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YOUNG GUARD

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FOR
SOCIALISM
& FREEDOM

also this month
Young Communists in trouble
Those September YS Rallies
Science and the people
U.S. Negroes and Johnson
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ALL OUT FOR VICTORY

But the fight for socialist policies continues

Between now and the Election, every Young Socialist must be out fighting for a Labour victory. The Tory Government has hung on to power as long as it legally could: it's up to us to make sure that they get the final push.

We don't have to explain in detail why we want a Labour victory. Look at the Tories' record. Their boast has been that "we never had it so good: that in contrast to the years of Labour austerity they have created prosperity for the mass of the ordinary people. The standard of living has undoubtedly risen in the last thirteen years. But the rise has been much less startling than the Tories claim: the income of some sections of the population notably the old age pensioners, have hardly kept up with the rising cost of living: and much of the "affluence" of the working class depends on the working wife and large hire purchase debts (average £30 for every man, woman and child in the country). Even the real increases in living standards owe little to the Tories: it results mainly from the fact that since 1952, the prices of manufactured goods has been high relative to the prices of raw materials. In other words, while Ghana, India, and Latin America struggle to maintain or raise slightly a very low standard of living, the capitalists in Britain were able to buy off workers with this unearned bonus.

The Tory Government's management of the economy has resulted in the stop-go-stop pattern, with the "go" periods coinciding with the elections. In the periods of stagnation, the Government's answer to the ills of British capitalism has been wage-freeze for the workers which has inevitably born hardest on those least able to resist it, nurses, railwaymen, teachers and pensioners and tax reductions and handouts for management to stimulate initiative.

Briefly, in every other field, the Tories have pursued policies motivated solely by class and profit. This paper, with other Labour and socialist papers, has consistently exposed the evils of these policies. Pensions remain at below the level of subsistence, forcing many old people onto the charity of the National Assis-

ance Board. The free Health Service has been gradually undermined: the increase in prescription charges is particularly burdensome for the old. Education remains an upper class preserve: Tory boasts of equality of opportunity vanish in the face of scientific investigation which shows that the built-in class bias has not been reduced in the last twenty years. The state schools are starved, while grants from industry and wholesale tax evasion allow the Public Schools to go from strength to strength. Perhaps the biggest scandal of the last 13 years is the housing problem. The viciousness and cruelty of Rachmanism are only aspects of the vast problem; the soaring profits of the land profiteers, and the increasing difficulties of council house building are others.

These are the reasons why we want to kick out the Tories and to return a Labour Government. It is the necessary first stage towards socialism. But we do not blind ourselves to the inadequacy of the Labour Party's policies. Labour is committed to a number of useful reforms, in education, housing and welfare, which we certainly welcome. But the Party's economic policies amount to little more than a promise to run capitalism more efficiently than "the tired old men of the Tory front bench." Labour's policies will strengthen British capitalism, and if the needs of the economy clash with the reforms we can expect the reforms to go by the board. Labour is no less than the Tories committed to the nuclear strategy and to the alliances which maintain imperialism in South East Asia and the Middle East.

It is because we refuse to abandon the fight for socialism that we will not be silenced by accusations that we are "rocking the boat." We will fight on the doorsteps alongside the many thousand party workers in an all out effort to throw out the Tories. We will show that the Young Socialists is a necessary and vital part of the Labour Party. But we will at the same time, put forward socialist alternatives to the right-wing policies at every opportunity. We say "LABOUR TO POWER— with socialist policies."



Unity - but unity for what?

No Retreat on Docks

At present the situation in the docks continues to move towards an all out fight against the employers despite the frenzied attempts by TGWU officials behind the scenes to avoid a fight or at least to keep it quiet until after the election. A 12/6d per week final offer from the employers has been overwhelmingly rejected by the men who have now given their Union Executive full powers to call a strike. It is still probable that rank and file pressure will force the officials to take strike action but the attitude of the TGWU officials so far has made it quite clear that they are only looking for a way out. Already on Merseyside many dockers have realised that the TGWU is not prepared for militant action and reports from there sug-

gest that there has already been a serious decline in TGWU membership, some of which has gone to the "Blue Union" (National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers) which was expelled from the TUC after a previous national dock strike in 1955 for "poaching" members from the TGWU through a more militant policy.

The difference between the TGWU and the port employers at the moment is 12/6d. The TGWU are demanding 25/- per week increase which would increase the dockers "basic" to just over £10 per week.

Whilst this seems substantially more than that offered by the employers it is a far cry from the demands for a "£15 basic and the decasualising of dock labour" which were advanced from Merseyside by the NASD in the early days of the dispute. It is this demand which must be revived. The NASD must adopt a militant policy, demand that the port employers either meet their demands or they will call a national strike. This leadership is essential if the dockers, fragmented and frustrated by weeks of shilly-shallying, are not to be defeated; but previous experience has shown that the real strength of the dockers lies in the "docks committees" which ignore the union barriers and which can unite all dockers irrespective of the colour of their union cards in the common struggle for a decent basic wage.



Home poncing for votes in Scotland

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

The return of a Labour Government, 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 internationalist policy based on co-operation with genuine labour movements throughout the world;

Votes and full legal rights at 18;

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

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

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The Y.S. Rallies

20 TH SEPTEMBER

Despite a circular from Transport House, advising Young Socialists against attendance at the "Save the Y.S. Launching Rally" on the 20th September, over 200 Young Socialists—many of them aligned to no particular faction—attended.

The speeches from the Platform represented all sections of the Y.S. movement who had been prepared to accept the basic demands of the petition which we had circulated for weeks beforehand.

Gavin Kennedy, a former secretary of Keep Left kicked off. He blasted the record of the Tory Government; its imperialist foreign policy; its depression of working class living standards; through the legislation such as the Rent Act etc. and called for the unity of the Y.S. in an all out effort to oust the Tories, and return a Labour Government with a massive majority.

John Palmer spoke next on his expectations of a Labour Government. He outlined the Labour programme and pointed out its dilemma in improving Britain's competitive position and its simultaneous commitment to greater social benefits. "Would the Labour Government," he asked, "if faced with a choice of selling out on its social service programme, or breaking off its commitments to N.A.T.O. carry through the policy which would be in the best interests of the working class and

which would have the support of the rank and file members?"

Roger Protz, until recently the editor of Keep Left, received loud applause when he said that the blame for the disruption and disintegration of the Y.S. lay squarely at the door of Transport House. This incident aptly demonstrated the tenor of the whole meeting, which remained completely non-factional and thoroughly opposed to the sordid machinations of Transport House. Fred Lindop, vice-chairman of West London Federation, spoke of the need to mobilise adult party members in support of Y.S. demands. He appealed to Y.S. members to take their opposition to Transport House tactics to their G.M.C.'s and not to wage their fight outside the Party, thereby giving the Tory press a field day for attacking the whole Labour Movement.

Others who spoke from the platform included S. Mani, (Wandsworth Y.S.) the business manager of the new Y.S. paper "Militant," Chris Arthur from N.A.L.S.O., and the meeting was chaired by Roger Rosewall, National Committee member for the Southern Region.

As is usual practice at Y.S. meetings contributions were taken from the floor. P. O'Regan, (Paddington South) promptly moved a resolution based on the following demands.

a. Full support for the National Committee demonstration.

b. Re-instatement of the expelled Y.S. members S. Torrance and D. Ashby, and opposition to closure of the Y.S. national structure.

c. Lifting of the ban on Keep Left. This resolution was defeated by an amendment, opposed to all expulsions, all closures, all proscriptions, and calling for a fight within the party along these lines.

