

YOUNG GUARD

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FOR
SOCIALISM
& FREEDOM

Y.S. News and Views:
Defence—broken promises:
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Jazz scene:
Joan Baez, Economic policy-
Labour's capitulation
Left needs a new initiative



Ian Mikardo M.P.
Leader of the
traditional left

PREPARE TO FIGHT

Put positive socialist alternatives

Constituency Labour Parties are preparing for the Annual Conference in October in an atmosphere of disillusion and discontent. There is no doubt that this year's affair will not be a repetition of last year's back-slapping effort.

The issues which seem most likely to produce heated debate are foreign policy, in particular Vietnam and Dominica, and economic policy, especially wages policy. There is very little support for the Government's policy on Vietnam and Dominica among active rank and filers, and even the fairly solid support for incomes policy which was shown at last year's Conference seems to be breaking up.

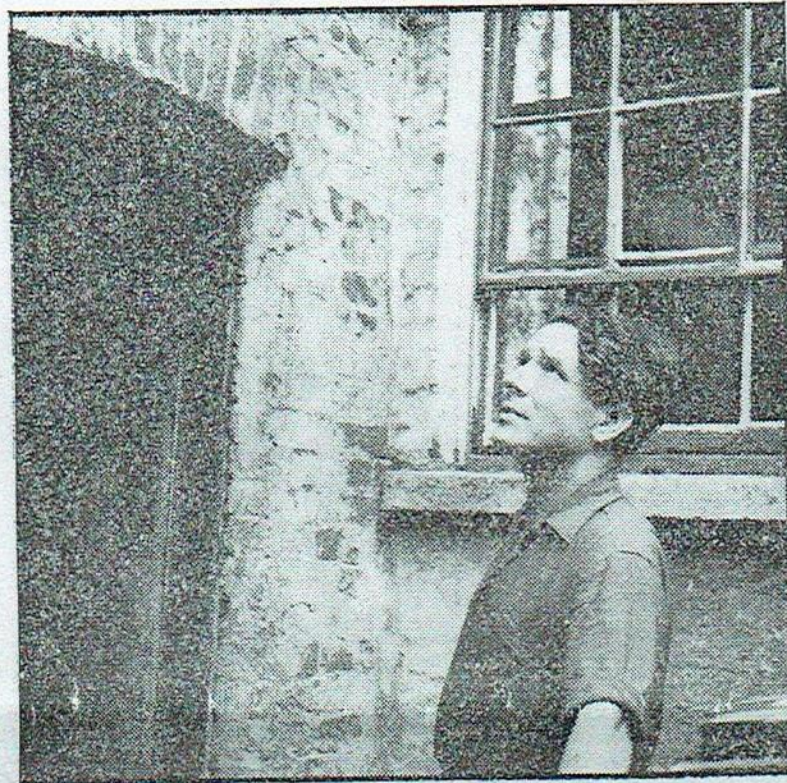
It is up to Young Socialists to help turn the opposition to right-wing policies into positive channels. The leadership will attempt to head off opposition by producing the "don't rock the boat" argument or by putting forward some vague compromise, on the lines of the Crossman-Padley proposal in 1961.

We should do what we can to ensure as sharp a clash as possible. Resolutions should point out that the decline of Labour's fortunes is due to the leadership's adoption of Tory policies in both domestic and foreign affairs. Party morale will not be improved by Len Williams' attempts to hold revivalist campaigns on a shoestring budget. We must demand the implementation of Labour's election promises and show how this can only be done if the Government is prepared to take a firm stand against the financiers and industrialists.

It is essential that the growing opposition to Wilson's foreign and colonial policies should be matched by a growing understanding of the equally reactionary nature of the economic policies. It is too much to hope for the rejection of the Incomes Policy, but good resolutions have an educational influence, and there will be waverers to win over. Make sure you get your resolutions in.

It now seems certain that the Y.S. Conference will take place in November; rumour suggests that it will be in Birmingham. There is no doubt that Transport House is going to make every effort to ensure a majority for official policies. We can expect to see delegates from branches we never knew existed. There is little we can do about this. We can, however, make every effort to ensure that as many branches we have influence in send left-wing delegates, and resolutions to the conference.

continued on back page



1 m. slums—demand a fighting housing policy

Vietnam, Dominica—no change

The war in Vietnam continues to escalate towards a conflict of Korean proportions. A high ranking US spokesman said recently that the time will come when US troops will be sent out in direct offensive operations against the Viet Cong. The air attacks on the North reach nearer and nearer to Hanoi and the pretence that bombing is restricted to strategic targets has been dropped. In the US the Government has been increasing its call-up of conscripts.

In Dominica the American withdrawal of several thousand troops in no way changes the basic situation. The Organisation of American States is completely dominated by the United States Government and US capital; it is not likely to do anything to endanger the US control of the republic's economy.

In both Vietnam and Dominica, American imperialism is in league with the most reactionary landlord and military elements against mass popular movements. Yet, despite widespread show of opposition within the Labour Party, Harold Wilson's commitment to (or prostration before) US policy is unshaken. What happened to that independent initiative in foreign policy that we heard so much about? (Remember that 3,000 million dollar loan back in November, 1964?)

In this situation the duty of all socialists is clearly to speak out in criticism. It's about time the 50 MPs who are said to oppose Government policy stopped making excuses for their inactivity. Let's see them leading a march on Downing Street and the American Embassy. Let's have no more talk of rocking the boat: Wilson's policies are losing Labour support and need to be changed.

Apprentices - what next

Peter Bain
Clydebank, Y.S.

After unsuccessfully attempting to create the impression of a national apprentices movement, *Keep Left* was finally forced to abandon its plans for a strike on May 10th.

The line adopted by the *Keep Left* faction on the apprentices question is the most sectarian course of action which even they have taken. At the time when the apprentices (according to the *Sun*, 20-30,000 were involved) were being attacked in the Press, on T.V., and by union officials, *Keep Left* chose to split the apprentices ranks. Many Young Socialists thought the strike was mis-timed because of the lack of organisation; but once they were out we did our best to help them.

No wonder many were demoralised!

What prospects are there in the near future? Grandiose plans for national action are at present pipe-dreams and more of a hindrance than factory and local committees to take up matters affecting apprentices must be the first step if advances are to be made. By building from below, instead of having a leadership imposed on them, the apprentices can decide for themselves what should be done.

National contact can best be established through a paper such as "Industrial Youth," open to the views of all apprentices. Attempts are also being made to use the organisation, such as it is, of AEU junior workers committees. This is likely to be a long process, but it's the only realistic approach.

