

YOUNG GUARD

September 1964

No 28

Price 4d

FOR
SOCIALISM
& FREEDOM

LABOUR TO POWER — WITH A STRONG YS

The Young Socialists is 25,000 strong and vitally necessary if Labour is to win the battle of the doorstep in the coming General Election. They are also vitally necessary if the Labour Party is to have the injection of new blood so necessary to its continuing vigour. Again, they are also vitally necessary if the Labour Party is to continue to campaign for militant socialist policies.

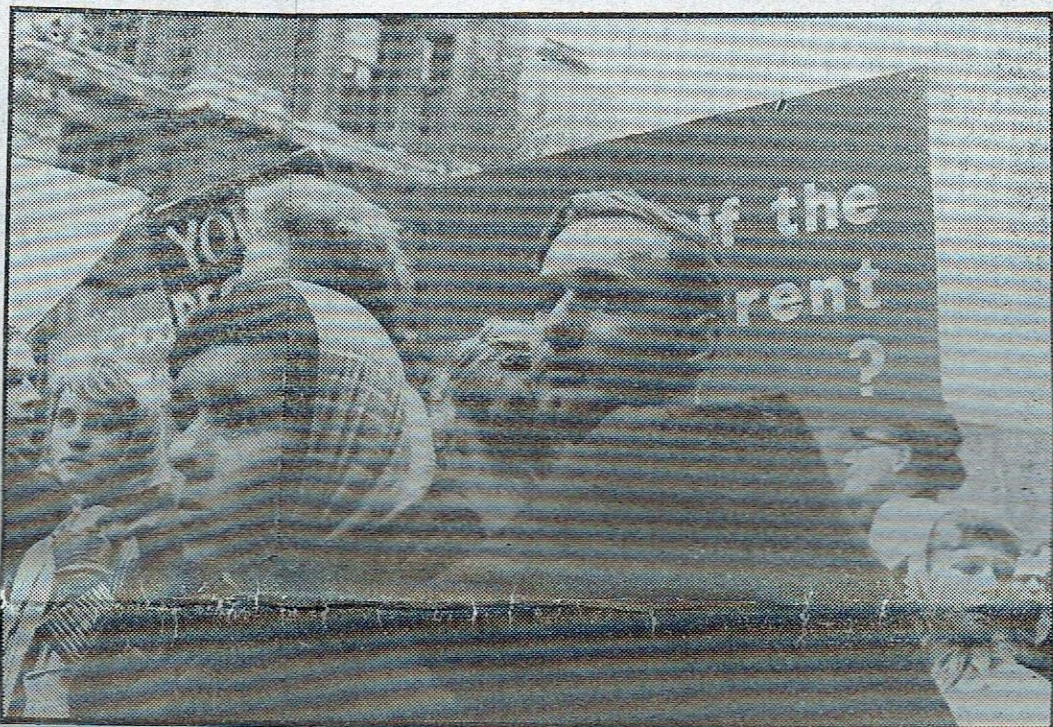
Young Guard knows that the YS is vitally necessary in the fight for a socialist future. It is therefore determined to save the YS from destruction.

Our movement is being torn apart by the lunatic antics of Keep Left and Labour Party right-wing officials. All over Britain branches and YS Federations are being closed down by the right-wing for pursuing policies which are contrary to those of the majority of the Party leadership. This is undemocratic. A socialist party must always allow the minority to express their case and then defeat it, if they can, by argument. It is also positively malicious to dismantle sections of the Labour Movement when every effort should be made to get rid of the Tories.

There is a nasty stench of a witch-hunt in the air. We have seen it all before. The right-wing have in the past hounded out Communists, and Bevanites; supporters of Stafford Cripps and Cripps himself. They even tried to get rid of Lord Russell for not paying his six bob subscription. Now the Red Menace rides on the broomstick of Trotskyism. Argument is seldom employed; to label is enough. Trotskyism is BAD and must be destroyed. (Incidentally in the process they destroy the YS which might suit their purposes fine.) One less source of potential trouble for a Government committed to NATO, wage restraints, and British troops in Aden and Malaysia. Where next with troops. Viet Nam? Congo? After all, Capitalism's interests are threatened there too. Young Guard is not Trotskyist, but it does believe that socialism is about taking society over from the roots up, and the running of things for the benefit of the community by the community — nationalisation under workers and consumers control. We believe that the workers should not restrain for a moment in their demands for a better deal when bosses still make big profits from their Labour. To hell with the national interest. We don't recognise nations-only classes.

We also oppose the manufacture of nuclear weapons and H-Bomb diplomacy. These are not the weapons of class war. Which bomb does not kill or threaten our fellow-workers abroad. How can you call it democracy when the greatest weapon in history capable of destroying the

For four years Young Socialists have been fighting against the Tories, the Bosses and the Bomb



world balances on the finger of one man.

How many more Africans and Asians have to die for the sake of British Imperialism before British Labour leaders have the courage to call halt. If Wilson wants more effective weapons for a band of professional killers who are protecting oil profits then we call Wilson a hypocrite and a coward who is lacking in a fundamental way the spirit of socialist internationalism.

We say all these things openly and challenge anyone to debate them with us. We are not Trotskyists. Neither are the majority of the YS yet they agree on a basically similar policy. It was DEMOCRATICALLY decided by the MAJORITY of the YS Annual Conference this year at Brighton. Will you expel us all for holding these views?

The Trotskyist scare which is being used to purge dissident elements from the Party is contemptible. These are political expulsions and as such should be opposed by all Party

members on the Left.

Keep Left is of course being extremely provocative in its attitude and by dragging the struggle against the right-wing into the gutter outside Transport House they achieve nothing except an increase in hostility among the Party rank and file. There was constant turmoil and re-The Transport House fiasco also damaged the Parties election. But it is our task inside the YS to settle our own political differences. The policies of the YS will be basically unchanged in the future but our movement must be torn from the hands of this phoney, hysterical "leadership."

The way Keep Left dance in such demented circles is dangerous to the development of a healthy rational Left. The way they are prepared to use Young People as demonstration fodder and twist and lie to create the illusion of strength is sickening. They drive people out of the movement very quickly. They are therefore dangerous and must be opposed.

But they must be opposed POLITICALLY, not by expulsion and closure.

Don't let the YS be the victim of destructive factions who together represent no more than a minority of all Young Socialists. Join with us in attempting to save the YS. Many sections of our movement who put the YS before their individual interests have formed a Save the YS Campaign!

We want your support, whether you are under or over twenty-five. The people who can save the YS are the Labour rank and file of which the YS are part. A petition is being sent to every party in the country. It's up to you to get as many signatures as possible upon it. We want resolutions on the basis of the petition sent from every constituency in the country. By raising the demands of the petition we are creating the opportunity to put the rational YS case to the CLP'S.

Remember the real battlefield in the fight against expulsions is on the GMC floor—in your local Labour Party. No expulsion can take place unless the local party agrees to it for every local unit of the LP is to that extent autonomous. All the National Executive can do to implement an expulsion against local wishes is to disband the Constituency and reform a stooge Party which will accept its recommendations. It is hardly likely to do this on any scale. **A Rally is being organised in London on the 20th September to launch the "Save the YS Campaign."** Every YS member who opposes political expulsions, and the lunacies of Keep Left is invited along. A big meeting that will mark the start of a big fight that every

NATIONAL RALLY

to launch the
'Save the YS' Campaign
will demand

1. A YS united for Labour victory
2. No closures of national or branch level
3. No political expulsions

WATCH FOR DETAILS

WORLDSCENE

Tessa Mundy Hackney YS

Full Support to the Workers of Aden

At present, the British Government has several thousand troops in Aden, maintaining what it calls British interests. In reality this means the investments of the oil companies in the Persian Gulf, and what remains of British investment in East Africa. In defence of the oil profits the people of Aden are subjected to a police state maintained with all the brutality of a fascist regime.

The Tory Government is fighting the popular movement in Aden on two main fronts. In the first place, the tribal revolt against feudal rulers is being suppressed by military action. Radfan has been particularly in the news; but there are many lesser upheavals all over the territory. Duncan Sandys, the Colonial Minister, has pledged himself to the extermination of the Radfan rebels by whatever means are necessary.

