

# YOUNG GUARD

4d

FOR  
SOCIALISM  
& FREEDOM

OCTOBER, 1963

No. 21

# WE MUST FIGHT AGAINST

## WAGE RESTRAINT

John Palmer  
Esher Y.S.

A FEW weeks ago at Brighton the attention of millions was drawn to the deliberations of the annual conference of the Trades Union Congress. This month the eyes of millions will also turn to the conference hall at Scarborough, to follow the speeches and debates of the Labour Party in annual conference.

With little doubt these two conferences can be fairly described as the most important in the recent history of the Labour movement in Britain. For not only will they decide the future policies of the organised working class movement, they will also help to shape the path which will be followed by the next Labour Government.

### WIDE EYED ILLUSIONS

*The basic issue is really quite clear. Should Labour try to run the existing system of things, capitalism, when it comes to power, or instead should it attempt to build a new society, socialism? For what Labour and the Trades Unions do in the next few years may advance or retard the prospects for socialism for a generation.*

It is wrong of course to have any wide eyed illusions about what we as socialists should expect from the leaderships of the TUC or indeed the Labour Party, if left to their own devices. They have already openly plumbed for the line of "trying to make capitalism work."

### PRICE OF PLANNING

On the other hand both the TUC and the Labour Party to some considerable extent reflect the demand and ambitions of the working people and they mirror actual struggles they are waging. It is precisely because of this that the debates at Brighton on a wages policy were so important.

It is obvious if the Trades Unions are going to help to run capitalism then they have to help to freeze wages, so that sufficient profits will be made to enable British capitalism to reinvest and try to make itself competitive. But the price of seats on NEDC, the Tory body for achieving wages "planning," is a sharp cut in the living standards of the workers.

### LEADERSHIP RETREATED

*It is a price that many workers are not prepared to pay. That is why the rank and file in a number of important unions such as the Transport and General and the AEU forced their leaders to at least adopt a critical attitude to*

*the attempts of Woodcock and company to tie them completely to the capitalist wage freeze machine.*

The TUC leadership retreated a little on this question and agreed that profits should also be limited if wages were to be. They conveniently forgot, however, that it is practically impossible to control profits in a capitalist system (as the last period of Labour rule showed), unless you are prepared to "jam up" the entire works of reinvestment. The capitalist press and the Stock Exchange bosses have been very quick to point this out already.

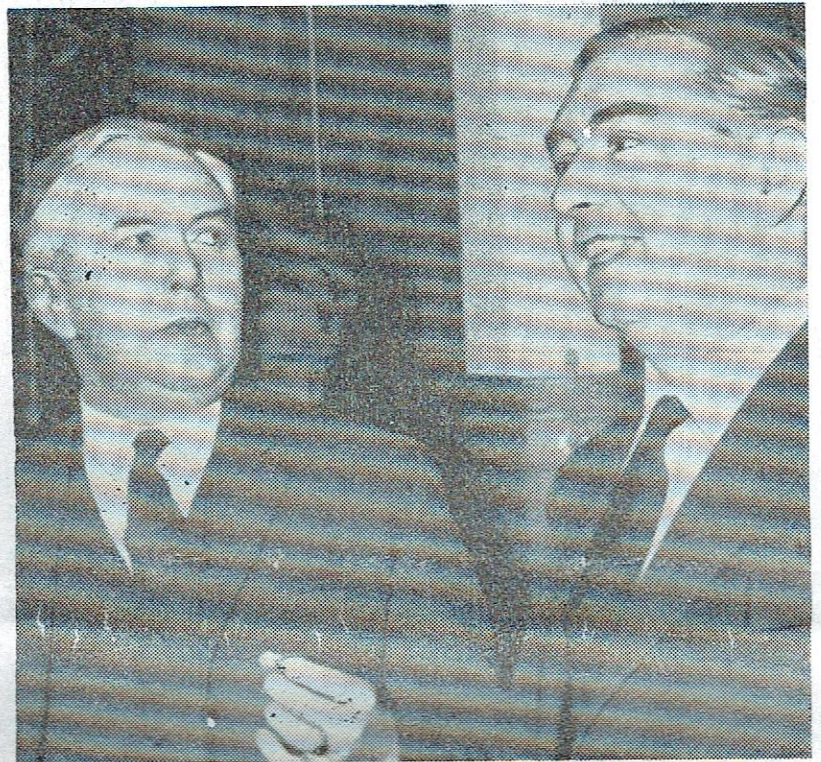
### WIDER NATIONALISATION

Another concession made by the TUC bureaucracy was to accept a resolution calling for wider nationalisation. Again if nationalisation does not cover the central areas of production and distribution, and unless it is under the control of workers themselves, we know that this kind of state ownership provides no answer to the eternal struggle between the wage earner and the profiteer. No doubt the growing numbers of unemployed miners and railwaymen could have been very eloquent on this question.

### SHADOW OF POWER

All the TUC debates at Brighton took place under the shadow of the forthcoming annual conference of the Labour Party at Scarborough. All the more so since this appears to be certainly the last conference before Labour under Mr. Wilson assume the role of a Government.

Here the big debate ("on to socialism or retreat under capitalism"), will indicate the thinking of the Labour leadership on what they propose to do when in power. So far all the indications are that they will be content, at best, to try to reform Tory capitalism of some of its outstanding evils and



Brown and Wilson—Close to power but not to socialism

to try to run the system much along the present lines.

### WAGE SLAVES

Apart from the bringing under state ownership of steel, water and road haulage, the present structure of ownership of industry and the services will be untouched. The vast majority of the economy will still be geared to production for the profit of a few and workers in all parts of the country will remain what they are now, wage slaves.

In this context should we agree to accept wage cuts to help the bosses and make "British capitalism more competitive"? I don't think so. Our call at Brighton should be firstly, for the nationalisation of the means of production and distribution under workers control and secondly,

failing this, the toughest possible resistance to any attempt to cut the living standards of the working peoples.

We must also point to the lesson that if Labour's various social and economic reforms which should of course be supported by all socialists, are endangered by the failure of the capitalist economy to produce the goods, the prospects of a reaction back to Toryism will be increased.

### VOICE OF SOCIALISM

*It is vital that the voice of socialism is heard at this conference. We must demand full discussion of the important issues of wages, and nationalisation and press home the socialist answers, in the interests of Labour and of the working masses who are now looking to Labour for a lead.*

## NO TO NATO CALL UP SCHEME

WILL the next Labour Government bring back conscription? This is the question many Socialists are asking.

Barbara Castle M.P. said at Skegness that the next Labour Government might have to build up conventional forces to fill the vacuum left by rejecting nuclear strategy.

With recruitment figures for the regular army failing to meet requirements the only way is to re-introduce conscription. Mrs Castle said that if the choice was between relying on the Bomb or

making ourselves unpopular by bringing back a selective call-up, then she would be for the latter course. It may be unpleasant, she said, but it was more honest, safer, and moral in every way. However, this might not be necessary since Labour would end colonialism and recall its troops from these territories.

For us the choice is not between the Bomb or a strong army. As Socialists we refuse to fight for reactionary military alliances such as N.A.T.O. We refuse to fight our fellow workers

to defend Queen and Country. We have more in common with a Russian or American worker than with a British Capitalist.

