

YOUNG GUARD

No. 13. NOVEMBER 1962

Id.

Our immediate pecuniary interests in Cuba are great. Free Cuba would mean an excellent opportunity for American capital.

Senator LODGE;

1893.

I walked the floor of the White House eight after night, and I am not afraid to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God...and one night late it came to me this way. Take them! Cuba, Hawaii, and the Phillipines). There is nothing left to do but take them all. Uplift and civilise and Christianise them.

President McKINLEY.

To the Senate.

October, 1898.

Our history shows that we have no desire to dominate or conquer any nation or impose our system upon its people.

President KENNEDY.

October 22nd, 1962.

The peoples of the world look on in fear and dismay as the rulers of the two power blocks move towards headlong conflict over Cuba. Not since the advent of H-Bombs and the beginning of the cold war have we been nearer to total war and nuclear annihilation. The Kennedy government by its attempt to blockade Cuba, is directly responsible for this frightening situation.

With nuclear missile bases surrounding the Soviet Union, Kennedy has the hypocrisy to accuse Russia of provocative action in attempting to set up similar bases in Cuba, and of course the NATO governments have fallen rapidly into line behind the Americans. Can anything be more farcical than Kennedy's claim that there is an essential difference between offensive ICBM's (Inter-continental Ballistic Missiles) in Cuba and defensive ICBM's in Turkey, Italy, Formosa or Britain? That Kennedy's action is in part an election gambit shows how little regard he has for the lives of the world's peoples when he is willing to gamble these lives for electoral victory.

It is significant that neither side seems concerned with the fate of the Cuban people themselves, who have no need for nuclear weapons or missile bases,

whether they be Russian or American. This situation is the inevitable result of the cold war policies of both sets of "missile maniacs" and shows us just how useless is the "great deterrent" that we have been told to rely on for so long. Neither can we rely on negotiations between the world's leaders to solve the problems of war, for these leaders are the same people who have plunged us to the brink of war over the 'right' to set up their bases all over the world.

It is clear that there is only one solution, which is to take things into our own hands. We must mobilise the working class movements of the world into direct opposition to these suicidal policies of Kennedy, Khrushchev, MacMillan and company. In every country the labour and peace movements must be united so that by means of massive demonstrations we can show the world's rulers that we mean business when we say "All hands off Cuba, no war over Cuba".

Here in Britain we must bring the labour, trade union and CND movements into united struggle against those who would make war over Cuba. The YS must spare no effort in bringing about this unity by speaking at local labour party meetings, ward meetings, trade union branch

meetings and trades council meetings of the need for action on the Cuba crisis. The Labour Party must not compromise with American nuclear warmongers; it must come out in clear opposition to the Kennedy government and its policies, which have brought us so near to war. The Young Socialists must also do all in its power to swell the ranks of those demonstrating against this missile madness, by giving these demonstrations full publicity with leaflets, fly posters, street corner meetings etc.

Youth is already showing the way. As we go to press we hear reports of a strike of sixth formers in Midhurst and of apprentices at the Vickers Factory Weybridge. At such a crucial time we must use every weapon at our disposal in the fight for peace, including strike action where possible.

Never before has there been such a necessity for action by the ordinary people of the world, action to stop the nuclear madmen who rule us from destroying us, and action to bring a sane and peaceful future for us all.

Our demand is

**ALL HANDS OFF CUBA,
NO WAR OVER CUBA.**

CUBA: NO WAR !!

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

OUR AIMS

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

The return of a Labour Government, nationalization under workers' control of the banks, insurance companies, land and major industries;

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.

STOP PRESS

Stop Press; East Islington YS has just been closed down by the adult constituency Labour Party.

Photos by Courtesy of Peace News and Tribune.

Printed by: THE GREAT WESTERN PRINTERS, (T.U.) 229 Great Western Road, Glasgow, C.4



SUBSCRIPTION FORM

YOUNG GUARD

Please supply me with copies per month (4d. per cop sale or return) Please supply me with 1 copy of YG for months (6d per issue 4/- per year)

Name _____

Address _____

To: Jenny Davison

172 Queensbridge Rd., E.8

EDITOR

Chris Davison
172 Queensbridge Rd., E.8.
CIRCULATION; Jenny Davison,
as above.
BUSINESS; Keith Dickenson,
31 Chippenham Rd., W.9

EDITORIAL BOARD

Barry Burke.
Angus Macdonald.
John Palmer.

The National Editorial Board of Young Guard met on Saturday/Sunday 22/23rd September in Nottingham. 28 delegates were present from London, South, South-west Wales, Nottingham, Liverpool and Scotland. The meeting commenced with a report on the recent investigation into Young Guard by the NEC. A resolution accepting the NEC's demands and instructing the Working Editorial Board to continue to criticise the bureaucratic leadership in every way possible was passed by 21 votes to 7. By 19 to 1 the meeting decided to limit positions in Young Guard to those under the age of 26. A discussion then took place to define the editorial policy of Young Guard towards the suspension of the 4 National Committee members.

Reports were submitted by the Editor, Business Manager, Circulation Manager, and local area representatives on the progress of Young Guard. Sandy Hobbs of Dundee YS was elected features editor and Barry Burke of Hackney Central YS elected to the Working Editorial Board.

A resolution calling for annual election to all positions in Young Guard was passed by 19 votes to 7. There was also a resolution calling for regular book reviews. As usual a party was held on the Saturday evening together with many Young Socialists from Nottingham and surrounding districts.

The next meeting will be in early January from our man in Havana!

As I write this letter provocation against Cuba is somewhere under way. Voice of America programmes have intensified their propaganda to Latin America, warning them to beware of imminent attack from Cuba. They even said that a thousand bare-footed Chinese had arrived in Cuba to protect Fidel, as he could not trust his own troops. As for Russian soldiers, I have seen none, only doctors and engineers from Russia and other socialist countries. The aid from China, Poland, Russia and Czechoslovakia is really fantastic, ranging from tinned meat to factory equipment including many Czech and Russian buses, and spare parts (I work in a bus repair and maintenance factory in Havana.)

Housing is one of the top priorities here. Apart from building workers there is also a supplement of workers who do a couple of hours work in the morning and at night for two pesos a day.

I am really surprised at the political consciousness of the people who are reading literature ranging from the Cuban martyrs of old, to Marx and Lenin. Education is another top priority and there are now 2 million studying in Cuba, in some form or other. Criticism takes place in papers—I have read it concerning sugar cane. Alicia Alanso the Cuban ballerina gave a talk to the workers at our works today. I was surprised how many stayed behind to listen. Sport facilities are on a grand scale. Near here is a sports ground which includes a swimming pool, race tracks, basketball, football grounds and training facilities which are all free.

A final point about political education; in every district discussion groups are held, run by the ORA, which consists of all revolutionary parties in Cuba, which has one aim, Marxist teaching of revolutionary doctrine.

SIDNEY WILLIAMSON, ex Govan YS

That this resolution was not discussed by the Labour Party Conference was perhaps the most disappointing aspect of an altogether disappointing conference as far as Young Socialists were concerned. This has meant over the last three years the Labour Party Conference has found but a few minutes to discuss the Young Socialists. The tactics adopted by George Brown to prevent that part of the report dealing with the YS from being reached were despicable. It is amazing that despite the proscription of Keep Left, the investigation into Young Guard, and the suspension of 4 members of the National Committee, Conference should prefer to spend time receiving prizes for the brighter premises competition than discussing the affairs of the Young Socialists.