1,000 lb. bombs have been dropped on defenceless tribesmen and their villages. Crops and food supplies have been burned in areas where they are always in short supply. In this kind of war it is civilians rather than the guerrilla fighters themselves

who suffer.

Secondly, the Tories imposed a reactionary constitution linking Aden with the feudal shiekhdoms in the interior. In Aden itself Sandys attempted to cover up British domination by a form of constitutional government. This was rejected by the vast majority of the people led by the Aden TUC and Peoples Socialist Party. The franchise is restricted while the powers of the legislators and Ministers are very limited and depend on the good will of the Governor.

76 per cent. of those eligible to vote boycotted the elections in 1962, and the attitude of the workers was shown by the 100 per cent. response to the Aden TUC call for a General Strike in opposition to the constitution.

In the town of Aden, as in the Shiekhdoms, opposition to the puppet ministry and the colonial administration is severely repressed. Socialist and trade union leaders have been imprisoned, meetings have been banned and strikes broken up by police action. This situation has got worse

since the State of Emergency was declared after a bomb throwing incident at Aden airport last December. In the Protectorates of the interior, the feudal sheiks still have the power of life or death. Many nationalists have been held in their prisons for two years or more without charge.

Apart from the nationalist struggle the British Government now has another problem. The Federation is a ramshackle affair with nominated ministers, depending, like the sheiks, upon the Governor for their positions. Without British troops it would break up in a month. Quarrels have broken out between the feudal rulers and the Aden Bourgeoisie. The sheiks see Aden with its industrial growth, and militant trade union and socialist movement as a threat to the stability of their own rule. They would like to see it entirely absorbed in the Federation. The Aden business men on the other hand want a continuation of the present constitution, with some liberalisation; for they are afraid of the results of a policy of complete repression. The Tories have played the two sides off against

each other and when this failed to produce results, bribery and threats were used.

A further aspect of the Tory Government's policy is its support of the Royalists in the Yemen Republic. In defence of Aden it must keep Yemen weak and divided. Yemeni Republican villages have been bombed by the RAF and there is no doubt that the Aden Administration have been supplying arms to the deposed Imam of Yemen.

Aden is a classic example of a colonial war. The British Government is quite unconcerned with the well-being of the people of Aden. It prefers to keep them backward in order to maintain control more easily. Socialists must support the Aden TUC and the Peoples Socialist Party in their struggle for self-determination. We must make it clear that we will not let a Labour Government get away with a mere lessening of the State of Emergency. Harold Wilson must declare himself for complete self-determination; for the unity of South Arabia under a popular Government and not under the imposed constitution of 1959.

YOUNG GUARD

Three years of education and agitation

The number 3 has always had mystical significance in the minds of men. This month however it is not the Triangle or the Trinity which we contemplate with wonder, but the third birthday of Young Guard.

Yes, we are three years old this month. After completing the awesome task of compiling twenty eight editions, printing in total over a hundred thousand copies of Young Guard, and raising some £2,000 we are entitled to do a little reminiscing. The first Young Guard, produced in September 1961, was an attempt to unite the forces of the Marxist left who were enraged in being forced to stand aside at the first YS Conference at Easter that year and watch Keep Left and the Right Wing crucify the movement. It was to be a regular monthly paper, democratically controlled, and fighting for a series of left Wing demands around which all sections of the movement could group to cross-fertilise through dis-

cussion and action their political consciousness.

The early copies of YG were six page creations of incredible ugliness. All of us were new to publishing and had less idea about lay-out than we had about journalism (It was pretty aw-then there will also be a future for Young Guard.

ful too). But under the editorship of Chris Davidson, the contents and layout steadily improved despite our Polish printer whose knowledge of English was as limited as his range of typefaces. He was, however, the cheapest one-man printer in Western Europe and his recent removal from the list of union approved shops is a great blow to the more impoverished sections of the working class movement. After a spell in Glasgow, during which the paper was completely re-vamped by Monica Foot, on lines drawn by designer Reuben Fior, we were forced to leave Glas-

gow, our new layout and our debts behind us and return reluctantly to the clutches of our Polish first-love, who once more implanted the kiss of death upon our pages.

Money has always been our greatest problem for YG is completely dependent upon the income from YS supporters. We have left a trail of angry printers, and IOU's for £10 £5 and less littered through the movement and have even been saved from insolvency by a Beaverbrook libel.

Politically the fight has been just as hard, educational and enjoyable. We have had schisms within our own ranks over questions of policy and lost valuable comrades as a result, were threatened with proscription by the Labour Party, investigated, then saved by the flood of derision which greeted the attempt in the same organisational report to expel Bertrand Russell for not paying his 6/- Party

subs.

Young Guard has played a valuable part in the resurgence of militant socialism which began among the youth in the late 50's. Through YG we who actively support it have learned to express ourselves, respect the opinions of others, co-ordinate the efforts of the democratic YS left, and thus develop a socialist consciousness which rejects the exploitation and inhumanity of Western Capitalism, as firmly as it rejects the dictatorships of the East. Our Marxism is based firmly upon a belief in the ultimate triumph of the workers all over the world in their struggle against their ruling classes; the building of an international society free from war and founded upon a philosophy of democratic Socialism.

Though the future of the Young Socialists is grim; if there are young people who believe that these ideals are worth fighting and writing for,

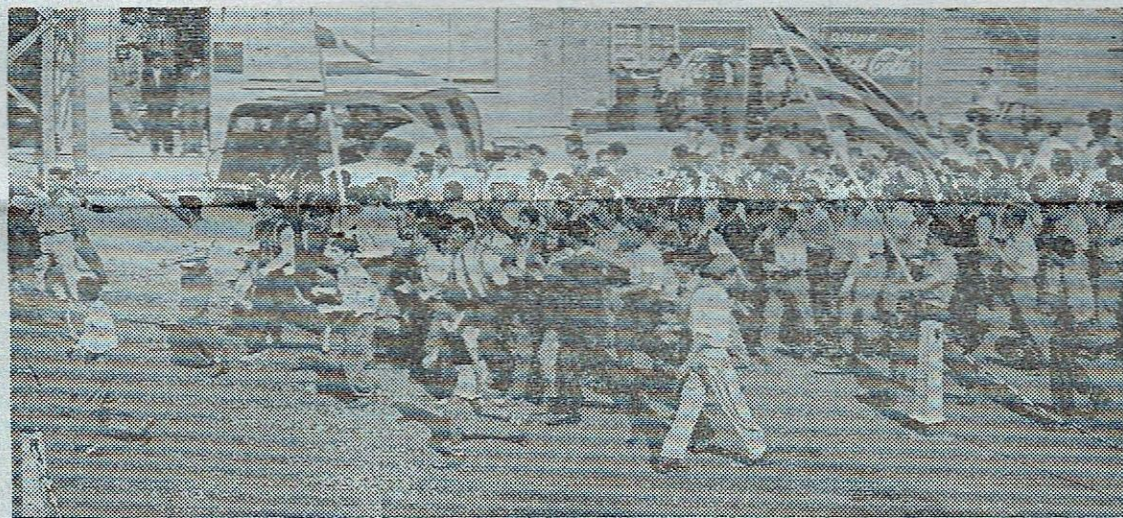
AKEL MUST FIGHT FOR A SOCIALIST CYPRUS

Fred Lindop Holborn YS

This article attempts to look briefly at the causes of the conflict in Cyprus, at the possible solutions, and at the strength and attitudes of the left-wing forces in the country. There is no history of hatred between Greeks and Turks in Cyprus. The two communities have different cultural traditions, but until recently there were few racial conflicts. There are three main causes of the present troubles. First, Greek and Turkish right-wing extremists. Second, British colonialism and Western military interests. Third, the policies of the Greek and Turkish governments. Terrorism is not the monopoly of the Greek organisation EOKA. Greek and Turkish extremists alike have used force against their own people, to prevent contact between the racial groups, and to maintain the tension. The diehard EOKA supporters, led by Grivas and Nicos Sampson, are a small, tough extremely determined, minority. Their demands for unity with Greece and their fanatical anti-communism do not represent the views of the majority of Greek Cypriots.