Every Young Socialist should make it clear that they will strenuously oppose a Call-Up system and call on the Labour Party to stop supporting the military madness which wastes £2,000 million every year, while millions die of hunger and disease.

Surely Mrs Castle it is the whole appalling wastage that is immoral, not just one particular means of wastage?

# 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, nationalization 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.

### EDITOR

Angus Mac Donald  
11 Kelross Rd., London, N.5.

### EDITORIAL BOARD

#### Editorial Board

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# AROUND THE MOVEMENT

## NORTH-EAST MIDDLESEX

A N. E. Middlesex Federation meeting was held on the 22nd Sept. at Enfield. 27 delegates from 9 branches attended and many visitors. The success of the recent Regional demonstration in Tottenham was discussed and the meeting decided to make a real effort in support of the next march against Racism and unemployment which has been organised for November—in Paddington.

A poster parade in Potters Bar to help the local Y.S. was discussed and Hornsey delegates agreed to try to help Finchley Y.S. out of the political doldrums. Hendon South, one of the weaker branches, recently held a rock session in their area pulling in over 100 local rockers and hope by keeping it going, to build the sparse political membership.

It was also suggested that 'Unity' the joint magazine of Hornsey, Tottenham and Wood Green Y.S.'s should be expanded to cover the whole Federation. Delegates felt that this would be to the mutual advantage of both paper and Federation and it was agreed that the Editorial Board should be approached.

Bill Thomson of Hornsey Y.S. moved a resolution condemning recent suggestions that the National structure of Y.S., Annual Conference, regions and federations be disbanded and that the old Youth Section apparatus be brought back. After a lengthy discussion the meeting made it clear that it would strongly oppose moves in this direction and carried the resolution with only two delegates from Hendon North voting against.

In a ballot to fill the E.C. position vacated by Constance Lever moving to Newcastle, Mike Caffor of Hornsey Y.S. defeated Charlie Rose of Hendon South by 12-10.

John Finn  
Tottenham Y.S.

## HAMPSHIRE

This recently formed branch looks like expanding rapidly in the near future. It has already made an impact on an ageing Local Party and a weak constituency Party. Social activity includes a coach to Dankworth-Lightfoot Labour Jazz concert and a Lets Go float in the local carnival. Political education has taken the form of study groups in Local Government and Marxism.

We have little contact with other Hampshire branches except for a short beery encounter with Winchester Y.S. Hampshire Federation seems to exist in people's imaginations and we are rather disillusioned with the Regional Committee's inactivity in the area. As for the National Committee, we have never heard from them.

New interest has grown in Young Guard in recent months and we have found the issues very saleable.

Eric Parsloe  
Andover Y.S.

## LONDON

Following the successful rally in Tottenham, the next London and Middlesex Young Socialists Regional Rally is to be held in West London on Saturday November 30th. Plans are for a meeting at Golborne Road Kensington at 3.30 to march to Porchester Hall where Paddington Councillor and Parliamentary candidate Bill Dow of St Stephens Gardens fame, YS National Committee member Sheila Torrance of Tottenham and Regional Committee member Bob Golding of North Paddington YS will speak on Housing, Unemployment and the Young Socialists. In the evening the hall will be booked for a dance, tickets price 3s.6d. will be on sale soon. All branches should support this rally which can put the Young Socialists on the map in West London. Leaflets with further details will be distributed.



March with the Young Socialists on 30th November

The Regional YS Bulletin, under YS control which was asked for by South St. Pancras YS in a resolution carried by this year's Regional Conference is to be produced, with Bob Golding and Jackie Prynne in charge of it. Edmonton YS, which was dissolved earlier in the year, is to be reconstituted by the local Party. East Islington Labour Party, however, are still "unable" to reconstitute their YS. Such is fame. Two day schools are scheduled, one for October 13th at which the ubiquitous Bill Dow and Bob Calver will discuss rents, and the second on December 1st. A Lets Go Jazz Festival is proposed for new Years Eve in London.

Noel Tracy  
Holborn & St. Pancras South Y.S.

## WEST LONDON

Dave Greenberg was elected Chairman of the Federation succeeding Pat Williamson who leaves London, and Ian Landels of Marylebone and George Wil-

son of South Paddington YS were elected to the E.C. in place of Peter Finch and Dave Woolf at the last Federation meeting. A resolution from St. Pancras North for action on the YS Conference resolution against all nuclear weapons was defeated. Objection was made to a report on the Federation published in Young Guard by John Strauther, who stood by what he had written. The Federation is to have a banner made for the Regional Rally, thanks to Ruth Milstone of North Paddington YS.

A West London Federation Bulletin is now being published. It needs your news and comments to make it successful as the Federation's communication. Send them to John Strauther, 8 Quadrant Grove, N.W.5.

At the Federation meeting on September 16th a resolution put by Chairman Dave Greenberg which began by denouncing wage restraint but wound up by accepting it under "a Labour Government pledged to Socialist policies of nationalisation of basic industries" was carried, and an amendment to add workers control to nationalisation and delete any acceptance of wage restraint was defeated. Does this mean that the supporters of the majority of our National Committee are all Wilsonites now?

Fulham YS, it is reported, have passed a resolution calling for the dissolution of YS federations and the Regional Committees—which means the dissolution of the YS! The Regional Committee of course rejected the proposal, so let's hope that will be the end of it. We haven't seen Fulham YS for years, though we'd very much like to, so we don't know what they've got against us, but whatever it is should be settled democratically through the Federation not by Big Brother methods. If anyone's listening in Fulham, you're invited to our next meeting to put your case.

John Strauther  
St. Pancras N. Y.S.

We want to hear what is happening in your YS branch or region.

Send your reports to:—  
Rosemary Walker

268 Norbury Ave., London, S.W.16.

before the 12th of the month.

Please supply me with ..... copies per month (4d. per copy sale or return)

Please supply me with 1 copy of YG for ..... month (6d. per issue 4/- per year)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

To-Martin Wright  
329 Malden Rd., New Malden, Surrey.

# MORE YS REPORTS

## EAST LONDON

Sunday 13th October to Sunday 20th October is **Young Socialist Week** in Hackney. We hope to really get down to the job of recruitment to the YS as our membership seems to be static at around the 60 mark, and has been for some time. We have produced about 1,000 copies of our magazine "Protest" which we are selling around the houses for a penny. This edition of "Protest" has been specially produced over the last few months, putting forward the socialist case on the everyday problems confronting young people in Hackney. **On the Saturday of YS Week we are holding a Social in the Labour Party Rooms, 14a Graham Rd., E.8. at 8pm. Entrance will be 2/6d and we would be pleased to see any comrade who fancies a boozy get-together.** We have also challenged the local YCL, Young Tories, Young Liberals and the Zionist Youth (Hashomer Hatzair) to a grand Brains Trust which should be quite exciting.

Later on in the year we are having a debate with the SPGB on the subject of "Which Party should the working class support—The Labour Party or the SPGB?" Further details of this debate will be published in a later issue of YG.

Barry Burke  
Hackney Y.S.

## MIDDLESBOROUGH

On Sunday, 8th September, a conference was held for N.E. YS. Each branch was asked to send five delegates. It had no terms of reference and nobody yet knows what it was really about.