John Palmer then proposed that a further rally be held on November 29th to which prominent figures in the party, who support our demands be invited and to circulate C.L.P.'s to ask them to send delegates to this Rally. This was carried and the committee is now in the process of arranging this meeting—readers and supporters will be notified of details as soon as possible.

To conclude, this meeting proved to be a greater success than its organisers hoped. It was one of the few meetings which in the history of the Y.S. movement did not degenerate into factionalism and abuse. It mobilised all Young Socialists who are tired of the constant brawling between Transport House and Keep Left—all those who are prepared to fight within the party, and not in the gutter outside. It provided a fitting prelude to a campaign which must succeed—given the support of left wing rank and file members, and if we play our part in the next few weeks in returning a Labour Government we can win their support.

27 TH SEPTEMBER

The demonstration called by the majority on the Y.S. National Committee took place in London on Sunday, September 27th. The demonstration assembled at Hyde Park and marched from there to Trafalgar Square.

The platform was flanked by coloured pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky; judging from the tone of the meeting, a rather gratuitous piece of wishful thinking. Something like fifteen hundred people listened to speeches from a number of members and ex-members of the YS National Committee, most of whom denounced the Tories, and all of whom denounced the Labour Party. One comrade asserted that "by closing the Leicestershire Federation for fighting against racialism, the Labour Party has aligned itself with Home and the Fascists." By and large the speeches were unimpressive (perhaps excepting John Robertson). What was impressive, however, was the organisation that had obviously gone into arranging the demonstration. A lot of money must have been spent to bring many people from Scotland, Northern Ireland, the North-East, the North-West and the Midlands, and providing them with food in London, but it

was noticeable that there was a marked difference in attitude to the rally between the marshals and many of the marchers. A conversation with one young Scottish lad revealed this clearly. When he was asked what Y.S. branch he was from he said that he had never attended a YS meeting but that someone had approached him and promised a free trip to London and free food if he would demonstrate. When asked who the someone was, he pointed to an individual carrying a poster and said, "That silly c-t over there." He said that unless he continued to demonstrate he wouldn't be able to get home as he hadn't been told where the Scottish-bound coaches were leaving from. After the speeches, the demonstrators moved off behind a giant Keep Left banner which bore the words "Banned by Wilson but read by 10,000 Young Socialists."

The second stage of the rally took place at St. Pancras Town Hall. Potential opposition was excluded although a few individuals managed to slip through the cordon. The speeches were much the same as in the afternoon and many of the young people drifted around bored with the whole proceedings.

What did the demonstration achieve? It's too soon to say what effects it will have on the Young Socialists, but it is unlikely to have persuaded many members of the Labour Party to defend the Young Socialists, against Transport House attacks. Nor judging by the reaction of many of those who were coming into contact with the Young Socialists for the first time, does it seem likely to help build the Young Socialists.

Day School

GLOUCESTER YS
Day-School
RUSSIA
Speakers; Tony Cliff, Frank Rowe.
November 7
All comrades welcome
Contact Mike Coggins
22, Ashmore Road, Gloucester.

WORLDSCENE

Negroes must break with Johnson

The Negro revolution has shaken out the kaleidoscope of American politics and the parts are shooting around, seeing new combinations. Many Southern racials with a century old Democratic tradition are declaring for Goldwater. Republican big business and press forces are won by Johnson. But there remains a basic sameness. No independent political labour-negro focus of any significance has yet emerged. The nomination of Goldwater, instead of inducing a polarisation of forces, has led to a move to the right by Johnson (hoping to mop up as many disgruntled republicans as possible) and to abdication by labour and "moderate" civil rights leaders for fear of increasing Goldwater's chances.

FREEDOM

The "Business week" (July 25th) pointed out that the "unions have no political bargaining power." Johnson will welcome their support but need not woo it . . . the truth is the unions have nowhere else to go. Union election propaganda stresses Goldwater's anti-Labour record—unfortunately Johnson's is scarcely any better. Civil rights leaders issued a call for broad curtailment if not a full moratorium on mass demonstrations until after the election. This appeal was signed by Wilkins (NAACP), Martin Luther King (SCLC), A. Philip Randolph (Negro American Labour Council), and Young (Urban League). There was much local opposition to this and CORE and SNCC, the main active forces, repudiated it. Campaigns are continuing, for example, the Mississippi Summer Project is to be extended on a permanent basis.

FREEDOM

Meanwhile many business tycoons are deciding that Goldwater is dangerous and irrelevant to modern capitalism. The Democratic administration has seen record profit levels, while wages have risen only by an average of 3 per cent a year (the smallest during any postwar

upswing). Lifelong Republicans like the chairman of Inland Steel, the president of Burroughs Corporation and Henry Ford II are backing Johnson. A feature in the New York Times (August 17th) describes the shift. Support for President Johnson is particularly marked in "big business circles"—the nation's major corporations and banking houses—that have traditionally backed Republican politicians and policies." It quotes a representative of the Business Council, comprising some of the top American executives, to the effect that 60 per cent of them will be behind Johnson. The dispute is now clearly between two sections

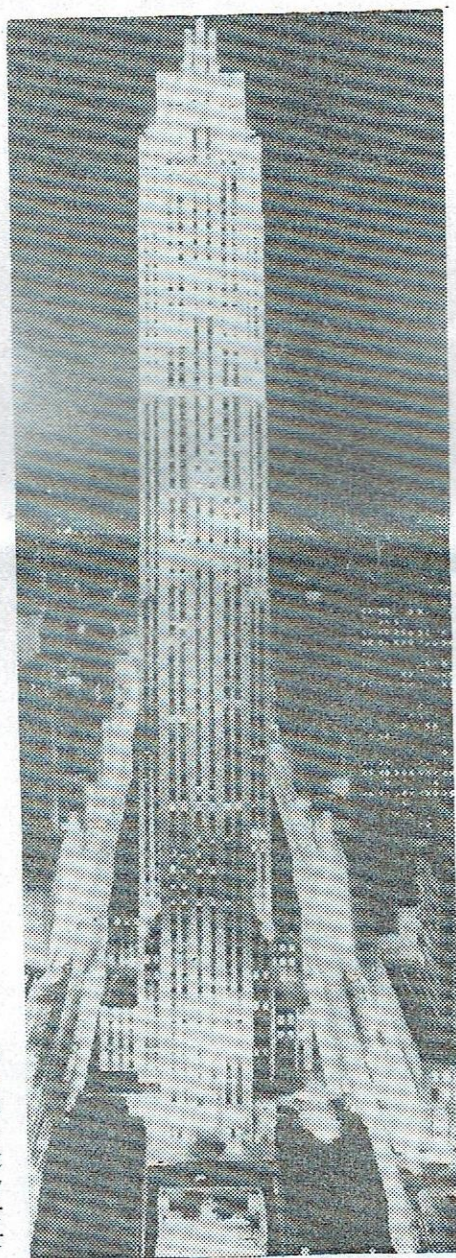
of the capitalist class, mainly divided as to what are the best tactics for dealing with their common enemies.