tion have made effective government been prevented from developing the economy, and taxation and customs collection is in chaos. In this situation Britain has exploited the divisions by trying to give the impression of defending minority rights against a dictatorial government. This sham should be exposed at every opportunity. The policies of Greek and Turkish governments have contributed to the situation in Cyprus. Both regimes are reactionary and corrupt, both are under pressure from extreme nationalist elements. The Cyprus quarrel provides a useful distraction from unemployment, poverty and repression at home. What solutions are possible in Cyprus? The two real alternatives are Enosis or independence. Partition is completely unacceptable. It is difficult to gauge the extent of the support for Enosis among the mass of Greeks. The voices we usually hear are those of Grivas and Eoka. In the present situation, threatened by Turkish invasion, some Greek Cypriots look to Greece for protection. But if this danger were

economic development and democratic government. Its position on Enosis is not clear. Right-wing pressure, and probably desire not to alienate some of its support, have made some of its leaders give lukewarm support to the idea of union with Greece. But a large proportion (difficult to say how many) do not seem to have succumbed to the appeal of Enosis. They have no illusions about what union on Grivas' terms would mean for communists, socialists and trade unionists. Enosis would be a step backward, not forward. A supporter of AKEL, interviewed in the May edition of the YCL paper Challenge had this to say: "the Cypriot people want a united Cypriot state, and no foreign interference of any kind." Most Greeks also realise that after recent events Enosis is unacceptable even to the most progressive Turks. Complete independence is the most desirable solution. This means of course that British bases must go and that the Zurich Agreement will be repudiated. Turkish Cypriot rights to their own culture must be guaranteed, but proper majority gov-



On the Turkish side, people who have opposed the right wing-element and who remain friendly with the Greeks, have been beaten up and killed. The extremists are determined to prove to the Western powers that Turks are afraid of living anywhere near Greeks and that partition is the only solution which will prevent a massacre. Hence the deliberate provocation of Greek Cypriots; retaliation on a large enough scale would be an excuse for a Turkish invasion to impose partition in the guise of protecting Turkish lives and property. The British interests in Cyprus is the bases, necessary to the defence of the Middle Eastern oil investments. The talk of a peace-keeping mission is so much hypocrisy. The Tories recognise that a strong independent Cyprus would demand the removal of the bases and hence their policy has been to keep the country weak and divided. (Harold Wilson looks like following in Home's footsteps). The 1959 Zurich Agreement should be seen in this light. Imposed by the British and Turkish Governments (with the weight of NATO behind them) it gives the Turkish minority power and privileges out of all proportion to their numbers and education. The Turkish bourgeoisie have a lot to defend; although the mass of peasants gain nothing from these privileges. The intricate divisions of power between the Greek president and Turkish vice-president, and the Turkish veto on all legisla-

impossible. The government has removed the desire for union with Greece would probably be reduced. Whether or not Cyprus develops peacefully depends largely on the left-wing and its political party AKEL which has so far been excluded from government. The party is led by Communists, but a majority of active supporters are probably progressive nationalists rather than communists. AKEL has led what active opposition there has been to the racial extremists on both sides. It rejected the terrorism of EOKA during the struggle for independence. It sponsored the Cyprus Peace Committee, which included all races—Greeks, Turks and Armenians—and in the summer of 1955 collected 100,000 signatures to a petition against the building of military bases in Cyprus. It was the strong and increasingly popular line taken by AKEL in demanding self-determination without bases that caused the Governor to ban the Party (December 1955), close all left-wing papers and imprison 135 communists and trade unionists without charge. Estimates of AKEL's support vary from 40 per cent. of the Greek population, according to a leading Turkish Cypriot, to 50 per cent. of the whole population according to AKEL itself. Whatever the exact figure, it is certainly the only popular progressive force in the country. The demands have reflected the demands and needs of the Cypriot people; self-determination without bases,

ernment is the only way out of the present chaos. The rights of the Turkish and Greek governments (under the Zurich Agreement) to interfere in Cyprus must be rejected along with the imposed constitution. Neither of these states can or will make any contribution to the development of Cyprus, or to the benefit of the Cypriot peasants and workers. AKEL has its faults, but clearly it is the only real alternative to a right-wing police state. It must press for a united, independent and democratic Cyprus, free from all imperialist interference, British, Greek, Turkish and United Nations. There are many dangers in the situation (not least the infiltration into the island in recent weeks of Greek and Turkish troops). Only resolute action by AKEL can lead the Cypriot people out of the present crisis. Socialists in Britain have a role to play in the Cypriot people's struggle. Clearly we oppose the Tory policy. Equally clearly, we must fight against the acceptance of this policy in the Labour Party. Harold Wilson said on May Day that he would send more troops and bigger and better tanks to Cyprus, to maintain Britain's position. The interests of the British working class are not in keeping the workers of Cyprus in subjection in the interests of the oil companies. All socialists must fight against this reactionary and imperialist policy, and demand complete independence for Cyprus and all colonial territories.

from where
I stand

FIANNA

Militant

It now seems almost certain that the Autumn will see the launching of a new left-wing Young Socialist paper called "The Militant." It seems unfortunate that at a time when our movement is being torn apart by factionalism and unity of the rational left is imperative, these comrades should be breaking off yet another splinter. These Comrades should have worked inside Young Guard even if they were in the minority in Young Guard we have a broad enough area of agreement inside the democratic structure to work effectively for a socialist alternative to Wilsonism and Healyism. Incidentally, there has also been an attempt to start a right-centre paper in the YS. A cynical pessimist might say this was the start of a chain reaction of political fission which is anticipating the imminent destruction of our movement.

Doublethink

Tom McGrath, who reviews Tony Cliff's book on Russia on page seven, is an anarchist and foreign news editor on Peace News.

The danger of having an acolyte assessing his master is spelled out in Isaac Deutscher's otherwise excellent biography of Trotsky. In the second volume, "The Prophet Unarmed," Deutscher describes Trotsky as a prophet who, "ran so far ahead of his time that more than thirty years later much of his prediction still remains unconfirmed by events." Doublethink again Comrades.

Renegade

"Its tough on the Left" is a saying emphasised by our high rate of cadre fallout. It is a terrifying thought that someone will someday compile a list of Marxists who have sold out to Reaction. One renegade receiving a lot of publicity nowadays is James Burnham. A one-time theoretician in the Fourth International and associate of Trotsky, he broke from "The Old Man" over his continued support for Russia. Burnham has popped into prominence again as an adviser to none other than Barry Goldwater. He is now advocating making Russia withdraw to its 1939 boundaries before negotiations and liquidate the "Communist world revolutionary apparatus."

Mosley

At a meeting in Shoreditch the other week a Keep Lefter sneered that Roger Rosewall, Young Guard supporter on the YS National Committee, by opposing a KL document was no different from the YS right-wing. But once they start this type of guilt by association argument they are in trouble. Mosley's new monthly magazine "The National European" complains of police violence against Fascists and quotes cases and sentences to prove that the police are tools of the communists. This is the other side of the KL coin now in limited circulation. It's as ignorant, lying and unprincipled to say that every opponent of KL is a right winger as it is to say that every paranoid is a fascist.

1945

In this Young Guard feature Chris Gray of Hornsey YS, Noel Tracy and

WHERE DID LABOUR

Setting the scene

Few of the wartime victories won by the British people was as complete as the peacetime victory of 26 July 1945. On that day the old order was blasted from power by the result of the first post-war General Election. Tories 213 . . . Labour 393 . . . Labour majority 180. For the first time in British history the working class party had inflicted electoral defeat on the ruling class party—and what a defeat. And what a surprise. Few doubted that Churchill, the Tory War-lord would be returned to power by a grateful nation. But they had misjudged completely the mood of workers and soldiers, weary and bitter after six years of slaughter and privation. Those who had worked and fought wanted peace and jobs. Experience told them that the ruling class could not provide both. These were enthusiastic days, when a buoyant, militant people sent a wave of fear and depression through

the Capitalists. Jubilant crowds thronged The Mall to cheer Attlee into Buckingham Palace in his Standard 10. Fifteen minutes before Churchill had left the Palace in his chauffeur driven Rolls. It was indeed the beginning of a new era. Bonfires blazed in celebration all over the land, and in India a red flag was even run up outside a officers mess. The honeymoon did not last long. Far from instituting the social revolution for which he had a popular mandate, Attlee crawled cautiously forward. His Cabinet's average age was over sixty. Legislation was mild and attempts to circumscribe the power of Capital minimal. Faced with an ideologically divided world, Labour leaders chose Western Capitalism and all the military, economic and imperial commitments that went with it. Abroad they jailed socialists and trade unionists and laid down the lives of British troops in defence

