

YOUNG GUARD

June 1964
No 27
Price 4d
FOR
SOCIALISM
& FREEDOM

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BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW

Once again British troops are defending British imperialism against national liberation movements in Malaysia, South Arabia and Cyprus. The Malayan federation is put forward as an example of constitutional democracy working in an ex-colonial country. What is it in reality? A put-up job between reactionary feudal rulers, British tin and rubber interests, and the Chinese bourgeoisie of Singapore for their mutual benefit.

By Fred Lindop
Holborn & St. Pancras YS

Its real nature is shown by the imprisonment of socialists and militant trade union leaders. Meanwhile Social Democratic leader Lee Kuan Yew co-operates with Tunku Abdul Rahman in dividing the spoils of government.

A majority of Malaysians voted for the Federation but what choice could they see before them? Either Tunku Abdul Rahman and British imperialism or Sukarno and Indonesian imperialism. We should not be misled into believing that because Sukarno opposes British imperialism he is less imperialistic. Socialists should support the fight for self-determination and the establishment of trade union rights. Only the progressive forces in the Malayan people can achieve real national self-determination.

South Arabia is a much clearer, cruder form of imperialism than Malaysia.

Aden, once an outlying station in the defence of British India, now defends British oil in the Persian Gulf. The oil companies regard it as vital to their interests that Aden remains a backward British protectorate. The Tory Government is fighting the nationalist movement on

three fronts. First they are engaged in a full-scale military operation against tribesmen rebelling against the feudal sheiks. Second, they have set up the South Arabian Federation, which gives power to the sheiks, in order to hold back the more advanced town of Aden. Trade unionists and socialists have been imprisoned for opposing the Federation. Third, the Tories are supporting the deposed Iman, a vicious and reactionary ruler, in order to prevent the emergence of a unified and independent state of Yemen on the northern border of the Federation. As socialists we must demand that the people of South

Arabia be given the right of self-determination. British troops must get out of Aden; the imprisoned working class leaders must be set free.

British policy in Cyprus is not the disinterested peace-keeping operation that the press would have us believe. It can only be understood as a defence of oil interests in the Middle East. The present troubles stem from British attempts to set the Greek and Turkish Cypriots at each other's throats. The Constitution which Britain and Turkey imposed gave the Turks power in the Government out of all proportion to their numbers and education. The majority of Turks cannot possibly gain from this; it is only an educated minority which has exploited the racial fears of the illiterate majority in order to hold on to its privileges.

We do not believe that there will be a massacre if the British leave Cy-

prus; nor if the UN leaves shortly after. We think that the Turks will accept this if given reasonable assurances by Makarios. Meanwhile the Cypriot socialists and communists should set about smashing the Greek extremists.

We do not expect the Tories to recognise the right of people to self-determination; we expect them to fight in defence of their own interests. But we do expect the Labour Party to take a firm stand against the Tories' colonial policy.

Harold Wilson has so far gone on record as supporting the Tories in Malaysia, Aden and Cyprus. We say that the movement must demand that Labour give a lead in attacking the Tories' colonial policy. British interests are not working-class interests. Our interests are with every colonial people struggling for self-determination against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Stop this murder to protect profits. Bring all the troops home—Now!

Rebels without a cause

"There are two types of British youth," comments the "Daily Express." One type, the Express goes on, defends Aden and Malaysia with true British courage while the other visits seaside resorts and behave like vermin.

This nonsense highlights the dual morality of our society. Praise to the hooligans of the state who built and defended Britain's imperial might through murder and treachery but imprisonment for the other type of hooliganism which is caused by the inadequacy of that same society. Violence commands respect in any society where one class has dominated and ruled another. The present capitalist society is shot through with the belief that the most effective and glamorous means of obtaining respect and power is by the use of force.

The mods and rockers are products of a society which glorifies militarism and force through television, films and literature. Insidious practices such as teaching that history

is little more than a roll call of decisive battles or the poisoning of children's minds through militaristic toys and comics are powerful contributory factors to adolescent violence.

By Ross Pritchard
Islington North YS

The publicity given to mods and rockers will add substance to the belief that violence commands respect and attention. The role of the press in this affair has been contemptible. By inflating the Clacton episode they gave nationwide currency to an unimportant fissure in some sections of working class youth and by constant expectant questioning about the Whitsun battleground managed to incite a repetition of the Easter violence.

Most nauseating and dangerous is the technique of personal interview which glamorises these pathetic children and their prejudices. In the "Evening Standard" Andrew Duncan allowed a gang leader two

columns to explain why he hated mods and "wogs" and describe his personal armoury. Duncan concluded with this criticism, "without glamorising his cowardice or approving what he did or said, I liked him. He had the potential of a powerful leader."

The anti-social aspect of the Whitsun troubles is not that a few deck chairs were broken up but that working class youth were fighting among themselves while the ruling class responsible for this philosophy of violence passed judgement upon them.

When Home justifies the retention of nuclear weapons because it secures a place at the conference table, he, like his predecessors, is announcing that the threat of violence is a means of obtaining respect.

The difference between the troops in Aden and Malaysia and the mods and rockers is that the hooliganism of the former is designed to defend the system responsible for the hooliganism of the latter.

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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To: Martin Wright
329 Malden Road, New Malden, Surrey.

Printed and Published by
A. Macdonald, 11 Kelross Road,
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A weekend with the lumpentrots

Alchemy was the mediaeval pastime of attempting to turn base metal into gold. But we progress, and on Saturday and Sunday, 9th and 10th of May, at the West London Federation School held at the Clarion, the Alchemists of *Keep Left* managed to turn the pure gold of political discussion into the base metal of personal abuse and mindless vituperation. As an observer of, and a participant in, a number of political controversies in the past, it has never before been my misfortune to be assailed by this type of hysteria from a political tendency which claimed to be in any way serious.

A cursory glance at the syllabus for the school—containing as it did speakers like Ernie Roberts, John Palmer and Sheila Terrance—promised to provide an interesting and lively weekend. Lively it proved to be; interesting only if your tastes run to morbid psychology.

Ernie Roberts opened the Saturday discussion with his usual, and let it be said, arguable, plea for unity of the Left. This reasonable, if somewhat centrist, contribution met with extreme displeasure from the *Keep Left* element. What, they asked him, was doing about the possible expulsion of John Robertson? It was fairly clear that comrade Roberts hadn't the vaguest idea who John Robertson was, and in the eyes of the "vanguard" exposed himself as a 'fake left.' It is a well known fact the length of Clapham High Street that a close knowledge of John Robertson is the sine qua non of revolutionary purity.

Sunday morning however was to see the full flowering of *Keep Left* spleen. During the previous evening something of a palace revolution had taken place, the vice-chairman of West London Federation being replaced as chairman of the school by the "people's choice," Paddy O'Regan. After protests at this manoeuvre were brushed aside by the K.L. majority, Comrade O'Regan introduced Sheila Terrance, a member of the YS national committee no less (and if her powers of analysis and speaking ability are anything to go by she should be a lot less). She immediately set the tone for the discussion by indicating her intention of proving the right wing connections of *Young Guard*, and their gross betrayal of working class youth. This she attempted to do on the basis that YG is willing to print articles by such well known agents of reaction as Ben Sawbridge and Willie Lomax. Not only this—YG had permitted both of these comrades to express anti-KL sentiments at a YG readers' meeting. But worse is to come. YG had compounded this felony by putting the YS before John Robertson at the Easter YS conference, thus justifying the epithet, political scabs. This type of accusation of guilt by association is the hallmark of every rascal who has disgraced the political scene from Titus Oates to that arch mixer of amalgams J. V. Stalin.