There were three speakers, Geoff Foster recently appointed youth officer, Roland Boyce a Young Socialist and lastly the prospective candidate for Sunderland.

Comrade Boyce excels in self control, a fact that he himself pointed out repeatedly, and only once declared he was getting annoyed.

He was, quite justifiably getting annoyed at comrade Foster who opposed a suggestion that the YS should get down into the dole queues. Comrade Boyce quoted the example of Peterlee (Durham) where an unemployment committee had greatly helped in a council by-election.

Unemployment in the N.E. is not only a Tory headache but seems to cause the Labour Party much embarrassment. The Unemployed Men's Association in West Hartlepool was almost used by its President as a means of getting him elected against a Labour candidate as an SPGB candidate (it shows how contemptuous of the Labour Party many working people are when they turn to two ends of nothing like the SPGB).

In my own town the unemployed men's association meets,

believe it or not, in the Conservative Party headquarters. How the hell that happened I just do not know. But this may be partly explained by a remark made by the prospective Labour Party candidate for Sunderland. "The Labour Party must be careful that people do not believe it gets into power only on the backs of the unemployed."

Vic Wood  
Middlesborough Y.S.

## HYTHE SCHOOL

THE second week-long school organised jointly by NALSO, New Left and Young Guard was held at Hythe on 7th - 13th Sept. Slightly more people attended than at last year's camp in Kensingland and those who had been to both commented favourably on the change of venue.

The week started with a contribution by John Eber of the M.C.F. on Colonialism. He had just returned from a tour of the African countries and was able to comment upon the effects of the Sino-Soviet split upon the African movement, which tended on the whole to take the Chinese position.

One of the highlights of the camp was the talk given by Isaac Deutscher on Russia, where he examined the trends towards a real destalinisation.

The meetings on Wednesday included lectures by Robin Blackburn of the New Left review on Cuba and a brilliant analysis of Neo-capitalism and how to fight it by Ernest Mandel the Belgian economist. Later speakers who evoked considerable response were Richard Fletcher and Walter Kendall both of Union Voice. They argued very convincingly on how best to work in the British movement, using the example of the success accorded to Union Voice in the last year.

The final impression given by the Hythe camp was that it was not just a series of lectures but also an enjoyable holiday. Politics were not the only subjects of conversation, beer and interminable discussion on whether we should go in swimming or not also ranked very high.

Julian Atkinson

## NALSO

MANY of you this October will be going to Teachers Training College, C.A.T. or University for the first time and will now be eligible for membership of NALSO (National Association of Labour Student Organisations).

If a Labour or Socialist society exists in your college then there is no real difficulty. Join it! If however there is no club existing, and this is quite likely in Teachers Training Colleges where political bans are being enforced, then please contact me. I will give all the aid that I can by providing free literature and arranging speakers to help you form a club. This very year we are in the middle of a campaign against political bans. If we are to make NALSO a more effective voice for socialism amongst students we need your help.

Contact:—Julian Atkinson,  
34 Crown Wood Way,  
London S.E.9.

# FIANNA

## A MONTHLY COLUMN

### SPAIN

THE revival of the rumours that Spain was seeking, and might be conceded, associate status by both NATO and the Common Market came at the same time as the announcement that Franco had ordered the garrotting of two young Spanish libertarians. An appropriate reminder that the "Western Way of Life," which NATO is supposed to be defending, also covers numerous barbaric "Western Ways of Death" as well.

In case anyone does not know, garrotting involves slow strangulation by the tightening of wires around the larynx. Usually the spinal cord is snapped in two before actual strangulation. It was claimed in the middle ages to be the most agonising form of execution.

Incidentally while the protests were being made about this savagery, where were our friends of the Communist Party, who had only a couple of months ago been organising protests about the execution of Grimau? "One law for party members another for...?"

### LIBERALS

For a laugh look at the Liberals. There they are down at Brighton claiming to be a party of all the people, employers and workers alike. They faint at the accusation that they are anti-trades-unionist. Yet one of the leading members of the Liberal Party, Lord Moynihan, is partnering Edward Martell in his attempt (financed by all kinds of top people) to smash the trades unions in the printing industry. It is to be fervently hoped that the print workers will teach these two louts to keep their noses out of the workers' organisations.

### YOUNG SOCIALISTS

By the way it now appears that the Labour Party conference will, at last, have the opportunity of discussing the Young Socialists and their demands. When the appropriate section comes up under the NEC report all Young Socialists who are delegates from their parties should attempt to get to the microphone and put the YS case.

This is an opportunity we should not let slip to put the demands of the Young Socialists for the rights of political discussion at all levels, the democratic control of "New Advance" and freedom from obstruction by party officials.

### GEORGE CLARK

WORKING Y.S. recently passed the following resolution. "This branch of the Y.S. is appalled that George Clark could be convicted and savagely sentenced for exercising his democratic right to peacefully demonstrate. We call on all members of the Labour Movement to protest against this attack on our right of free expression."

All types of community settlements being set up in U.K. and overseas write  
Box 1, Young Guard

## EDITOR'S NOTES

Seventeen delegates and several visitors, from London, Glasgow, Liverpool, Leeds, Nottingham and the South attended the National Editorial Board of Young Guard at Skegness on September 15. The main item of the agenda was the discussion of documents presented to the NEB by London and Liverpool supporters, the first being a draft introduction to Young Guard based on the constitution and aims of the paper, for primarily Young Socialist readership, the second a proposed transitional programme for youth, based on the *Rally* Youth Charter. The NEB. adopted and amended the introductory Young Guard document for circulation, rejecting the transitional programme as inappropriate for the purposes of young Guard as a Young Socialist forum. At this decision the Liverpool delegates, of the former *Rally* tendency, withdrew their participation. A resolution from London that "Young Guard is an open democratic paper of the Young Socialists. Its editorial policy and contents are determined by the majority of its supporters through open readers' meetings, electing through the national editorial board the Editor and Working Editorial Board to express this majority opinion." was carried, also a resolution from a Nottingham comrade that editorial treatment of articles should respect the spirit of their contents.

The editorial and administrative structures were reorganised; Gus MacDonald elected editor in place of Chris Davison, new Editorial Board members, and production, business and distribution groups appointed.

Reports showed that through a difficult period Young Guard had maintained its position and that with reorganisation progress could be resumed. As always the financial situation of the paper is desperate, and special efforts are needed to pay off a debt of £30.

Money is coming in more quickly this month with many comrades giving the 5/- we asked for last issue. We have had to economise on the blocks this issue to save a few quid, and John Finn our layout man is at Scarborough so apologies for any fall in the standards of appearance.

Our thanks to Chris Davison, our retiring Editor, for two years of hectic service. He leaves the Editorial Board to catch up with his studies and write a pamphlet on workers control. His wife Jenny Davison, has resigned as business manager to devote herself to the equally important business of having a baby in January. Our thanks and congratulations to both.

Readers are reminded that only unsigned articles represent the views of the Editorial Board.

# ALGERIA: IS IT SOCIALIST?

Second of two articles on Algeria  
by Richard Condon

Bexley, Y.S.