Young Guard pamphlet for Y.S.

The Editor

Young Guard is planning to publish a pamphlet on the relationship between the Young Socialists and the Labour Party. The pamphlet, which has been written by Mike Coggins of Gloucester Y.S., covers the growth of the Y.S. Movement from the beginning to the present day, as briefly and objectively as possible. This section should help the many young socialists who have only joined to understand how the Y.S. reached its present unhappy position. Comrade Coggins makes comparisons with the earlier Labour Party

Youth movements and draws some lessons from their experiences. The final section is a detailed programme of demands for greater freedom for the Y.S. and closer integration into the Party. *Young Guard* believes that greater freedom of discussion and action and closer integration at all levels of the Party are not incompatible. They are both necessary if Labour wants a strong and active Youth movement.

In the present state of uncertainty, we believe that the left in the Y.S. must unite on such a programme. must not only fight to maintain what

democracy we have; we must build up youth membership of the Labour Party and extend our influence.

This pamphlet will cost a good deal of money. To meet initial expenditure we need £50. Is you Y.S. branch is prepared to support the publication by lending its name as a sponsor and/or helping with the cost (10/- or a pound would be very welcome; more if you can afford it).

This issue of *THE CITIZEN* we by the Y.S. Let's have your Support now. Money and correspondence to the Editor. Make this a matter of urgency.

Young Guard

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

Nationalisation under workers' control of the banks, insurance companies, land and major industries.

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

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

An international policy based on co-operation with genuine labour movement throughout the world;

Votes and full legal rights at 18; Three-year apprenticeships, full trade union rights for apprentices, 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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If you want more news in Young Guard, you must provide it. Send us a brief account of your branch, federation, schools, etc.

Young Guard is willing to provide speakers on most subjects at YS branches, schools and ward parties within reasonable distance of central London (London, Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex, Essex and Herts.)

Please write to the Editor.

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YS NEWS AND VIEWS

YS lead tenants protest

One of the very first acts of the new (Tory-dominated) London Borough of Sutton was to recommend increases in council house rents. These would be large, and would particularly hit tenants transferred from the Old Wallington Borough Council and Carshalton U.D.C.; many tenants would find their rents going up by no less than *thirty shillings a week*.

When the matter was first raised, Labour Councillors demanded and won a temporary reprieve; the question was deferred until the next meeting. Had the right-wing clique leading the Labour group had its way, no more would have been done; but at this stage the Young Socialists stepped in.

The branches at Wallington and Carshalton decided that what was needed was a campaign directly involving the affected tenants. A meeting of tenants was called, and

despite appalling weather, attendance was good. Several Labour Councillors, including Terry Page (also of Wallington Y.S.) and Phil Bassett (Carshalton Y.S. Youth Officer) spoke and pledged support. Young Socialists and tenants drew up a petition stating that "the proposed rent increases are more than we can reasonably be expected to bear." Within a matter of days over 1,200 tenants and dependents had signed it.

Besides this, maximum effort was made to encourage tenants to attend and lobby the next council meeting, at which the decision on the rents would be taken. The results of these efforts were even better than the Y.S. had hoped for. Over 150 angry tenants packed into the tiny public galleries at Wallington Town Hall, and the doors were locked twenty minutes before the start of the meeting, with another 50 outside.

The Labour Group had by now decided to make a fight of it; the petition was presented to the council and the increases fought line by line. Catcalls and jeering greeted each vote, as the Tory majority vote solidly against any reductions, postponements or other compromise.

The more militant Labour Councillors were cheered, whilst the Tory Housing Chairman had some difficulties in making himself heard.

Despite the fact that the increase were passed, the campaign was far from finished. Councillor Phil Bassett asked the Council to receive a deputation from the tenants which the reluctantly agreed to do. Latest news is that the Housing Committee has rejected the tenants' demands but the tenants now hope to organise a new demonstration, and also possibly a deputation to the Minister of Housing and Local Government.

Dave Marka



Southern region by D. Percival

The Southern Region of the YS is one of the few which have been allowed to hold a conference this year, presumably because it has never been a stronghold of Keep

Left. This is not to say that the Regional Office is able to impose its will on the branches, or that the YS has not contained a strong element of opposition to official policy.

The first decision of this year's conference was to refer back the Standing Orders Committee report. Conference wished to discuss a resolution criticising the Regional Committee's lack of activity. The number of delegates had fallen from 74 last year to 60 this year. Even the Committee's report indicated a reduction in the number of branches from 104 to 92 but no one could locate the 30 phantom branches.

The Regional Committee's report was referred back on two sections, those dealing with federations and weekend schools. The first failed to mention the closing down of the East Surrey Federation or the activity of the left-wing West Surrey Federation. The second omitted to mention the Regional Youth Officer's refusal at one weekend school to allow Roger Rosewell, National Committee member, to give a report. The Conference itself was persistently obstructed by the Youth Officer, A. Capelin, and the Chairman, who made use of their positions to chip in on every discussion.

Reg Underhill addressed the Conference, and said that he would not tolerate YS members who persistently acted against the Party's best interests.

Resolutions were passed against streaming in comprehensive schools, for direct labour housing schemes, and for a youth charter. A resolution opposing all rail closures and the Government's attacks on public transport was disappointingly defeated.

The Conference was generally encouraging. The most important thing for the future is to strengthen the links between branches.

George Box

West Hull

West Hull YS continues to grow, with attendances of more than thirty, and speakers on the meaning of May Day, on Clause Four and workers' control, and on apartheid. Jim Johnston, West Hull M.P., addressed a meeting. He said that though he supported the left wing motion on Vietnam he could not sign it as he was a member of the Government. A motion was then passed urging him to resign from the Government.

The YS co-operates closely with Hull Movement for Colonial Freedom. MCF has organised two marches about Vietnam, and a picket of the May Day meeting addressed by Harold Wilson. After this, the West Hull GMC decided to call the whole branch before the executive on the grounds that young socialists should not take part in a demonstration against Party policy.

Left wing members of the GMC pointed out the hypocrisy of this; the Government's policy was contrary to pre-election statements, and anyway, Wyatt and Donnelly were flouting Party Policy with impunity. As yet, the investigation has not taken place, but we do not intend to be intimidated.

West Hull YS is also arranging, with MCF, a series of Folk and blues concerts at local pubs, with proceeds being given to various national liberation groups. Ninety people attended the first concert.