Composite Resolution 17

This Conference is gravely concerned at the growing lack of democracy in the Young Socialists. As recent particular instances it notes the methods used in investigating 'Keep Left'; the investigation of 'Young Guard'; the disbanding of the Glasgow Federation; the continuing ban of political discussion at Federation level; the investigation of seven members of the National Committee of Young Socialists and the persistent lack of control over 'New Advance'. Realising the need for democracy and a full exchange of ideas at all levels of the Young Socialists, Conference demands that:

- all evidence relating to the proscription of 'Keep Left' be published, and the proscription of 'Keep Left' be rescinded;
- all future investigations be openly and democratically conducted within the Party;
- the Glasgow Federation be re-established;
- the editorship of 'New Advance' be handed over to a democratically elected editorial board with an elected Young Socialist as editor, as decided by 1969 Young Socialist Conference; and

the National Committee be reinstated and the National Committee be convened as elected by the Young Socialists National Conference.

Moved by
GLASGOW, WOODSIDE C.L.P.
Seconded by
ORMSKIRK C.L.P.

Ron Taylor, NE Leeds YS monthly industrial column

Clause IV of the Labour Party Constitution refers to the need for the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Most Labour Party and Trade Union conferences give a good deal of attention to production in industry, with little or no mention at all of the distributive trade. However, the advent of automation is cutting down the number of workers involved in producing our day to day needs and increasing the number involved in distribution. The change in the Labour pattern of the country has particularly been shown by the number of young people now entering the distributive trades. Earlier this year I referred in **Young Guard** to a resolution to be placed before the annual conference of USDAW, calling for the Union to provide facilities for young trade unionists to discuss problems of special interest to young workers. At the conference, where I moved the resolution, I pointed out that in 1960 48,791 boys and 82,453 girls entered the distributive trades during the year, a total far higher than that for any other industrial group. Arguing that the rate for the job should be paid to all workers, I pointed out that while a man on full wages receives £9 a week, a youth doing the same job for the same hours only gets £4 7s 6d.

Since the conference the resolution has

BRIGHTON CONFERENCE AND THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Although there was considerable sympathy among delegates for the problems that the Young Socialist movement faces a disturbing factor was the complete ignorance of most delegates of the problems. This would indicate a lack of contact between the YS branch has the local constituency parties. Even if ward and general management committee meetings are dull and boring Young Socialist branches must insist upon their delegates attending and keeping the adult party informed of current trends in the YS. Only then can we be sure that the constituency parties will rally to the support of the Young Socialists, when it is threatened by the bureaucratic party machine.

The October issue of Keep Left will not go down in history as any great contribution to YS politics except for its now famous piece of stupidity in declaring that Young Guard has now to present its articles to Ray Gunter for approval and that Young Guard can no longer be a "true left wing YS paper". In the true tradition of this self appointed left wing leadership not one piece of evidence is presented to substantiate this slander. Of course there is no evidence to present because this is nothing more than a rather sordid attempt to discredit Young Guard. Although the whole legal apparatus of the capitalist state is available for us to obtain full retribution we need only rely upon the political maturity of the Young Socialists to recognise this libel for what it is. It is depressing that a paper which continually calls for unity of the left should set about this task in such an opportunist way.

YOUTH AT WORK

been endorsed by the executive of the union, and is gradually being implemented throughout the country. This is of importance for young workers as it means that they will be encouraged to study and discuss their problems so as to reach an understanding which will encourage them to attend branch meetings and fight for better conditions and wages.

Discussion matter for youth groups can cover a wide field. Young trade unionists need to be trained to build up membership among people of their own age. Membership cannot be built up by pay rises alone. There is a need for education about legal protection, educational facilities, the necessity of campaigning for equal pay, and the political implications of shop-floor activity. At the moment too many trade unionists do not understand the reasons for the political levy and the association with the Labour Party. Education is needed, to show young shop-workers how certain improvements of conditions depend on legislation, for instance at present the introduction of the five day week is hindered by the Shop Act. Similarly the interconnections between political activity and their day to day experience needs to be shown. It is here that the resolution passed at the USDAW conference becomes of key importance for young socialists.

Chris Arthur Central Nottingham YS

WORKERS' CONTROL

AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

Recently Party Conference passed a resolution involving Workers' Control.

A tremendous victory for the Labour Left? No, a victory for the rank and file at the last Liberal Conference. In the Labour Party, any mention of Workers' Control meets with scandalised cries of "Syndicalism".

Thus, in his efforts to make the party as 'liberal' as possible, Gaitskell has overshoot the mark entirely and become more conservative than the Liberals!

Actually, however, the Liberal proposal is incredibly confused in its thinking; for it does not imply socialisation of the means of production, but election of workers representatives to the existing board of Directors. This is quite ridiculous for shareholders and workers have such divergent interests that the former would never allow the latter a majority and the workers would thus be reduced to an impotent minority opposition. Clearly no directors meeting would ever reach agreement.

The proposal at least had the merit that it envisaged the participation of genuine workers and not Trade Union bureaucrats. This was made clear when a scandalised opponent of the resolution asked, "Surely you would not have a typist running a factory?" "Why not?" roared back the Conference.

The Labour Party Constitution, Clause Four, specifies that the nationalised means of production must be under "the best obtainable system for popular administration and control". However workers control as such is such a hot potato that even the group of Left M.P.s who recently demanded further massive nationalisation specified that it should be under 'Parliamentary control'. This was the principle operated in the nationalised industries of the post-war Government which instituted not a jot of workers' control but appointed to the NCB ex-Generals and other such experts in coalmining. Thus to the worker, his situation seems similar to that he was in before except that his conditions are not so harsh e.g. he is not so likely to be thrown out of his colliery cottage for Union activity. But he still has no real sense of ownership never mind control. The situation is made worse by the fact that the Tories run the nationalised industries on a profit-making basis, and is part of a market economy.

Thus, in Scunthorpe the steel-workers are on short-time, including those in the publicly-owned firm, because a free enterprise economy is so inefficient that it cannot avoid recessions (which always affect basic industries worst); miners in the North are unemployed semi-permanently, because an unplanned economy has no further use for them; railwaymen suddenly face redundancy because the Tories are determined to 'make them pay' regardless of any human needs (not forgetting the inevitable increase in road-murder). Another instance of the complete permeation of the public sector with capitalist shibboleths is the fantastic advertising war between Coal; Electricity; Gas and Oil - three of them nationalised industries! — instead of a co-ordinated fuel policy, planned on national lines. The point I have been trying to make here is that in a mixed economy the worker in the State-owned industry feels

just as insecure and at the mercy of impersonal forces as he does in a private enterprise.

Getting back to the main theme - the necessity for industrial democracy - I found in talking to steel workers and miners this summer, that: although they were in favour of nationalisation, they were profoundly dissatisfied with the nature of the present nationalisation. They complained that they had "the same bosses as before" i.e. not necessarily the same manager but the same sort of bureaucrat with the same sort of 'take it or leave it, plenty more where you came from' attitude to conditions and wages, as if workers were still hired-hands and not the 'owners' of the enterprise.

The impersonality of the present system comes out when they complained 'you can never get anything done' about e.g. some bad working conditions. The buck tended to be passed right back in an almost infinite regress up to government level. No-one could be found who was responsible to the workers for a particular grievance.

In my view unless we put industrial democracy at the centre of socialist thinking we are in danger of adopting a bureaucratic, paternalist; type of socialisation. Freedom implies control over our own lives, and Socialism is about nothing if it is not about freedom—about how men can control their own destinies, instead of having it controlled for them by a bunch of Clores and Cottons—or Beccings for that matter.