IT is always nice to be able to hold up concrete proofs of your achievements for all the world to see; it makes you feel that you are really getting somewhere. Some comrades in the Socialist movement seem to feel a deep need for examples of socialism in action, and they tend to react in two ways: some become completely disillusioned at the apparent lack of progress and leave the Labour Movement; others look around frantically for countries on which they can pin the label of socialism. Since imperialism is one particularly nasty feature of capitalism, they generally sieze upon nations which have succeeded in freeing themselves from colonial rule. Algeria became independent last year after a war of liberation which lasted seven years, and it has since come in for a great deal of attention from socialists who think that they have unearthed a "workers' state" there. Is this attention justified? Is Algeria really socialist? There were undoubtedly a few militant socialists among the men who began the long struggle for political freedom after the first revolt in 1954. By the time Algeria had become independent, after seven years of tedious and savage fighting, the revolutionary spirit (and most of the original fighters) had died. Many had joined FLN in the course of the war, but they were for the most part nationalists who wanted political change, but who were not consciously working for the social and economic changes which are an essential part of a socialist revolution. Their only wish was to win back the land stolen from their people by the imperialists; their chief aim was to drive out the foreigners, Europeans, non-Moslems...

It is important to note that the Algerians did not win a decisive victory and drive the French into the sea. The war could have dragged on for many years in an undecided way, but both sides became weary of the fighting, and the Evian Agreement was negotiated. It was only this compromise which made the FLN "respectable." In 1958 the French had offered their programme of modest reforms, the Constantine Plan, which the FLN rejected. At the time they expressed their clear opposition to it in the journal "L'Ouvrier Algerien" (The Algerian Worker) and called for socialism. When they signed the Evian Agreement they still opposed imperialism, but they had toned down their revolutionary demands and offered to restrain the workers' movement. They promised to protect French interests in Algeria.

It is true that the Tripoli Programme of late 1962, with its socialistic plan for agrarian reform, represents a considerable advance on the Evian plan, but though Ben Bella has expropriated French capitalists to a certain extent, he is unable to annoy the French too much, because he de-

Two soldiers  
of the F.L.N.  
What did  
they fight  
for?



pends too much on their capital to develop his country. One third of the population is unemployed, under-employed or badly employed, and to provide a basic living standard for the whole people, a rate of growth of 900 per cent is needed in the economy. The Algerian economy is still a colonial one. French companies have complete control over Algeria's most valuable asset, the oil of the Sahara. Only the desert belongs to Algeria. Most of the country's raw materials are exported, to be made up into manufactured goods abroad. Harbour work is out of all proportion to industrial work. The independent national economy promised by the FLN has proved to be a myth.

Not so long ago "Tribune" carried an article on the worker's councils in Algeria. Even the Guardian had a headline about workers' control in Algeria. I did not think they had even heard of the phrase! In any case, they obviously know very little about industrial democracy, because workers' control is a spontaneous movement from below, not something imposed by the government on its own terms. And one must remember that Ben Bella had already destroyed the only genuine workers' movements. Now he was granting his own brand of socialism, one which denied that the workers could choose their system for themselves, and giving qualified power to even the most passive workers who had expressed no interest in their own affairs.

I do not think anyone can seriously claim that Algeria is socialist. If mere state ownership of production were the criterion for socialism, then most underdeveloped ex-colonial countries would qualify, because there, as in Algeria, there is no native capitalist class rich enough to take them all over, and the state has to step in. To consolidate the power of his government, Ben Bella has to fall back on traditional, conservative elements at local government level. There is a good deal of opportunism and corruption in government agen-

cies, and this is especially true of the leaders of the old ALN/FLN, who keep the best jobs for themselves and their clique. It is very difficult for the unemployed to work unless they can prove they were in the Army of Liberation.

Of course we as socialists must support national liberation movements against colonial tyranny, but it does not help the socialist

movement one bit to pretend that the regimes set up by ex-colonial peoples are examples of socialism. Ben Bella is undoubtedly improving the lot of the Algerian people, but the change has been political, not the social and economic change which socialism would mean.

We should beware of confusing progress with socialism.

## THE HERALD STORY

Barry Burke

Hackney Y.S.

IT was during the printers' lock-out of January 1911 that the first copy of the *Daily Herald* came into being. It began as the bulletin of the London Strike Committee to counter the one-sided reports of their struggle in the daily press. It was very soon realised that the need for such a bulletin was not just that of the printers, but of the whole Labour Movement. Nine years later, under the editorship of George Lansbury, the *Herald* had reached a circulation of 330,000. Not unnaturally, revenue from advertising was fairly scarce and to prop up its financial position, the readers formed themselves into *Herald Leagues* and organised money-raising schemes and sales drives to keep the paper in existence. In 1922 the TUC officially took the *Herald* under its wing but the circulation dropped! The 1926 General Strike found the *Herald*, like all other papers, closed down, but the presses were not idle, for the TUC used them to publish their strike-sheet *The British Worker*. With the strike smashed and the movement in confusion the position of the *Herald* became a heavy burden on the finances of the unions. Finally, in 1929, the TUC signed an agreement so that the paper would be published and financed by Odhams Press, while the TUC governed editorial policy. The TUC also became the minority share-

holder in what was The Daily Herald (1929) Ltd.

This was the situation right up to 1957 when the TUC finally gave in to Odhams and gave them editorial responsibility. Four years later, the *Herald* had a new owner—millionaire Mr. Cecil Harmsworth King, nephew of Lord Northcliffe and cousin to Lord Rothermere. Mr. King now says that the *Herald* must close down as the circulation of 1,300,000 is not enough and that it is now losing nearly a million pounds a year! It seems inevitable that the *Herald* will pass away quite un lamented by the majority of those people whose cause it once championed. Nobody could blame them either, as the *Herald* has left far behind any inclination towards Socialism or even a limited trade union democracy. From its early days as the paper of the Labour Movement it is now just a paper of the shareholders like the *Mail*, the *Express* and the *Mirror*. Shareholders first; adverts second; Socialism nowhere!

Our movement needs press power but not with the "help" of the Kings, Carrs, Thomsons or Beaverbrooks. The Labour Movement cannot function tied to Capital as we have learned time and time again. Only the capitalists come up trumps in this arrangement. The various propositions of the press tycoons, whose hearts are bleeding at the thought of the *Herald* dying, may keep a "Labour" paper in existence but only a paper run by Socialists in the interest of Socialism will ever build and get the support of the Labour Movement.

# RUSSIA-CHINA CONFLICT:

John Strauther  
N. St. Pancras Y.S.

## REASONS BEHIND SPLIT

THE differences between Russia and China run deeper than the rhetoric employed on both sides reveals, and stem not from varying interpretations of marxist-leninist theory but from conflicting interests and stages of development.

To put it crudely, China is about 30 or 40 years behind Russia, still in the process of primitive economic accumulation, while Russia is well into the nuclear age, on the brink of "affluent" consumer or welfare state capitalism. From Khrushchev's point of view co-existence with the West pays; entry into world markets is a better proposition than colonial revolution or aid to China. Similarly, increased production and demand at home make a curbing on arms expenditure desirable at the same time as similar pressures are felt in the

U.S.A., and so a test-ban agreement is possible.