of Imperialism. They became the first peacetime government to introduce conscription then used the troops to break strikes. For us, too young to remember, they seem like dark, nightmarish years from another age. Labour jailed strikers and tried to introduce control of Labour. They freed India, but suppressed in blood the movements for freedom in a dozen other lands. They were among the first to volunteer for the Cold War against Russia. At home clothes were rationed, bananas and pineapples were unobtainable. It was immensely difficult to get Scotch Whisky. Everywhere the black market thrived and the Spivs multiplied. People queued for almost everything and sometimes went home cold and weary to find that they had no electricity because of a power cut and no fire because coal was so scarce. It was the *Age of Austerity* when the slogan was "Export or Die." It was also the *Age of Disenchantment* when a generation saw their hopes betrayed. Living Standards and social services were ravaged by the demands of a war budget designed to save Western Capitalism from being engulfed in a Red Tide. Capitalism was initially constricted but

most intelligent business men now realise that it was perhaps best to rationalise the sections of the economy which Labour nationalised. But the ruling class still saw Labour as a threat for it still has its bedrock the organised and conscious working class. And it still had traces of a socialist ideology which carried them beyond the bounds of good business demanded. When they nationalised steel the alarm bells sounded and the press began a merciless campaign for private enterprise. Indeed the role of the press then was so scurrilous that it, perhaps as much as anything, sapped Labour's courage and frightened them into an apologetic shadow of a socialist administration. In this feature Young Guard looks at that Labour Government and examines what went wrong. What went so hellishly wrong that within six years our party destroyed one of the biggest majorities in British Parliamentary history. What happened to drive away a whole generation of activists from the Labour Party. What happened that the British electorate has taken thirteen years to forget. Four Young Socialists attempt to answer these questions in this Young Guard feature and draw a guide to action for the Left under the next Labour Government.

Foreign policy

Unpalatable though many of Attlee's domestic policies were, none left so bitter a taste as Labour's foreign policy. For a Young Socialist an examination of this period is a sobering experience, especially when we realise that a working class party at its Conferences voted its approval that such objectionable policies be pursued, in such objectionable ways, by such objectionable men. It is difficult to see how Tory policy for this period would have differed much from that of Labour. Indeed the bi-partisan attitudes of many Labour leaders had been fashioned under Churchill's guidance in the war-time Coalition Government. These attitudes led them in pursuit of "national interest" at the expense of British workers at home and great cost in blood to workers abroad whose interests clashed with those of British Imperialism. As Byrnes, the US Secretary of State at the time of the Potsdam Conference in 1945, observed, "Britain's stand on the issues before the Conference were not altered in the slightest by the replacement of Eden and Churchill by Attlee and Bevan." Much of this was predictable. Labour's election manifesto "Let us Face the Future" was no revolutionary manual. It promised to strengthen collective security through the newly founded UN and unlike the pre-war Tories evolve closer relations with Russia. It also proposed self government for India (not independence) and a planned progress for colonial dependencies. The attitude of Labour to its late ally in the fight against Fascism, the Soviet Union, is central to an understanding of many British policies of the period. They saw USSR as a

rival imperialist power and reacted in the classic imperialist manner. The conflict in Greece is perhaps the clearest illustration of this. Late in 1944, British troops were transferred from the Italian Campaign where they were sorely needed, to Greece. Yet the Greek anti-fascist partisans had already cleared the country of almost all Nazi resistance. The role of these troops soon became clear. When the left-wing partisans attempted to seize power and declare a socialist republic on 4th December 1944, British troops were used to smash them. Puppet Governments, reactionary and unstable, were set up over the Greek people while the socialists, communists, and trade unionists lay in jail under British guard. These actions were taken, said Bevin at the Labour Conference of 1944, "Because the British Empire cannot abandon its position in the Mediterranean." If Greece fell, reasoned Churchill and Bevin, the Russians would be in a dominant position in the eastern Mediterranean and might sweep through Turkey into the oil rich Middle East and even over-run the Suez Canal. Eventually Labour policy led to the reestablishment of the Monarchy and the consolidation of a near fascist government. How bitter the fate of the Greek fighters against fascism who saw themselves robbed of victory by a government representing their British working class comrades. But the shame of Greece does not lie entirely with the Labour Right. At the Yalta Conference, Stalin had guaranteed a 75 per cent. British influence in Greece as part of some diplomatic horse trading and although Russia was in a position to

tip the balance against a weak Britain, neither Izvestia or Pravda uttered a word of criticism about British actions.

The first concern of Ernest Bevin was the maintenance of the British Empire whatever the cost in blood spilt or principle betrayed. His hatred of Communists was implacable. The Spanish fascist press welcomed his maiden speech on foreign affairs in the Commons as the first effective anti-soviet statement by a representative of the Western Alliance. The other side of the coin of anti-communism was the vigorous suppression of freedom movements in Africa, the Middle East and Far East.

To ensure that no threat was presented to British possessions by a free Indonesia, and that no colony was tempted to emulate her example, British troops overthrew the Indonesians who seized power when the Japanese occupation ended. The Dutch Imperialists who had been driven out by the Japanese troops armed with British guns and transported from Holland in British ships. Eventually with the help of captured troops and British guns, Indonesia was dragged back into the orbit of imperialism. Labour Party Chairman Harold Laski said of this act, "It makes the British claim to have engaged in a war for democracy a hollow mockery all over South East Asia."

The examples are many. In Malaya trade unionists were jailed and a ruthless jungle war waged against Communist freedom fighters in which the British army even resorted to recruiting Dyak head-hunters to murder and mutilate our Malayan comrades.

All over Africa the pattern was the same. Unarmed demonstrators in the Gold Coast (Ghana) were shot down and 29 killed in the riots which followed. In Nigeria miners were shot down and murdered in an attempt to break their strike. In the Middle East we clung to our ill-gotten assets and were involved in war between Arabs and Jews which produced some of the nastiest incidents of the six years in office and brought to the surface a latent anti-

semitism in the British public which even seemed to taint Bevin himself. Eventually Britain made a hurried retreat with almost all the problems unsolved and Palestine slid into the civil war from which emerged present day Israel.

The Korean War saw Britain dragged in on the side of the Americans and the South Korean fascists at great cost in men and money. And shortly afterwards the incidents in Persia closed the records of a discredited and bankrupt administration. In Persia, Herbert Morrison, who had taken over the F.O. after Bevin's death in March 1951, was threatening the Persians led by Mosadeq with a piece of gun-boat diplomacy because they had nationalised the British-owned refineries at Abadan. Here was perhaps the final irony which highlighted the hypocrisy and pettyness of the Labour Foreign Policy—Britain attempting to smash a country for daring to act in a manner which they claimed was the cornerstone of their home policy and nationalise their basic industry.

Labour's vigorous continuance of the classic policies of British Imperialism were an integral part of their whole right-reformist philosophy. When the war ended Labour could have attempted to build at home and spread abroad a society founded upon a socialist base; a society given economic muscle by a socialist planned economy. Instead it capitulated to capitalism, left the commanding heights unscaled and were then faced to accept the logical extensions of this reformist policy. As Attlee said before the war when circumstances permitted of more hypocrisy than later, "Foreign policy of a government is the reflection of its internal policy. Imperialism is the form capitalism takes in relation to other countries." How very true. The basis of a socialist foreign policy was laid by a speaker at the Labour Party Conference in 1945. He said, "The crucial principle of a socialist foreign policy should be to protect, assist, encourage and aid in every way the socialist revolution wherever it appears." The speaker was Denis Healey, Labour's present right-wing spokesman on defence.

OUR GO WRONG

The welfare state and housing

The Labour Government's essays in the social services can rightly be regarded as a significant advance for the working class. What is less widely realized is that the welfare state in no way exceeds the framework of capitalism, but is in fact heavily dependent on it both in its philosophy and in a material sense. Perhaps the best illustration of this is national insurance. The capitalist attitude to this question is clear and logical: competitiveness of British industry is ensured by (a) confining the services to those who need them (i.e. being as niggardly as possible) (b) making the workers pay, (c) maintaining class distinctions, and finally (d) making sure that national insurance benefits do not bump up the minimum wage ("Damn it all, you must have incentives otherwise the buggers won't work!") Labour's policy was not startlingly different. Labour's social security policies followed closely the Beveridge Report on Social Insurance published in 1942, which had attempted to define "minimum needs," or in other words a "safety net" below which no one was to be allowed to fall.