The whole problem is bound up with the question of 'alienation'. Wage-Labour is alienated labour, said Marx, because; (a) the means of production do not belong to the worker and the product is expropriated from him. Consequently the worker has no interest in the product—only in the wage. Furthermore, the result of his labour, having become capital, appears to him as an alien power, now employing him and now sacking him. And (b) because under the conditions of the division of labour, he works constantly at only the minutest section of the productive process and thus the growth of most of his capacities are stunted.

His labour does not belong to his essential being. "He is at home when he is not working and when he is working he is not at home. His labour is therefore not voluntary but coerced; it is forced labour. It is not therefore the satisfaction of a need; it is merely a means to satisfy needs external to it." (Marx; Econ. Manu. 1844)

His labour is not his own; in it he belongs not to himself but to another; it is the loss of his self. He works under the necessity of "earning his life." In thus degrading spontaneous activity to a means, alienated labour makes men's life-activity a means to their physical existence.

Under the division of labour he is controlled by another. He executes plans which he does not form, and of whose meaning and intent he is ignorant. He is employed merely for his labour-power. He is a mere cog in a machine Norbert Weiner protests in 'The Human Use of Human Beings'; "...in my mind any use of a human being in which less is demanded of him than his full stature is a degrad-

ation and a waste. It is a degradation to a human being to chain him to an oar and use him as a source of power, but it is no less a degradation to assign him to a purely repetitive task in a factory, which demands less than a millionth of his brain capacity."

The alienated nature of wage-labour comes out when we see that having sunk to the level of a machine, the worker is faced by the machine as a competitor! Automation appears not a boon and an aid to the worker in his production but as an enemy to be fought, for it will throw him out of a job! All this because under capitalist relations, his labour and its product belong not to himself but to another. "A forcing-up of wages would therefore be nothing but better payment for the slave and would not conquer either for labour or the worker their human status and dignity." (Marx; op. cit.)

In the division of labour it is men who are splintered, someone once said, and alienation, the inhuman use of human beings, can only be overcome ultimately by overcoming the division of labour, particularly the division between physical and mental labour.

As a first step I would suggest that workers should be treated in socialised industries as capable of controlling their own production, instead of as automatons "working to rule." Industrial democracy is the prime prerequisite of socialist free-

dom.

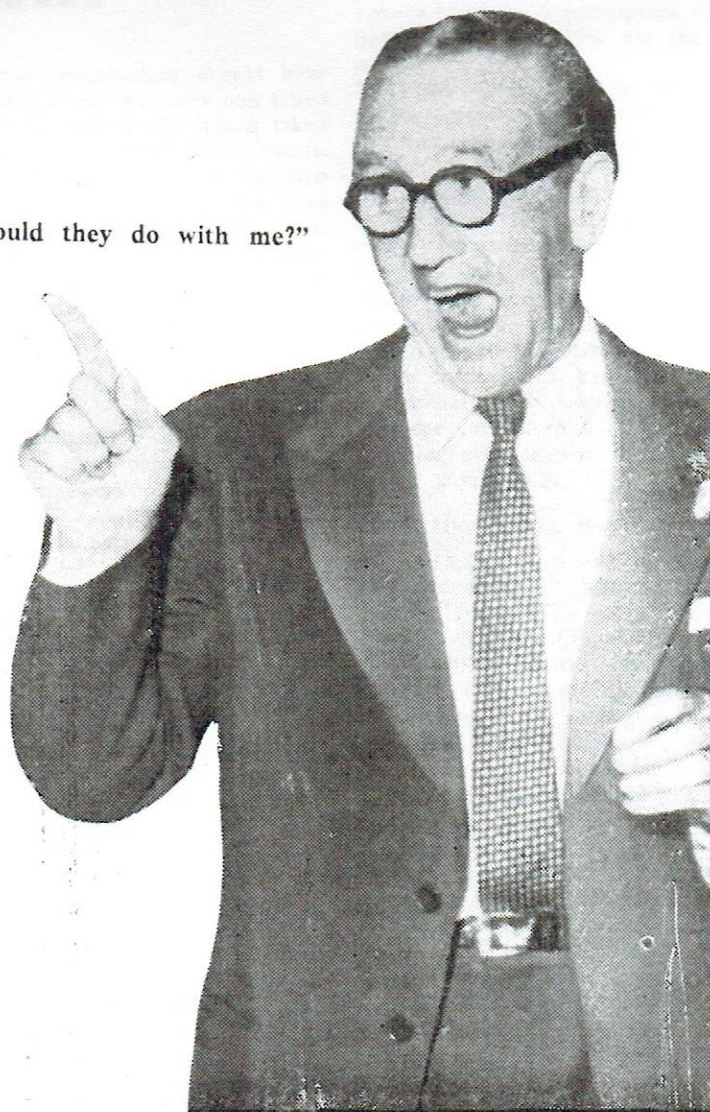
The way I put it to the miners and steel-workers, with whom I discussed the problem, was that the present board of directors, to whom technical managers are responsible, should be replaced, when nationalised, by a Workers' Council, elected by and responsible to the workers. Clearly the State would be responsible for external factors such as investment in further expansion and pricing of products, but the Workers' Council would bear ultimate responsibility for internal conditions primarily the concern of the workers. I envisage the Councils existing at factory level and grievances would reach a body responsible to the worker at that level. There should be a high turnover on the Council, so that everyone gets a chance and the Council should be large, so that, in the initial period, those too sunk into a mental rut for constructive contribution would be leavened by capable people.

This scheme was well received by the workers I spoke to and could be a big rallying cry for socialism to-day. For it is only when the next meal is fairly well assured that workers (and agitators) can lift their attention from unemployment and pay problems, to the more subtle unhappiness caused by such alienation.

The Left must go into battle in the Labour Party under the slogan: Workers' Control of the Nationalised Industries!

and a last word from Bro. Marples;

"what would they do with me?"



YOUNG GUARD OPENS THE DISCUSSION YS AND THE LABOUR PARTY

Ever since the start of the Young Socialists campaigns have centred around the various obstacles that Transport House have placed in the way of Young Socialist development. These have included the issues of democratic control of New Advance, political discussion at federation meetings and more recently the questions of the proscription of Keep Left and the suspension of 4 members of the National Committee.

The truth is that these issues do not exist in water tight compartments but are all very much related to each other. For instance the fact that the YS is in general still pretty small and ineffective cannot be divorced from the fact of our vulnerability to attacks on our democracy by the leadership.

On the other hand the converse is also true. Part of the reason why we do not yet have the influence which we would like in YCND, among young trade unionists and above all the Party, is that we are a small, largely inward looking force.

What we have to look at now is the best way of remedying these problems and providing the most suitable constitutional framework in which the whole YS movement can expand and make progress.

It really seems most unlikely that we shall make any progress on the questions of our decapitated national committee, the lack of democratic control over New Advance, or the continuing ban on political discussion at all levels, unless we press for a change in our present constitutional position within the Party.

Thus, under present conditions, Party officials are quite correct when they say that there is no provision in the constitution to allow New Advance to reflect Young Socialist editorial opinion since New Advance is a Labour Party journal.

The fact is that we must press within the Party for an organisational identity that will allow us our own paper, our own policies and control over our own disciplinary problems. At the same time we want a relationship that will make for much closer integration in the life and machinery of the Party.

It will of course be pointed out by those hostile to the aspirations of the Young Socialists that there is no precedent for this. Indeed, but then the position of youth and Labour's dire need for support

among young people is also unprecedented in its seriousness. A greater degree of autonomy would allow us the opportunity to recruit many thousands more young workers to the Labour Party, and this should appeal to all sections of the Party.

We have reason to believe that there may be quite a few people in high places, even on the NEC who would be sympathetic to these ideas. Many problems however remain to be gone into; in particular the tricky question of finance, the position of Party appointed youth officials, and the desirability, or otherwise, of copying the constitutional position of NALSO.