To Mao, China's isolation and siege mentality are an asset in keeping his masses mobilised and disciplined for forced industrialisation, as was the case with Stalin's "socialism in one country." Border disputes with Formosa or India and an external "imperialist threat" are useful in keeping up the pressure (also, incidentally, useful to Chiang-Kai-Shek and Indian capitalism in the same way). While Russia increases trade with Western and developing capitalist countries, China has nothing to export but revolution and correspondingly less to lose than industrialised, nuclear Russia in war. Consequently, the prospect is faced with equanimity; though war would impose "enormous sacrifices" these would be "rewarded." War

is still the continuation of politics by other means, as Lenin said. Khrushchev's contrasting nuclear pacifism (multilateralist, of course) is part of his bargaining position with the West. China too, meanwhile, is for the abolition of all nuclear weapons—but denounces the test-ban treaty not only as a fraud, but an attempt to keep China out of the nuclear club.

Russia's interests have no need for the international-Communist movement, except as pressure-groups for "peace" and more trade, but Mao's aims, equally nationalist, are served by colonial wars and international tension. It is interesting that after the split, most CPs in advanced countries have taken Moscow's side, while Peking's supporters are mostly found in the underdeveloped world. In the West the "redundant" Communist Parties

are, like their social-democratic counterparts increasingly reformist, and especially where they have mass support, as in France and Italy, demand greater independence from Moscow. In other parts of the world, nationalist and peasant revolutionaries are tending to look to Peking for recognition and support not forthcoming from Moscow. Castro is in the dilemma of supporting Mao, but depending on Khrushchev for existence.

The break-up of the Stalinist monolith, with both sides accusing the other of Trotskyism, state-capitalism, revisionism and other heresies, revealing openly nationalist characteristics, leaves room for the development of genuine international socialism which has nothing to do with Washington, Moscow or Peking.

## RUSSIAN SMEAR CAMPAIGN HITS NEW LOW

Gus Macdonald

### PEE-KING SHOCKS RUSSIA

THE latest Soviet note to Peking accused a Chinese train crew of "Provocatively violating the elementary norms of sanitation and hygiene in front of indignant passengers" at the Sino-Soviet border station of Naushki. But nothing it seems is to be left to the Kremlinologist's imagination, for yesterday's "Izvestia" quoted the station's charwoman for a full and shocked description of the alleged incident.

"They unbuttoned their trousers and proceeded to urinate at the station. As human beings we were shocked."

Khrushchev upset that other guardian of Communist "Kultur-nost," the Albanian paper "Zeri Popullit." Replying to one question, Mr. Khrushchev had told foreign correspondents that they were looking for the nasty smells around the rectum, which is not the most beautiful part of the body.

The Albanian paper was as shocked as the comrade charwoman. "There is no known case in the history of the civilised world of a head of state using such hooligan language."

(Guardian 12th Sept. 1963.)

This newspaper report shows the depths to which the Moscow-Peking exchange of abuse has sunk. The insinuation in the Russian attacks is that the Chinese are sub-humans lacking even the veneer of civilisation.

Race-smear articles of this kind directed against West Indians fill the pages of Mosley's and Jordan's fascist hate sheets but to find them mixed into an argument which purports to be about Marxism is revolting. It proves again how far the masquerading Marxists of Moscow will go to defend their dictatorship over the Russian people. It looks as though it won't be long before someone gets called a Fascist.



Khrushchev—Nasty smell?

### FREE SPEECH

Polianov, an editor of Izvestia and an envoy of Khrushchev to M. Spaak, asked the latter to close the Brussels office of the New China News Agency (Chinese Press).

What happened to that basic principal of Bolshevism about letting the opposition state its case?

### ANTI-SEMITISM

According to Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President of the world Jewish Congress, in the twelve months ended in June at least 140 people in the Soviet Union

were sentenced to death for economic offences, three out of every five of them Jews.

In the Ukraine, where the Jews form 2 per cent of the population, 80-90 per cent of those sentenced to death in the economic trials were Jews. The Position of Soviet Jews, Dr. Goldmann said, showed a slow but steady deterioration.

Racism is an integral part of all tyrannies and Khrushchev seems to be keeping up Stalin's tradition of anti-semitism. Another sickening aspect of this report is the fact that people are still being murdered for "economic" offences such as illegally selling a few loaves of unleavened bread. One of the basic principles of socialist morality is that people come before property, even that of the almighty state.

Imagine the outcry of the "progressives" of the British Communist Party if someone were hanged for say shoplifting in this country. Obviously the apologists for the horrors of Stalinism have not learned the hard lessons of where blind obedience and worship of Mother Russia can lead. The Young Communist League is a weak body at the best of times but now especially its spindly theoretical legs are trembling with fright. The Party line is no longer an adequately safeguarded tight-rope from which any political moron can safely dangle. The "China" faction has growing support and free discussion may break out at any moment.

Every Young Socialist branch should contact its local Y.C.L. and try to show these comrades that the real fight is in the Labour Movement for a policy that will win the allegiance of the working class of Britain. We must attend the Y.C.L. rallies that are organised and harass the Gollans and Kerrigans with questions of their Stalinist pasts, and the basic issues that the China-Russia split has raised about War and Peace.

## LONDON BUS BOYCOTT

Colin Penfold  
Hackney Y.S.

THE Daily Herald recently carried the headlines, "Seventy Shameful Votes." They were referring to the resolution adopted by delegates representing 28,000 London busmen. The delegates voted overwhelmingly for a resolution refusing to work with recruits from overseas until such time as wages and working conditions were improved. The Herald condemned the action as little more than a colour bar.

For years now the busmen have been struggling for a decent basic wage. As the situation stands at present a man with more than one year's experience earns less than £12 per week. A married man could not possibly live without supplementing this with overtime.

The resolution adopted at the meeting was certainly not a result of any racial prejudice. It was in fact a very short-sighted approach to the question of a higher standard of living. The whole case in favour of the resolution was based on the old argument, that immigrants used to a low standard of living in their own country tend to lower the standard of living over here. This is entirely against the interests of working class solidarity and strength.

In order to defeat the scandalous attitude of the Tories to public services, in order to secure a decent basic wage, busmen should demand;—

A far higher basic wage, i.e. minimum £15 per week. This would be a far greater attraction to potential recruits. A shorter working week. Lowering of fares. Replacement of 25 per cent. of the service (2,500 buses) withdrawn over the last ten years. A Public service is a public service and cannot be run with the profit motive continually in mind. The Tories seem to care little about the travelling conditions of the workers. Finally the most important demand of all is the renationalisation of road transport for the purpose of a complete and functional transport system.

# LETTERS

## ALGERIA—1

Comrades,

I agree completely with the basic analyses of the Cuban and Algerian revolutions which lie behind such views as those of John Strauther. But I am getting very tired of this sort of pious counting of the angelic bottoms which alone are to be permitted seats on the point of somebody's dialectical pin as "true socialists."

Of course it is important to know that such men as Ben Bella, Nkrumah and Castro are not Socialists, and why. But it would be ridiculous for us sanctimoniously to reject the Colonial Revolution as having nothing to do with the cause of socialism at all, just because some people have had to appease their understandable impatience with the present by imagining that the millennium is already with us in Havana, Algiers or even Moscow.