Morecambe

The YS Rally held at Morecomb during the week 15-22 May was no an inspiring event. There were about 170 young people from all parts of the country present. (The smallest number at a rally yet.) The tone of the rally was predominantly right wing; Transport House, of course has always claimed that the rally is more representative of the Young Socialists than the annual conference. Many of those attending had received grants from CLPs, Regional Labour Parties and union branches. Many were not active in the YS and in fact one need not have been a member of the Labour Party to attend this rally if one came on a union grant. Despite this, one left-winger was refused entry for the weekend because the most notorious and reactionary CLF in the country (East Islington) excludes him from membership.

On Sunday morning, Mr. George Brown honoured us with his presence and defended the actions of the government. "Since we have been in office we have taken the initiative in world affairs." "Vietnam, Dominica," yelled the left-wing minority. He defended the government's economic and social policies, refused to enlighten us any further on steel and won himself a standing ovation from the right-wing.

The left, which heckled Mr. Brown, was accused of providing the Tory press with headlines against the party. This is true to an extent; but the blame lies with those who by inviting the press showed themselves to be more concerned with press coverage of Mr. Brown than providing the YS with an opportunity to hear and criticize.

During the rest of the week, we had the usual array of Labour spokesmen. With one exception—Mr. Paul Rose,—they defended Government policy on every single issue. Mr. Rose did not get a standing ovation; the others, including Mr. Anthony Greenwood, did.

Mike Caffoor

On 15 May, eighty young socialists and CNDers marched through Grimsby and Cleethorpes protesting against the Government's policy on Vietnam. The demonstration, which was organised by Grimsby YS, culminated in a meeting on the beach at Cleethorpes. Speakers, including Fred Lindop and young socialists from Leicester, stressed the connection between the Government's reactionary foreign policy and its failure to implement its electoral promises.

DEFENCE - ELECTION PROMISES BROKEN

Ian Craib
Croydon South Y.S.

Many activists in the Labour movement have been dismayed by the defence policy of the Labour Government. The Defence Estimates went up this year from £1,998.5 million to £2,120.5 million, an increase in real terms of 2.3 per cent. If the Tories had remained in power we are told, they would have gone up —by over twice as much—Thank God for Socialism!

Not only has the arms bill gone up but we have seen a complete reversal of Labour's pre-election policy. The Government's present defence policy can be divided into four broad sections: general progress towards disarmament; defence in Europe; defence "East of Suez;" and the relating of our defence expenditure to our economic resources. Over all this hangs the shadow of our "independent nuclear deterrent."

Insincerity

On the first aspect, there is little that can be said. The Government pays the usual lip service to "general and comprehensive disarmament," but does little. True we now have a Minister for Disarmament and an Arms Control and Disarmament Control Unit was set up at the beginning of the year; but this is hardly the exciting new initiative for disarmament that we were promised before the election. There has also been talk of a Complete Test-Ban Treaty by the end of the year, including an agreement on non-proliferation (Would France and China sign it?) and of nuclear free zones. All these are meaningless, in that they will only be agreed when they suit the strategy of the Great Powers.

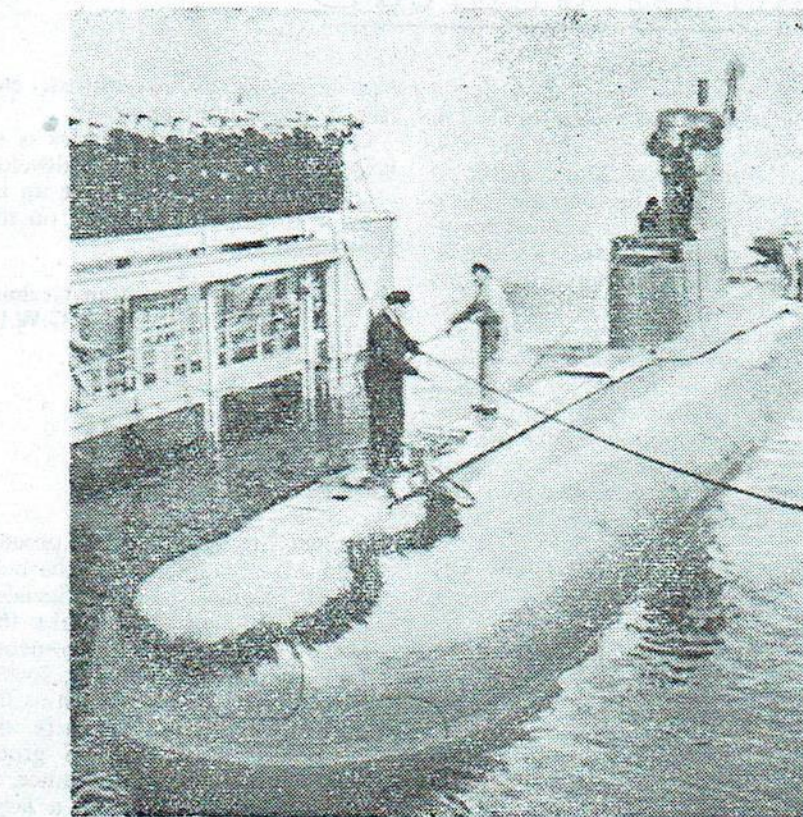
The 1965 Defence White Paper states that the possibility of a major conflict between East and West can be excluded now because of the "present state of mutual deterrence," and goes on: "bearing in mind the high risk that any conflict in Europe would escalate, deliberate aggression even on a limited scale, is unlikely in this theatre."

The next four paragraphs effectively negate this recognition of the obvious. Firstly we are told "there is always the risk of war arising out of misunderstanding or miscalculation" and then "The threat to Britain's survival can only be met by the strength and unity of the NATO alliance."

Defending Europe

Even supposing that this threat existed (which can be contested and not on the grounds quoted above) the means suggested for strengthening NATO, the Atlantic Nuclear Force, are ineffective. The A.N.F., the White Paper says, would consist of most of the British V Bomber force (already obsolete), the four British Polaris submarines (remember those Labour Party Conference decisions?), at least an equal number of American Polaris submarines, and "some kind of mixed-manned and jointly armed element or elements in which the existing non-nuclear powers could take part." (Remember those attacks on the M.L.F.)

The ANF of course does not add to the strength of the main Western (i.e. American) deterrent, to which the French nuclear force could provide an effective trigger if the U.S.A. did not feel like committing suicide to defend Europe. It certainly will not be credible, if as we are told, any participating country which so



Polaris at Dunoon

wished "would have a veto over the release of the weapons of the force." It is really a means of covering up political differences in the alliance which in turn reflect economic divisions. It does not seem to be having much success at the moment and we have not heard much about it lately.