It is becoming more and more clear that we cannot fight to advance the YS and defend our rights piecemeal. Only by clearly stating all the causes as well as the remedy of our present weaknesses and disabilities will we be able to make any real progress.

Above all lets have your ideas on this question of what our future relations with the Party should be. The responsibility for the future lies on your shoulders.

JOIN

The Young Socialists

details of your local branches from National Youth Officer, Transport House, Smith Sq., London, S.W.1

For two years the Young Socialists in East Islington have fought an unequal battle against their constituency party in an attempt to introduce democracy to this tiny ageing oligarchy. The constitution of the Young Socialists states that members must hold a Labour Party card and this has been the main obstacle in the way of the activists in East Islington. Only 5 of the branch have been allowed into the party and great credit must be given them for their tenacity. Time after time they have brought in new recruits only to see them drift off in disillusionment because of the delaying tactics of the party executive committee who have subjected applicants to inquisition and refused membership to many because of their unilateralist views.

Recently the New Statesman and Tribune weighed in on the side of democracy and exposed the Tammany Hall attitude of these petty functionaries who have signally failed to recruit to the party or stop the decline in the Labour vote. These attacks have coincided with a resurgence of YS membership which obviously frightened the constituency executive committee. On 8th October a group of Young Socialists were having a conversation in the YS hall while the Youth Officer—Alderman Bayliss lurked on the fringes listening for about half an hour. When Dick Senior the branch Secretary appeared Bayliss demanded that all these people be thrown out, since they were expressing views alien to Labour Party principles. The matters under discussion were morality and conscience (4 of the 6 participants are church members) and the case for the common market.

The following Tuesday the branch turned up in strength with representatives from the East London Federation and London Region YS Committee. When they entered the Labour Party hall they were faced by the whole Constituency EC who apparently had gathered to throw them out, but the sight of 28 robust YS'ers dissuaded them and they threatened to call the police. The branch made it clear that far from smashing them, these undemocratic manoeuvres had intensified their determination to become members, and that they intend to fight for membership in every possible way including personal appeal to the NEC.

How about this, Reg?

Mr. Jack Levine a former agent for the FBI (American Intelligence) has revealed that in 1960 the FBI had 1,500 agents inside the American Communist Party whose total membership was only 8,500. In other words 1 in 6 of the members were FBI agents, and it was estimated that the FBI provided 1/3 of the funds. Apart from the purist whose immediate reaction was 'well what's the difference any way' this interesting expose has suggested some intriguing possibilities. For example, it is quite probable that at least one branch consisted only of FBI agents who would, no doubt, work extremely hard for the party, pay their dues regularly and in general constitute an extremely efficient branch. One wonders how many strikes this hypothetical branch organised or how many anti-Kennedy demonstrations it ran?

REMEMBER

NUCLEAR ACCIDENTS ARE CAUSED BY PEOPLE LIKE YOU

Youth against the Bomb 6d.

from YCND, 2 Carthnsian St, London, E.C.1

Malcolm Tallantire

NATIONAL COMMITTEE REPORT

Popular belief is that the Young Socialists elected a National Committee this Easter; but then, the masses are well known for their naivety.

The first National Committee was elected on 2nd April 1961 and met for the first time on 29th April. A similar kind of procedure was put through the motions for the election of the second National Committee this April 22nd, and we are still waiting for a proper meeting. Within two months of the election, the celebrated Organisational Sub-Committee, after investigating 7 of the eleven elected NC members, made D Ablitt and R. Gillespie sign agreements concerning their party activities and sent D Davies, M Ginsberg, E Thompson and myself to the Disciplinary Sub-Committee for investigation of our "suitability to remain members of the Labour Party".

With four regions out of eleven unrepresented, the National Committee met on July 25th, elected an acting chairman Janet Dugdale, and decided that "any decision taken by this meeting shall be subject to endorsement of the first representative meeting". The committee, whose time was mostly taken up with the proscriptions and suspensions, did not even discuss the resolutions carried by the Annual Conference, and could only remit them to the NEC.

On September 12th I was again investigated and was restored to membership of the NC just in time for its next meeting on 13th October. When I asked this meeting why three comrades were still not present, the secretary (the Assistant National Agent of the Labour Party) informed

us that their investigation should have been held that week, but they had failed to attend. When asked why it had taken such a long time to hold these investigations we were informed that the Disciplinary Sub-Committee had been very busy this summer! The NC decided that there must be an emergency meeting within two months and that it must be a fully representative meeting by the reinstatement of those suspended or by re-election.

After re-iterating the demand for democratic control over New Advance the NC set up a sub-committee of three to draw up a plan of how the paper could be run within the framework of the resolution carried at the second YS Conference. A national Y.S. campaign against rail closures is to be launched as soon as possible and in the meantime branches in areas affected by unemployment are urged to campaign against the lack of jobs for school leavers. Apparently the Glasgow Federation is to remain closed because only the Glasgow City Labour Party can re-open it and the NEC cannot interfere! The next YS Annual Conference is to be held at Scarborough and the NC has asked for it to have an extra session Easter Monday morning. What ever decisions the NC takes, not only do they have to be remitted as always to the NEC, but now they have to be endorsed by the first fully representative NC meeting. What a farcical situation. Is it not time that the YS be allowed to build instead of being bogged down in internal problems that mean nothing to the young people we are supposed to be influencing?

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. MOVEMENT GROWS

Easter 1962:
Demonstrators
outside
UN Building,
New York

from a member of Chicago YPSL



Chicago, New York and Maryland. In Colorado when Barry Goldwater, the leading right-wing neanderthal, encountered a well organized YPSL demonstration, the press quoted him that his meeting had been

sabotaged by "real socialists", an unfortunately unique accusation in American politics.

But today with heavy concentrations of workers welded in massive industries to

unions 16,000,000 strong, and with the material prerequisites long established, the relevance of socialism to American workers may yet assume the vitality it deserves.

BIG IUSY DISAPPOINTMENT

The International Union of Socialists Youth Camp was the biggest disappointment of my life. With 6,000 young people from 60 different countries all professing to be socialists I expected to see the embryo of world government all socialists are working for. What a hope! the first camp official who saw my CND badge called me a Bolshevik and spat on the ground. This was to be a common experience in the week that followed with the camp police making me produce my camp pass whenever they saw me, searching my tent twice, and ultimately calling in the Danish police.

This was ironic because the Japanese delegation of 150 spent all week giving out anti-H-bomb literature and on the outside walls on their tents was a display of photographs from Hiroshima. The Germans also had a display. This must have received the whole-hearted approval of Willy Brandt and consisted of a map of Berlin surrounded by barbed wire and photographs of the affluent society of West Berlin and of course those terrible people suffering under the curse of Communism in East Berlin. Other German contributions to the entertainment consisted of an hour long play entitled "Germany will be free" and a film about the Wall.

The whole tone of the camp was anti-Communist instead of pro-socialist. The organis-

ation of the camp was laughable. The camp was divided into twenty sites called towns. The town elected a town council, the town council elected a mayor and the mayors met each day to elect a president for the day who even wore a chain of office. It was a bureaucrats' paradise. A 24-hour guard was mounted on the camp to keep out those subversive Commies. A German CND supporter who was seen talking to me got two spells of guard duty from 12 p.m. till 6 in the morning.

The climax came with the march to the open air meeting in the forest. As there were only about six Americans and ten English we decided to march at the end carrying CND symbols and slogans: soon we were joined by Japanese, Austrians, Germans, Dutch and Belgians. The Camp authorities called in the Danish police, banners were confiscated and I was kicked off the camp.