Unfortunately the modest sums allocated—24/- a week for a single person and 40/- for a married couple—did not fully allow for price rises. Beveridge had assumed a price level on average 25 per cent. higher than pre-war; in fact by 1946 the price increase was at least 54 per cent. Consistent policy would have been to fix 30/- or so (single person) and 49/- (married couple), though goodness knows this would have been miserly enough: in fact 26/- and 42/- were fixed. S. Pollard, in "The Development of the British Economy 1914-1950," comments: "the benefit rates, by themselves, were insufficient to sustain life, and the National Assistance scheme . . . became a necessary standby for large numbers of insured persons. Thus by the end of 1950, 1,350,000 persons were receiving weekly allowances from the Assistance Board, of whom no fewer than 873,000 were persons who were in need because the benefits under the insurance scheme were too low; 650,000 of them were old-age pensioners." (D. N. Pritt in his book on the Labour Government puts the figure of those on the NAB

the end of 1950 at over 2,250,000) "his large-scale dependence on a National Assistance Board which was financed separately, was fairly independent of the Minister and had to apply a needs test, threatened to bring back the old Poor Law under a new guise." (Pollard op.cit., p.399) Surely the Health Service was the shining example of Bevan's socialist genius and the benefits of Labour government, wasn't it? Compared with the insurance proposals it was certainly outstanding. Unfortunately, like much of the promised social legislation it came to grief over the government's ineptitude in economic and foreign affairs. The policy of free, comprehensive health service for all, which had been agreed upon by the Labour Party ever since 1941, was whittled away by control on new building imposed to curtail government expenditure under the Marshall Plan, by shortages of building materials especially timber, and finally by the advent of the Korean War and the final phase of the importation of the arms economy into Britain. The story of health charges is too well known to need discussing; a ceiling of £400 million was imposed in the 1951 budget, not one new hospital was built in all the six years, and the promised health centres remained on paper, except in

one or two areas. Yet the popularity of what was achieved can be shown by the fact that almost 95 per cent. of the population joined the scheme, and there was a rush to make use of the facilities.

Housing presents a less attractive picture. Characteristically the Attlee government rejected a socialist solution of the problem, and equally characteristically botched things. The target of 400,000 new houses was never met, and was therefore scaled down in 1947 to three hundred thousand. Housing suffered probably more than anything else from the US interference in the economy occasioned by the Marshall Plan. As Pritt remarks "The vested interests which were accustomed to make big profits out of housing—the building industry itself, the building materials monopolies, the landlords—were scarcely tackled at all." And of course, independent action by the workers was stamped down ruthlessly. Such action occurred towards the end of 1945 in the form of a "squatters" movement, families moving into army huts and empty blocks of flats; apparently as many as 45,000 people took part in this example of direct action. ("Goodness knows what might have happened if it had gone on: why, Buckingham Palace might have been occupied!")

Planning Nationalisation and industrial unrest

Whatever the Tory press said, the British people in 1945 were not faced with a fundamental choice between "free enterprise" and "Socialism". The Labour Party was committed on the one hand, to raising the living standards of the working people through a policy of social reform; and on the other hand to re-establishing British capitalism on sound foundations. In the post-war situation, their aims were bound to conflict. The Labour leadership, faced with this dilemma, chose to put the interests of the economy (capital) before those of the workers. It was a mistake to expect anything else from a reformist party. The idea of "planning" was basic to the Labour Party's economic programme. But it was planning of a kind which many Tories found acceptable in the post-war years. Planning in this context meant the use of fiscal and financial controls, and a limited amount of nationalisation, to prevent the recurrence of large-scale unemployment and to adjust the economy from wartime to peacetime production. Government intervention was occasionally irksome to capitalists but never a serious threat. As an example of Government control, take direction of industry. In the years immediately after the war (1945-48), 35 per cent. of new industry was directed to development areas. But when capitalism and the Tory Party had fully regained their confidence, the Government found it impossible to direct industry against the bosses' wishes. From 1948-51, only 18 per cent. of new industry went to the depressed

areas. (1951-61, 17 per cent.) The Government's reaction was to attempt to direct Labour (Control of Engagements Order), with even less success. The basic problem facing the British economy after the War was the need to export. The loss of foreign investments (mostly to the U.S.A) during the war, and the rising cost of imports, meant that exports had to be 75 per cent. above those of 1939. Costs of production had to be kept down in the interests of the export drive. The capitalist solution, adopted by the Labour Government, was to hold down wages relative to prices. With the co-operation of the employers and the T.U.C. bureaucracy, the Government imposed a policy of wage restraint, in effect, in a time of rising food prices, a wage freeze. Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer, demanded an equal sacrifice from all in industry; which meant of course, that the workers paid. The workers' reaction to this was to take unofficial action to protect their living standards. The Labour Leadership replied by using all the apparatus of the State against strikers. Hartley Shawcross, Attorney General, made the position clear. "This Government, like any other Government, would feel itself perfectly free to take any disciplinary action that any strike situation that might develop demanded." Six days after it was elected, the Government used conscript troops, to break a London dock strike, despite the fact that in 1939, the Labour Party had tried to amend the Military Training Bill to

prevent a Tory Government from doing this.

The portworkers with their strong tradition of working class solidarity, were the main, though not the only, target of Labour military force. Conscripts were used to break dock strikes in Hull and Southampton, a meat-porters strike at Smithfield, and a gasworkers strike. Dockers who struck in support of Canadian seamen were prosecuted by Shawcross himself. Miners in Yorkshire and Durham had to pay substantial damages to the N.C.B. The strike leaders at Beckton (London) gasworks were sent to prison. But it was impossible to maintain "discipline," there were too many unofficial strikes. By 1950 pressure from the rank and file had forced the T.U.C. to break with the Wages policy.

The predominantly capitalist ideology of the Labour Government is seen most clearly in its policy for nationalisation. To the Labour Party leaders, nationalisation could only be justified on grounds of improving the efficiency of the economy, an aim to which most Tories were fairly easily reconciled after wartime experience. The industries nationalised had all been recommended for State ownership at one time or another by Tory committees, mostly because they were necessary but unprofitable. Labour's policy did not become a threat to the capitalist class until it came to nationalise steel and here, the tired Labour Government wilted and compromised in the face of a furious Tory onslaught.

The important issues in nationalisation were compensation and control. By and large, the coal and railway owners did better than they would have done if the industries had not been nationalised. The nationalised industries were saddled with debts, while private capital was released to more profitable growth sectors of the economy.

Ralph Miliband writes, "The Government's concept of public ownership (described by Lord Hinchinbrooke as State Capitalism) ensured the predominance on the boards of nationalised corporations of men who could hardly be expected to

regard nationalised industries as designed to serve any other purpose than the more efficient servicing of the private sector."

Labour leaders made no secret of their contempt for workers' control. "I think it would be impossible to have worker-controlled industry in Britain at this time, even if it were on the whole desirable" (Cripps, quoted Miliband). Joint-consultation was a concession to the left and the militants in the unions. Confined to advisory status on health and safety, the consultative committees managers, who fought out the same battles as they had before nationalisation. Naturally, the Labour bureaucracy sided with the managers in this struggle. The net result is that workers were disillusioned with nationalisation; they had expected something more than marginal improvements in conditions.

Late in 1945, the Economist, commenting on Labour's programme after the election, said "an avowedly socialist party, with a clear parliamentary majority, might well have been expected to go several steps further." That the party did not go further was due to its lack of any coherent socialist ideology. Its reformist tendencies were checked, then halted completely, by its economic policies, which were basically capitalist solutions to the problems of capitalism.

In 1964, the Labour Party Leadership is more than ever wedded to the "mixed economy." Faced with many of the problems which confronted the 1945 government (the need to increase exports in the face of increasing competition, rationalise industry, cut costs, etc.) it will be forced into adopting capitalist solutions to them.