FREEDOM

Neither the record of Johnson or the Democratic Administration nor their current backers, practice or policy in any way justify the support of the Unions or the Civil Rights movement. The Republican Vice-Presidential candidate claims to have unearthed documents showing that Johnson imposed anti-Negro restrictions on land he sold a number of years ago, stipulating that no part may be sold rented or used by persons "of African descent." The President it seems, claims "no recollection of the deed." From 1937 until 1957, when he opened his push for the presidency, Johnson cast 18 House and Senate votes on civil rights. On each occasion, Johnson lined up with the Southern bloc in opposition to legislation that he termed "unconstitutional and dictatorial." Six times Johnson voted against proposals to abolish the poll tax. Twice he rejected measures to make lynching a federal crime. Six times Johnson voted "no" on legislation to outlaw segregation in federal programmes. He is on record as saying "It will be found that the members of races congregate together. They do not want other races to interfere with them" (Militant). He speaks a different language now. It is certainly not the avowed racist who has a chance of taming the Negro demands. But in terms of hard fact, there is little federal enforcement of federal laws in the deep South, though all the legal machinery is there. One example here will have to do. In Fayette County, Tennessee, where Negroes outnumber whites, a battle for the vote has been raging for four years.

FREEDOM

Despite the blacklists, boycotts, terrorism and mass evictions, the struggle continued. When elections for sheriff and tax assessor were held this summer on August 6th, there were 4300 registered Negroes and 3400 registered whites. But the racials controlled the polls, and by threats, violence and rigged votes they won. Appeals made beforehand to the Justice Department for protection for election workers and for a court order to permit their own poll watchers, were ignored. Violence and murders in the south continue unabated and largely unpublicized. Johnson poses as a peaceful and responsible candidate—and it is on this basis that he is winning much support, even in the south. Yet the fantastic exploits in the Gulf of Tonkin could have provoked a war. In the past three years America has enjoyed a 150 per cent increase in nuclear warheads, 100 per cent in military ship construction and 800 per cent in special forces to deal with guerilla war.



British Guiana

Recently Cheddi Jagan, Prime Minister of British Guiana, and Leader of the People's Progressive Party, approached the British T.U.C. for help. He wanted a couple of Trade Union Leaders to investigate the Labour situation in Guiana where there had been a great deal of conflict between unions supporting Jagan's Party and unions supporting Forbes Burnham's American backed Party. Jagan alleges that the Burnham unions are company unions, and that they have conducted a reign of terror to maintain the present divided and weak state of the Labour

Movement. The T.U.C. General Council refused his request. Why? Presumably Jagan is too "left-wing." Strong trade unions in this British colony are apparently no concern of the Congress House bureaucrats.

While we're on the subject, what will Labour's policy be in Guiana (if we win)? Will Wilson settle for a continuation of the Tories repressive policy: defence of British and American business interests at the expense of the impoverished mine and plantation workers?

The Democratic Convention made less concessions to the left than has been seen for many years. Even a formal gesture to disarmament was ruled out. The Liberals withdrew a motion for legislative reapportionment and another approving of civil rights demonstrations. No further civil rights legislation is proposed. Had it not been for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic delegation, the convention would have been just one howl of unity. The Mississippi delegation were refused recognition as representatives for Mississippi; an action which James Forman (Executive Director of SNCC) said "keeps racism in the Democratic Party." But the unity line prevented any challenge to this decision on the floor of the convention.

Unemployment, discrimination and long term wage contracts are splitting and weakening the American working class. There are still no signs of common white and Negro action, and the absence of a Labour party limits the class, and at worst, as at present, tempts its leaders to tie themselves to the Democratic apron strings. But if, as seems fairly certain, Goldwater is resoundingly defeated, the defection of big business to the Democrats might be a great clarifier of the position and might eliminate the myth of the Democrats being for labour and the little man.

FIANNA

Angola

We've read in the papers that . . . Bob Mellish, Labour MP for Bermondsey, apparently thinks that Portuguese colonial policies are more enlightened than British. That isn't saying very much. But what about Mellish's report on Angola? It reads like a hand out from the Salazar Government. Was it Bob's way of saying "thank you" for several weeks free wining, dining and high living? Another group of Labour M.P.s and Trade Unionists recently returned from Spain, full of praise for Franco's enlightenment: they had also been living it up at the fascist's government's expense.

It isn't so long since native villages were being burned out with Napalm bombs in Angola, in the war against the liberation fighters: nor since large numbers of Spanish miners were imprisoned for daring to strike for rises in their meagre wages. Perhaps Mr. Mellish and Co. are unaware of this, or perhaps with the election approaching, and the possibility of forming a Labour Government, they feel it necessary to adopt more "responsible" attitudes.

Belgium

Some of our comrades who went to Belgium for the centenary of the 1st International brought back some interesting information. Apparently the French-speaking Y.S. in Belgium (Jeune Garde Socialiste) are fully autonomous within the Socialist Party. They have their own office and elect the editor of their paper. They are very active: everywhere our comrades went, they saw Y.S. posters and slogans.

Reg Underhill, who was in charge of the British party, was seen at one point lustily singing the "Internationale." Watch out, Reg, Transport House will get you!

A SOCIALIST POI

In the last issue of *Young Guard* we analysed the policies and the failures of the Labour Government of 1945-51. We asked the question "How can this sordid story be prevented from repeating itself?"

The simple answer is we can't do anything about it and we might as well resign ourselves to it. Too simple and really only an excuse for inactivity. Even if a complete right-wing betrayal was inevitable if a Labour Government is elected, it would be the duty of socialists to put forward alternative policies and attempt to build up the left for the future.

But the situation is not as simple as some comrades believe. Harold Wilson is not consciously determined to betray the interests of the working class, although his policies may (perhaps almost certainly will) lead to this. The Labour Party has made

a number of promises, to repeal the Rent Act, increase pensions, build more houses, which it cannot fail to carry out without producing a reaction among its working class support and within the Party itself. The job of socialists is to continually raise these issues; to put the alternatives—houses or H-bombs, hospitals or NATO—and make it as difficult as possible for the leadership to abandon reform if the needs of reform if the needs of capitalism demand it.

In the articles which follow a number of young socialists look at the Tory record and at Labour's policies, pointing out the inadequacy of the reformist case while demanding that the reforms should be implemented. These articles will be useful to young socialists during the election period, in the campaign on the doorstep, and in discussion in party meetings both before and after the Election.

Housing

There is hardly a field of politics where statistics are as collectively necessary and as individually meaningless as housing. Nor indeed is there any other issue where capitalism in these islands has so completely failed to deliver the goods.

The main question here is slum clearance. In 1933 the target year for clearance was 1938. In 1955 Duncan Sandys, then the Minister, said "We should aim at breaking the back of the problem in 10 years." The present Tory election manifesto declares "We aim to clear by 1973 virtually all the known slums. As each authority completes this task, we shall go on to re-develop outdated residential areas." Presumably by 1973 all officially recognised slums will have been cleared and the workers will enjoy a pleasant home-life in "up-dated residential areas." The truth is that not only is the official definition of a slum inadequate but that on a realistic estimate, slums are being created faster than they are being cleared. Witness the following two statements:

"The standard to which local authorities must work in deciding the fitness of a house is now worse than the standard first suggested in 1919. The present standard is much too low and each authority interprets it differently. The official total of 963,000 unfit houses published in 1955 therefore represented only a fraction of all the houses that are really slums . . . (Twelve Wasted Years).