My conclusion from the camp is that socialism in Europe is finished. Gaitskell is a raving red compared with Spaak, Brandt and the Scandinavians. The Scandinavian YS is more like a camping club, their main political activity consisting of helping at elections.

The German YS is the most rigidly controlled of the lot. Instant expulsion is the penalty awaiting any YS member who

takes part in a CND demonstration. The funniest thing I learned about the German YS was after we had sung the 'International' round the camp fire. I was told by one German they had spent all afternoon rehearsing it. None of them knew it as the Party had forbidden them to sing it because it was Communist.

The biggest hope for world socialism lies in Africa and Asia. There were YS members from Rhodesia, South Africa, Ghana, Nigeria, Angola, Kenya, Ceylon, India and Malaya. All of them more left-wing than the English YS. They realised that only through socialism can their countries be industrialised.

The most left-wing elements of Europe's youth are the students, but these are under immense pressure. In Germany the Social Democrat Party have set up a stooge organisation and are trying to get the left-wing students, the SDS, expelled from IUSY. Similarly with the Dutch Labour Party and the Politea.

We can help these comrades. At the IUSY conference next year these issues will be decided. We must mandate our delegate to uphold the membership of the SDS and Politea and not to admit these stooge organisations.

Brian Kiddell, Basildon YS

The Young Peoples Socialist League, the youth section of the Socialist Party-USA, has demonstrated an impressive growth over the past two years. The resurgence of the civil rights movements, both in the south and the north into a large national movement and the small but increasing concern of young people about the bomb have given an emergent and encouraging audience for socialist ideas. That this change in atmosphere, compared with the past two decades, is cause for some renewed hope can best be demonstrated by some background of the conditions during this period.

After the second world war, the general full employment sponsored by the permanent war economy, the lack of any organized liberal movement, the disillusionment with Russia by most intellectuals, the apathy of the trade unions and the inauguration of the witch-hunt, depressed and anaesthetized what little radical consciousness remained from the 30's. The previously militant C.I.O. unions, in the face of increasing government harassment, a mushrooming conservative climate relaxed into bureaucratic and respectable postures. The Universities, once the centre of much radical activity, began to deaden under the blows of the witch-hunt and conformism, and careerism became the facts of student life. As during the Palmer Raids and the Red Hysteria that swept America during and after the first world war, radical organizations soon disappeared from the public eye.

At about the time of the Hungarian Revolution, however, new ferment began to appear. The Independent Socialist League merged with the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party, stung with the reality of Hungary, quickly degenerated and lost its numerical dominance over what remained of the Left. The SP and the YPSL, internally democratic and with a broad, multi-tendency organizational perspective were able to forge a closer relationship with the developing forces for integration and civil rights. The struggle for elementary rights for Negroes, particularly in the South developed with sit-in demonstrations and several massive demonstrations in Washington, in which YPSLs played organizational roles. Sympathy pickets were established in support of the southern students movement in the north, and in California new attempts were made towards the organization of farm labourers Agricultural Works Organizing Committee).

Though in the last year there has been some slackening of activity in the civil rights movement, anti-Bomb sentiment has found a multiplying audience. The Student Peace Union (SPU), the chief student organization of the anti-Bomb movement now reaches tens of thousands of students in every area of the US. And as these movements raise radicalizing demands the YPSL has grown concomitantly to a membership of approximately 1000. But the problems of apathy and the general prosperity among young workers and most students restrict recruitment to a small minority of politically conscious students and intellectuals. Despite these conditions and with a conservative, bureaucratic trade-union hierarchy that unfortunately reflects the political consciousness of the rank and file - the YPSL members have recently participated in several important labour struggles; in particular, the New York and Colorado Teachers strikes, the Hospitals strikes in Chicago and New York and the AWOC campaign in California.

YPSLs participated intensively in the Freedom Rides and goodly numbers were arrested and jailed in Jackson, Mississippi, Chi-

READER'S LETTERS

Certain points of John Palmer's analysis of the current economic prospect ("Youth on the Dole" - YG 12) require elucidation. For example to say that, "Faced with the Common Market and the almost complete certainty that they will have to join in order to survive at all, the chief preoccupation of the bosses has been to boost their profits by cutting down on costs", is seemingly to support the Tory thesis that entry into the Six is essential to ensure the survival of British capitalism. Many economists would not accept that entry is an essential condition for its survival and a fair minority of businessmen would support them. Hugh Gaitskell's speech at Conference was implicitly and explicitly based on a rejection of the Join or Die thesis. In addition Comrade Palmer raises the hoary old thesis of the desire of the Tories to create a pool of unemployment to cheapen the cost of labour. Now, whatever individual Tories may think, the present Government has been closely connected with a period of rising real income for wage-earners and low unemployment. The serious unemployment problems in the UK are regional and concerned with problem industries like shipbuilding and coal-mining. The Government's failure to deal with these industries fairly and humanly can be criticised but it is unreasonable to argue that unemployment in these industries affects the wage of workers in expanding industries in high-employment areas in any obvious way. The 'pool of unemployment' argument is really Marx's theory of wages which purported to show that real wages of labour would fall as capitalism progressed, in fact in the West they have risen since his time as industrialisation has progressed. In any case there is no clear evidence that a long-run fall in wages caused by mass unemployment would help the Tory Party or capitalism, economically or politically. Given modern economic theory and welfare statism the mixed economy could continue indefinitely. It is true that since the war the US and the West have not been without economic troubles but marked stock exchange movements do not, under present conditions, necessarily presage another 1929. Neither the US workers nor its present Government are likely to tolerate indefinitely the kind of opposition to Kennedy's expansionist policies that has been coming from the die-hard gentlemen of Wall Street. In the last analysis Government spending could boost the US economy - Kennedy knows this and so do the industrial workers.

One last question; could Comrade Palmer explain more precisely what he means by "Direct Trade Union control and Management of Industry"? The British TU's are simply not equipped for such a task: either by philosophy or technical expertise. Also; one might question whether the running of industry by formal TU control is the best way of achieving industrial democracy (or even workers control) our Unions certainly have very different functions.

PETER HENDERSON,
Dundee YS.

John Palmer writes;

I hope in an article in the next issue of Young Guard to be able to answer more fully some of the points made by Peter Henderson in his interesting Standard. Firstly I would reiterate the vast majority of businessmen believe that entry to the Six is vital if British capitalism is to retain its competitive position in the stagnating world market. Second as the Government's Blue Book on Incomes shows the holding down of wages in the

"stagnating sections" has affected national wage levels. Thirdly the old Keynesian remedies of recession, deficit expenditure and so on are largely unapplicable to a situation in which stimulation of wage levels, especially in this country, leads to the chronic inflation which occurs in a fully employed economy. From this situation therefore the Tories' motive "a la" Professor Paish is to hitch up the level of unemployment.

Abortion

The number of socialists that support abortion often surprises me. Many of them say they do because it seems to them a class question is so far as the upper and middle classes can afford to have abortions, and the working class cannot. This is true, but what they are in fact asserting is the right of the workers to have as much freedom as the upper classes, and not actually arguing the issue on its merits.

Obviously the women who abort themselves are in need of much sympathy, but you can understand why they do this without supporting their action. Surely, abortion is a very negative answer to the many problems which it is supposed to solve. Wouldn't it be much wiser, in the long run, to advocate lots more sex-education and education on methods of contraception, and better facilities for bringing up children; also abortion is far less pleasant than contraception, and I don't see why women should have their insides pulled and poked about.