After this badly delivered diatribe, a number of Sheila Terrance's supporters stood up and, referring to carefully prepared notes, detailed a number of instances where alleged YG supporters had behaved in an anti-KL fashion in YS branches. One young lady who sat close to me had her speech prepared before the session began, presumably to give more substance to her spontaneous expressions of disgust at YG infamy). To detail all trivia would be tedious, and to answer it would be to elevate it to a question requiring serious consideration. Suffice it to

say that the "stories" were compounded of straight lies, distortion and plain mis-statement of fact. It would see from the discussion that anyone who has the temerity to oppose KL is in danger of acquiring the label of a YG supporter. John Austin had better watch out.

By Mike Caffoor
Hornsey YS

About the only approach to a serious political point that was made by these comrades was in their assertion that the youth will be providing the leadership in the coming struggles, and as solid proof of this they adduced the rioting at Clacton. Presumably the mods and rockers were disputing for the leadership of the working class.

Having listened for two hours to futile accusations and counter accusations in the morning, I looked forward to the afternoon session when John Palmer was billed to speak on 'perspectives for the Labour Movement.' In the event I was not disappointed in Comrade Palmer's introduction. He gave a fairly comprehensive economic analysis in which he detailed the unfolding of the permanent arms economy, automation and the probability of larger technological unemployment. Because I broadly agree with his analysis does not in any way mean that I regard it as revealed truth. There are grounds for argument on a whole number of points and one would have something sensible to say on the question. Indeed for a few minutes it looked as if sense would hold sway and that a little clarification would take place. The first two speakers referred specifically to the speech and argued against it, if rather incoherently and with the odd aside about political scabbery, at least to the point. This could not be allowed to continue and Sheila Terrance bravely stopped the trickle of political discussion becoming a flood. We should return, she said, to the discussion of this morning. Politics was apparently unimportant, to expose the misdeeds of YG was the prime task of the revolutionary vanguard. Right on cue her comrades responded. One young hopeful obviously ripe for promotion suggested that we examine John Palmer's record in the YS. This he did, using as his text an obscure internal bulletin produced by an even more obscure organisation. From this he asserted that John Palmer had led the attack on George Brown's May Day platform, personally wresting

the microphone from George's nerveless grasp. Some weeks later when Palmer was being interviewed by the election sub-committee George Brown is alleged to have smiled and said "we have met before." This preposterous nonsense purporting to prove YG's part in KL proscription was greeted by applause from the claue. The fact that photographic evidence of the May-Day fracas proves quite conclusively that Palmer was nowhere near the platform is beside the point as far as *Keep Left* is concerned. The fact that the only way to actually know what was said at the NEC sub-committee is to be on intimate terms with George Brown, Sarah Barker et al is no argument to convince a *Keep Left*er with the bit between his teeth. Indeed if one had the sort of mind that dealt in conspiracies one could hatch up quite a story on the basis of who does the right wing tell its secrets to.

After Palmer had wound up the discussion attempting to answer all the slanders (a monumental task), Comrade O'Regan closed the meeting with a few words most of which I didn't hear because I left when he suggested that John Palmer and YG exposed themselves for fake lefts and political scabs. Flesh and blood, I felt, could stand only so much.

To conclude this weary saga of political cretinism there are one or two points that ought to be made. To miseducate the young is a job which capitalist education, the press, television and the cinema are able to do without assistance from *Keep Left*. The pathetic theory that youth and in particular the YS are the central focus of socialist struggle may please the youthful ego but it has nothing to do with reality and even less with socialist theory. To even consider that with the present relation of forces than YG, even if the lies were true, is an obstacle in the path of socialist advance is to prove your self blind to the real enemies of the working class. Political hardness is in no way enhanced by the repetition of slanders, the retailing of lying gossip, or the ability to lay your tongue to some choice personal abuse.

One supposes—rather sadly—that *Keep Left* provides a useful object lesson in how not to conduct oneself in the political movement and it is unfortunate that one day most of them will wake up and find that the intoxicating delights of this form of politics are inevitably followed by a hangover.

ads and sods

VOTES FOR YOUTH Campaign still going strong. Write to John Horsfield for Petitions, Speakers and details of meetings. 7 Spring Gardens, Wallington, Surrey.

THE WEEK—A News Analysis for Socialists. A regular service of information mailed weekly to Socialists up to the minute reports on ists throughout the country provided events of importance to Socialists. Editors: Ken Coates, Robin Blackburn. Contributors and correspondents throughout the world. Send foolscap s.a.e. to **The Week**, 54 Park Road, Lenton, Nottingham, for sample copy.

NALSO STILL NEEDS YOU! If you are a student as well as being a Socialist, you should join the National Association of Labour Student Organisations. Contact Julian Atkinson, 34 Crown Wood Way, London, S.E.9.

SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM NEWS — Free — from African National Congress, 3, Collingham Gdns., London, S.W.5.

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SOCIALIST SONGSTERS need The 'Protest' song book, 'Songs of Hope and Survival.' A collection of Trade Union, CND, and traditional Labour songs. 3,000 sold and still going strong! 1/- each, from Hackney YS, 14a Graham Rd., London, E.8.

WORLDSCENE

from where
I stand
FIANNA

Dirty war in Vietnam

Ever since the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, Indochina has been the scene of conflict between the major world powers. The defeat of the French colonialists supposedly created a number of free, independent, democratic states. In fact, only Cambodia can claim any kind of independence, and that only at the say-so of China. North Viet Nam has been under Chinese influence but at least the rulers there have made some attempt to develop the country and feed the people. South Viet Nam and Laos have been ruled since 1954 by various reactionary cliques acting as fronts for American imperialism. Vast amounts of aid have been poured into both countries. Most of which has been used to support

large armies to fight the left-wing national liberation movements, the Viet Cong and the Pathet Lao. In proportion to its size Laos has the largest army in the world. The proportion is scarcely smaller in South Viet Nam. Meanwhile the people have got steadily poorer. The wanton destruction of crops by United States troops, aimed at cutting the supply routes of the resistance, gives rise to famine and disease. Many civilians and children have been burned to death by indiscriminate napalm bomb attacks on villages suspected of left-wing sympathies. Various solutions have been offered for Indochina's troubles. Neutralisation has frequently been put forward as means of stabilising the

situation; just as frequently it has failed.

Stabilisation of the existing situation would only be in the interests of imperialism as the Viet Cong and Pathet Lao realise. The only solution to the problem is the victory of the left-wing forces over the puppet governments.

There is no doubt that the vast majority of the people want this. The fight against Communism is meaningless to these starving people. All they know is that the US-backed dictators do very well for themselves. Armies get bigger as the people get poorer.

It is clear that all socialists must support the national liberation movements against imperialism.

YS fight Clydebank rent racket

'You are victims of one of the worst Rent Rackets in the West of Scotland,' begins a leaflet issued by Clydebank Young Socialists to tenants in Dalmuir near Glasgow.

Young Socialists had observed that seven warrant sales, when tenants could not pay their rent, had been held in houses owned by a London company, Morton's Ltd. It was discovered that rents of £14 per month for two rooms and a kitchen were being charged of tenants earning as little as £8 a week. The houses, some of them rat-infested, had been bought for £250 each and were now for sale at £1,000.

The YS first traced the owners in London and questioned the directors, who refused to comment. A leaflet was then drafted for distribution to tenants outlining the facts and offering to help form a tenants' committee to fight the landlords. It was submitted to the Clydebank Labour Party who endorsed it.