The point is, not to denounce all regimes, with prophetic fervour, as equally "backward" and "anti-socialist," when it is patently obvious that they are not *equally* so—(where would you prefer to agitate: Portugal or Cuba, South Africa or Algeria?), but rather to explain in detail the rights and wrongs of every contemporary political process. Otherwise we should find ourselves condemning Castro's Literacy Campaign as such, or the prevention of famine in China during the recent agricultural crises for the first time in the country's history, and we would rightly be accused of having thrown out the baby of our humanity with the bathwater of other people's false hopes.

The Colonial Revolution must be supported in so far as it is a process which involves widespread popular demands for political independence and adult citizenship, useless and illusory as such achievements may prove to be on their own; in so far as the new regimes seek to accelerate this process in such an area as southern Africa where it will shortly take place; and also in so far as, for whatever motives, the new regimes are vigorously concerned with the economic and educational betterment of their peoples, and with international actions to further such aims.

There may be little more in it all than a rationalisation of international capitalism and the emergence of national bourgeoisies, but that little more is something which is very much the concern of all socialists, and we cannot afford to jeer or ignore it out of existence. The freer men are the freer they will some day be. When I say I have comrades in Algeria, Cuba, etc., I am not making the élitist's mistake of seeing all history as the work of leaders and power-groups; a coup d'état is not a revolution in itself, for real social change can only occur in depth. To know I have comrades in Algeria and Cuba is far more important than knowing that Ben Bella and Castro are not among them.

Rip Bulkeley  
Oxford YS.

## ALGERIA—2

Comrades,

Mani's moderation astonishes me. Of course I am for national independence in all countries, though I do not regard it as a substitute for socialism or an excuse for revolutionaries to leap on the bandwagons of nationalist or totalitarian governments — neither Chiang nor Mao, thank you, Mani. Imperialism is over, and capitalism is reproducing itself throughout the world. The general strike in Brazzaville was a portent of the new struggle, but Mani is still fighting yesterday's battles for today's dictators.

J. Strauther  
St. Pancras N. YS.

## JAZZ

Comrades,

If C. J. Torrance's views on jazz were taken seriously, his article would be pointless, but jazz is worth criticism and interpretation. His neo-Uncle Tomism neglects the very achievements of Parker, Gillespie and Monk in bringing to jazz a new dimension and new articulacy. The best jazz writers and critics are musicians themselves and though jazz is primarily a direct emotional experience ("a cry of pain" as one critic has put it) this is not all, and modern jazz musicians would not take kindly to being regarded as thoughtless, happy entertainers. The racialist implication of the remark about "hybrid music" must, I hope, be unintentional.

As Ian Birchall has said in his letter, a creative popular culture can not be made without social revolution, but until then we have to take the best of what there is, in jazz and other forms, and this demands standards of our own.

Sparrow

## RELIGION

Comrades,

The last issue of "Young Guard" carried a couple of letters dealing with religion. In addition to the points mentioned it should be remembered that one of the most regrettable effects of religion (with the exception of Buddhism) is that it helps to perpetuate outmoded ways of thinking. Thus it is characterized by:—

1. Real relations expressed in an inverted form (e.g. Hegel's social theory).

2. Undialectical, speculative thinking.

3. The representation of spheres of activity and knowledge as independent or alienated from each other.

4. The deduction of reality not from itself but from a concept.

Religion is, in short, ideological to a great extent and it is this aspect which buttresses its reactionary social influence. But as Comrade Perry rightly points out progressive ideals are indissolubly connected with the history of Christianity, on which see Archibald Robertson's fascinating study of the early church "The origin of Christianity."

Chris Gray  
Hornsey YS.

## NON-VIOLENT

Comrades,

I found the recent editions of Young Guard to be a great improvement on previous months but I must express my disappointment at Marvin Garson's article concerning the fight of American Negroes in recent months.

Whilst he is 3,000 miles nearer to the events than I, his pleasure at the violence shown during the great integration effort was sadly out of place. His attempt to equate Martin Luther King's militant pacifism with "the old slave morality" does little to further class solidarity in the U.S. Does he imagine that it will really be victory when, after months of bloody racial fighting, black and white will work on adjacent lathes with vivid memories of recent atrocities and an indelible impression of hatred for each other, and not capitalism.

British experience in Ireland and India demonstrates this, as we can see by the rigid nationalism of the Irish some forty years after their revolution and their bitter hatred of the English, capitalist or worker.

Constance Lever's support for the bus boycott, the freedom riders etc. showed a more rational outlook and indicated a constructive attitude to uniting the working class.

Dave Percival  
Croydon NE YS.

## RUSSIAN HOLIDAY

Comrades,

YOUR readers may be interested by some impressions I had of Russia on an eight day visit I made recently. As a building worker I was naturally interested in the housing conditions and new construction. The first houses I saw were wooden shacks, really dilapidated, as though they had been recently hit by a bomb and just thrown together to provide some kind of shelter. Extensive areas of Moscow were filled by this type of housing. There was plenty of new building going on but closer examination showed that the new blocks of flats were on a par with the tenements familiar to all who know industrial Clydeside. The blocks were five stories high with four doors per landing and no lifts and grouped in the usual rough square with a communal ashpit in the centre. Having heard often of how the Russians take great care with landscaping around the new houses I had somehow imagined something quite different from the Somme, 1916. If you think Russian housing is similar to our new towns forget it, the architecture is bad, the materials are poor and the workmanship is appalling.

The exceptions to this rule are the Metro, the University, and all historical buildings. These types of buildings seem to get all the care and attention that the ordinary buildings lack. It is pretty clear that the best craftsmen are concentrated on this type of public work.

Perhaps the most surprising thing of the whole trip was the number of drunks to be seen staggering about the streets. Living in Glasgow all my life the numbers were nothing unusual, it was just that drunkenness was not

confined to the weekend, there were always plenty around.

The history spiels the guides gave were quite interesting. The Tsars and their plots had a pretty straightforward treatment with the usual dates and favourites thrown in but revolutionary and post-revolutionary history was incredibly vague. Lenin did the whole thing himself as all the statues, posters and paintings testify. No one else figured on the scene. Stalin was not mentioned, and as for Trotsky, Bukarin, Radek, etc. the sands of time had washed away the tracks.

The whole affair of Lenin's tomb is grotesque and sickening and the less said about that the better.

Ian Mooney  
Woodside YS.

## SONG

Tune: 'Pie in the Sky'

C.P. hacks they come out every  
night,  
Try to tell us what's left and  
what's right  
They will say revolution is fine,  
Then they give you that  
co-existence line.

Chorus:

You'll have peace, by and by,  
In that diplomatic summit in the  
sky  
(way up high)

Fight munitions  
With petitions  
You'll have peace in that summit  
in the sky.

There are peace-loving forces,  
they say,  
All around and about J.F.K.,  
So they gave J.F.K. their  
support,  
Brother Bob hauled them all  
into court.

C.P. deputies backed  
Guy Mollet  
Tried to draw France from  
NATO away,  
Backed the war in Algiers  
without qualm—  
Now France has her own atom  
bomb.