Re-assurance

The "defence policy" East of Suez includes our imperialist commitments in Aden and Malaysia (where we have over 50,000 troops, many more than the U.S. have in Vietnam) which need not be condemned again in detail here. The new idea to emerge this year is that of providing "reassurance" to non-nuclear powers threatened by China's Bomb (principally India) to stop proliferation. This is presumably to be done by those V Bombers not committed to the ANF, but if China can shoot down a U2 she is not going to be worried by obsolete V Bombers. In any case the Valiant Bomber has already been withdrawn because of old age, and by the time China has enough bombs (and the effective means of delivering them), the chances are that the Victor and Vulcan will have followed the same path.

Economic policy

Labour defence policy, however, cannot and should not be criticised only on strategic grounds. Mike Coggins has analysed in the last two issues of Y.G. the current crisis of British capitalism; and defence expenditure is intimately tied up with this. British industry needs new

and rather than attack the arms bill to pay for this, the Government is attacking the working class by trying to implement an "incomes policy"—i.e. wage freeze.

Similarly it still keeps troops abroad and increases interest rates to stop the flow of money out of the country. Consequently local authorities have to cut their housing programmes and increase rents; education and hospital building etc also have to suffer.

Cost effectiveness

A realisation of how home policy is affected by defence expenditure has led to the Government's present emphasis on "cost effectiveness" i.e. obtaining the most effective weapons at the lowest possible price and not needlessly wasting millions on projects such as Blue Streak, Skybolt and T.S.R.2, as the Tories did. It has led to the attempt to withdraw troops from West Germany, where, unlike those in Malaysia for example, they do not protect dividends and British investments from nasty people who might nationalise them.

These economies can however only have a marginal effect because the Government still basically accepts a system which rests on the exploitation of underdeveloped countries and the building of weapons of mass destruction. Socialists should make it clear that the Labour Government faces a clear choice between implementing genuine social reforms at home and winning the next election, and maintaining its imperialist commitments to NATO, SEATO etc and letting the Tories back by default.

Adverts

YOUNG GUARD FOLK SONG EVENING

Saturday, 26 June, at 7.30 pm.
162, London Road, Kingston on Thames.
Singers: Tom Dillon, The Followers, Sean Thompson, Katy Michel etc.
Pub next door. Buses: 131, 285, 283, 281, 233, 85, 65. Or British Rail to Kingston or Norbiton (from Waterloo).

LABOUR CND WEEKEND SCHOOL

Sat., June 19. Sun., June 20
Labour's Defence and Foreign Policy.

Chairman: Joyce Butler, M.P.
Sessions on economic aspects (Norman Atkinson, M.P.), NATO and the defence of Europe (Terence Heelas, defence commentator), The Far East (Dr. Malcolm Caldwell).
Cost: £2.5s. Place: Netley House, Gomshall, Surrey. Details from Eric Messer, 189, Kingsdown Avenue, South Croydon, Surrey. UPL 4712.

CROYDON COMMITTEE FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM

Public Meeting, Monday, 28 June, 8 p.m.
Speakers include
FRANK ALLAUN, M.P.,
Maple Room, Fairfield Halls, Croydon.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Who's Kidding Who?

"Parliamentary shadow-boxing" ran a recent headline in the "Economist." It referred to the debate on the Finance Bill. The writer of the article correctly comes to the conclusion that the Tories are not trying to beat the Labour Government. Why should they? Mr. Callaghan assures them that he couldn't be friendlier: his intention is to help efficient firms make bigger profits and to encourage long term investment. The few who may lose from the Capital Gains Tax, the speculators are no more liked by modern industrialists than by the Labour leaders. So, despite a certain amount of noise from the far right of the Tory Party and the more reactionary elements in the City, the general reaction of the capitalists has been one of delight that they got off so easily.

One thing that is quite certain: the Finance Bill does very little to implement Labour's declared policy of using taxation to bring about an equalization of incomes. There is nothing for the working class in this bill.

Gunter's Progress

Ray Gunter continues to earn his reputation of the bosses' friend. His reaction to the Whitsun strike of BEA workers was typical of the statements he has been making over the past year. "This is sheer viciousness. These men have the power to disrupt the lives of good people. These good people may, ere long, say they have enough and are not going to be pushed around any longer, and they will have my support."

What exactly has he in mind? It's more than a little disgusting that a Labour Minister of Labour should deliberately encourage anti-trade union feelings. It is more than time that trade unionists and Labour Party members forced Gunter into explaining what he means.

One Law for the Rich

Mr. Woodrow Wyatt is a very wealthy man. He has a printing and publishing business, several cars, and an aristocratic wife. He is on terms of personal friendship with many leading businessmen, including some of the steel bosses. He has frequently disobeyed the Whip and treated decisions of Labour Party Conference with contempt. He has in the past fully earned the title of Labour's own MacCarthy. He has recently done more to spread despair and demoralisation in the Party than any number of left wingers could in a month of Sundays. He has frequently done as much in the past, yet he remains in the Party.

On the other hand, many young socialists have been expelled or threatened with expulsion for expressing views which come well within the Labour Party constitution.

This is a strange kind of democracy.

EAST LONDON FEDERATION OF YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Day School
Sunday, 4th July, 3 pm.
Hackney Town Hall, Members Room.
IAN MIKARDO, M.P. on the Labour Government.
Visitors welcome. No. 30 to Mare St. or: —tube to Manor House and No. 253 to Mare Street or tube to Bethnal Green and No. 253 to Mare Street.

Send your ad.
to the Editor—
make it brief

YS NEWS AND VIEWS

Support for Incomes policy

Brothers,

I see from your May issue that you are once again, regrettably, tilting at imaginary windmills. You devote most of your front page to attacking an incomes policy that is, at best, a way out of the present credit-squeeze and inflation spiral, and at worst, an innocuous failure.

As was forcibly pointed out at the T.U.C. Conference this year, under an anarchist incomes structure, an apparent increase in incomes will not, in fact, buy any more goods. The increased paper value will be swallowed up in inflation. Not only this. The attendant inflation will cause a drop in the real income of the fixed-income group. So much for your concern for the old-age pensioners.

You say that the money should be squeezed from the "financiers and monopolists." Good stirring stuff. I'll bet it sounds great at a readers meeting. Unfortunately, it wouldn't work. The financiers income is not for the most part spent on consumption. It is used, as investment, to make its owner richer. Thus, it not only does not have an inflationary effect, it has a positively deflationary effect. It takes money out of the system, and puts goods in. Marx pointed this out nearly one hundred years ago. This may be wry comment on our present social structure, but it is a fact. And policies unbased on fact are worse than useless.