Conclusions on role of the Left continued on page seven

LETTERS

Arse and Rape

Comrade McEldowney's crazy letter (*Young Guard*, June) contains many wild things, amongst which appears to be an innuendo that I advocated "arse and rape" in my May articles on "Morals" and "smokes." Just how does he come to this conclusion? Most of the rest of his letter is equally irrelevant. He mixes my anti-Catholicism with racialism (I suppose its just as racist to dislike Conservative's, comrade . . .) and somehow he drags in a sorry picture of a Britain ravaged and torn by V.D. epidemics.

Supporting "Youth Impact," he says it is a group attempting to preserve the code of behaviour which has been thrown up by Society during the course of its evolution. So here the comrade is defending the morals of a society based on exploitation of man by man; a society of privilege, monopoly and corruption! What party are you in, McEldowney—the Labour Party or Moral Re-Armament?

Amongst the hysteria and general chaos of his letter, McEldowney does however raise the very valid point of marijuana being a well-known breaker-in for hard drugs. This isn't because marijuana gives you a taste for heroin, cocaine . . . it's just that, in order to obtain his supply the "smoker" has to go to the criminal fringe, who don't hesitate to try and get him "hooked" on the main line, which of course means more to the "pusher" in terms of profit, whether measured in terms of money or free fixes. If marijuana weren't illegal, then of course the situation would be radically changed.

Chris Torrance,
Wallington YS

Young Socialists

It is now obvious that the right wing at Transport House has decided in principle to close down the national apparatus of the YS after the General Election, if not before. Of course, the right wing do not want to close down the YS if it would be an admission that unlike any other political party Labour cannot run a youth section.

The responsibility for the future castration of the YS will rest squarely on the right wing since their decision, as the majority faction on the NEC, will be the operative one. On the other hand they have been aided and abetted in this by "Keep Left" who have done their level best to push the NEC into going further and faster than it might otherwise have done.

In my opinion this is not a question of idiots unconsciously playing the other side's game. They must have taken into account the likely reactions of the NEC before they embarked on some of their recent, lunatic stunts. In fact it seems that what Keep Left is now after is to force the NEC to physically disband the whole YS. This would suit them politically because it would allow them to form an "independent" YS under their own control without having the responsibility of "splitting" laid at their doorstep, while the extinction of the YS would mean that there would be no rival organisation to compete with their outfit and things would be nicely polarised into sharp shades of black and white with the legitimate leftists being eliminated from the youth arena.

I hope that "Young Guard" will now take the initiative in starting a campaign to expose the motives of both the right wing and Keep Left

who in different ways and for different reasons, will destroy the YS if they're allowed to. We on the healthy left in the YS are the ones who can save the organisation and we have to show our fellow members that we have the right idea of how to go about it.

Edward Crawford
North East Ham YS.

Young Socialist

I have not liked canvassing for a right-wing Labour candidate, or being patronised at committee meetings, or giving out literature carrying half truths and phoney statistics. It is usually all there is to be done, apart from building a YS able to defend itself and understand the forces shaping society.

In Northern England particularly, most YS branches find it hard to stand on the Party line (especially one with such eccentric kinks in it) and the connivings of full-time Transport House officials help one.

The Sunderland Federation was closed for discussing the expulsion of John Robertson and our Regional Youth Committee was suspended for discussing the closure of our National Committee.

To protest against this unnecessary foolishness and that of closing Streatham Y.S., Sunderland Y.S. decided to send a delegate to the proposed lobby of the National Executive. I was elected as delegate; I attended the rather abortive lobby, and subsequently made a report of it to my Y.S. Together with Alan Jackson, my Chairman, who had attended the lobby at his own expense, I was immediately suspended from membership of the Labour Party for six months by the local party executive. A resolution from my branch accepting responsibility for my attendance at the lobby was rejected at the borough party general committee meeting, which incidentally, two sympathetic Y.S. delegates were not allowed to attend to support their resolution.

Perhaps the Labour Party is right to be worried about the coming General election. Despite their various blunders, crimes, and abuses of power, the Tories always do better than most observers think possible. But no hasty purge can shut up a large, politically sophisticated movement with the convictions of the Y.S. without a struggle harmful to the Labour movement, whilst the justification and furtherance of such oppression could make the holding of power by the Labour Party meaningless.

Philip Evans
Sunderland Young Socialists.

Teamsters

Simon Petch's plea for "caution" in considering the case of Hoffa represents an exceedingly naive view of the attitudes and aims of the US administration. The principal witness against Hoffa was Edward Partin, a New Orleans Teamster official who operated as a paid Federal agent and spy inside the union. He is at the moment in gaol on a manslaughter charge. But since giving evidence he has found that, by a strange stroke of luck, 26 other criminal indictments against himself which were pending are not being pressed. These include some for embezzlement of Teamster funds! Hoffa is head of the largest union in the country, whose 1,700,000 members comprise 10 per cent. of organised workers in the US. The Teamsters policy has been far more militant than that of any other big

union in the country and great economic gains have been won. Despite the sustained government campaign against the Teamsters, 50,000 to 100,000 new members a year are gained. The fact that such a union rejects the role of unionism as envisaged by the government, and engages in struggle instead of collaboration, is the reason for the campaign to get Hoffa.

For the purpose of destroying the militancy of the Teamsters the administration set up a special section of the Department of Justice in 1960. Of course, with his undemocratic and tough methods and his huge salary Hoffa provides plenty of ammunition. But government interference in the unions, a strategy to bring them further into government control and not a manifestation of democratic fervour on the part of the Johnsonites, must be opposed. The rank and file must deal with Hoffa and with democracy. If the administration succeeds the Teamsters will remain just as undemocratic and will become far less militant.

Bill Vester

Religion

It is unfortunate that, in his amusing attack on God in June YG, Comrade Hammersley failed to point out the social character of religion; this important omission seems to arise from his "Humanist" standpoint. Humanists tend to talk of religion as though it were an insane plot of a few fanatics against human happiness; Marxists, on the other hand, recognise that, throughout history, religion has played an essential role in developing societies. The basic fault in the purely "Humanist" position is that it (in Comrade Hammersley's own words) "asserts the dignity of every man, woman and child," but it does this in a vacuum; Marxism asserts the real dignity of man, in society.

Humanism is, in fact, a social phenomenon like religion—a hangover from Christianity which replaces the abstract "God" with the abstract "Man." As such, it only appeals (like modern Christianity) to a minority of sensitive souls, typically students, attempting to work out their relations with the world (and, in Oxford, their sex-life) without the support either of religious mythology or of the social-istic (not abstractly individual-istic) "self-knowledge" which is the basis of Marxism. As Comrade Hammersley points out, most Humanists (and many Christians, for that matter) escape from this merely introspective position by taking part in progressive social, political and intellectual movements—naturally, for "Social-ism" is the realistic development of the ideologies of archaic religion and modern Humanism.

Alan James,
Truro L.P.

Religion

As a believer in Christian principles who is unable to give concrete proof as to whether or not God exists, I should like to comment on Comrade Hammersley's attack on religion in your last issue.

Admittedly "Religion provides for the ruling classes a ready means for keeping the masses in servile contentment" and the established Church's record in this respect is absolutely disgusting. However, surely that is merely because the majority of the hierarchy have not practised Christian principles. (Indeed, I would go so far as to say that very few people in this so-called Christian country make any effort to carry out the Christian ideals of brotherly love and selflessness and that a considerable proportion of those that do call themselves atheists, but that is beside the point.)

The Christian Church has provided a very useful vehicle for all sorts of tyrants and careerists, as has the working class movement, examples in the latter being Mosley and Stalin. The solution to this problem in any movement lies in the hands of the sincere rank-and-filers who must oust all charlatans from their organisation to ensure that it is seen in its true light.

Trevor J. Garrod,
Lowestoft Y.S.

Alexander appeal

On April 15 this year South Africa's white supremacy courts sentenced Dr. Neville Alexander and ten other people to terms of imprisonment ranging from five to ten years.