"Given that we still have nearly 7,000,000 houses built before 1919, and given the introduction of reasonable minimum standards, one may safely say that slums are being created at a rate a good deal faster than 60,000 a year." (The Clearance Rate). Stanley Alderson—"Housing."

The Tory Manifesto claims that in towns and cities where most remaining slums are concentrated the clearance rates are being doubled. Even so, it will take longer than the Tories say to clear the slums; reckoning only those slums officially recognised as such in 1955 it will take the following number of years to get rid of them in the following towns.

Liverpool—34.
Manchester—20.
Birmingham—11.
Hull—14.
Oldham—15.
Salford—6.

The second major problem is the supply of land. The Tories object to the Labour Party's proposal for a land commission to buy up land scheduled for development on the grounds that it will dry up the supply of land and slow down building programmes. Instead they assert that

"Our regional studies, showing land needs for 20 years ahead, will enable planning authorities to release ample land in the right places and without damage to the green belts. This substantial increase in the supply of land will do more to stabilise land prices than anything else." It is by no means clear how planning authorities will be able to "release" anything, least of all the inhabitants of the slums from their present miseries. Nor, of course, is it clear from this passage who is going to get the land thus released. One can bet that more council house building is not the general idea. Nor, so far, has there been any satisfactory Conservative programme for the use of land. Doubtless the market will decide. There is no reason, however, why Labour should regard the supply of land as more fixed than it is in reality, and no reason why the market principle should be allowed to inflict sufferings on ordinary people. If the supply of land dries up, Labour can make use of compulsory purchase orders, or take further steps to end the landlord control. A sensible immediate step in the London area, for example, would be to make available the 20,000 houses at present unoccupied.

Then there is the question of rent control. The Tories say, hand on heart, that they will not take any further steps to remove rent control. They add "additional safeguards for tenants will be provided if shown to be necessary by the inquiry into rented housing in London." Anyone with any historical sense will laugh at this. It is a superb piece of cheek, after proclaiming that the ending of rent control would solve the housing problem, to promise faithfully not to introduce any more.

In effect, this promise is an admission of bankruptcy. On no other single issue is it possible for socialists in the Labour Party to argue with such conviction for the return of a Labour Government and if Labour gets in we must make sure that the detailed proposals of the party manifesto are implemented.

Foreign Policy

Labour's foreign and defence policies are based on three principles: support for N.A.T.O., the Commonwealth, and the United Nations. So according to Sir Alec Douglas-Home, are the Tories' policies. How do the party policies differ?

Labour's main criticisms of the Tories' defence policy are that it is wasteful and narrowly nationalist. The Tories have given only half-hearted support to N.A.T.O. Their attempt to maintain an independent nuclear deterrent has resulted on the one hand in the fiascos of Blue Streak and Blue Steel (£100 million), and on the other, in the running down of Britain's conventional forces and in the weakening of the Western Alliance. Labour proposes to make defence policy more effective by (to quote from the manifesto "The New Britain") "giving the taxpayer value for money" in military spending, and by strengthening N.A.T.O. Labour will abandon the pretence of the Independent Deterrent (as the more progressive Tories have) and will build up the army and the navy so that "we can fulfil our commitments." In other words, Wilson is willing to ally more closely with America in the Cold War and Britain will play the roles President Johnson wants it to play, that of front-line radar station and supplier of conventional troops. The Labour Manifesto talks glibly of "taking the initiative in disarmament and working for the relaxation of tension. But, it continues "The readiness to negotiate must be mixed with firmness to resist threats." In what way does this differ from American policy since 1960? Or from Tory policy? Apart from nuclear-free zones in Central Europe and South-East Asia, what radical new proposals have the Labour leaders in mind?

The Labour leadership criticises the Tories' unprogressive approach to the Commonwealth as second best, but we believe in it." Believe in what? Surely nothing more than the remains of the Empire? Wilson claims to oppose colonialism, but his practical attitude is seen in his stated policies on Aden, Cyprus and Malaysia. He has committed a Labour Government to maintain the base in Aden to defend the British oil interests: in other words, he is for continuing the war and perhaps trying to buy off the opposition with minor constitutional concessions. He is committed to defending the British base in Cyprus and to maintaining the Zurich Agreement, which was imposed on the Cypriots by the Tories and the Turkish Government. He has declared his complete support for the Malaysian Government against Indonesia: in other words, he supports British capitalist interests (tin, rubber etc. the Singapore base) with never a word about the trade unionists and socialists held in prison.

Maintaining Britain's defence and

colonial commitments will be expensive. We can expect no reductions in the defence budget: in fact, it will probably continue to increase since Labour's policy almost certainly requires a larger army than Britain has at present. If the Labour Government fails (as the Tories have) to recruit the soldiers it needs, it may turn to conscription to make up the numbers. This must certainly be resisted. The use of conscripts in colonial wars has in the past inflamed the nationalist and racist feelings of the working class: dividing it from its fellow workers overseas, and diverting it from the real class issues.

The third element in Labour's policy is support for the United Nations. Wilson condemns Sir Alec Douglas-Home's attacks on the U.N. and correctly points out that Britain has usually supported such colonial oppressors as South Africa and Portugal, or at most abstained. Labour, according to the manifesto, believes in the "U.N. with teeth." We want to see the creation of an international police force." One would have thought that experience of Korea, the Congo and Cyprus ought by now to have finished that proposal; the U.N. is no more independent than the power politics of the blocs allow it to be. The manifesto goes on: "For us world government is the final objective, and the U.N. the chosen instrument." But what do these fine words really amount to? They are intended, of course, to salve the consciences of the former leading supporters of C.N.D., who have allowed Wilson quietly to drop the defence issue in the last year or so. In practice, Wilson will continue the policy of supporting America's reactionary policies in South East Asia, Latin America and anywhere else in the world where people are struggling for freedom.

The Labour leaders have avoided the defence, colonial and foreign issues as far as they possibly can in the past year. They obviously believe that the electors are likely to prefer the Tories' more openly nationalistic appeal. Most of the old left, Tribune, Victory for Socialism, etc., have allowed them to get away with this; they accept the theory that a disunited party loses votes, and votes seem all important at this time. It is up to the Y.S. to raise these issues at every opportunity in the Party: to help give the lead that is necessary in building a strong left wing. We must demand: Withdrawal from NATO, SEATO, CENTO and all other military alliances. An assurance that conscription will not be introduced under any circumstances. Withdrawal of British troops from overseas. Self determination for all colonial peoples, and a recognition of their right to nationalise foreign owned capital resources, built with their own labour.

POLICY FOR LABOUR

Economic crisis

The average person reading the financial columns of the newspapers and magazines must find reports of the present position of the economy more than normally perplexing. Will there be a balance of payments crisis or not? Are exports rising or falling? Is production expanding or declining? These are just some of the questions which the new Government will have to answer.

The last monthly trade figures—for August—showed a further widening of the "gap" between export earnings and import payments and the September gold figures were expected to show another loss—bringing British gold and currency reserves to a dangerously low level. The question is, does all this add up to yet another financial crisis in the near future with the prospect of another "stop" in the economy, accompanied as usual, by rising unemployment and short time working? The present picture is confused by one or two unusual items that make exact prediction extremely difficult. The first is that the reserves have not been depleted by anything like the sum one would expect from the normal reaction on international finance to such a bad series of British foreign trade figures.