After many years of wrangling, the socialist movement decided long ago that it must work within the structure and assumptions of the capitalist society to improve the lot of the worker. There is nothing wrong with this as long as one keeps the long term objective in view.

I would suggest to you that the planned economy and its attendant incomes policy are attempts in the limited context of the capitalist society to help the ordinary man. As such, it deserves more than your facile criticism and synthetic disgust.

Adrian Perry, Eltham YCND

Editor's note. Brother Perry ignores necessary lesson on capitalist economics. We know the limitations of our arguments and gives us an uncapitalism. He makes the mistake of accepting George Brown's statements about redistribution of income at face value: he falls victim to the mumbo jumbo of "planning"—as if this had magically socialist qualities. In our view, planning in a capitalist economy can only be planning in the interest of capitalists. Brother Perry is saying that the interests of workers and bosses are the same; this has been the stock argument of all opponents of workers' independent action.

Dylan - Poet or Ideologist?

Comrades,

I myself have been strongly criticised for my views on pop music, but I must protest at the article on Bob Dylan in the last issue of *Young Guard*. The comrade complains that Dylan does not show the economic and social basis of individual problems. What does he expect from a folk-song—the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* with a twelve-string guitar backing? This sort of argument is worthy of a Russian bureaucrat at the peak of the Stalinist

period.

The view of society put forward in the article is Marxist—but the view of art would make Marx writhe in his grave. Does the comrade realize that Marx saw as the greatest novelist of his century Balzac—a Catholic Royalist? The job of any work of art—novel, play or folk-song—is to reflect human feelings and situations, and thereby to increase our understanding of them; not to set out a complete solution to problems. Dylan's contribution is that he has significantly broadened the range of human experience with which pop music deals.

Ian Birchall, ex-Wood Green Y.S.

Letter to Keep Left

Comrades,

The dishonesty and political trickery of your leadership is bringing disrepute and disaster to the revolutionary movement.

Your actions during the November Apprentice Strike where you tried to impose your leadership on to the apprentices not to strengthen and develop the struggle but for the greater glory of K.L. made this apparent. By forming separate committees and telling apprentices to ignore this strike and wait until March 29th you deliberately played the role of scabs.

Your criticism of the November strike was correct. It was adventurist. But once the apprentices came out, they should have received every possible support from all revolutionaries. Did not Marx condemn the Paris Commune, but when the communards took Paris he called for full support for "our comrades storming the gates of heaven." Your leaders cannot behave like this because they recognise no revolutionaries except themselves.

Where have your attempts to lead the apprentices ended? The strike on 29th March was postponed until 10th May. The 10th May came and went, still nothing. May 11th saw the publication in *Keep Left* of a statement from a so called National Apprentices Committee calling the strike off. They also printed a report of an apprentice strike at Stones of Deptford, London, on May 10th, where a token strike was called and the management agreed to meet them.

The Apprentice N.C.s statement said that the November strike weakened the movement more than they realised. If anything it strengthened the movement,

1. By bringing about the organisation of a national apprentice movement.
2. By showing the apprentices their own strength, many had never taken strike action before.

Any weakness and confusion amongst apprentices was caused by *Keep Left*. This is why there was no strike on 10th May. Because the apprentices have seen the role these leaderships play and want no part of them. If the apprentices were not militant and strong there would have been no strike at Stones and the management would not have agreed to meet them for discussions so rapidly.

At present K.L. plays a reactionary role. It is by deeds not words the workers judge. The fault lies not with the rank and file militants but with their bureaucratic leadership.

The apprentice committees must be run by the apprentices themselves, not by a group acting on behalf of the apprentices. The failure of the November strike must be discussed.

Not in terms as adventurist, etc. But, why was it adventurist?

Our duty as revolutionaries is to help, to guide, to support, to develop the movement. Not to make up issues or to impose ourselves on the apprentices movement.

Stan Graham
Peter Constable, T.G.W.U.

Selection of candidates

Many CLPs are now in the process of selecting a candidate for the next General Election. Young Socialist groups should of course take this opportunity to nominate someone whose attitudes are militant, socialist ones. Also, in areas such as the suburban south where Party organization is weak, the YS group often assumes a local importance, in that its members carry out a large amount of essential canvassing work. In this situation, YS groups should make clear to their local CLP their dismay and disappointment at many of the Labour Government's policies.

By bringing pressures of this kind upon local CLPs, Young Socialists should work to ensure the adoption of a candidate who will present a clear and imaginative socialist alternative to the other parties.

Dave Laing, Epsom Y.S.

Scottish scene

The YS in Scotland has not been affected to any great extent by the recent departure of the *Keep Left* supporters into what will probably be political oblivion. Visits by top KL cadres to official branches have failed to win any support.

Since the General Election four new branches have started in the Glasgow area, mainly from young people who helped during the election campaign. There is a danger that their disgust with the Government's policies may take them out of the movement. We are doing our best to show them the positive socialist alternative. Existing branches have maintained their membership (small though this is in some cases).

Comrades in Drumchapel are hoping to be given the go-ahead to restart the YS branch there. The branch was disbanded when a Labour Party ward meeting was broken up by a crowd of young people under the leadership of Bob Hamilton "our" National Committee member.

In Edinburgh the sole surviving branch, Pentlands, has built up its membership recently, and attendance at political meetings averages about fifteen. This branch could serve as a model to other YS branches in many respects; they combine their usual political-social programme with activities in the Labour Party, trade unions, C.N.D., anti-apartheid etc.

Away from the centres of factional warfare, most branches have continued as before, and they could best be served by the formation of federations. Wider contacts are essential for political development and we should press for this.

We are hopeful of the future. Issues like Vietnam bring us into contact with youth outside the YS. Struggles in industry over "incomes" Struggles in industry over "incomes policy" and the engineering package deal will force militant young workers affected by these to consider the political implications. Mass YS

branches are unlikely in the near future but we can make significant gains.

Jim Scott, Clydebank Y.S.

West Surrey fed

In West Surrey we felt that more of failing branches. Those branches which are moderately healthy are composed mainly of middle-class members. The federation executive feels that the way to build up small branches, to achieve a permanent hard-core of members who will carry the consciousness they have built in the Y.S. into later life, is to recruit members of the working-class whose experiences are a direct foundation for socialist ideas.

How do you recruit the working class young person? Most working-class Y.S. have Labour orientated parents who encourage their children to take an active part in the Y.S. Others are enrolled through external activities. They meet the Y.S. at dances, school, factory, etc. and come along to see what it's like.

In West Surrey we have a number of people would be enrolled by leaflets and posters than in any other way. So we commissioned a leaflet, aimed mainly at the working-class teenager, to be distributed at first in areas where the Y.S. is weakest, and later throughout West Surrey. The leaflet was produced by a sub-committee of the executive.

