkoram Range. This customary boundary was respected by both China and India for a long time. The Official British maps before 1865

INDIAN CAPITALISTS LASH OUT



S. NAGENDRA

South Paddington, Y.S.

showed the disputed frontier area in the western sector (called Aksai chin or Ladakh by the Indians) as lying to the North of the Traditional frontier line.

In the eastern sector, as late as 1936, the frontier coincided with the traditional frontier line and the Indian official maps up to 1936 did not mark the sino-Indian boundary according to the McMahon line. In spite of all this evidence the Capitalist press accuses China of expansionism. However the British Observer of November 22nd 1959, frankly admits; "Britain having conquered India, pushed out her frontiers as far as they could be carried without a major war. In doing this, Britain occupied a border area much of which was inhabited by non Indian peoples. The frontier with China, where demarcated at all, was fixed arbitrarily and surreptitiously, or by treaties which Peking now denies were

correctly negotiated at that time".

In the western sector, since the liberation of China in 1949, Aksai chin with the knowledge of the Indian Government was under the effective administrative and military authority of China. The frontier incidents from 1959 till October 1962 did not occur as a result of a so called Chinese invasion into Indian territory but on the contrary as a result of the entry of Indian patrols into regions controlled administratively for a long time by the Chinese.

The Indian ruling class ably led by Nehru want to persist in their policy of oppressing and exploiting the Indian people while hitting at the progressive forces in India, by so doing they also serve foreign monopoly and military interests. In the last analysis the Government is in fact doing so in accordance

with the needs, and in the interests of, the Indian big capitalists and landlords.

Mr Nehru's speech reported in the Daily Telegraph on 3rd January 1962 is worth mentioning. "Mr Nehru said in New Delhi that the Chinese aggression was a blessing in disguise for it had given India the opportunity to build up her strength to resist any future invasion. He added that the struggle with China would be a long one and India should not relax".

The function of the defence council in fact is to assist the various monopolists to make super war profits. This effort of the Indian Capitalists is well supported by foreign imperialists interests. The ex-war criminal Herr Alfred Krupp is to back India's rearmament drive by supplying heat-treating equipment for production of tank armour plate. Roy Welensky, is giving one million pounds worth of copper. Kennedy and Macmillan have started their so called 'aid'. Krushchev on the other hand, in the interests of his co-existence policy has agreed to give India not only the MIG aircrafts but also a factory to manufacture them.

In the present era of the advancement of people of all countries the Indian masses are not going to be deceived by these capitalist plots. In spite of the betrayals of the traditional working class parties, there are thousands of militants in Nehru's jails who have refused to capitulate to this shameful chauvinism.

We in the Young Socialists have to resist the current chauvinism that the capitalists of all countries have aroused in order to undermine International solidarity vital to the interests of the world socialist movement. Whatever our criticisms as to the nature of the leadership of the Chinese workers State may be there can be no doubt that this leadership in this dispute defend fundamentally the interests of the Chinese Revolution.

From their experiences in the Himalayas no doubt China has learnt the lesson that class realities and demands are in the final analysis more decisive than any calculated friendship.

The recent electricity pay dispute has at last come to an end. For the workers and, surprisingly, for the unions it has been a very unsatisfactory end.

The dispute started almost a year ago, when the Board's manual workers asked for a rise to bring them on to roughly the same footing as tradesmen working for private enterprise. The Board was paying a basic rate of 5/8d per hour, while the private contractors paid 6/2d. Installation inspectors, with years of experience, were getting paid 1d per hour less than the men whose work they inspected! The claim was for an increase in the basic rate of 4d per hour for all skilled electricians in the supply industry. The increase for labourers and apprentices was to be scaled down.

It's clear then that electricity supply workers are grossly underpaid, even according to what private enterprise was prepared to hand out. The rise asked for was only a fraction of the £27 million profit made by the Board last year. The fact that the Government had, last year, shuffled a lot of responsibility for capital investment onto the Board had nothing to do with the workers, whose productivity had increased regularly over recent years.

The employers, in the shape of the Electricity Consultative Council, a group of bureaucrats appointed by the Government, arrogantly refused time and again to consider the claim. They stuck solid at a paltry 2d, which was totally unacceptable all round. The only industrial action open to the workers was to "work to

POWER WORKERS BETRAYED

ALEX ERWEN, E.T.U.

Woodside, Y.S.

rule" or ban overtime since strikes had been banned by law at the time of nationalization. Early in January, the unofficial shop stewards committee introduced a "work to rule". None of the unions supported this, but the right wing ETU executive introduced a ban on overtime.

The "work to rule" gained overwhelming support among the workers, particularly in the South. Finally, after many assurances by the unions that they would not contemplate the 2d, they accepted 2d. The climb-down came on Wednesday January 16th, when after a 14-hour meeting with the employers, the "militant" ETU collapsed - along with the others. Under the heading "Union Chief Proud of Power Settlement", The Times of 25th January was glad to quote Mr. Jack Cooper, General Secretary of the NUGMW, as saying; "I would be a proud man if I could achieve that for my

members" The fact that most NUGMW workers outside the electricity industry were being paid much more than those inside didn't seem to worry him. He had just had a good businessman's lunch (organised by the Industrial Welfare Society). Jack was all right.

The capitalist Press had to get into the fight. One of the most vicious and slanderous attacks was made by the Daily Mirror on Charles Doyle, leader of the shop stewards committee. Doyle a Communist, deported from America during the MacCarthyite witch hunts, was described, in front page headlines, as "The Most Hated Man in Britain".

The Mirror ignored the fact that the power cuts would have happened anyway. The supply of electricity is completely inadequate to deal with the heavy demand. This was proved conclusively by even more disasterous power cuts after

the "work to rule" was over. It also disguised the fact that the electricity workers had offered their labour free in emergencies (fire, hospitals, danger to life and limb).

The Electricity Council behaved throughout the dispute with a class ruthlessness and determination which must have brought expressions of admiration from the Board rooms at Fords and ICI. They have ensured that the industry is ludicrously understaffed and relies almost entirely on overtime.

It is clear that the workers need one power union, taking in all workers in the industry. For all its faults the ETU is still the most effective of the power unions because it retains some connection with its members. With one power union and with the workers taking part in union affairs, it will be 8d not 4d and after that, who knows.