Lots of socialists think it is entirely up to the individual whether or not they abort themselves, and yet these same people wouldn't support the view that children are the property solely of their parents. Some things that people say in connection with deformed babies smacks unpleasantly of Hitler. Some people make me feel sick. You can hear them trotting out platitudes like "It was a merciful release" and "The poor little thing is much better dead" How do they know? How can anyone judge the usefulness of another being in their own terms, or attempt to deny them the right to live?

SYLVIA RILEY, Derby YS

. . . and the Law of God

I cannot allow to pass unanswered your suggestions as to legalisation of abortion. The Law of God says "Thou shalt not kill" and while this doctrine may seem occasionally harsh it remains nevertheless true. The fact that public opinion is in favour of the legalisation of abortion is irrelevant, since there are certain issues on which public opinion is often blinded by emotion to the deeper underlying moral factors. Neither must your suggestion of more widespread education on contraception be vigorously followed. Many of the means of artificial "birth prevention" are immoral and forbidden by the Law of God. I deliberately use the phrase "birth prevention" since this is what the more euphemistic term "birth control" actually means. While I support many of your aims, particularly those encouraging equality of opportunity I cannot stand back and see you add to the moral confusion of our times.

R. M. BURRELL, Dundee.

Young Socialists

In Chris Davison's article in last month's Young Guard he dealt with the organisational weaknesses in the Young Socialist movement. Although I agree with almost all of his criticisms, I think the article shows a tendency to explain away the weaknesses in the movement by exposing the sterile and dictatorial organis-

ation which is foisted upon us. In fact, much of the weakness at the moment is political - and it's more important that Young Guard applies itself to THESE weaknesses rather than gets stuck on the old old by - pass of New Advance, the National Committee, etc. etc. etc.

Does anyone else get the idea that the initial political impetus behind the YS - the struggle against the bomb - is at least beginning to lose its force in the movement? Does anyone else find that many branches formed and kept together by the idealist enthusiasm of CND, are now beginning to stagnate, to seize on the outbreak of Fascism as an excuse for not finding out what socialism is really about? Is it no more than a coincidence that in both YS conferences the resolutions on the bomb and foreign affairs have been well-thought out and developed, while those on other subjects - housing, education, industrial action, redundancy, even apprentices, - have stood as a monument to naivete and immaturity (remember the unforgettable resolution from some well-meaning branch - "That Conference believes more money should be spent on education!")?

The REAL weakness in our movement at the moment is that too many YS have gone along happily in the belief that you ban bombs by marching, or by scoring minor paper victories within the Labour movement (as at Scarborough). Too few have connected the fight against the bomb with the fight for better housing, for better wages, which are being carried on every day in factories, in Tenants Associations etc. etc. How many YS branches have connections with trade unions? How many organise in Trades Councils? How many go along en bloc to Tenants Associations? How many, instead, are still wasting their time "punching up" the Fascists? THESE are the real weaknesses in our movement, comrade, and I hope that by next conference we'll have much more political, socialist resolutions and much less of this endless bickering about New Advance and the National Committee.

PAUL FOOT, Woodside YS

Party Democracy

Peter Henderson's article in your last issue has I hope reopened the crucial problem of Party Democracy. The importance of this issue at the present stage of development of the YS need not be stressed, I find myself in broad agreement with Comrade Henderson's concrete proposals for the type of democratic framework which the YS requires within the party, but I fail to understand how they follow from his theoretical prologue.

It is surely a contradiction to dismiss disputes about "basic principles" as so much "verbal hoo-ha" and then to offer some "basic principles" on the present situation within the Labour Party. Furthermore the criterion which Comrade Henderson proposes to substitute for this "verbal hoo-ha" - i.e. "what is important is the specific policies advocated and whether they accord with the needs of an objective situation; and what is an objective situation anyway? No doubt George Brown considered that the proscription of "Keep Left" was the policy required by the objective needs of the situation. But I am sure that Comrade Henderson doesn't regard George's action as being a mere mistake because the Deputy leader was confused about the fact of the situation.

No, George Brown and the other hatchet men of the movement probably know the facts as well as we do, but they interpret them differently because of the type of

"Socialism" in which they believe is a system of elitist manipulation based on passive mass support. It is this conception of Socialism, the "basic principles" of the leadership which we must attack, as well as the policies which flow from it, if we are ever to realise the Socialism in which we believe.

DAVE PEERS, East Islington, YS

Accused!

I feel I must protest most strongly at the retreat of Young Guard from the National Executive Committee hatchet men. I would like to make the following few points-

1. Surely the crux of the whole argument, is not whether Y G happens to agree with the NEC on a particular issue or a series of issues, but that Y G should be able to decide its own policies without being gagged by a bunch of bureaucratic opportunist Gaitskellites?

2. Y G should not try to mislead Young Socialists into thinking that their Socialist aspirations will be fulfilled with the return of a Labour Government whatever its policies. The logical conclusion of this argument is that electoral support should be forthcoming from the YS for all Labour candidates including reactionaries and careerists. YG should be putting forward the view that support for the rightists will retard rather than advance the advent of Socialism. Can anyone be as simple as to believe that if a Labour Government were returned through the support of the YS that the rightists would acknowledge this support by even minor concessions such as the ending of proscriptions and inquiries and the re-instatement of the YS National Committee? Scarborough should have taught the Left a lesson when compromising with rightists.

3. The retreat on the right to have speakers at readers' meetings is downright shameful. Thank the Lord that the Working Editorial Board is not in charge of the Common Market negotiations. Surely an honourable proscription would have been a million times better than a dishonourable retreat? Although not a 'keep left' I think they were quite right to decide not to seek an interview with the NEC. The investigators should be told what to do in plain monosyllabic four letter Anglo-Saxon words. It would seem to me that the members of the WEB have had their heads turned by having the "privilege" of meeting well known politicians - yet another tale of corruption.

PETER ASHLEY, Ramsgate, YS

The Editor replies;

If Comrade Ashley considers that meeting the disciplinary sub-committee is a "privilege" we are sure that Transport House will be glad to make the necessary arrangements. We would point out that Young Guard has made no retreat nor has it been gagged by bureaucrats, opportunists or any other anti-democratic tendency. On the question of support for a Labour Government we cannot accept Comrade Ashley's position.

Our support for the return of a Labour government is not dependent upon it having left-wing policies. We would also suggest that there is nothing honourable about being proscribed, in fact we would consider it "dishonourable" were we to abrogate our responsibility to put forward left policies to the Young Socialists and leave the field clear for New Advance and Counterblast. Had we been proscribed we would have had no vehicle through which to condemn the investigators with Anglo-Saxon words or otherwise.

REPORTS

Berkshire Federation

The Berks Federation has for a long time existed only on paper but thanks mainly to a determined effort by Newbury YS the federation is slowly coming to life. At the last meeting a new secretary and treasurer were elected and plans were made for a rally in Workingham, a Youth Parliament, and formation of new branches.

Newbury YS is a branch that has come a long way in the last six months: paid up membership of four has increased to eighteen. By meeting on Sundays they run the risk of non-attendance of members "on the binge" the previous night, but meetings are generally well attended. Although numerically small, members are politically very active and are highly thought of by the adult party. Throughout the summer never less than 12 members joined in the weekly canvassing campaign with the prospective candidate and members regularly leaflet the town.

The most ambitious project is a theatre. Group 62, with the aim of supporting Centre 42 both actively and financially. The first production will be "Roots" and financial support has been given by Local Labour Parties, T.U.'s and Trade Council.

Metropolitan Essex

The proposal to split the Metropolitan Essex Federation (repeated in a previous Young Guard) has, for the present anyway, been dropped. Of those branches replying to the regional committee's circular only 2 branches were in favour of splitting, and therefore not surprisingly the committee decided that it would be "inopportune" to split the Federation at this stage.