"What do you want?", it asks in large black letters. "Enough money to enjoy yourself? A decent wage? A decent education to help you to enjoy and understand the world around you?" It states that "Capitalism the system of profiteers and landlords, is to blame" (for inequality)

The leaflet as a whole has been criticised as a gross oversimplification, although it contains great truths, and of course this is in part true but then it is aimed at a politically naive section of the community. One cannot analyze in a recruiting leaflet a concept which is unfamiliar to most teenagers. The complexities come after enrolment.

Another suggestion for a publicity medium within our means is posters. A pilot scheme has been inaugurated by Kingston Y.S. to test out the idea. Demonstrations in the name of the Federation may be carried out.

Recruitment is not just a matter of posters or leaflets or demonstrations. A gentle rain of propaganda will bring people into the Y.S. just as dripping water wears away a stone.

(If any other branches have suggestions for recruitment especially via social activities we will be glad to receive their suggestions. Write to: The Secretary, West Surrey Federation of Young Socialists, 162, London Road, Kingston Upon Thames, Surrey.)

Roger Crossley, Kingston Y.S.

A computer was set the task of translating the phrase "out of sight, out of mind" into Russian, and then back into English. The re-translation came out as "Invisible Idiot."

Send in your
report now

LABOUR IN 1931

John Strauther, Stoke Newington Y.S.

The second Labour government took office in May 1929 as a parliamentary minority governing by consent of the Liberals. It set out in a period of relative capitalist prosperity, (even though over a million workers were unemployed), with a programme of mild reforms and international conciliation.

Before long, however, the American boom of the 1920s broke with the September 1929 Wall Street crash and the dependent European economies soon fell after it. By 1931, 2½ million British workers were unemployed and the government was forced to borrow heavily from abroad, chiefly the United States. The pound was said to be in danger of falling from the "gold standard" to which it had been restored in 1925. Bankers at home and abroad demanded that "economies" be made and the Tories clamoured that "confidence" must be restored.

Snowden, the Labour Chancellor, declared that "those best able to bear them will have to make the largest sacrifice," but instead of proposing them himself set up a committee under Sir George May, of the Prudential Assurance, consisting of two Tories, two Liberals, and two Labour MPs to recommend what he should do. They recommended that the deficit of £120 million in Snowden's budget should be met chiefly by a 20 per cent cut in unemployment pay, amounting to £66.5 million, plus increased unemployment insurance contributions, a means test and cuts in teachers' pay and grants, service and police pay and public works. Only £24 million was to come from increased taxation.

Meanwhile Prime Minister Ram-

say Macdonald told Labour supporters in the *Daily Herald* "we are grappling with this situation with all our ideals unchanged," while bankers and Tories demanded more cuts. Recommendations were then made to the Cabinet, Labour Party NEC and TUC for cuts of £48.5 million in unemployment pay, £11.4 million in teachers' pay, £9 million in service pay, £7.8 million on roads, etc.

Here for the first time Macdonald, more anxious to satisfy the Tories and bankers than defend the unemployed and his own supporters, met with serious opposition. Back-bench Labour MPs, a minority of the Cabinet and the TUC General Council opposed the cuts. The TUC proposed instead the replacement of unemployment contributions by a levy on profits, incomes and earnings, new taxation of securities and unearned income and the suspension of the Sinking Fund.

Rather than consider these proposals, Macdonald proposed to the Opposition parties cuts of £76 million, including 10 per cent off the dole. When this was not accepted by the Cabinet Macdonald went over to the Tories and Liberals to form the National government which implemented the cuts. In the General Election which followed the Labour Party was reduced from 278 to 49 MPs, against 417 Tories. The pound went off the gold standard and mass unemployment remained throughout the thirties.

A reformist government had been pushed into capitulation by a crisis beyond its control and its own lack of a determined alternative to capitalist policies. Most significantly the

parliamentary leadership had split from the trade unions to side with the Tories. During the thirties the labour movement was crushed; political and industrial recovery coming only with the war.

What similarities exist in the crisis of the present Labour government? Again in debt to American and international finance, it talks of the "national interest," "confidence" and defence of the pound. It shows the same willingness to appoint Tories as influential economic advisers and make those who can least afford it pay; now the pensioners, then the unemployed. Then as now, as Ralph Miliband pointed out (*Parliamentary Socialism*, p.176) the Tories needed a Labour Government to attack the workers' standard of living.

The situation is not identical, of course. There is now no international capitalist crisis, only the failure of British capitalism to compete internationally. Wilson may be no Macdonald, but if this government fails to renew British capitalism by subjecting the working class, its own supporters, to capitalist planning and produce its promised reforms, as now seems increasingly unlikely without some unexplained economic miracle, then defeat is inevitable. The return of the Tories could be as disastrous as 1931, bringing attacks on the trade unions, welfare and public services.

The reason for another defeat will be the same again; inability or unwillingness to apply socialist solutions to a capitalist crisis; playing into the Tories' hands. History repeats itself as farce.

It took a second world war to



Above, Macdonald, below Bevin



revive Labour in 1945, only to peter out in 1951. This time there will be no such chance again. If Labour fails once more, who will take it seriously as even a reformist party?

JAZZ Scene

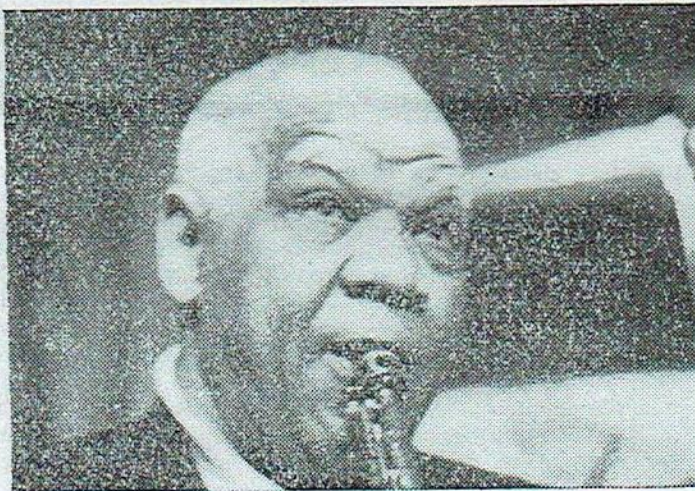
Pete Gold
Stoke Newington Y.S.