The leaflet was distributed and a meeting called on Friday, 17 April, attended by about fifty tenants and chaired by the chairman of the local Labour Party.

The tenants responded to the Young Socialists' appeal and a further meeting is planned, chaired by the YS. Meanwhile another four warrant sales of the possessions of tenants who are in arrears with their rent have taken place.

If a tenants association is formed in Dalmuir, it will be thanks to the tough job of exposure, propaganda and organisation done by Clydebank Young Socialists.

The CP still retains a mystique, inherited from its more militant past, among workers, but confines itself to demanding various reforms without linking them to political aims.

The title of their policy document 'Demand a future for Scotland' is indicative of their nationalistic tendencies. They are in favour of 'scrap and build' 'with all British ships being built in British yards' (page 10), and direction of industry. Just think, direct an industrialist from the South and 2,000 more jobs for Scotland and 2,000 more unemployed in the South. Regions and the workers in them competing for work, that's what direction of industry means.

more ads and sods

"THE YOUNG SOCIALIST"

a magazine for
YOUNGER Young Socialists

published by the National Council
of British Socialist Sunday Schools
obtainable from Dick Storer,

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Hornchurch, Essex

yearly subscription (4 copies) 3/-

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM: Theoretical Marxist Quarterly. Price 2/6 from Mike Kidron, 47 Fitzroy Rd., London, N.W.1.

Printing youth get organised

Last month saw the launching of another Trade Union Youth Movement. Following the example of the AEU and USDAW, the London Region of the National Graphical Association founded the "London Guild of Young Printers." Four hundred of the LGYP's 1,300 members turned up to the inaugural meeting and elected an executive committee of eight from the body of the hall. Besides a £400 launching gift from the union the guild receives two-thirds of its members union dues. Some apprentices hope to publish their own paper and combine the political and social aspects of trade unionism so that the printing youth becomes a powerful and conscious force in the fight against the employers in the troubled years that lie ahead in the print industry.

Ramsgate YS poll victory

The Borough of Ramsgate has for the first time in its history a Labour majority on the local council. One of the two gains from the Conservatives was by Y.S. Secretary Ruth Hunt, who at the age of 22 has become the youngest member of the council.

Ruth, sister Pauline and the rest of the Y. S. branch heavily canvassed a staunch Tory Ward, not only was the ward turned Labour for the first time ever, but one of the longest sitting members of the council was decisively defeated.

This proves that given a lively and enthusiastic Y.S. branch, many wards need not be written off as unwinnable, and that the future of the Labour Party is inextricably tied to that of the YS movement.

There can be few things more unpleasant than beheading. Everyone will agree with the use by the press of words such as "repulsive," "sickening" and "barbaric" to describe the decapitation of two British soldiers in the Radfan Desert. But we must be quite clear about why the troops are in the Aden protectorate at all. It is not the working class which benefits from this uniformed sand-dance. But working class boys will carry on being shot and beheaded so long as the British Government bases its foreign policy on the defence of shareholders' interests. Because of OIL we support the feudal sheikdoms of South Arabia, maintain the huge base at Aden, and lock up the local socialists and trade unionists. Harold Wilson may say that we cannot afford to give up Aden, but socialists in the Labour Party disagree with him. In an age in which everyone is talking and writing about neo-colonialism, let us spare a thought for those who are still suffering from plain, old-fashioned colonialism.

Rhodesia

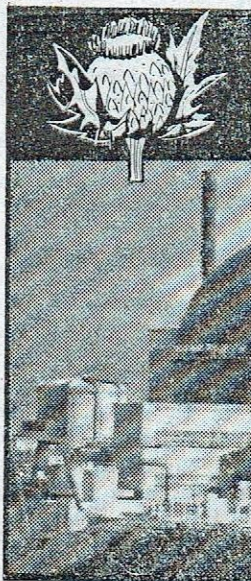
There is going to be big trouble in Southern Rhodesia very soon. From the progressive Garfield Todd, through Sir Edgar Whitehead and Winston Field, to Ian Smith, we have seen a succession of Prime Ministers, each one sacked and replaced by someone further to the right. If Britain decides to give Southern Rhodesia her independence while the present band of entrenched racialists are in power, there is every chance that the country will become another South Africa, with a violent civil war just around the corner. As socialists, we believe that multi-racialism is the ideal; but if it comes to a fight between Smith and the rulers on one side, and Joshua Nkomo and the majority of the Southern Rhodesian people on the other, we know which side we will choose. We must do everything we can to prevent this tragedy, and this means, in particular, that we must demand no independence without majority rule.

Suez

It is now being rumoured that before the attack on Suez took place in 1956, the British and French Foreign Secretaries met, together with the Premier of Israel, to plot the attack. Repeated questions by Labour MP's in Parliament have not met with very helpful answers from Lord Home (let's call him what he is) and his happy band. In fact, the Prime Minister has so far only made his usual comment of "No comment."

SPGB

Hands up all those who read "Socialist Standard," monthly journal of the revolutionary virgins in the Socialist Party of Great Britain, who showed such an interest in our letters column recently. The latest issue has an article entitled "Labour's Young Lions," by A.L.B. (A Lion Baiter?). "All this . . . may be good for laughs, but has nothing to do with socialism." A description of the S.P.G.B.? No comrades, this, it seems, is the essence of all YS activity. Mind you, the author of the article appears to think YS branches spend all their time discussing the theses of Pablo, Kronstadt and so on. Still, we have time for these luxuries; the SPGB are going to build socialism for us in the meanwhile.



Young Guard looks at Scotland

SCOTLAND

Left must oppose cheap labour as solution to no-jobs crisis

This Young Guard feature on Scotland looks at the problems facing that country and assesses the strength of its working class movement which will some day have to solve these problems by its own actions. We are grateful to Peter Bain and Jim Scott of Clydebank Young Socialists and Graham Fraser of Drumchapel Young Socialists for this survey.

"The decline in mining, shipbuilding and heavy engineering is due to the chaos of capitalist production. Due to system in which the motto is profit to-day and forget about to-morrow."

Interviewer: It was reported when you became Prime Minister that you had an idea in the thirties for moving Scottish miners and their families to the Home Counties where they could enter domestic service.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home: I saw the report. I don't remember saying it. It's a silly idea. I don't believe I did say it. Anyhow it would have been nonsense.

The above exchange is not an extract from Private Eye. It is part of an interview given by the Prime Minister to Town magazine in May.

This was one of Sir Alec's solutions to the Scottish unemployment problem. As a representative of the capitalist class he cannot be expected to explain why the problem persists to-day.

As Socialists it is our task to show why Scotland's unemployment figures are consistently higher than most other parts of Britain, and in order to do so we must examine the historical reasons for this tendency. In 1707, the Scottish Parliament signed the Union of Parliaments' treaty with England to enable Scottish merchants, mainly cloth manufacturers who were handicapped by tariff barriers, to trade with English colonies. The subsequent increase in trade, especially with America, hastened the development of Glasgow as a port and a smaller conurbation grew around Dundee and Edinburgh on the East Coast.