Young Socialists in this region have been given a further example of how Labour Party Conference decisions work one way and not the other. The Regional Council Executive decided not to endorse the plans for the YS Regional Committee for a campaign against nuclear bases in the region. This followed a letter from the Chief Youth Officer stating that Young Socialists could not organise a campaign that was not in accordance with Labour Party Conference decisions. Perhaps similar remarks should be addressed to the Parliamentary Party in view of their recent digression with regard to Conference decisions on nuclear testing and Polaris.

Although the Party this year found it difficult to allocate time for discussion about the survival of humanity, support for CND policies among the population continues to grow and several new groups are being formed in Norfolk and Suffolk. A recent supporters' meeting of one newly formed group was attended by an audience, 2/3 of whom were of YS age, thus providing further evidence of the interest of youth in the issue, and the validity of our claim that the decisions of the YS Conference would attract people of our generation to the Labour Party if we are allowed to proclaim them.

This group has decided to hold a joint conference with the Movement for Colonial Freedom on "Colonialism and the Bomb", showing that they are interested in the causes of war, the disease itself and not just the symptoms.

For the glory of the Queen!

For we're the Soldiers of the Queen
And we've orders to go ahead.
The battle has been fought,
Two thousand now are dead,
But we captured a latrine
For the glory of the Queen.

Glasgow and Scotland

It is now nearly six months since the Glasgow Federation was disbanded. This was a "disciplinary" move to teach us a lesson. The lesson it has taught Mr. Jim McGrandle, Scottish Youth Officer, is that you can't expect a youth movement to grow if you smash it at every possible opportunity. The disbanding of the Federation has had one simple effect - the steady stagnation (at any rate in numbers) of the Glasgow YS. If anything the number of active members has decreased - while the number of active branches certainly has. The only real signs of growth come from South of the River, where Govan and Gorbals YS have expanded their strong connections with this working class area.

Bad Poem by Comrade Down

Mr Khrushchev recently stated that there should be at least three children per family in the Soviet Union.

Night after night
Stakhanovites fight
To exceed the norm of production,
The plan for five-year-olds
In four years time,
That is the aim of seduction.
No love nor feelings sublime
Lust is a filthy bourgeois crime;
Comrades rally for three or four,
But why stop there have more and more,
Rabbits breed so do Chinese;-
Personally I prefer striptease.
Have your children, keep your Marxist text,
Give me a blonde, Freud and sex.

Pat Mulaney, secretary of Gorbals, says: "We are very well-known in the area - and people treat us with respect. Some of them join - but I feel that if something big happened (like another apprentices' strike) we'd be counting them in hundreds".

Woodside and Springburn branches ran a meeting against railway closures, on Sunday September 30th. 15,000 leaflets were printed and distributed around the two areas, and for two days in a row a loud-speaker van circled the main streets advertising the meeting. The net result was that the meeting was attended by about 50 people - about 35 of them railway workers. Dispiriting, but the meeting was a lively one, with questions and discussion going on until late. A leaflet has also been distributed by Govan and Gorbals YS explaining the causes of unemployment. This is excellently written, and has already had considerable effect in the shipyards where many face the dole.

Elsewhere in Scotland (there are some Ys outside Glasgow!). Dunfermline YS go from strength to strength and now have 50 members. They plan a meeting (protesting against pit closures) in Cowdenbeath some time soon. In Aberdeen and Dundee, the YS branches are picking up again after the return of the university students; and in Hamilton a healthy branch grows steadily. Things are not too bad up here. But if we are to consolidate and get more members and more branches we MUST have some Federations (there are, effectively, NONE in all Scotland); and we MUST have a Regional Conference. Otherwise the skeleton will crumble and decay.



Comrade N. S. Khrushchev
Kremlin Branch
regrets (following
NEC Decision) he can't
address

YOUNG GUARD READERS MEETING, LONDON

The Swan, Cosmo Place
Southampton Row,
near Russell Square
tube: Holborn/Russell Sq.

But come and help in
Young Guard, discuss its
policies and meet your
fellow readers over a
beer

all profits to YCND!
3s. (members 2s.)

FOLK OFF?

The Folk Club Stratford
Every Monday at
Railway Hotel, Angel Lane
Stratford

12th Nov., George Melly
John Faulkner
Harold Hamilton Calypso
Band

CENTRE 42 NOTTINGHAM

Centre 42 made its second stop in Nottingham in its campaign to stimulate the interest of working class people in the Arts. A glance at the programme shows that they try to bring to the people the most progressive plays, new methods of production, unusual combinations of art forms all with a social message. So if they cannot escape from the present, they are looking to the future. Take for example the play that was put on all week, 'Enter Solly Gold' by Bernard Kops. This continued without a break, with what scenery there was brought on and off by the actors themselves. On Friday September 28th there was an interesting production 'The Maker and the Tool', with its theme the relationship between man and his tools; this theme being expressed in dance in folk-ballads, and slides interspersed with tape recordings of working people in industrial cities. The previous evening there had been a mixture of Poetry and Jazz, not such a new idea, but the jazz was very modern, the poetry very good.

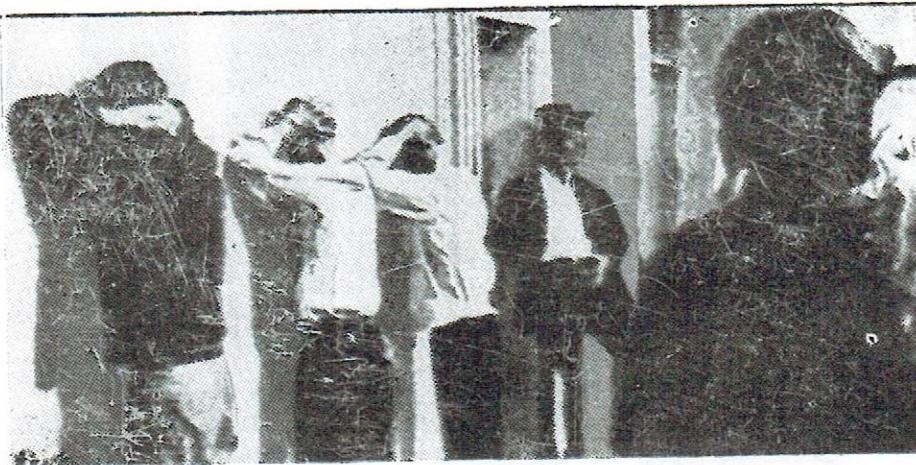
But how much of an impact did the Festival have on the people of Nottingham? Apart from the organisational faults, such as not enough advance publicity, not enough liaison between Centre 42 and the Trades Council, what was the response to the programme? Not surprisingly, the folk-singing in pubs got the most enthusiastic

reception. In familiar surroundings where people are used to spending their leisure hours, these folk ballads fit in naturally, and Centre 42 must be congratulated for making them such an important part of the Festival. But what of the play, the jazz, the poetry and dancing? None of these got the audience they deserve, for as productions go they were very good.

Perhaps the failure of the Unions to take a really active part in the Festival is symptomatic of what is really wrong with the whole conception of a Festival for the people. One wonders if it is what we as workers want, or even what we should want. Songs sung on the way to Aldermaston, composed for demonstrations of various kinds, these are part of the growth of our movement, and therefore real to us. Probably the best thing to come out of the Festival was the collection of paintings, sculptures etc. done by Trade Unionists. These pieces were collected nationally and were set out in the Industrial Design Centre. It was estimated that by Friday of Festival week 3000 people had visited the centre. It seems to me that the best way to stimulate an interest in the Arts is to try to show workers of all ages that they have abilities, neglected at school, to express themselves in the various art forms, and to encourage them to do so would be a very good way of spending £6000.