The present jazz scene is a confused one, especially for the listener; no two critics seem to be saying the same thing, and the views of the artists leave one baffled and bewildered. Leonard Feather has been saying that the scene is the best since the emergence of Miles Davis; Philip Larkin (jazz critic for the *Daily Telegraph*) is saying that jazz is a now dying art.

What is the scene? Broadly speaking it can be divided into two groups (1) the old artists (2) the artists who have emerged since "Bop." Both groups can be effectively divided into two. In the first group there are the old musicians who have in their time made valuable contributions to the art i.e. Armstrong and Kid Ory. The second group are the established artists who are making valuable contributions at the present time, outstanding amongst these is Duke Ellington who has made some fine records in the past few years.

One could call the second school the modern school (the word modern means very little since it is possible to describe any post-1935 artist by this term). The first division in this group consists of the originators of "bop" and it is with this group that the future of jazz lies.

Looking at the work of the younger jazzmen one cannot be too happy about the future of jazz. In trying to be innovators these musicians have drawn away from the mass audience while they perfect their styles. Jazz, especially the "New Wave" has become the art form of the "beatnik" and the university student. This is a dangerous thing. Jazz can only survive as a mass art; the messages that were conveyed by the early musicians



Sidney Bechet

reached the world and had their effect. While Coltrane and his contemporaries may be doing a good thing in trying to incorporate signs of the modern world into their music, there is no point in doing his if people do not get up and listen to the message. With the advent of jazz people got up and listened to what Armstrong and his contemporaries had to say. The world will not be moved by a jazzman playing to a few beatniks and intellectuals. Where are the Armstrongs and the Bechets today? It can be said with a good deal of justification that jazz has defeated its own ends and has nowhere to turn.

There are good signs however. Many artists are making attempts to break through with a measure of success. The M.J.Q.'s work of assimilating jazz with classical music though only in a rudimentary stage shows that the seed that Bix Beiderbeck tried to foster has not been left to die like so many other good ideas in jazz. Brubeck's exertions into varying jazz times has found the mass audience to a certain extent; to see an audience beating out 11/4 time is certainly an achievement. If the group can carry forward the initiative that Brubeck started there are great possibilities.

Stan Getz has made considerable inroads into the possibility of using the instruments available today and

not being limited to the usual instruments used in the jazz band. A very encouraging sign is the appeal of the "blues" to a large number of people. If the basic link ups between the blues and the music Parker played can be made, then it is possible that some sort of contact can be made once more.

The pessimists who said that jazz died with Charlie Parker have not been proved right but they have not yet been proved wrong.

Aneurin Bevan, of Churchill during the War: "All right. Suppose he fell under a bus. What should we do? Send a postcard to Hitler, giving in?"

LABOUR WORKER

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Joan Baez Graham Burchell Wimbledon Y.S.

Joan Baez is almost certainly assured of a tremendous response to her scheduled tour of England later this year. The audience at her concert in the Royal Albert Hall on 23rd May gave an overwhelming reception to a concert which was, in some ways, a disappointment.

Miss Baez voice certainly lived up to and in certain respects surpassed expectations given by her records. The purity and control of her voice created an atmosphere completely separate from the intervals between songs and similarly her easy-going and slightly humorous personality between songs seemed totally divorced from the tremendous feeling and power in such songs as "All my Trials." She felt equally at home on humorous songs and various Spanish and Portuguese songs, but the quality which marks Joan Baez out so clearly on her own was lacking in these songs and they created an uncertainty in the concert.

The Concert opened with the Beautiful "Silver Dagger," and certainly the audience could see little wrong after that. The mixed style concert gave a slightly scrappy appearance to it, with very little audience participation when wanted. The interpretation of Bob Dylan's songs was totally different but nonetheless the feeling and understanding of his songs and her own quality added made them as good as when sang by her idol himself. On such songs as "Mary Hamilton," "Silver Dagger," "All my Trials," "House of the Rising Sun," and the predictable "We Shall Overcome," Joan Baez' voice was heard to its full value and she confirmed herself as the greatest female folk singer today.

On a second encore Miss Baez finished with her beautiful and moving "Plaisir D'Amour," and I am sure that the encores could have followed on much later into the night had the Royal Albert Hall authorities allowed.

LABOUR'S ECONOMIC SUICIDE

One of the main themes on which the Labour leadership fought the last general election was the inability of the Tories to run a stable expanding economy and how the radical new policies of the Labour party would cure the situation. Now after seven months of these policies, the Economist, a journal which supported Labour at the last election wrote:—

"The Government is faced with price inflation and a falling production index and sterling on the slide again. It is a jolting threesome. To have all together is an achievement of nihilistic genius after seven months of Labour's economic planning" (29.5.65).
What then has gone wrong? Let us trace the economic policies since last October.

Financial crisis

When the Government took office it was faced with an immediate run on the pound. That is to say foreign and city bankers decided to invest their money where the outlook was not so gloomy. The reasons for the run on the pound were as follows:—
(1) A growing lack of confidence in the strength of the British economy, amply justified by the £745 million deficit over the year.
(2) The fear that a Government faced with this economic crisis would in an attempt to increase exports, devalue the pound.
(3) The fear of some of the more reactionary and less realistic financiers of what a "socialist" Government might do.

Faced with this outflow of capital, the Government raised the bank rate from 5 per cent to 7 per cent in order to make it more attractive for financiers to hold their money in Britain.

In an immediate attempt to cut down imports the Government placed a 15 per cent surcharge on all imported goods apart from raw materials. At the same time they gave an incentive to exporters of a 2½ per cent tax rebate.

Deflation

Within a month of being in office Callaghan took the step of having a "mini" budget. The purpose of this was to show bankers that they were willing and prepared to take deflationary measures. They also announced that as a concession to their working class supporters they would increase pension rates. However to please the bankers this had to be deferred until the spring.

It was inevitable that the budget in April would be deflationary, but nobody quite guessed the extent to which these deflationary measures would be applied.

"In his first six months of Chancellorship, Mr. Callaghan has imposed twice as big a squeeze as any Conservative Chancellor ever did. In his famous deflation of 1961 Mr. Selwyn Lloyd imposed only £210 million of tax increases."

Economist 10-4-65

It was necessary to take these deflationary measures because in the economy demand for products exceeded the available supply by an estimated £500 million. In this situation it was extremely profitable for manufacturers to sell their goods on the home market at increased prices.

Hitting the working class

The deflationary measures taken by the Government had two main effects:

- (1) The increased taxation restricted the ability of workers as consumers to buy goods manufactured by the working class as a whole. Industry is then forced to sell more of its goods abroad.
- (2) The reduced buying power of workers also cuts down the amount of goods imported into the country.