With improvements in production methods and the growth of colonisation, later imperialism, markets expanded rapidly. The early 19th century saw the development of the shipbuilding industry on the Clyde, the establishment of iron and steel mills nearby, and an increased demand for coal. Thus the pattern which was to dominate Scottish industry for decades was established. As the British capitalist class went on its merry way, waging wars against everybody (bar the Eskimos who had nothing worth stealing) the heavy industries continued to expand, and by the First World War the central industrial belt was one of the main centres of war production in Britain.

ads

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The world slump of the thirties hit hardest those areas dependent on heavy industry and Greenock, Motherwell, Clydebank, etc., had over 30 per cent. unemployed. It was not until the second World War that the position improved. For the first dozen years after the war unemployment averaged 3.1 per cent, around 65-70,000, and this was the era when workers could jocularly ask, "Should a welder marry a commoner?" But with the post-war boom declining Scottish workers were forced to face reality. Scotland's unemployment figures rose in inverse proportion to the decreased demand for capital goods. The factories producing cars, fridges, washing machines were still mainly concentrated near the principal markets, the Midlands and South-East England, and this is still the position to-day.

Because of the absence of factories producing consumer goods, Scotland is affected to a lesser degree than other parts of Britain by the stop-go economic cycle. In April of this year, during boom conditions, the Scottish unemployment figure, including unemployed school-leavers, was just below 90,000 (4½ per cent.). The Government has attempted to balance the uneven nature of Scottish industry by inducing capitalists north. Colvilles received a loan of £50 million to build a steel strip mill which, it was hoped, would encourage light engineering firms to come to Scotland. Rootes and B.M.C. received Government loans of £4 million and £18 million at undisclosed interest rates.

These projects have certainly softened the effects of the decline in the heavy industries but the overall picture remains bleak.

The Highlands provide the perfect illustration of the ruthlessness inherent in capitalism's drive for profits. Industry is practically nonexistent since the large centres of population are so far away. The railways are being drastically slashed before the altar of the great god, profit, and to hell with providing a public service. If the Beeching proposals proceed as planned, 15,000 more railway workers in Scotland will be unemployed by 1966. The paper mill being constructed at Fort William for Wiggin Teape with a Government loan of £25 million at 3.8 per cent interest is the first sizeable industrial enterprise in years to be built outside the central industrial belt. It's interesting to compare the rate of interest offered to industrialists with the 60 per cent. at which local authorities are forced to borrow for house-building.

The importance of heavy engineering can be gleaned from the fact that in 1948 during high demand for steel in the heavy industries Scotland produced 15 per cent of all British-made steel. By 1963 this had fallen to 9 per cent.

Production in the Scottish coalfields fell by 6 per cent. in 1963 while the labour force has fallen by 20,000 in four years. The ship-building industry is in decline because of world over-capacity. Six shipyards have closed on Clydeside and more will follow after the slight stimulus caused by the Government's £75 million loan to shipowners disappears. It has been estimated that the entire world fleet could be rebuilt in ten years. So much for scrap-and-build as an answer.

The present situation is heartbreaking for miners, railwayworkers and shipbuilders who have never known another job. They must either accept a labouring job or the dole. The government has instituted retraining schemes but these can provide places for only one in every two-hundred unemployed.

The decline in the heavy engineering industries, coupled with the semi-skilled nature of much light-engineering work, has particularly affected young people seeking apprenticeships and over 5,000 boys under 18 are out of work. In Dunbartonshire where 30,000 are employed in engineering, 15 boys started engineering apprenticeships last year, as opposed to over 500 five years ago.

The low wages which Scottish workers receive is an added incentive to firms to come to Scotland. Rootes pay 7/6 per hour at Linwood and 17/- to £1 an hour at Coventry for similar work. Burroughs recently announced that they were closing down their adding machine factory in Detroit, switching production to Scotland where wages are 40 per cent lower and shipping the

machines back to America for sale. This was hailed as wonderful news by the capitalist press and the S.T.U.C. but what they were in fact cheering was the Scottish workers' acceptance of lower wages and worse conditions than the American workers would accept.

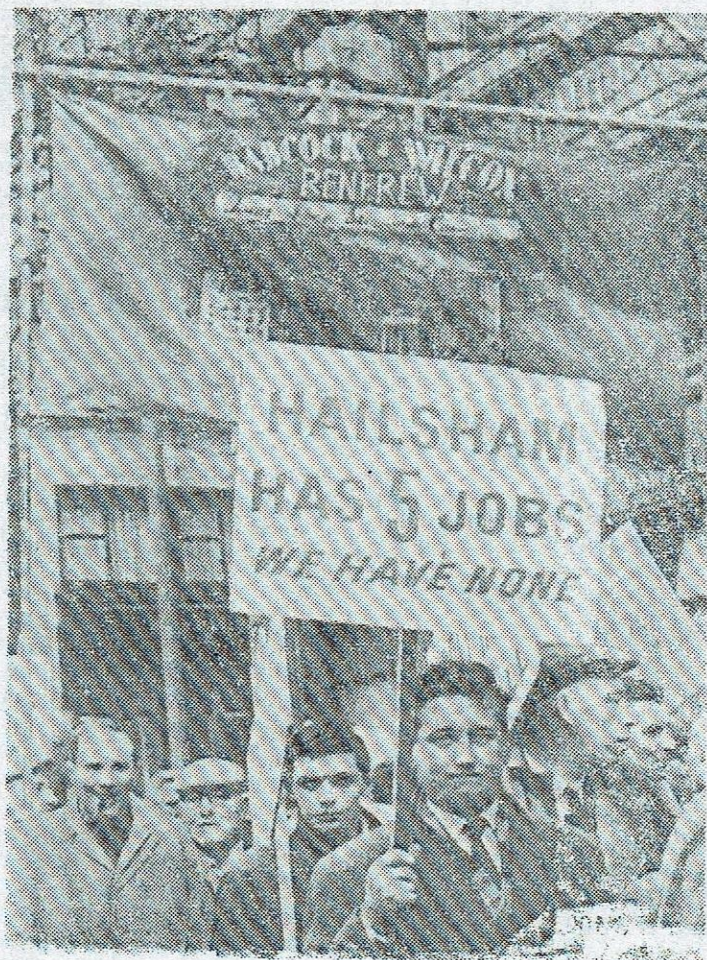
It is obvious that the dominant factors in inducing new industry to Scotland are Government interference and the low wage rates.

The Government intervention signifies the State's changing role in economic matters. The state is openly taking part in all aspects of the economy, granting loans, restraining wages, but always to the benefit of the capitalist class. When strikes occur, however, national assistance is withheld from the workers, or independent inquiries decide in favour of the bosses.

The decline in mining, ship-building and heavy engineering is due to the chaos of capitalist production. Due to a system in which the motto is, profit to-day and forget about to-morrow.

The influx, such as it is, of light engineering firms is designed to exploit the low labour costs which Scotland offers. American companies don't come out of the goodness of their hearts, they come to make profits. If they don't make profits they'll close their factories. That's the system. It runs completely contrary to the interests of the working-class.

Only when the workers plan production in their own interests will the threat of unemployment, bad housing, shortage of schools, and all their other problems be banished. Unless they act towards that end then the fight for higher wages and better conditions is meaningless.



Union nationalists shame Labour

But how has the Scottish Labour movement reacted to these problems, and what is the strength of the labour movement to-day?

The STUC displays all the vices common to every trade union bureaucracy.

They are nationalistic and 'responsible.' They have launched 'Jobs for Scotland' campaigns, breakfasted with the Secretary of State, written articles for the 'Daily Express,' and had jaunts to London to see everyone bar the Queen. Perhaps we should omit that reference to Her Majesty in case it puts ideas in their heads.

The principal task of late, of the secretary, Mr. James Jack, has been to criticise unofficial strikers for 'the harm they're doing to the STUC's efforts to attract industrialists to Scotland,' and exploit the plentiful resources of cheap labour, we might add. The workers at BMC, Bathgate, and Rootes, Linwood, in particular, have been subject to torrent of abuse from Jack and various other toadies for daring to complain about speed-ups and wage-rates decided upon by the union officials and the management. There have been so many stoppages that the Rootes workers were addressed by Les Kealy, TGWU National Officer, and John Boyd of the AEU executive who managed to take time off from blowing his tuba in the Salvation Army.