The U.N. is the world's hope for  
peace,  
But it doesn't seem that way to  
Congolese,  
Kasavubu was able to see  
What the U.N. had done for  
Syngman Rhee.

Yalta showed us some fine  
summitry,  
"Here's the pie, some for you,  
some for me,  
But said Truman, "I want one  
more slice",  
And the Greek working-class  
paid the price.

When we've done with the boss  
and the glutton,  
When we've taken their hands  
from the button,  
Then at last we'll have peace in  
all lands  
When the world is in  
working-class hands.

Paul Foot  
Woodside Y.S.

# YOUNG SOCIALIST RALLY

Gus Macdonald

LAST month the Young Socialists held their third annual rally at Skegness. About 600 comrades enjoyed the best weather of the summer in the delightful and modern holiday camp of the Derbyshire Miners.

The social aspect of the first few days was disturbed by 'The Purge', a campaign of terror launched by the adult organisers and the camp's security squad which sent many impoverished comrades scattering off in all directions. One unfortunate who was caught trying to pounce a free holiday was even taken to the local C.I.D., and whip-rounds were made to save others from a similar fate. Another drag was the rowdy element who sat in a chalet till three in the morning singing dirty songs and beating time on the central-heating pipes ensuring that half the camp was on the same beat. Their repertoire exhausted, they passed the time till dawn throwing dustbins full of empty beer bottles over the second floor balcony.

It can safely be said that the hunted ponces were men of the left and the dustbin droppers were of the right. Fortunately neither faction was representative.

The week's politics got off to a dull start with the finals of the Y.S. public speaking contest. Boredom with the platitudes and forced rhetoric slid into embarrassment as the chairmen, one after another, went through the ritual of asking for questions and collections from the impassive audience. Rumour has it that Huddersfield Y.S. won. Over the first few days the attendance at meetings was thin, most comrades preferring even the pale evening sunshine to Charles Pannell pontificating on 'How Parliament works'.

The lecture courses in the mornings proved more interesting. Reg Underhill, Chief Youth Officer, talked on organisation. Predictably dull except for a

flare up over the suggestion made by Roger Page, Y.S. National Committee member for W. Midlands that the Y.S. conference should be stopped because it was an embarrassment to the Party, and that the National Committee should be elected at the Rally because it was more representative of the movement.

George Cunningham (Labour's Overseas Department) spoke on Labour's foreign policy. For the first few days he put his own views on the subject and had his theoretical knickers ripped off. After that he played for safety with phrases like 'One could say' or 'Labour believes.' Eventually he gave up and the last day's debate was introduced by June Lester (Hackney Y.S.) speaking on the Middle East.

Cunningham's political ineptitude was amusingly exposed when he likened the position of a S. African negro who did not speak Afrikaans to that of a non-Gael in his native Skye. Ah well, quaint customs must be international.

The third course on Labour's Home policy was given by Brian Walden, economist, prospective candidate for All Saints, Birmingham, and the inventor of the name 'Campaign for Democratic Socialism'. Unlike the others he gave a brilliant analysis of the problems a Labour Government would face. He did not slither smoothly over these problems like 'Signposts', and frankly exposed many of the ill-thought out policies the Party has, on issues such as aid to the underdeveloped countries and the Public Schools. He came out strongly against the hypocrisy of many socialists who avoid clashing with troublesome pressure groups such as the Catholic Church and supported radical proposals for changes in the abortion laws, attitudes to birth control, and religious teaching in schools.

Unfortunately the political conclusions that Walden drew from his perceptive economic analysis were dismayingly reformist

and cramped into the frame of a Capitalist system. They were also insular and did not seem related to such important factors as the revolutionary changes in the underdeveloped countries, the permanent war economy in the West with its escalation to war, and the crumbling of the Eastern monolith.

Despite this it was refreshing to find, even in diametrical opposition, someone who was prepared to argue about directions for Socialism from a scientific analysis and not envelop the real arguments with foggy morality and soggy slogans.

On the last day Harold Wilson was given a standing ovation by almost all the audience but disappointed even his ardent supporters by dodging every searching question. He looked a little like a paper-mâché dummy built by the Transport House research dept. out of copies of 'Signposts for the Sixties.' A shrewd but affable dummy to stick on their 'Thumbs up' sign and send out campaigning the country.

The adulators finished with a standing ovation followed by 'He's a jolly good fellow.' Strange how many Socialists need a 'Leader' to worship.

A sour note was struck by David Warburton (Victan) who circulated a tatty duplicated sheet attacking the Left in the Y.S. These extracts are typical of its badly written intolerance. "Are you interested in the struggle of the international working class against the capitalist enemies of the oppressed peoples of Asia and East Grimstead? Your not? Neither are a hell of a lot more." "Counterblast has packed in but the extremist self styled 'left' has not. They are not interested in a Labour victory, they will try to sell their papers at this rally." For Warburton's information we sold out of *Young Guard* in two days.

All in, it was an enjoyable Rally but let us hope that next year the Y.S. will have some say in planning the political programme.

## JEREMY BRAY AND WORKERS' CONTROL

THE question dominating Skegness Rally politics was Workers' Control. The official bookstall even carried the Fabian pamphlet 'Workers' Control in Yugoslavia'. To counter the rising tide of support for this concept Transport House drafted in a 'safe' right winger, Jeremy Bray M.P., to lecture on 'Workers Participation in Industry'.

Unfortunately for them, this idealistic Christian thought it a splendid idea. The only difficulty he foresaw was implementing it in a mixed economy. Bray suggested that we already had a measure of Workers Control in Britain through the Trades Unions who participated in joint committees with the management. The only country where they did have workers control, he continued, was Russia.

During discussion, the comrade took a hammering. Workers control was shown to be a very different concept from workers participation. Speaker after speaker stressed the different and irreconcilable interests of workers and management and exposed the fraudulent schemes run by firms like Glacier Metal and John Lewis which pretend to give the workers a say in running the firm.

I.C.I.'s profit sharing scheme was attacked and Bray himself pointed out that the management recently cut the workers share quite arbitrarily although profits increased.

During the morning course, the lecture on Home Policy devoted a great deal of time to workers control because of the great interest the audience showed about the subject. The main criticism made of its advocates was their lack of any blueprint for implementing central planning in such a democratic economy.

Certainly there are many gaps in our theories of workers control but we have won a propaganda victory. People in the Labour Movement are again talking of industrial democracy. In the coming months *Young Guard* will tackle the whole question and try to solve some of the practical difficulties involved.

Workers' Control in Yugoslavia :-3/-  
11, Dartmouth St.,  
London, S.W.1.

ordinary YS magazines of extending its readership beyond the boundaries of Putney to other YS. Branches up and down the country. This policy is an adventurous one and one to be admired as its potential market, the left is already well covered nationally. Magazines such as *Young Left* which tends to imitate *New Left Review*, often lively that after initial success a slump occurs in the sales as the novelty wears off and

Continued Page 8



## BRANCH MAGAZINES

Peter Walker

N.W. Croydon Y.S. BEFORE commencing my magazine reviews this month I would like to stress that in order to review I must have some material to work on, and I therefore urge comrades who know of any YS publications to send them to us with as many back issues as possible. Thanks.