BOOKS

by Monica Foot
Woodside YS



MURDER ... AND MILLIONS

On May 5, 1920, Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco were arrested in New York City. In their hands were leaflets announcing a meeting to be held in protest against the murder of a comrade, Salsedo, (his crushed body was found beneath the fourteenth-story window of the Park Row Building Department of Justice where he had been illegally held for eight weeks).

Sacco and Vanzetti were to be the sacrificial victims in one of the most corrupt judicial procedures ever seen in the United States - a country not noted for legislative impartiality. Both had been active for some years in the labour movement, in strikes and defence of the immigrant section. They were initially charged with 'dangerous' radical activities, but this was soon changed. A payroll robbery had taken place not long before in Massachusetts and a guard had been killed; Sacco and Vanzetti were charged with this crime.

Perhaps none either in or out of the courtroom seriously thought them guilty of the absurd charge. Judge Webster Thayer said of Vanzetti; "This man, although he may not have actually committed the crime attributed to him, is nevertheless morally culpable, because he is the enemy of our existing institutions". 'Eyewitnesses' to the crime were brought by the state; most of these have since been utterly discredited. And on July 14, 1921, the two defendants were pronounced guilty of murder in the first degree, "a sentence which automatically under Massachusetts law brought with it death by the electric chair". They were not to be executed until 1927, after lengthy litigation had proved all charges false.

This type of political murder is all too typical of the fight put up against organised labour by the American capitalist class. The list of victims is enormous. Sacco and Vanzetti, Joe Hill, August Spies, the seventy-three children of the workers of the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company in Michigan, the ten dead strikers of Little Steel and many more.

The full story is brilliantly told in **A History of the American Labour Movement** by Richard O. Boyer and Herbert M. Morais, published by John Calder, 30s. The authors are not concerned with scholarly detail. Their aim is to show that American history is not confined to the Morgans, to Bethlehem Steel, to the Du Pont cartel or to the Erie Railroad Company. It is also the history of the 'Wobblies', of Big Bill Haywood, the miner who shot it out with hired gunmen in the Rockies, of John Lewis and the A F L - C I O.

No socialist can afford to be ignorant of American labour, whose struggles have been more acute, whose defeats more disastrous, whose successes more illusory than anything this country has ever known. The story reads like a Mickey

Spillane novel (except for a lack of sex) but its message is more serious; as Eugene Debs said during his tour of mining camps in 1902: "The earth for all the people. That is the demand. The elimination of rent, interest and profit and the production of wealth to satisfy the wants of all the people. That is

John Shepherd
South Kensington YS
opens his monthly column

Of all art forms, music is the one with which most people are familiar. At work in the factory, the juke-box in the cafe, the dance or the concert, we probably spend more of our time awake to a musical background than to 'golden' silence. But what of the people who provide us with this music? What is this industry?

The original musician was composer lyricist and performer in one, then as his mind developed and expanded to embrace a concept of tones that required more than one player, the orchestra grew up. All these men needed food and keep and it became necessary for the local prince or controller of the land and people to support them if he wished to maintain his so-called prestige with his neighbours. But the musicians were the serfs of the lord. Very few broke away, but among those that did was Mozart. Although not typical of his fellow artists, he had a certain feeling for his people, as can be seen from an early remark of his that the poor are the best and truest of friends, the wealthy do not know what friendship means. He managed to break away from the Archbishop of Salzburg only when well-known in 1781, devoting his remaining ten years of life to the people of Prague and Vienna.

In his final year he wrote the 'Magic Flute' the first and maybe the only great work written for the people, not a patron. This tells of the struggles of a man to prove his love of fellow men before attaining an allegorical Nirvana. It embodies much German folk-music, and was written in German, the language of the people, not court Italian.

Mozart and his contemporaries, although suffering virtual slavery, were kept alive by the system of private patronage. This

the demand. The end of class struggles and class rule, of master and slave, of ignorance and vice, of poverty and shame, of cruelty and crime - the birth of freedom, the dawn of brotherhood, the beginning of MAN. That is the demand. This is socialism."

MUSIC AND LIFE!

has now gone, but the musician still has to live and if we look at the system that has replaced it we find that it is in no degree better.

The men responsible for marketing the fruits of the musicians, labour are concerned to make as large a profit as possible, and do so by sticking to well known artists, re-issuing old, already paid-for, records and in the television field using pre-recordings instead of an actual band. The present companies exploiting music are shirking the great responsibilities they owe to musicians and these are not being taken up very effectively by the public bodies designed to do this work, the B B C and the Arts Council. Both these bodies should be reconstituted on a representative basis, members of the Trades Councils, local government and the artists themselves having the say; not the government appointed snob-ridden clique at present controlling the two organisations. Regional bodies on the same lines could also sponsor a symphony orchestra and dance bands, small groups and composers, as some authorities are trying to do at the moment. Until its soon-to-be-hoped-for, unlamented demise commercial television could sponsor enough work to employ all the musicians to be seen looking for a job on Monday afternoons in Archer Street. Scholarships for young musicians could also be increased by local authorities, who only spend about £250,000 of the £15 million authorised in 1948 under the Local Government Act. Hornchurch, with a population of under a quarter of a million, spends about £6,500 a year on its rep. theatre alone. This could be done throughout the country, although it may mean cutting back on the Mayor's Rolls.

JAZZ

The dialectical process is very much evident in the evolution of jazz. For this reason I have volunteered to write a kind of column on jazz in Young Guard, the most important magazine of my life, also including such items of beat-music (in the literal sense) that I happen to like.

Perhaps this will illuminate those who know no joy outside the committee room, and I also hope to God that there are not many jazz experts are readers of Young Guard, though I realise there probably are. Unfortunately the economic impossibility of keeping up with the latest releases will hamper my efforts, as will the somewhat sectarian line I follow.

The claim that jazz has followed a dialectical process is no idle one. In the days of Storyville, there was no opportunity of the negro achieving the status he desired, except through jazz music.

The heroes of the young negro were such figures as Buddy Bolden - men who were tolerated by the whites because of their great musical offerings. The local boys would start playing at an early age in an endeavour to get into the funeral parades and the jamborees that were the stamping grounds for so many greats. Later there were the concerts and dances when the coloured musician who was the best player in the group would find himself barred at the door by the people who had come to hear him, not knowing that he was black.

This environment of the US negro produced the situation of such figures as Louis Armstrong, Johnny Dodds, Baby Dodds and Buddy Bolden, King Oliver etc. living more or less in the same ward. And the claims of the negro jazzman today that white men do not know the blues certainly have some value.

What about the division between modern jazz and traditional jazz? Remember that Bix Beiderbeck and King Oliver were the modernists of their day, and would undoubtedly be experimenting if they were playing now. Their style would be very different, and they would not be content to play the styles of the early times.

A regular feature at the sessions would be somebody writing down the arrangements played by a competent musician on his sleeve, so that he could take them away and play them himself or even sell them. The pinching of music was a regular bugbear. Eventually jumped-up copycats so annoyed people like Thelonius Monk and Dizzie Gillespie that they began experimenting with way-out chord sequences and the likes. It was bound to happen but that was the way it did.

Two points here. First it was recognised, and still is, that great musicians will have an effect on their younger counterparts, and this effect would be considerable until a musician if he was any use would develop his own style. Secondly I have missed out about 25 years, ignoring swing and the big bands, and lots else besides.

Finally, I have missed out Charles Parker, this time. This is impossible, so - Bird Lives!, i.e. the alto of this fellow creates some considerable impression on the listener.

A MONTHLY COLUMN BY
Bill Vester, Eltham YS