Boyd told the 'Daily Express,' 'The Rootes management have told me they are concerned about productivity—so am I. I will talk to the men about wildcat strikes.' He earned banner headlines in the 'Express' by telling the men to go easy on pay claims.

We don't have to say anything about Boyd's role. He's made it perfectly clear himself.

If, as seems likely, the next Government makes unofficial strikes illegal, they will meet with no resistance from the union leaders. They see their job simply to ensure that unemployment is kept to a 'reasonable' level. Nothing else.

Their attitude and level of political

consciousness is perfectly illustrated by the present chairman of the STUC, Frank Stephen, who has this wonderful statement to his credit, 'I'm against Polaris, but if it is to be built anywhere, it should be on Clydeside.'

However there is a growing gulf between the bureaucrats and the rank and file. Many workers are at first puzzled by the official union response to the unofficial strikes, but many are coming to appreciate the reasons for the venom with which Jack and Co. attack men they're supposed to represent.

Mr. John McWilliams, the Labour convenor of Fife County Council, is another who is prepared to collaborate with the bosses at any price. During the Ford strike at Halewood, Liverpool, eighteen months ago, he wrote to Sir Patrick Hennessey inviting him to move his factory to Fife where he said, the workers would be more co-operative. The walk-outs and strikes at the Scottish car factories have proved that workers will fight against injustices and for better conditions anywhere, and have disproved the theories held by some Young Socialists that workers in the depressed areas are dispirited and unwilling to fight.

Labour Party very weak

Glasgow has 11 Labour MP's out of 15, but the total membership of the Glasgow Labour Party is less than that of some English constituencies. The Party officials pursue a policy of avoidance of controversy. At the Woodside by-election they ignored the Tory attacks and introduced no politics into the campaign. Result, a 54.2 per cent poll and a Labour 'victory.' At Rutherglen they were forced to answer the extreme Right-Wing Tory and some controversy was subsequently introduced. This time there was an 82 per cent poll and a Tory majority of 1,500 turned into a Labour one of 3,500.

The party policy statement 'Signposts for Scotland' repeatedly refers to 'both sides of industry' and such Socialist ideals as higher unemployment pay. The term 'working-class' doesn't merit a mention, and we are told that private enterprise will be encouraged to come to Scotland but if it doesn't state-owned factories will be built. We hope that comrades will not be deceived by the term 'state-ownership' as this is not necessarily a Socialist measure. The South African Government, for instance, builds state-owned factories. Unless control is exercised by the workers themselves then one boss is merely substituted for another.

Occasionally glimmers of Socialist consciousness break through, such as the Aberdeen Town Council's decision to boycott South African goods in spite of a vicious press campaign. At its last two conferences, the Glasgow City Labour Party has passed resolutions calling on the corporation to refuse to administer the city unless interest rates to local authorities are cut, and for free transport. Both were moved by Young Socialists.

The unusual Left-Right confrontation in the Party is complicated by religious strife in the form of the ubiquitous right-wing Catholic Action and moronic elements. Like the CP they see everything in terms of tactics and manoeuvre to get positions not on behalf of, but irrespective, of the wishes of the rank-and-file.



YS must raise class issues

We must now consider the Young Socialists and what our role should be in the Labour movement.

In the Glasgow area anyway, there has been something of a resurrection from the decline of the last two years and several branches have increased their membership lately.

The campaigns conducted by branches such as Drumchapel to bring unemployed youth into the YS don't mean a thing unless some attempt is made to introduce politics into the branch programme. Even the Mormons can get young people to come to their dances and have a wee prayer during the interval, but this doesn't mean they're Mormons. We don't want discussion for discussion's sake, but political clarity is essential.

The YS Conference decisions however are indicative of the relatively high level of consciousness in the YS. But before we can progress from these decisions it is imperative that we recognise the position that we are in and act accordingly.

Our task should be to place ourselves squarely behind the working

class in all its struggles. Against unemployment by demanding work or full pay and youth training centres. By pointing out that the problem posed by automation necessitates control by the workers in their own interests. To join the protests against high rents and bad housing conditions and show the parasitical nature of landlordism and money lending.

We must also raise these issues within the Party and, while working for the return of a Labour Government, ensure that Labour's welfare proposals are implemented and not carried out at the expense of the working class.

We in Scotland must also fight against the Scottish, as well as the British, nationalism which the ruling class uses as a red herring so successfully.

The economic problems of Scotland are, in the final analysis basically the same as those affecting capitalism everywhere, and while fighting for reforms we must never forget that there is only one ultimate solution; the destruction of capitalism and the construction of a socialist society.

Red Clyde

The Scottish Labour movement has a long and at times turbulent history. Its most militant era was during the First World War in the heyday of John Mclean, Willie Gallacher, Davie Kirkwood and other 'Clydeside rebels.' Socialist newspapers were suppressed by the Government, and Mclean and many others were jailed for sedition.

This was the period of the rent strikes, when many women were thrown out of their houses for rent arrears while their husbands fought for King and Country. The pressure of the Clydeside workers forced Lloyd George to rush the rent restriction act through Parliament safeguarding the soldiers' wives against eviction.

An indication of the power of the shop stewards committees is given by the fact that Kirkwood, who was convenor at Beardmore's Forge, could introduce the Prime Minister to his committee as 'Lloyd George, capitalist lawyer and enemy of the workers.' Even at that time the Clydeside shop stewards committee listed among its aims 'workers' control of production.'

A revolutionary situation existed and so serious did the situation become in 1917, that troops were moved in to surround Glasgow. Lack of militancy in other parts of the country combined with the pressure of war-chauvinism to destroy this revolutionary fervour as a serious threat to the system.

LETTERS

arse and rape

Chris Torrance seems to suffer from some kind of persecution complex. Last month he unearthed two hideous plots against our freedom, in the shapes respectively of the Catholic Church, who want to stop us reading about the 'torture that man's life really is now' and the State which clamps down on working-class youth once again by forbidding the traffic in 'harmless' marijuana. I believe comrade Torrance must have been under the effects of harmless marijuana when he wrote these two pieces.

I don't know the comrade's views on sexual behaviour but feel sure he wouldn't like to see wholesale 'arse and rape and bloody murder.' It isn't funny to see young girls turned into mothers at the age of 16 onwards, to have venereal disease spread like wildfire, to hear of children assaulted. Society in evolving has thrown up a code of behaviour to prevent this and this is what Youth Impact and the other groups attempt to preserve and what comrade Torrance sees as an attack on our freedom. Surely the comrade knows that freedom is relative and involves certain restrictions. And by the way, by what strange dialectic can he condemn anti-semitic and anti-negro outbursts while making some nasty little snides at Catholics himself.

On the marijuana article, I doubt the validity of the harmless inference, but have read that marijuana is a well known breaker-in and paves the way for hypodermic needles, cocaine, and the nasty little pills. However the real argument is this. Do we really want to go out and challenge society and change it for the better or do we want to escape from it all via comrade Torrance's ambrosian methods to a land of peace and love and musical appreciation that ends when we wake up. And does he really believe that the jackboot is poised above the teahead for sheer sadistic establishment-type humour. Look at the world as it really is comrade and if you still see plots everywhere then I suggest that you see your psychiatrist.