There seem to be two answers to this problem. On the one hand the gold and currency reserves held by Commonwealth countries in the sterling area—held in common with the British reserves—have increased the total because of higher prices being paid for tin, copper and other commodities.

At the same time there is growing evidence that the Tories have disguised the full effect of the crisis by making heavy borrowings from "informal sources" such as the Geneva European central bankers club of "Ten" by entering into special "bilateral" swap arrangements with other capitalist countries—most probably the U.S.A. and Germany. The result has been that there has not been anything like the normal panic speculation which one expects to follow such persistently bad trade figures. At the same time a growing number of bourgeois economists are suggesting that a full scale economic crisis is "hanging over our heads like an avalanche" and will be all the more severe for being delayed.

The really important point for British capitalism is that it is entering this latest economic crisis without having used the years since the last one to have improved its competitive position in the tougher international markets. The fact is that the much vaunted target of a four per cent growth rate, introduced with much trumpeting by the national Economic Development Council, has not been reached and the failure to reach the target of a five per cent growth in exports has been even more miserable.

All this adds up to a very serious

crisis for British capitalism. What we are faced with is not a slump or a total collapse of the system, it is still far too stable and resilient for us to expect this, but a return to another period of stagnation—accompanied this time by a more earnest attempt to impose long term wage planning on the working class—and initially it seems a full scale freeze. The only way out for British capitalists is to step up the rate at which automation is being introduced—even if this means a head-on collision.

The third component of the present threatened crisis is all the more serious. Not only Britain but many of the countries of the Common Market and also the United States of America are either on the threshold of a return of inflation or they are in the middle of full scale inflation. In all these countries the life of the present expansion is being counted in weeks.

This means that a sizeable proportion of the western industrialised nations

Social Welfare

Sir Alec Douglas-Home has said that the Tories wish to be judged on their record during their thirteen years in control. Well, that's fine by us. Their record is certainly the most dismal and reactionary one that you could think possible.

Their cynical approach to the welfare state, and their gradual dismantling of it is only too clear. There are now nearly 8 million people living near the margin of poverty. One person in every 20 is on National Assistance. 71 per cent of these are getting it to supplement inadequate state benefits and nearly one in four old age pensioners are on National Assistance with many others too proud to ask.

During their office the Tories have increased optical charges by 25 per cent and dental charges by 18 per cent. Our National Insurance contributions have been raised by 173 per cent and our National Health stamp by 282 per cent. Prescription charges have doubled and there is now a charge for every item on the prescription. They have allowed social security benefits to fall well below the minimum levels of human need at the same time as giving handouts to their surtax paying supporters. Typifying their whole philosophy is their annual expenditure of about 250 million on war research as against only 7 million on medical research.

If we take Socialism seriously, we must fight to remove social injustice. This must be made clear to Wilson

are likely to be faced with recession at the same time—and not as in the past at different stages in the trade cycle. The repercussions of this could be far reaching since it might deepen the recession in this country and hold up the prospect of a full scale recovery.

All this presupposes a Government fully committed to capitalism and to imposing capitalist solutions for present economic troubles on the working class. When this was written the General Election had not yet been held. If the Tories have won then the prospect is bleak indeed since the measures that will be taken by the Government will almost certainly involve a full scale attack on the trade unions and may mean the further dismantling of what is left of the welfare state—this in an attempt to free ever greater sums for profitable investment.

One hopes, however, that there is a Labour Government in power, since with the right policies it can take steps to avoid the full blast of an economic crisis and it can, if equipped with socialist policies, remove many of the causes of the present crisis.

The first thing that must be done is the nationalisation of the major City financial institutions, such as the banks, insurance companies and the money and foreign exchange markets. Then a Labour Government should impose a total embargo on all exports of capital out of this country. This exporting of capital is undoubtedly already under way and will accelerate when the full balance of payments deficit is revealed.

& Co., for it ought to be remembered that it was Labour, not the Tories which backed down in 1945-51 on the creation of a comprehensive welfare state. Even Nye Bevan, minister for Health in 1946 retained hospital pay beds in his scheme, so that today all the best and quickest medical attention is monopolised by those with the cash. It was Prime Minister Attlee who in October 1949 announced the abandonment of the free principle and it was the late Hugh Gaitskell, in 1951 who introduced the charges for glasses and dentures. When Labour was defeated in 1951, the Tories merely continued what Labour had started.

The present Labour policy of retirement on half pay perpetuates into old age the divisions between workers. Those who have had the hardest struggle and the least chance to save must continue at a lower standard than their neighbours. The inequalities created by the capitalists are sanctified by the state and hardened into caste like distinctions; and the whole is paid for by the working class. Greater productivity is the key not taking from the rich to give to the poor. The aim of socialists must be to have a real, all-embracing free health service where the principle is not according to wealth but "according to need." We need a similar approach to welfare and social security. A socialist policy on these issues must be based on the following proposals:—
No prescription charges. Free den-

A Labour Government should also be prepared to establish import controls. However, the solution to the foreign trade problems lies in planning at home, and, in the last analysis, planning internationally. The first can be done by nationalising the export industries. The second can only be implemented by like-minded Governments in the other major industrial countries.

The left should state clearly that the right wing Labour leaders' commitment to capitalism and a predominantly private enterprise economy threatens the fulfillment of their own considerable policies to improve housing, education, the hospitals and the other social services.

We should make our demands for nationalisation relevant to the specific crises within capitalism as well as in a general way.

Above all we should advocate resistance to the imposition, of capitalist, solutions on labour—wage freeze, unemployment, and automation where it involves redundancy or a shorter PAID week. We must also resist the offensive of management disguised as "breaking down restrictive practices" where these involve an attack on trade union conditions and such control over production processes as workers have managed to develop over the years.

Politically we should pose these attacks as also being an attack on organised Labour and its objectives in the social sphere. We should build a strong rank and file movement—linking industry with the Labour Party—so that we can present the socialist alternative in an organised, and therefore an effective way.

tures, spectacles and welfare foods. Socialisation of the drug and chemical industry whose vast profits are made at the expense of the National Health Service.

Abandonment of the present system of hospital budgets by which hospitals have to economize to the detriment of the service.

The formation of local health centres to help G.P.s to work together with better facilities.

Increased medical research.

Rapid hospital building programme.

Pay beds, and private hospitals and nursing homes must be abolished, with all other private medical attention.

The principle of work or full pay must apply, for both unemployment and sickness benefit.

Old age pensions and widows pensions must be raised over time to level of average earnings and must rise with them; no one should suffer because of old age or bereavement.

All contributions should cease and all benefits should be paid by the Exchequer.

We have the money and the resources to do this, if we are prepared to dip into the pockets of the wealthy and stop throwing millions away in useless defence expenditure. If the capitalist class refuses to produce when their profits are threatened, then we question the point of their existence and take over the productive wealth of the country to plan and run it ourselves.

LETTERS

Arse and Rape

Comrade Torrance strikes out wildly against me in the September issue of Young Guard. He actually raves. That's a good sign that my arguments struck home.

He claims that by supporting the moral code of our society, I must condone its inadequacies. This is nonsense. Of course there is good in a Capitalist society. It is good that there should be laws forbidding murder, theft, assault etc. that the state should recognise a responsibility to house, educate and feed its citizens (even if it often ignores it), that free speech and assembly should exist. All this is good. I don't want to destroy it but to build and advance it to new goals and horizons. Moreover, Comrade Torrance would like to destroy it. "It is based on exploitation, privilege, monopoly and corruption," he says. It is all evil, tear it all down.