Brian White, Surbiton Y.S., and Mike Caffoor, Hornsey Y.S. analyze the reasons for Labour's growing crisis and falling support

What have been the effect of these measures on Labour's traditional supporters—the working class? Firstly it has meant that because of the increased bank rate, Local Authorities have in many cases cut their house building programmes or passed on the increased cost to council tenants. Secondly, mortgage rates which Labour had promised to lower have gone sky high and families are having to pay out more to Building Societies. Thirdly, industry is likely to cut back on its investment programmes which could result in short time working and unemployment.

The measures to cut demand have also hit the working class. Increases in prices have followed as a result of the 15 per cent import surcharge, and the measures in the budget to increase the duty in tobacco, drink and car tax have effectively produced a wage cut.

In foreign policy too, the effect of the Government's economic policies can be seen. The support for Ameri-

can imperialism in Vietnam and Dominica, and the imposition of the Sandys constitution in British Guiana can all be traced back to American aid in securing the vast loans needed to support the value of the pound. As Wilson himself said in his fraternal address to the T.U.C. last year: "You can get into pawn but don't then talk about an independent foreign policy or an independent defence policy."

So much for those on the "left" who utter frantic squeals of indignation at Wilson's support for the worst American barbarities whilst at the same time talking of his "brave" efforts to get the economy on its feet again.

Socialist alternative

The electoral effect of Labour's policy of playing capitalism's game can be seen in the mass abstentions of working class Labour supporters at the recent local elections. If

Left needs new initiative

Roger Protz

As the Wilson government drifts almost happily towards disaster, the left-wing must prepare for a tremendous opportunity to increase its support numerically and politically and to deepen its roots in the labour movement. Wilson and company are proving in action what we have always stressed—that capitalism can only be "planned" in the interests of the capitalists; a Labour government that tries half-heartedly to tinker with the system and to please everyone will quickly become a pawn to big business.

With Labour in office, socialist politics is no longer an esoteric game of tit-for-tat between right and left, a sterile debate on "what we would do if . . ." The if has become reality; the right wing precariously holds office and the left has a few months or years in which to present to the movement its alternatives to muddle and reaction.

All the theories that made do under Toryism must be ruthlessly examined, analysed, revised or discarded if the socialist left is to advance and help raise the consciousness of the working class.

The Young Socialists have a key role to play in the development of the left. Although the YS has never been a mass movement (and, if sectarians and dreamers will forgive me for saying so, it is impossible to have a mass youth movement under present conditions), it has made an impact within the Labour Party, particularly at constituency level. Many party members who had no illusions about the right-wing bureaucracy but who became disillusioned by the inability of the established "left"—VFS, Tribune, etc—to fight it, have been aroused by the fire and determination of the YS to carry out a real struggle for socialist policies even if it meant running the risk of expulsions.

Protracted blows from Transport House and the defection of *Keep Left* have left the YS at a low ebb, but if the sane left-wing can win the day at the next conference then there could be great possibilities of expansion in size and influence. It will not be enough to pass yet again a series of correct but formalistic

resolutions. A programme of action must be hammered out and a committee elected that will translate the programme into a campaign to take the YS to working-class youth.

The YS must not only break out of its own middle-class milieu; more important, it must break out of the Labour Party strait-jacket. Far too many revolutionary socialists view the Labour Party as the sole field for fruitful work; we are not in the Labour Party to merely change it but to lay the ground for the eventual construction of a truly socialist party. To do this we must bring into political activity the great army of industrial workers—including the rising and thrustful white-collar unions—who will rattle the Labour Party machine by first doing battle with their own union bureaucrats.

Opportunities

It is not enough to wait for the inevitable explosion inside the Labour Party when the government is defeated. Such explosions have happened before, but the machine has emerged intact because the battle for ideas has been played at top level and has not brought the rank and file into action. We must seek to transform this situation and ensure that the next explosion is a real one, sparked off at rank and file level in the trade union movement, defeating union leaderships and capturing block votes as logical but vital steps to a real show-down with the doyens of social-democracy at Labour Party conference.

Such ideas are being transformed by events from vague possibilities into concrete probabilities. Wilson is proving the bankruptcy and cowardice of social democracy. The drive to bolster capitalism by "efficiency," "modernisation" and "incomes policy" are just convenient labels to mask an onslaught on the strength of the organised labour movement if British capitalism is to last in this shrinking and hostile world. The movement is presented with both a tremendous battle for survival in the next decade and the real possibility of taking power.

Labour is to win the next election it must challenge the right of capital to dictate its policies.

This means that when faced with an outflow of capital from this country Labour should not bribe it to remain here at the expense of the working class. The Government must place complete controls on the export of private capital.

However by means of their control of the import-export trade, capitalists could still get fortunes out of the country by simply fiddling the invoices. It is essential therefore that the commanding heights of the economy must be nationalised under workers control.

The withdrawal of British troops from imperialist bases abroad would mean a saving of £350 million in foreign currency, a break with the war alliances and a severe cut in the arms bill would mean enormous resources could be concentrated on peaceful production.

The socialist alternative to Wilson's policies is drastic, but it is vital. Otherwise we may see the fulfillment of the recent prediction of the *Economist*.

"Three times round has gone Labour's gallant ship. How soon does it sink to the bottom of the sea?"

If the YS is to play a useful role in these developments it must integrate itself into the labour movement. This means discarding such rubbishy ideas as an "independent" youth movement. It is commonplace in certain quarters to make demagogic speeches about the "attack on youth" and "youth against the rest." These arguments are not only shallow but actually help to increase the antagonism between young and old, especially inside the labour movement.

The whole movement, regardless of age, is under attack. Publicised phenomena such as the Mods and Rockers should not distract us from the first priority of building the maximum unity between all sections of the labour movement. The YS must find its way to the apprentices' movement through a genuine desire to cooperate, not to use them in wild adventures; through national apprentices committees we can build a bridge to the adult movement and involve ourselves in the growing movement for workers' control and industrial democracy.

For once the hoary old cliché is right: not just the YS but the whole labour movement stands "at the crossroads. It is up to the socialist left to steer the movement in the right direction and to start to hack our way towards the new society.

Prepare to fight

from page 1

Another disturbing rumour which was going around at the YS Rally was that the Conference would not be on a branch resolutions basis, as in the past, but would consist of general debates on subjects picked by the Youth organiser, and introduced by prominent Labour Leaders. This would be an obvious way of frustrating opposition and forcing it to fight on Transport House's ground. The Conference is the last remnant of democratic political discussion left in the YS and we will fight tooth and nail against those who try to remove it from us.