Eugene McEldowney
Fulham YS

colour bar

In reply to the article in a recent issue of Young Guard concerning the attitude of Romford Young Socialists towards immigration, we should like to clarify our position on this subject.

We stand for control as against the laissez-faire attitude of both Right and Left.

Whereas we are in entire agreement with your anti-colour bar principles, we think that unlimited immigration will not be economically viable in the early stages of the next Labour Government; we therefore consider that immigration should be adequately controlled and geared to the prevailing domestic situation, and should be applicable to both black and white immigrants.

The immigrants coming in at the moment are going into areas which are already overcrowded, and we consider that the task of the next Labour Government to redevelop these overcrowded areas will be aggravated by this position, and also by the flood of immigrants that would occur if the decisions of the Young Socialists' Conference were implemented.

These decisions are in fact pandering to those capitalist elements that before legislation was passed, sought to import commonwealth subjects without any provision being made for their integration and em-

ployment, with the intention of weakening working class solidarity by providing pools of cheap labour, and opening a way for Rachmanism. World problems are similar in nature to the problems facing this country to-day, in that there are regions of depression in South-East Asia, Africa and the Middle East, just as there are in Scotland and the North-East of this country. The Tory answer to our national problem of depressed areas is to encourage people to move to the South, thus choking the prosperous areas and leaving the areas of depression to foster and worsen. This does not solve any problems; nor will allowing the wholesale immigration from the world's depressed areas solve their problems of development.

The ideas of sending aid abroad (parallel to those of sending industry to the North in this country) are much sounder policies and ones which are likely to lead to a world free from want and prejudice.

Romford YS

Wilson betrays

Socialists support Colonial War! This is what is now being said of the Labour Party. At times some sections of the Party have sunk to low depths to becalm the electors' fears, but Harold Wilson's recent statement on the situation in South Arabia is hard to equal.

When in fact Mr. Wilson makes his long awaited statement on the Aden situation, he hardly troubles to criticise the nineteenth century gunboat mentality of our aristocratic Premier, but instead merely makes helpful suggestions as to how the British Colonial Army can more efficiently slaughter the Arab 'rebels.' He may, of course, have been concerned about the safety of the British soldiers, but if this is the case why is he so eager to maintain a repressive force in Aden?

The only suggestion of criticism which the Labour Party in Parliament have exhibited was the rather mild enquiries into the authenticity of the reports of the beheading of two British soldiers.

Some left of centre political commentators seem to think this attitude "good politics," particularly within sight of a General Election. In reality it is simply political cowardice. How can the Labour Party possibly prop up a centuries old feudal system and in the same breath call themselves "Socialists"? If, and I emphasise if, the Labour Party win the General Election in the autumn it will be almost a valueless victory. Never has so much been sacrificed by so few important figureheads to achieve so little.

Bob Bradley
Bath Y.S.

United Nations

After reading Comrade Lomax's article on the United Nations, I felt obliged to try and repudiate some of the unholy drivel which he has written. It would appear that he has tried in this article to kill two birds with one stone. Firstly he tries with the aid of some unproven (but well worn) clichés to dismiss the works of Marx and Engels and hundreds of other internationalists as naive idealism.

Second, he tries by inference to examine Transport House foreign policy on the grounds that this organisation (the UN) of small minded chauvinists could be used to build a Socialist world government. His whole article then, shows a complete lack of understanding of the historical role of the United Nations in re-

lation to the working class and world capitalism.

I do not say that a Socialist government in Britain should boycott the UN altogether but if they do decide to participate in its present set it must be to use it as a platform for their socialist principles and not try and reform world capitalism.

Jim Scott
Clydebank YS

workers' bomb

Willie Lomax's letter (YG, May) seems to be based on a gross misunderstanding of the 'state-capitalist' viewpoint. It is because of the conclusions of our class analysis that we oppose *all* bombs—not as Lomax contends because of non-Marxist idealist arguments.

The problem, however, of 'workers' bombs' throws into focus the relevance of the concept of peaceful co-existence. To insist that there can be no co-existence between socialism and capitalism is a useful guide to action when viewed in terms of no collaboration or compromise other than temporary between worker and boss. But when put on an international scale it raises the question whether the advance of working class power can be so uneven that in one part of the world a vigorous working class can have its own national revolution and establish itself as a serious threat to the capitalist world so unchecked by individual national working classes as to call for a working class nuclear strategy. Even if such hypothetical musings represented reality the problem is still one of class analysis—would the struggle of the world working class be advanced more by a nuclear showdown between the hypothetical workers' state or by some compromise designed to gain for the working class to continue its struggle within the various national frameworks?

Under these circumstances the claim that there is no bomb which kills only capitalists is not an idealist inconsistency but one argument toward the formulation of working class strategy in the hypothetical problem posed above. But when used in connection with the present problem of world peace it is not the reason why we oppose the Russian bomb (the reason deriving from our analysis of Russia as state capitalist) it is rather appointed means of persuading those of the workers' state viewpoint that the workers' bomb argument does not immediately follow.

John Culbert
Shettleston YS

Teamsters

Fianna thinks we should support Hoffa against Kennedy. It is apparently a class confrontation, with the English Press supporting anti-Union Kennedy. Fianna is apparently prepared to approve any Union boss, however corrupt and anti-democratic, so long as he delivers the goods, higher wages. The fact that for these higher wages the Teamsters pay the highest dues in the world wasn't mentioned, though if value for money was the criterion it was surely relevant.

More important, for a paper whose aims include workers' control of the nationalised industries, is his neglect of the position of the Teamsters' ordinary members. British T.U. bureaucrats can be attacked for their undemocratic paternalism which neglects their workers' class interests as far as they dare, but not American ones. If the issue is just one of lack of professionalism then let's join the Beaverbrook press crusade for £10,000 for Sir Bill, Sir Harry and Brother Frank and to hell with the workers. If on the other hand, the issue is a class issue, that of defending the working class, then what are we doing supporting the most unscrupulous of the 'labor bosses' for misappropriating their Union funds? Hoffa and his

cronies have been swindling their members, morally as well as financially, for a considerable time. Read Dos Passos' account for the full details.

Hoffa wasn't, and isn't, interested in leading a militant working against the bosses, he wants a passive, and, if necessary, terrorized membership, so that he too can set up shop; as a labour boss competing on the market with the rest of the bosses, selling to them the right to employ. This might be O.K. for an employment agency, but it isn't a socialist's idea of Unionism.

If we believe in the democratic control of industry by the working class, then it is ridiculous not to fight for democratic control of existing working-class institutions, the Unions. If we believe in fighting international capitalism with an internationally-organised working class, then the issue of democracy in American Unions does not concern us. On both counts we should be a good deal more cautious of supporting a corrupt bureaucracy, just because the capitalist press attacks it, than Fianna was last month.

Simon Petch
Oxford YS

left poetry

Geoff Richman (May YOUNG GUARD) attacks me with the weapons of exaggeration and ridicule rather than reason. In describing the poet as a philosopher I see him as a philosopher from a personal and humanist viewpoint, not a philosopher of the intellect like Ayres or Russell. The poet's philosophy is an interpretation and vision of himself and his fellow human beings as he experiences and sees it. His philosophy and vision of humanity is drawn from his experiences of the lifeways of his generation, from his experiences of the streets, pubs and similar urban scenes he is involved in.

I don't dismiss groping for Utopian ideals—it is necessary to have some sort of goal to head for in order that some intermediate progress along a path should be made. Utopia itself must remain a dream. We must face the fact that humanity can never reach a state of perfect equilibrium. Life would become very dull indeed if perfection could be attained . . . it's the inevitable and constant fraction of human relationships that makes the world go round, that sets the young against the old in their search for new things. Can Geoff Richman really see Utopia arriving in his lifetime? Or at all?