On the anti-Catholic issue, of course the comrade is fully entitled to oppose Catholicism, provided he does it logically and attacks its faults. What I object to is the "Catholics under the bed" mentality which pervaded the article. This is the tactic of the Jew-baiter and the Fascist. It is petty-minded.

On drugs I argued that youth should not be encouraged to escape from the harshness of life via the junkies needle, but should face up to it and change it via socialism. I still maintain this.

Finally let me reiterate the main point I made. That Comrade Torrance refuses to see life as it really is, that he escapes from it by surrounding himself with plots and conspiracies, that his persecution complex will not help but only retard the part he can play in mankind's advance.

Can he get treatment on the National Health?

Eugene McEldowney
Fulham Y.S.

Grumbles

The Labour Party appeal for unity had little political content beyond a mindless chorus of "ayes." Yet the YS seems now to be picking up the slogan, with a difference. Each faction stands up and, hand on heart, forswears factionalism, calling on the whole movement to unite behind itself (the only truly democratic and representative one of them all). Having said this it can gleefully resume its attacks on the others, adding "factionalist" to its terms of abuse. Keep Left have long regarded themselves as the only legitimate spokesmen for the YS; when The Militant was about to be started, a supporter spoke to our branch about the need to end the internal battles in the YS, and called for a broad rallying around the new paper; now our own Fianna joins the hunt saying "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 (the Militant) should be breaking off yet another splinter." This is of course dishonest, because Fianna knows that these comrades have been a splinter for a long time, merely one unrepresented by a journal. But let's grow up. Factions are not only inevitable in any healthy movement, but desirable. What is not desirable is their mutual intolerance. The Hungarian Revolution produced thirty daily papers instead of the two previously existing ones. If comrades have opinions they will

want to express them; if they are at all coherent they will want to get together with others to compare and develop their position and to propagate it. Up to a point divergent views can work in harmony, but a time may well come when (for example) quarrels about what goes into the paper and a distaste for selling views which are not one's own leads to the setting up of another organ. Good. Let's welcome it and argue against its ideas. The "unity of the rational left" is less hindered by the formation of journals and factions than by the sort of comments upon it which Fianna makes.

Constance Lever
Hampstead YS.

Gloucester

Gloucestershire Federation is still ambling along in a precarious fashion supported by two branches—Gloucester and Cheltenham. A branch has been formed at Churchdown but this is apparently entirely social and run by a youth officer. The Federation Officers visited Comrade Levitt (the youth officer) to see if any help could be given since our experience in this area of trying to build branches by social means is that they become non-existent within a few months. Levitt, however, feels the kids aren't ready for politics so we can but wait and see.

Cheltenham are going through a bad patch due to the fact that a number of their members are grammar-school pupils who have disappeared during the summer months. Gloucester is in fairly good shape. A recent day-school featured Peter Walker and Dave Percival from Croydon. Two day-schools are planned for the near future. The first with Mike Kidron as speaker, the second with Tony Cliff and Frank Rowe debating the Russian Question. (All comrades welcome to attend these—contact Mike Coggins, 23 Ashmore Road, Gloucester.) Another recent policy of the branch has been to have branch members as speakers and recent speakers have included Young Guard supporters Laurence Mann, Mike Coggins and John Ewers who spoke on "The Meaning of Socialism," "Economics of Capitalism and Socialism" and "South-East Asia" respectively. The branch is canvassing every Friday during September for the General Election.

Mike Coggins
John Ewers
Sally Pugh
(Gloucester YS)

1st International

We attended the Brussels celebrations of the centenary of the First International as individual Young Socialists, not members of the official Labour Party delegation. While the demonstration in Brussels and the march in which we took part from Ghent were impressive and well-organised, there was little opportunity for political discussion with Belgian and other comrades. We were greeted at Ghent by a Belgian Socialist minister with a speech in which he stated the Belgian Socialist Party still based itself on class struggle, a position disagreeable to the official Labour Party. Again, at Allost, a local Party representative spoke in praise of Marx and Engels and joined in singing the Internationale (which few of us knew). Our comrades in the march carried a banner bearing the slogan WORKERS CONTROL and the CND symbol which attracted some attention. We also shouted slogans against NATO. In Brussels we were unable to meet the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes, as we had hoped, as the Belgian

Socialist Party could not tell us their whereabouts. This, and the lack of opportunity to discuss with comrades from France and Germany in the demonstration, was a disappointment. The Belgian socialist paper *La Gauche*, which is close to the Jeunes Gardes, tended to be scornful of the demonstration and, with reason, of the Second International, and we read in the Belgian Socialist Party paper *Le Peuple*, that some Jeunes Gardes had been excluded from the March because of their anti-Tschombe slogans. This contrasts with some rather amusing placards seen in the demonstration, such as a picture of Willi Brandt the "Red Mayor of Berlin"

Despite all this, we felt the trip was worthwhile for what contact was

made and the international solidarity expressed. We hope to be able to develop these contacts and those we have made since in Germany. In both countries we have visited, we have been impressed by the similarity of the situation and problems facing the left. The same issues; workers' control, anti-conscription, disarmament, the struggle for political and working-class rights and the end of the Cold War, animate us all. Capitalism, reformism and Stalinism are stronger internationally than the socialist left. We can learn from and help each other. Correspondence, articles, journals and visits can be exchanged. Such things can begin to make international socialism meaningful.

John Strauther

Let's put Socialism into education

The Labour Party's election manifesto states that under a Labour government there will be a revolution in the educational system. The question is to what extent this revolution has already been shaped by the demands of international capitalist competition at the expense of working class needs.

The manifesto says that secondary education will be re-organized on comprehensive lines and grammar school education extended. How far and in what form will it be extended? Recent statements by Mr. Fred Willey, the party's education spokesman, show the confusion prevailing on this point. Willey recognizes that streaming within the comprehensive is a means of perpetuating class divisions and is therefore opposed to it on principle, but doubts whether it can be abandoned without seriously impairing the development of the technical and specialist education required under modern capitalism. Is it not true in this kind of society that bright children are best educated to manage society by being segregated either in special schools or special classes? If Labour gets in there will be a first class educational row on the grammar school question and there is a danger that working class children will continue to be neglected.

If streaming and grammar schools present difficulties, the Public Schools present an even more imposing rock-face. Labour's plan is apparently the one canvassed by Messrs. Crosland and Vaizey, namely the integration of the public schools into the state system under the auspices of an educational trust. This body, if set up, will be a most interesting institution, and socialists should keep a close watch on it. According to Crosland-Vaizey there will be a pool of representative 15-year-olds from which the 150 or so public schools on the Headmasters' Conference will select their pupils. The trust, composed of "independent and impartial persons" (Vaizey: Education in Class Society p.16), will see that the choice is "representative." Thus "if there are 800,000 pupils in the age-group and 20,000 places in the Educational Trust schools, each school (grammar, comprehensive, secondary-modern, technical and pri-

vate) would get one place in the pool for each 40 pupils in the age-group." This will lead to the rise of the meritocracy with a vengeance. The trouble is not necessarily that "the most middle-class child in each school will be nominated" as Crosland-Vaizey believe possible, but simply that the cleverest child will get pushed forward, which means, in the absence of a frontal attack on capitalist institutions, that the ruling class will be strengthened further by additional recruits.