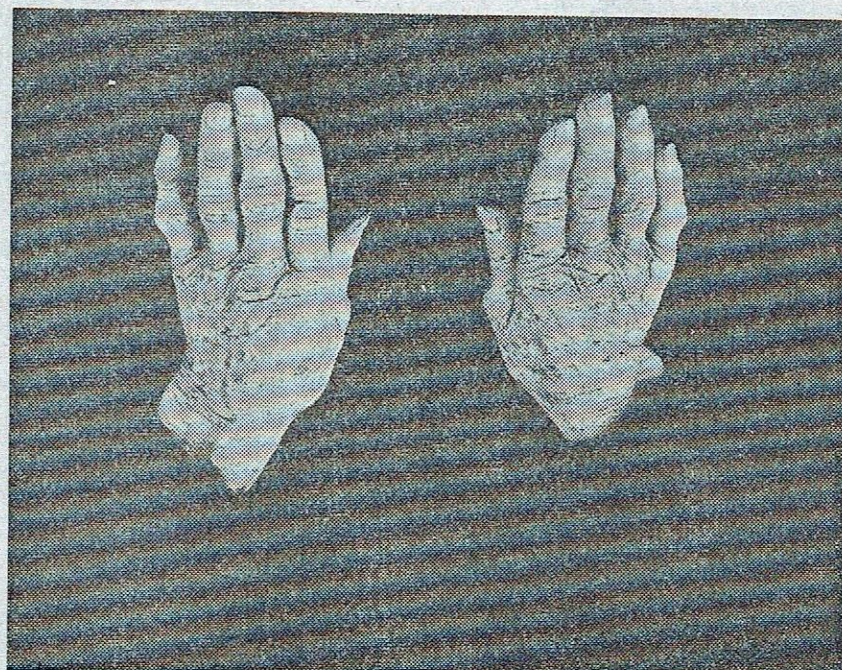
Charged under the infamous "sabotage" acts the defendants were found guilty of "conspiracy." Even the presiding Judge, H. A. van Heerden was compelled to admit no actual acts of sabotage had been committed. The reading of Marxist works was found to be sufficient evidence of the accused's guilt.

The eleven prisoners are now attempting to appeal against their sentences and financial help is urgently needed. Would readers of your paper please raise this matter in their Labour Party, Youth section and trade union branch. Donations should be addressed to C. Kirkby, acting secretary, Alexander Appeal Committee, Thursley House, Holmwood Gardens, S.W.2. Further information can also be obtained from the secretary.

At the Caxton Hall on Friday, September 4th a public meeting is being held to discuss how we can help these prisoners. Please ensure that your organization is represented.

Bob Pennington

HANDS OFF THE YS



BOOKS

Tom McGrath reviews

RUSSIA

by T. Cliff

(from I.S. 47 Fitzroy Rd., London, NW1 18s.)

How did the ideals and aspirations of the Russian revolution degenerate into the Soviet state capitalism of today? The answer given by this book is in two parts: Russia under Stalin, Russia after Stalin's death. The description made of the two periods is so well documented that its truth cannot be doubted. And throughout the book, the author's attitude is consistent with the title: he is a Marxist, pure and unrevised version. Soviet society is studied as a class society.

In the first chapter the formation of a class society is described in detail. It had been decided after the revolution that the management of plant should be in the hands of the trade unions. But the control of each plant in Stalin's Russia was put in the hands of a manager who operated apart from the workers and their control.

An intensification of this situation followed: the workers were no longer allowed to organise themselves in defence of their own interests. Indeed, they were no longer capable of organising themselves because they were now involved in "socialist competition" with one another. Eventually they were deprived of any legal freedom. They became

slaves to an economic plan. Their women were made to work under dreadful conditions. Forced labour was introduced "in a number of forms and in varying degrees." At the extreme point were the slave camps. Men were punished by being forced to work. This was indeed the opposite of anything Marx had formulated.

The Soviets, officially the welders of power, became little more than rubber stamp organs. Real power resided elsewhere. And elections became farcical, amusing in the sickest kind of way:

"Stalin declared: 'Never before... has the world ever seen elections so completely free and so truly democratic...'"

"It was Stalin who polled 2,122 votes in the elections to the local Soviets... despite the fact that the constituency that 'elected' him had only 1,617 voters!"

Where Marx had forecast that the setting up of a socialist system would mean that the state would wither away, Stalinists insisted that communism in one country went hand in hand with the strengthening of the state. It was not admitted that the state was being strengthened to assert and consolidate the power of



the rulers over the ruled; the bureaucracy over the workers.

And in Khrushchev's Russia the party remains a bureaucratic club, its member enjoying all the privileges of a ruling class. Elections remain a phoney front for bureaucratic manipulation. Basically, there has been no change since Stalin's time. But, in Tony Cliff's opinion, an important change is still to come. He heads his last chapter "The Coming Revolution."

The outline I have given above hardly does justice to Tony Cliff's book. I have not discussed the full comparison he makes between State Capitalism and a Workers State, the intense study he makes of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a class, or the examination he carries out of Trotsky's definition of Russia as a degenerated workers' state. But I have done this deliberately.

Absorbing as the book is, I find it has a curiously fusty air about it. In the author's opinion: "the class struggle in Stalinist Russia must inevitably express itself in gigantic spontaneous outbursts of millions... It will be the first chapter in the victorious proletarian revolution. The final chapter can be written only by the masses, self-mobilised, conscious of socialist aims and the methods of their achievements, and led by a revolutionary Marxist party." This reads to me like something out of the ark.

We are moving into an age which will render Marxism redundant as an avant garde force. The increasing use of cybernation is leading society to a point where "... the traditional link between jobs and incomes is being broken. The economy of abundance can sustain all citizens in comfort and economic security whether or not they emerge in what is commonly reckoned as work..." (The Triple Revolution, Liberation, April, 1964.) Marxism, indeed socialism of any kind, will have to be remade to respond to a unique social and economic base. Where a mind as perceptive as Tony Cliff's will be of greatest value will be in keeping society "on the right lines" and away from any Stalinist or 1984 position. A revolution may still be needed, but it will not be the sole property of the working class. With the build-up of nuclear weapons, there may not be time to wait for a working class to organise itself as a militant group.

Any revolution of importance will come, I believe, not through the seizing of viaducts and bridges, but from the taking over of the means of communication. The people capable of doing this become the new revolutionary class.

Tony Cliff's book is invaluable as a guide to what must be avoided, but it is no guide to the future. Hold on to your hats, we are moving into the age of post-socialism.

41-51 Conclusions

During the six years of Labour rule there was constant turmoil and revolt in the Party as outrage followed outrage. Unlike now, the focal point of significant opposition was inside the Parliamentary Party. At its tightest this circle encompassed perhaps fifty MP's and at its broadest around a hundred. The activities of Left MP's was seldom co-ordinated enough to be politically effective and since Bevan had been shrewdly tied up by Attlee at the Ministry of Health no-one of stature arose to claim the leadership. They were also inhibited by fears of embarrassing their Government who seemed to be constantly struggling with their back to the wall against intimidating odds.

Tribune, which had been founded in 1937 by Cripps to give voice to Left demands, failed to mobilise opposition in strength among the rank and file against the shocking betrayals by the Attlee Government. The fact that Bevan, who probably dominated Tribune policy, was in the Government meant that the only reaction to many dubious policies are the still familiar uneasy silence.

Yet Labour's rank and file continually transferred the burden of their discontent onto the apprehensive shoulders of their Left-wing Parliamentary champions; who emitted some convincing battle cries but seldom ventured into combat. Yet illusions die hard. The natural processes of death and exhaustion have weakened the Parliamentary Left and the sight of former worthies disappearing on the back of miscellaneous bandwagons has slowly eroded the loyalties and enthusiasms of the Party rank and file. Jointly these two factors have drained the illusion of a Parliamentary Left of what little substance it had.

Many whose militancy had been awakened in the years of war joined the Party only to fall despairingly into the arms of the Communist Party or back into apathy. A whole

young generation drained quickly away, as most GMC meetings testify, and an atrophy set into the thinking Labour Left which was only arrested by the events in Hungary and Suez. The articles above outline the dilemma which faced Labour. They also prove that Labour resolved this dilemma, in all too many cases, at the expense of the working class. The militants therefore were in the front line and the Communists recruited briskly. They held challenging positions in many of the major unions and helped create the conditions which won the only major victory of the rank and file during the six years. This was the smashing of support for the Labour wage freeze at the TUC in 1950 which even the union bureaucrats were forced to agree to because of the growing pressure of discontent from below.