Richman, it seems, is one of these people whose minds are so firmly stuck in the dialectical concrete of the past that he can't possibly see that unexplored territory lies to either side of his narrow, righteous and dogmatic path.

Ken Geering, in return for my 'honest and friendly' review, writes an honest and friendly letter upon which it is hard to take issue without writing a tome explaining the differences between his essentially Marxist attitude to art and my individualistic one. I didn't miss the point of his collection, I attacked it. By calling it 'Left' poetry, Geering invited and got a lot of political nonsense. If he'd entitled it 'Poetry of Dissent' or 'Poetry of Rebellion' he would have attracted many more poets who will have no truck with propagandistic poetry, and were put off by the political air of the title of the collection. A poet's aim is to create poetry, not explain dogma. Dogma outdates so rapidly in the face of the tremendous pace of life and the pressure of 'progress' that to write from a dogmatic point of view eventually relegates the propagandistic poet to a rearguard position. Throughout the history of artistic endeavour, it is the poets and the painters who have been the most startling, original, and human of the innovators.

Chris J. Torrance
Carshalton YS

BOOKS

The 'Fascists' who fought for workers power in Hungary

1956 saw the exodus of 7,000 members from the British Communist Party and substantial defections from many Communist Parties throughout the world. The Hungarian Revolution, following so closely on Khrushchev's revelations at the 20th Congress, proved too great a strain on their credulity. For those who remained in the CP, and indeed to anyone who still harbours the illusion that Russia is the home of socialism, "Hungary 56" by Andy Anderson* should be prescribed reading.

Little of what Comrade Anderson has to say is new but he has collected and presented in a clear and eminently readable form most of the material available on the Hungarian uprising. He precedes this by an account of socialism "imposed by Red Army bayonets in Eastern Europe; and resistance groups, on instructions of Communist leaders, handing over their arms in France and Italy."

The tortured path of the Hungarian people is traced from 1918, covering the rise and demise of Bela Kun's Soviet government, followed by the first fascist regime in Europe led by Admiral Horthy who entered the Second World War on the side of Hitler. In 1944 "socialism" was imposed by the Russians and unbelievably, yet perhaps as a portent of what was to come, the First Minister was General Miklos de Dolnok, the first Hungarian to receive formally from Hitler the Iron Cross. The working class, who had taken communist propaganda at face value, had to be pushed into line. The national C.P. became tools of the Russian bureaucracy; no attempt was made to win the people to a revolutionary programme—the secret police gave the party sufficient control.

There followed, along with political suppression, deterioration in the standard of living. Reparations (previously condemned by the Russians) were collected without consideration of the suffering this would cause the working class. The satellites were exploited by the old trick of imperialism, buying cheap and selling dear. Joint companies, run on capitalist lines, were set up with Russia taking most of the profits. Industries were nationalised while workers were on holiday—no question of their participation here. Piece work, far from being the anathema Marx suggested in 'Capital,' was introduced on an unprecedented scale.



As Russian exploitation of Hungary and the other satellites became obvious, resistance grew. Workers in East Berlin, Poznan and Czechoslovakia demonstrated and were brought to heel.

In Hungary the Petofic circle became the centre of protest and were, despite efforts to ban their meetings, bluntly critical of the regime, calling for intellectual and political freedom.

Anderson details the vacillations of the bureaucracy in their attempts to contain the ferment, especially the exchange of unpopular leaders like Rakosi for those thought to be more popular. The workers were not deceived by theatrical devices such as the exhumation and rehabilitation of the murdered Rajk. On October 23rd, violence flared when the A.V.O. machine-gunned a peaceful demonstration. The Hungarian revolution had begun. Now the workers began to play an active part, arms were commandeered from the factories and fighting began in the streets.

From this point the speed with which the workers organised was incredible. While the fighting went on in the streets the General Strike spread. Workers took the factories and formed workers' councils; formulated programmes; demands and resolutions. Dual power existed but although there can be no doubt that the workers would have comfortably coped with the Hungarian Government they were not a match for the Russian tanks called in to crush them.

Anderson's exposition of the pre-history of the Hungarian revolution is excellent. His emphasis is on the positive and constructive role of the working class which cannot be affirmed too much. It is therefore not through any wish at all to detract from the sales of the pamphlet (which should be read by all socialists) that I disagree with some of his conclusions, in particular his inclusion of some of the wilder flights of fancy culled from the pages of 'Solidarity' which are represented in his apparent ability to reconcile support for the Kronstadt mutineers in 1921 with support for the "Workers' Opposition" of the same period. This same "Workers' Opposition" was in the forefront of those who crossed the ice to attack the Kronstadt fortress. Also to quote the egregious Kollontai without so much as a mention of her later dedicated service to the Stalinist bureaucracy as Ambassador to

Sweden. To those who wish to look rather deeper into this complicated question, Raya Dunayevskaya (whose political line is similar to that of "Solidarity") in her book "Marxism and Freedom" provides a useful antidote to "Solidarity's" rather simplistic approach to the 1921 difficulties in Russia.

These questions, although not marginal, do not detract from the value of the pamphlet. In the eight years since the revolution a whole new generation of Young Socialists has entered the Labour Movement. It is necessary for them if they are to understand the main spring of socialist advance to understand both the form and the content of the Hungarian revolution.

*" HUNGARY 56 "

3/6d plus 7d postage
From Andy Anderson
197, Kings Cross Rd.,
London, W.C.1.

New contribution to theory

The Socialist Register, 1964* is the first of a series of annual volumes concerned with the problems of socialist theory and contemporary politics. Its range is world-wide and its contributors are drawn from many countries. Although the volumes will be published annually, The Socialist Register is not intended to be a summary of recent events. Rather, the editors propose that a selection of important issues should be given more extended and deliberate consideration than is normally possible in more frequent publications.

In this present volume, the analysis ranges from Maoism and Nasserism to the myth of the Labour Party's Golden Past and workers' control. By casting their net widely the editors also hope to contribute to the breaking down of socialist parochialism and to the international debate over socialist ideas and policy.

*THE SOCIALIST REGISTER

Ed. by Ralph Miliband and John Saville.
Price 3/- from Merlin Press
112, Whitfield St., London, W.1.

Dont knock Pop music

Most of the articles that have appeared in YG on the subject of music have dealt with either folk-music or jazz. Nobody would dispute the importance of these subjects, even though much modern jazz is degenerating into feelingless sterility, and a great deal of folk music is quite without tune or melody, and has incredibly artificial words.

What does concern me, however, is the contemptuous attitude taken to so-called "pop music" by so many people on the Left. Partly this contempt seems to spring from a belief that any form of art that has an enormous popularity must be necessarily inferior—a curiously elitist position for socialists. Partly it derives from the idea that highly commercialised art must be worthless—but in our society everything is commercialised, and throughout history much of the best art and literature has been produced by men who were largely concerned with financial gain.

The theory that the pop-music mar-

By Ian Birchall
Oxford YS

ket is manipulated by commercial interests does not stand up to examination. If the tastes and ideas of young workers could be as easily manipulated as many "Left" pseudo-sociologists claim then our hopes of socialism would be vain. But a study of the Top Twenty charts over a period shows two things. In the first place, there is no predictable and repeatable formula for success; second, for the most part it is the records that have the highest technical and aesthetic quality that sell best. Some shoddy and sentimental material gets to the top (e.g. Billy J. Kramer, the Bachelors), but surprisingly little. There are certainly a lot of commercial trappings to pop music which we should be better off without; but we must not reject what is valuable on their account.