It is not clear how far Labour will succeed either in redistributing teachers from the Public Schools, which are very well supplied, to the state system. This will depend on the atmosphere of the educational debate, Labour's proposals for reforming the structure of teachers' salaries, the attitudes of the different parties and pressure groups involved, plus of course, the state of the economy.

Despite all these difficulties, however, the left must press for the implementation of the socialist elements of this programme under a Labour government. The Tories are certainly not going to help. Their manifesto states:

"Of the many different forms of secondary school organisation which now exist, none has established itself as exclusively right. The Socialist plan to impose the comprehensive principle, regardless of the wishes of parents, teachers and authorities, is therefore foolishly doctrinaire. Their leader may protest that grammar schools will be abolished "over his dead body" but abolition would be the inevitable and disastrous consequence of the policy to which they are committed. Conservative policy by contrast, is to encourage provision in good schools of every description, of opportunities for all children to go forward to the limit of their capacity."

A marvellous example of Tory dogmatism and insinuation. The working class should reject it and press for greater control of education through the extension of comprehensives, abolition of streaming, modernization of curricula, destruction of the Public School stranglehold, radical reform of teachers' salaries and a greater say of working class parents in the running of schools.

Why youth needs socialism

Pat Fortune Croydon YS

According to a recent survey only one in ten of young people is interested in politics. This is hardly surprising. The Tories' offer success if your father is a company director, the Liberals promise votes at 18 and Labour offers opportunity to a few who are lucky enough to get to grammar school. But none of the parties offer anything for the thousands of young workers who are in dead-end jobs sweeping factory floors, loading goods in warehouses and making tea for the office. In the evening you can go to the coffee-bars or the cinema.

"By all means spend your money on records, new suits or pop concerts. Go on, kids, enjoy yourselves, live it up. Us starving capitalists need your money. Don't start grumbling that you've no chance in your job to earn enough to get married and find a home or there's nowhere in the town to have a club or start your own group."

The only way out of this vicious exploitation of young workers is to fight with older workers to create a socialist society, by joining the Labour Party and trade unions. At the same time there are particular problems for younger workers; besides the battle for a Labour Government based on Socialist policies, the Y.S. must demand and fight for the conditions of youth and recruit the mass of young workers to socialist policies on this basis.

Every school-leaver must be given day-release to study for a day a week at technical school for all apprentices. **NO NIGHT CLASSES WITHOUT A DAY OFF EACH WEEK. AND A FULL WEEK'S PAY.** Pay at trade union rates for all workers over 18 and a fair rate for younger workers. Full trade union rights and the

right to strike for all apprentices. Three weeks holiday and a 35 hour week for all workers.

Local authorities should provide facilities for leisure in proportion to the young people living in the area. Halls should be free for youth clubs, not run by police sergeants or vicars, but by committees elected from the members. For every gang who want to form a football team or cricket team there should be grounds provided.

These demands can only be fully met by a socialist system fought for and won by the Labour Movement. The job of Young Socialists is not to use young workers in mythical battles against the "enemy" (Wilson, Young Guard, Pabloites or Stalinists

as the campaign decides) who are said to be betraying the revolutionary ideals of the working class. Our task is to show the real enemy, the capitalist class by educating new members of the Y.S. in the day-to-day struggle through the trade unions and the political fight against the

Tories and right-wing in the Labour Party.

Young workers grow up and have to face the bigger problems of capitalism. If young Socialists recruit now on a political basis we may have a working class with revolutionary potential.



Junk-pushers still at work

Religion is no longer the opium of the people that it was in Marx' day. The working class now has the more tangible gods of television and bingo. These are more effective pacifiers than promises of rewards in heaven. But there are still places in the world where the ruling class and the church form an anti-democratic alliance. Spain and Portugal are such places, and so is Malta. This Mediterranean island has just received so-called independence, which will be carefully protected by N.A.T.O. and British investments, supported by

Borge Olivier's ruling Nationalist Party in alliance with the Catholic Church.

Dom Mintoff and his comrades in the Malta Labour Party are probably not very worried about excommunication and loss of grace, but the effect of the church's anti-socialist propaganda on the superstitious people of Malta is evil. British socialists must support their comrades in Malta in their fight against neo-colonialism and the church.

Moral Re-Armament is another

religious movement whose talk of "absolute truth" and so on sounds antilibertarian. M.R.A. becomes even more suspicious when one reads the speech by its founder, Frank Buchman, in which he praised Adolf Hitler as a bulwark against communism. Now journalist Beverly Nicholls has revealed that he was approached by British Intelligence during the last war to help launch a rival religious movement and woo people away from M.R.A. Can anyone guess why?

BOOKS

John Strauther reviews

A faith to fight for

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

"The real socialism, set forth with the passion of the old pioneers: opposed to many present trends, will inspire a disillusioned generation"—publishers blurb.

How clear and committed a socialist is Mr. Deakins can be judged from this sentence from his final chapter, on the necessity of a new world political synthesis: "Socialism is just such a faith combining the Western concern for the individual with the social conscience of the East, but if it did not exist another which postulated a middle way, containing the best elements of communism and democratic capitalism, would do just as well (p.166) or, (p.164) "If only the West would learn that the values of capitalism and democracy are incompatible." If only! Mr. Deakins does his best by lecturing the nations and governments on their rights and duties and dreaming up the UN as a world government. Said to have been one of those re-

sponsible for the foundation of the Young Socialists, his whole book, perhaps with the exception of its unilateralist sympathies, would probably be rejected by them now, like *Signposts for the Sixties*, an extended paraphrase of which it so much resembles. Full of appeals to Christian morality and tolerance (even for black-legs—p.28), the book flows over each issue in turn in six chapters of gooey prose, seeing both sides and offering comfortable liberal solutions. As for passion, Mr. Deakins has something to learn from the angry young men of the fifties, whom he dismisses as childish; at least they had their anger; he is merely glib. His critique of our society is infinitely more boring than that of *Private Eye*. His solutions are pure Utopia. Marxism, of course, is anathema. Mr. Deakins sees no class struggle, or if there is, no good can come of it. To those who deny or question the existence of the soggy left, Mr. Deakins book is the living, sorry answer.



"Keep the Bomb"

YOUNG GUARD

Bert Cutchley

Science in the service of the community

It is a truism that science is an election issue in 1964, that the reorganisation of science is now political material. Why is this? Because of the difficulties facing British capitalism scientific research and development assumes a growing importance. Of Britain's Gross National Product—the total turnover of the economy—2½ per cent. (about £700 million) is spent on scientific or industrial research and development in the following proportions:

Government £400 million.

£240 million on defence, the rest on civil research through the universities and various ministries.

Private industry £300 million.

The problem here is that although this proportion is high compared with other industrialised economies our own capitalists do not derive as much benefit from the expenditure as their opposite numbers in, for example, the U.S.

Hence the setting up of the Trend Committee, a body composed of representatives of the universities and big business, presided over by the Treasury. Predictably the recommendations of the committee represent a carving-up of civil science between industry and the universities, the latter to take on pure research—scientific research without immediate returns—and industry to have the benefits of tax-subsidised applied research and development. This loses sight of the fact that pure and applied research are essential to one another, and Trend gives scant justification for their separation.

The class bias of Tory policy on science is shown by this quote from Quintin Hogg, Minister of Science and Education:

"When . . . dealing with very big things like the clinical centre or an accelerator the priorities must take their place in general Government planning. . . . We weigh it against schools and the health programme and the old-age pension and any other expenditure large enough to take a place in the queue.