In the past many a footslogging Aldermaston marcher will have come across *Protest* whilst on the march when it was brought out by Hackney YCND., but now I discover following the unfortunate collapse of this YCND. branch that Hackney Y.S. have taken it upon themselves to keep *Protest* going but this time as a YS. publication. At the moment Hackney are struggling along using the old printed covers with the words Hackney YCND crossed out in biro. I feel that the sooner they

produce their own cover the sooner it will begin to be identified as a YS. magazine. The content I view with mixed feelings. In a recent issue one comrade wrote two separate articles containing some confusing contradictions. In the first whilst defending the workers bomb, the author states that Russia is Socialist, and then in the second, in which she explains how confused and frustrated she becomes at the apathy of workers, she endeavours to explain that Russia is not Socialist. No wonder the comrade is both confused and frustrated.

Other articles are however quite good with subjects ranging from the "Failings of Unilateralism" (an article showing how short-sighted unilateralism is as a policy on its own) to a short biography of the "Levellers" a breakaway left-wing faction of Cromwell's army. *The insertion*

of satire here and there adds to the magazine and I feel many YS. magazines would do well to introduce a little "Private Eye" type humour into their publications.

At the moment I believe that Hackney are now producing a special issue of *Protest* in which there will be articles on *Housing, Nationalisation, Education, etc.* for a Hackney YS. week. As a footnote I would like to mention that while still under the YCND. *Protest* produced a very good printed songbook, and although it may not be within the means of YS. Branches to produce one as professionally done as Hackney's, it would be a challenge to attempt to produce a small duplicated one.

*Young Left*, the journal of Putney YS. has been going now for just under a year and has attained in that time a circulation of just under 600, with an aim which is somewhat different to that of

## PEOPLE AND PROPAGANDA

Alan Woodward  
S.W. Islington Y.S.

"IN a democracy, those who want to improve standards can only be one step ahead of the masses," — with this stunning statement Dr. J. A. C. Brown tells off the critics of ITV and those

### Y.S. MAGS (Cont.)

contributors dry up. Despite this however I think that Young Left is a highly commendable publication if only for the effort which is being put into it. The printed cover and stencilled headings make it very attractive but the articles are not always as searching and as Left-wing as they should be. For example in a recent article in *Young Left* by Hugh Jenkins, a member of the L.C.C. and a regular contributor, he says, whilst explaining how time has come for a change government that the Labour Party is a satisfying and creative body. Now I might agree with the second part of this phrase but the first part is news to me. My main objection to the *Young Left* however is that the subject matter of the articles is largely domestic, a bad policy for a journal with national aspirations.

This tends to make reading heavy, and deprives the reader of an interesting and vital part of the struggle for socialism namely the experiences other comrades have in their fight against reaction.

Finally the letter column is conspicuous by its absence and surely by omitting this *Young Left* is omitting one of the main ways of awakening the interest of its readers.

who control the mass media. (Techniques of Persuasion. 4s.6d. Penguin).

In 318 pages the Doctor surveys advertising, the Press and Television. He is mostly concerned with their effect on people's opinions and attitudes. Huge chunks of the book describe war propaganda, religious conversions, political confessions and indoctrination. Interesting as these are, the most important section of the book is that which discusses how the organs of communication affect our ideas. He disputes the effectiveness of advertising. Next he points out that our basic characters cannot be manipulated and then shows how local "leaders" influence people.

To answer these points: Brown, discussing advertising, disregards the economic reasons for its existence. A whole world of over-production and slumps with the mechanism to prevent this—imperialism, foreign investment, the permanent war economy and advertising—is ignored.

Secondly any advanced society depends on people thinking logically and using properly their institutions—transport or television for example. Ways of thinking, knowledge, attitudes and opinions do not and Brown's point that character does not change has very little to do with it.

Lastly the Doctor shows how local "leaders" influence their families, social groups, etc. to a much greater extent than propaganda on the mass media. This is obvious and gives us the reason why we put forward socialist ideas. But the problem is not solved, because most leaders get

their information from television and the newspapers. It is in fact these leaders who are misled by distorted reports and form wrong opinions as a result. Passed on these ideas become the political facts of life to many people.

Unless they have direct experience of a political situation people continue to think in these terms; for example—all CND'ers are communists; Ford's workers are all out for a strike any day of the week; English policemen are wonderful.

Well, Brownism apart, what are the facts? The way a society is built is centred on the means of production—how things are produced. Institutions are created to suit the ends of the people who control the means of production. For example English education in 1863 produced an elite "born to rule" as they say and a middle class, commercial and wealthy. The other 85 per cent. left school at 10 barely literate—unskilled labour. Today the ruling classes need intelligent people to man the machinery of the modern state and a population which can fill up the pools, income tax and H.P. forms. So we have grammar schools and secondary schools to provide these two products.

In a similar way the mass media is used by the people who control society. Propaganda, blatant and hidden, repeats the attitudes they want us to believe.

Seriously though, what can Young Socialists do? First put forward social views all the time in branch and union meetings and in YCND. Personally keep a high standard of political consciousness. Thirdly use the local press by writing letters and advertising meetings.

Though control of the means of communication is only part of the

### JAZZ—Chris Torrance

IT'S annoying to notice how costly it can be to see an American jazzman these days. It costs £1.1.0 to join Ronnie Scott's London Club, where Roland Kirk has been appearing. The member has to pay 7/6 to get in or 10/- for the after-midnight session. Drink prices are astronomical. It seems a pity to me that jazz fans, who are not normally in the night club-type income bracket, should have to pay so much to see the admittedly very good musicians Scott has been bringing over. In fact I seem to remember Scott saying long ago, when he first opened his club, that he intended to provide a relatively cheap place for jazz fans to go compared to the expensive prices charged by other clubs. However, all this was quietly dropped at around about the time the booze-licence was applied for.

The "Melody Maker's" new format is large and dazzling, but I sighed in exasperation when I saw how much the rock boys had taken it over (Sept. 21 issue). On nearly every page I was confronted by photos of what seemed to be dozens of the scrubbed, pasty faces of the guitar twangers, and I had difficulty in finding the jazz items, which were of slight content anyway. I did learn however that the Liverpool beat scene is now dead(already?) and that several people had voted Christine Keeler, T.V. personality of the year in the "Melody Makers" pop poll.

central issue of workers control it is clear we should understand the problems.

## FROM PEOPLE'S CHINA!

A SELECTION OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LITERATURE: DIRECT FROM PEKING

CHINA'S VIEW ON WAR ON PEACE, ON REVOLUTION  
without comment or distortion

Leninism and Modern Revisionism	1/3
Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Statement & the Moscow Declaration	1/3
The Difference Between Comrade Togliatti and Us	1/6
A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the USA	9d
Workers of All Countries Unite, Oppose our Common Enemy!	1/3
More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti & Us	3/
<b>A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement</b>	
(The June 14th letter of the Chinese CP to the CPSU) 2/9	
Whence The Differences?	1/3
The Declaration of Havana	1/9
* * *	* * *
All Reactionaries and Imperialists are Paper Tigers (Mao Tse-Tung)	1/9
The Upsurge of China (Hewlett Johnson)	7/11
When Serfs Stood Up in Tibet	7/6
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