Many of the problems which faced Attlee persist today although not in such enormity. There is little to indicate that Wilson will not follow the path tried and proven by Attlee. The task of the Left under Labour will be to make clear the alternative which is open when Wilson puts the interests of the war budget and British big business before the social services and the improvement of the workers share in the national cake. We must not rely upon individuals but upon the working class. Parliament may be a platform for us, but at present there are few worth listening to. The task is to educate the Party militants, who are the most conscious sections of the working class, to the realities of power in a class society. Simultaneously we should be campaigning wherever workers are in conflict with employers to show the wider implications of their struggle and the limitations of young people act for better wages and conditions Young Guard must be there to assist them and to create the consciousness which will take the struggle those vital steps forward.

POETRY

Questions by a Worker
by Bertoldt Brecht

Who built the seven gates of Thebes?
The books are filled with names of kings.
Was it kings who hauled the craggy blocks of stone?
And Babylon, so many times destroyed,
Who built the city up each time? In which of Lima's houses,
That city glittering with gold, lived those who built it?
In the evening when the Chinese wall was finished
Where did the masons go? Imperial Rome
Is full of arcs of triumph. Who reared them up? Over whom
Did the Caesars triumph? Byzantium lives in song,
Were all her dwellings palaces? And even in Atlantis of the legend
The night the sea rushed in,
The drowning men still bellowed for their slaves.
Young Alexander conquered India.
He alone?
Caesar beat the Gauls,
Was there not even a cook in his army?
Philip of Spain wept as his fleet
Was sunk and destroyed. Were there no other tears?
Frederick the Great triumphed in the Seven Years War. Who
Triumphed with him?
Each page a victory?
At whose expense the victory ball?
Every ten years a great man,
Who paid the piper?
So many particulars.
So many questions.

YOUNG GUARD

ONWARD TO SOCIALISM

Andrew Millar Esher YS

Big election special

Many political events of immense political importance have galvanised Labour's youth since the foundation of the Young Socialist Movement in the Spring of 1960; but next month, October 1964, will be one of supreme importance to every YS activist. Next month we can, with hard work, achieve the end we have worked for during all those dismal, dreary canvasses of the past four years; the political defeat of the Tory Government. Next month we must work as never before for the Labour Party. Canvassing, leafleting, organising meetings and selling socialist propaganda.

To play its full part in the General Election, Young Guard will try to boost its size to 12 PAGES. Exposing the squalid failure of Capitalism through the Tories to provide people with the quality of life and leisure which technical advances have made possible for all. In 12 PAGES we will prove that the world's wealth and potential for good or evil, can only be shared and mastered to provide for all by the common ownership of the means of production—the factories, the power station, the transport systems, the houses and the land. Let's start proving this here in Britain.

This will cost money, lots of money, TWICE as much as usual. But you will be seeing lots of people, MORE than TWICE as many as usual. In committee rooms, election meetings, outdoor leafleting, and a host of other election activities you will be meeting people. To cover the extra cost WE WANT YOU TO DOUBLE YOUR ORDER OF YOUNG GUARD FOR OCTOBER.

Use Young Guard to defeat the political arm of British Capitalism.—That's what you founded it for!

Ex-Young Socialist arrested

Stuart Christie a member of the Glasgow Federation of Anarchists and an ex-member of Springburn YS has been arrested in Spain and charged with carrying plastic explosives for the underground anti-Fascist movement.

Young Socialists in Glasgow demonstrated in solidarity with Christie outside the Spanish Consulate in Glasgow and more action is planned.

All Young Guard supporters are asked to contribute to a fighting fund which is being planned to help defend Christie. All gestures of support will be welcomed by our comrades underground in Spain.

Safer, more mundane, but also more important than plastic bombs. The fund is still open to buy a duplicator to help the Spanish Young Socialists produce anti-Franco leaflets. All money to be sent to Transport House.

Remember the words of Lenin, "With 26 soldiers of lead, we will conquer the world."

With just weeks to go before polling day, the air is full of the sound and fury of conventional party political clashes and counter-clashes. With every week the Tories seem to become more confident of victory and some sections of the Tory party even openly plan what they will do in their next period of rule—something that should be of the greatest concern for the whole Labour movement.

But at the same time the odds are still on a Labour victory, and with the maximum effort in the coming weeks by all sections of the Party—especially the Y.S., we can ensure a Labour Government with at least a modest majority. Having said this the question is then raised how does this prospect affect the struggle for "socialism in the sixties?"

To start with it is worth repeating that no Government—and certainly not one without socialist policies—can bring socialism to Britain and the world. What we can—and do expect from a Labour Government are measures to strengthen and improve the conditions of working people—reforms on the basis of which we can extend the fight for socialist ideas and socialist consciousness among workers.

Even a Labour Government with its present policies can contribute to this—even though persuasion will almost certainly be necessary. The implementation of many of Labour's official policies, (e.g. end of the Rent Act—more council houses—free health service etc)—without compromise—can undoubtedly help to sharpen further working class demands. The fight to improve conditions and help the growth of self confidence among workers is part of the same process.

Here again to prevent the demoralisation that would result from a failure to tackle the specifically working class problems of the gross housing shortage and rent rackets would be disastrous for the prospects of developing the consciousness of the need to struggle for socialism.

The socialist left must be prepared to put forward an alternative strategy for Labour to meet all these—and other—crises. We must be ready with demands to control financial institutions in the City of London and elsewhere in the event of a balance of payments crisis—demands for nationalisation, under workers control, where private industry "fails the workers" (for instance by only agreeing to automation in return for redundancy or wage cuts), by demanding greater planning and controls to ensure houses for the workers—not luxury flats and offices for the boss class, and by demanding a break with NATO and imperialism—the economic resources to be switched to social reconstruction at home and aid for the colonial and people and workers in under developed countries.

Clearly this means that the socialist left must be prepared to campaign—and hard. It must be prepared not only to explain the issues to workers and advocate alternative socialist policies to prevent retreat—it must also be prepared to assist the unifying of those struggles that will be waged by working people in defence of their interests and gear these



struggles to a campaign in the Labour movement to break with capitalist collaboration and right wing policies.

Well, what are the prospects of getting these reforms from a Labour Government headed by Harold Wilson? What are the chances of failure because of the conflicting demands that capitalism will make on Labour—spending on NATO or on housing for instance—capitalism's view or the workers view of no wage control—will prove too strong. Straight away it can be seen that some battles will be harder to win than others. The hardest may result from the Labour Government's commitment to a capitalist incomes policy. If the workers lose this battle—and the associated struggle over control of automation in the factories—there is the gravest danger of demoralisation—a drift to reaction—and the eventual return of the Tories. Similarly the inflation in Britain's capitalist economy which will be set off by any jump in the upward spiral of defence expenditure could gravely undermine the present financial basis to many of Labour's social welfare reforms. The case for open opposition to NATO and imperialism—not least because of these considerations—cannot be underlined too dramatically.

Or take a third instance. British capitalism is running towards another balance of payments crisis—

mainly because of the system's inability to export more than she imports. All experts are agreed that it will happen and are only divided on when it will happen. Labour's proposals of "cheap money"—the basis of its promises to solve the housing problem are thereby threatened.

The job of the Y.S. is clear. Firstly to be in the vanguard of the campaign to secure a Labour Government with the biggest possible majority (the bigger the majority the sharper the expectations)—to explain the pitfalls ahead to rank and file members of the Party NOW will make our job easier. So on the door step don't only look for votes—look for members as well.

Towards a great Labour victory—towards advance not retreat for workers' demands under Labour—towards greater unity between shop stewards, tenants associations, Labour Parties, C.N.D. groups—towards the campaign for socialist policies of nationalisation under workers' control and a total break from H-bomb imperialism and colonialism—towards a socialist internationalist policy against the anti-working class cold war systems of east and west—against ALL bosses and ALL bombs. For support of the peoples' struggle for freedom and the workers' struggle for socialism!

Peace News

LIVELY BODIES AND YOUNG MINDS READ

- THE ONLY INTERNATIONAL PEACE WEEKLY
- RADICAL, INDEPENDENT, FORTHRIGHT

"It publishes facts and opinions which professional politicians would rather not see published. . ."

Dr. Alex Comfort.

ORDER A COPY NOW FROM YOUR NEWSAGENT EVERY FRIDAY — PRICE 6d.

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION OFFER TO NEW READERS: SIX WEEKS' ISSUES FOR ONLY 2s. 6d. (enclosed)

NAME
ADDRESS
PEACE NEWS, 5 CALEDONIAN ROAD, LONDON, N.1