In other words if science is necessary to capitalism then social services go by the board—so long as taxation on our Tory bosses is not increased.

Compare Harold Wilson: "Now I come to the vital issue of applying the results of scientific research in industry, because—let us be clear—unless we can harness to our economic planning, we are not going to get the expansion we need." (Scarborough 1:10:63.)

"Nor shall we be able to recapture our lost ground in world markets without new publicly owned industries based on the scientific revolution." (Birmingham 19:1:64.)

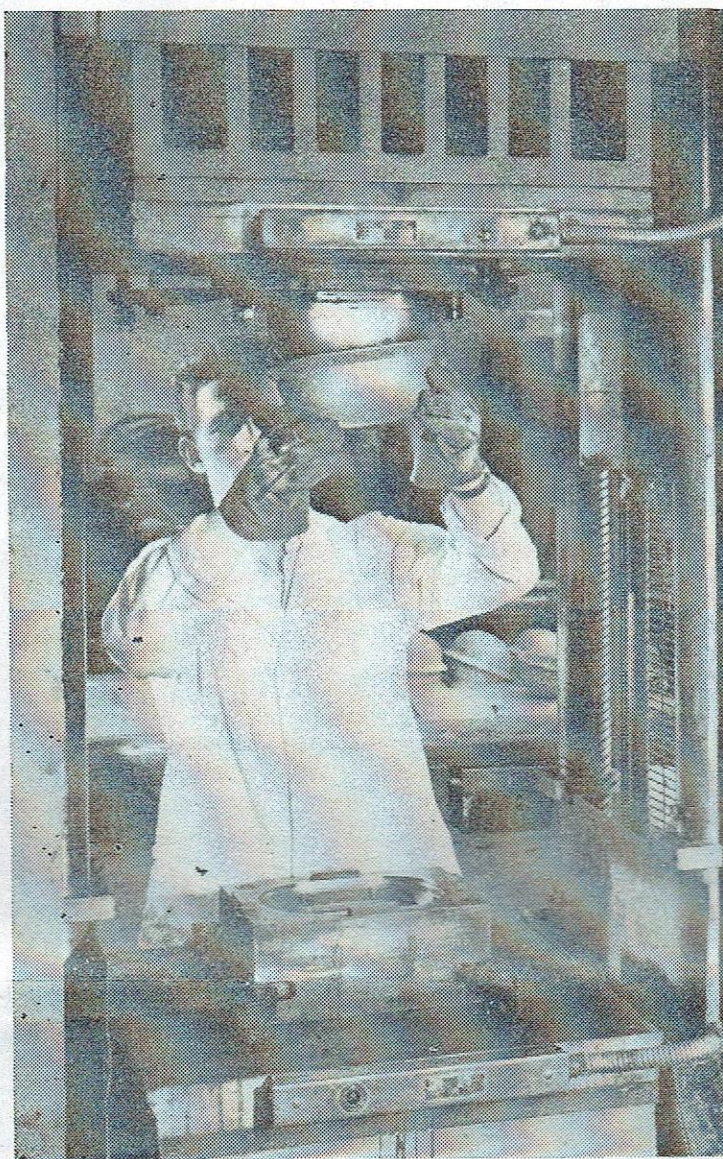
The meaning of this is clear; science is to be the salve for a failing capitalist economy. Where full employment, relative affluence and capitalist inefficiency have reduced the chance of capital growth, science, in the form of automation, new "lines" and increased productivity can fill the gap to maintain a "healthy economy." To this end we have the creation of a Ministry of Technology, whilst apparently leaving pure science to the universities. Much the same set-up in essence as the Tories, though with the

promise of greater participation of professional scientists in the administration.

As to the effect on the people of Britain, this is told in no uncertain terms by Crossman in the same in-

terview with International Science and Technology (September 1964) as the Hogg quote above:

"You've only to tot up . . . the bill for all these public services . . . you cannot pay this bill unless demo-



cracy is willing to stop insisting that each year there should be so many extra pound shillings and pence to spend each week or each month on individual purchases in the shops." So the working class must tighten its belt while science does the job—for whom? Neither party seems particularly concerned with the position of scientific workers in government employ and private industry. The problem here is that rates of pay for professional civil servants are arrived at by the Treasury on the basis of a careful analysis of rates operative in similar occupations in private industry. Since the Government is by far the biggest employer and therefore the pace-setter in wage-awards, and (b) scientific workers in private industry are usually split up and imbued with strong feelings of "loyalty to the firm," comparison with "outside" industries always means extremely poor wages and salaries for the workers. Of course, the logical remedy is an increase of militancy and cohesion among scientific workers, but this does not condone complete silence on this whole question by the political wing of the movement.

For socialists, the only answer to these programmes for science is to demand science in the service of the people. Automation, not for "a healthy economy," but for increased leisure. Science, not for a new process to swell Tory profits but to increase the power which man has to change and understand his environment—individually and socially. To demand this is to demand a unified and all-embracing approach to pure and applied research planned to supply the needs of society: planned for society, and by it.

Peter Walker

Turmoil inside the Young Communist League

At the moment the YS is so concerned with preserving itself that the upheaval in the Young Communist League, which has led to a number of expulsions and suspensions has tended to pass unnoticed.

Official sources at King Street (the Communist Party headquarters) are trying to play down the issue, Jimmy Reid, the ageing National Secretary of the YCL talks flippantly of the few Trots within the League, but he knows quite well that the dissident voices are not influenced by *Keep Left* or the *Newsletter* but rather by *Peking Review* and *Vanguard*, the organ of the pro-Chinese faction in Britain led by Michael McCreery which split from the CP some months ago. Claims to the purity of the King Street Marxist-Leninist programme outlined in the "British Road to Socialism" have disillusioned many and questioning has grown with the Russia-China split. It is claimed that only about 15 have been suspended in the past year from

such branches as Oxford, Ealing, Paddington and Lambeth, but unofficial sources claim more. This figure however, is irrelevant compared with the vast undercurrent of doubt at present in the minds of many of the 5,000 odd YCLers and it is this which Jimmy Reid and his friends are worried about. Try as they will they cannot dismiss this as a "Trot plot" and it is this feeling that the Y.S. must try to influence and attract to its ranks in the next few months.

The appeal of a pro-Chinese party seems to be rapidly diminishing with the fragmentation of the McCreery group and consequently YCLers have been forced to look around for the next best thing. Some admittedly have been wooed up into the clouds by *Keep Left* and the Socialist Labour League and only recently the daughter of the Industrial Organiser of the CP announced that she was leaving the YCL and joining the SLL. However, to talk in terms of a

mass exodus from the YCL to *Keep Left* is incorrect and I suspect these people could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The other potential dissidents are in doubt as to quite what to do and these are the vast majority. Some have left the League and drifted into the political wilderness while others stand hesitatingly on the edge. They are often converts from *CND* with no real political foundations but with by now a rather tarnished urge to appear rebellious and I suspect it is this urge and the bravado attached to being in the YCL that accounts for most of its membership rather than its own hazy political objectives. These are the people that the YS must endeavour to recruit not on the basis of sensationalism and a quick revolution but on straightforward left-wing politics. It must be made clear to all doubting YCLers that YS politics are bigger and more mature than some sections make them appear.