Bourgeois moralists complain that pop music embodies negative anti-social values. So it does; for in a fragmented society like ours these values are dominant, and the strength of pop music comes from the fact that it is rooted in the world we live in. Such Trafalgar Square favourites as "Family of Man" are dreary and sickening because the 'family of man' has no relation to our experience. Pop music, from Presley's "Blue Suede Shoes" and Chuck Berry's motor cars to Cliff Richard's "Dancing Shoes" and the Searchers' "Sugar and Spice," belongs to the world of material possessions and sensual experience.

Yet pop music is also, and above all, music of revolt against this world. The driving beat of rock and roll, the great musical break-through of our generation, is essentially aggressive and assertive. A song like Brenda Lee's "Rocking Around the Christmas Tree" cuts scathingly through the false sentiment with which the bourgeoisie has surrounded Christmas. Nor is it always negative revolt. Take the Crystals' "He's a Rebel":

"He's a rebel and he'll never be any good,

He's a rebel 'cause he never ever does what he should.

Just because he doesn't do what everybody else does.

If they don't like him that way, They won't like me for sure today,

I'll be standing right by his side."

Such rebellion is isolated and fragmented; yet it has a human quality that is warm and valuable. It is worth noting that this record held the Number One spot in U.S. during the Cuban crisis of 1962. Commercial culture is not monolithic; and many aspects of it deserve sympathetic study from socialists.

Reviewed by
Marion Higgins



YOUNG GUARD

GOD A crisis of leadership

Peace worker to be deported

Mrs. Judith Hart, M.P., is fighting the case of Bert Benson, the American teacher of psychology who has been asked by the Home Secretary to leave the country. The Home Secretary still refuses to give reasons why Mr. Benson should not stay, and has only recently volunteered that his residence is not in "the public interest."

Mr. Benson, a supporter of the Committee of 100 and of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, had begun research on the sociological and political aspects of military service, conscription and conscientious objection. He believes that peace movements and non-violent social action movements should develop outside the political parties.

Mr. Benson does not believe that his activities, past or present, are evidence that he is a danger to the security of the country—the only officially acceptable political reason for asking a foreigner to leave.

Mr. Benson has been informed that at present, in this country, unlike most parliamentary democracies, no legal appeal is available in such cases, and the Home Secretary is not obliged to give reasons to support his case.

All Young Socialists wish Bert well in his struggle for freedom against State intolerance and will do what they can to help.

It is impossible to conceive of a god who so loves the world that he allows innocent children to die and people to spend their lives in poverty and starvation.

However it is not enough just to say 'No god exists.' A convenient slogan of the Left has been 'Religion is the opium of the people,' but the full importance of these words is sometimes missed. Religion provides for the ruling classes a ready means of keeping the masses in servile contentment. 'The Lord will provide' is too often the cry of the homeless, the jobless and the underpaid. The promise of the 'land beyond the sky' and the 'help in time of trouble' are merely screens to hide the real evils of capitalist society.

Even so we must guard against condemning religion out of hand: non-conformist radicals have often been at the forefront of reformism and even of revolution, and to-day christians, muslims and others are performing unenviable tasks in the developing lands and in the backwaters of our own society.

But the established churches of the world are almost always on the side of reaction. In Britain the Church has fought against the free of education from its religious strait-jacket, against the liberalising of marriage and sex, against penal reform, has persecuted so-called 'heretics,' has kept people out of office, and so on. The record of the churches under colonialism can be envied by the worst of tyrants. And the crimes of the Catholic church are too numerous to mention.

Although the Church, at least in this country, has been edged from its all-powerful position, it still presents a major bulwark against the liberalis-

By Richard Hammersley
Derby YS

ing of the society and the advance of socialism.

Though the churches are continually being harassed, they are still immensely wealthy; though they can no longer, for more and more people, wield the 'fear of god,' reli-



We were unable to obtain a photograph of God but we did get this shot of a Pope John who claimed to be his representative on earth. John was recalled last year.

gion is still called upon to justify a kind of apathetic fatalism. The churches will go to almost any length to retain their position: they will bend, and sometimes contradict, their own doctrine to suit the situation; the religion of Jesus Christ is far removed from that of St. Paul, Cromwell or even the Bishop of Woolwich.

It is in this atmosphere that Humanism has its beginnings. In Britain it was the question of religion in education that first brought Humanism to the notice of the mass of people. Since then such bodies as the Rationalist Press Association, the Ethical Union, and the National Secular Society have tried to promote a non-religious view of the world and to replace mysticism with rational thinking. Humanism asserts the dignity of every man, woman and child—not as slaves to some doctrine but as intelligent social beings. It seeks to liberate humanity from the shackles of irrational thought and to direct life for human ends: it seems to establish a system of philosophy and ethics based on reason, not on arbitrary assumptions. Humanism is not a negative view—in attacking irrational thinking, humanists are intimately concerned with all social, political and philosophical problems. Although not really a political movement its aims tally closely with those of socialists—indeed socialists form the bulk of its adherents.

But may I make one point of criticism—many humanists have replaced religious dogma with a dogma no less arrogant and repressive: their answer to the Inquisition would have been to torture the inquisitors. The Oxford University Humanist Group was formed five years ago, and in that short time has become one of the largest societies in the university. This meteoric rise is all the more astonishing because Oxford has, ever since the first colleges were built, been a centre of religious education and thought—the town abounds in theological colleges, and chapels and churches of all kinds. Whether this really means anything is difficult to assess: many people could have joined just to hear the excellent speakers, and the Group has a reputation for discussing sex, sex and more sex. This image is a little erroneous, but even so the liberalising of personal relations has long been a major part of Humanism and sex is certainly something which needs discussing fully and uninhibitedly. The Group provides a platform for a large area of discussion and it is here where its strength lies. But its rise must point to a growing discomfort with religion and shows that the Church does not hold full sway in Oxford.

YOUNG GUARD
LONDON READERS

Sunday 14th June
7 p.m. at Lucas Arms,
Grays Inn Rd. (Nr. Kings
Cross Stn.)

Debate—Signposts for the Sixties

The Tories biggest waste-line

A few weeks ago, the Blue Streak rocket was launched in Australia after a shameful history of waste and incompetence. The Blue Streak was ordered nine years ago and it was to have been Britain's long-range ballistic missile.

But in 1960 its production was cancelled because the cost of the rocket

By Carol Wilson
Hornsey YS

and the launching site, which was originally estimate at £50 million, had

already topped the £84 million mark and the total cost of the project was estimated to be nearer £600 million. With this figure in mind even the Tories were doubtful of the capabilities of "our own independent strategic deterrent."

Cancellation came when the rocket was almost ready for testing; for the next eighteen months it was put into cold storage, until five of the Common Market countries (except Luxemburg) had agreed to cooperate with Britain in building a three-stage rocket, of which a re-engined version of the Blue Streak was to form the base. It had already cost Britain £84 million but it was estimated that she would have to contribute a further £30 million to this venture.

Since 1951, £156 million has been spent on other major aircraft and missile projects which have been scrapped. The money wasted on these, the Blue Streak and all other nuclear armament activities, could have been put to much better use.

For the year 1963-64 the total amount of money spent on Government Housing Subsidies was £95 million which is £19 million less than that wasted on the Blue Streak rocket alone.

This sort of action is typical of the ruling class for whom power, prestige and profits take priority over the basic needs of the people.

