

YOUNG

No. 15 JANUARY, 1963.

GUARD

WORKER

FULL PAY

YOUNG EDITOR'S GUARD REPORT

YG to sue?

'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.

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To: Jenny Davison
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Dr Victor Hessler, professor of geophysics at Alaska University has said that the American early warning system radar network in the Arctic "cannot distinguish between a missile attack and a display of northern lights which are caused by sun-storms".

Regular readers of the Beaverbrook press will no doubt have seen the references to Young Guard made in the Evening Standard and Glasgow Evening Citizen recently. The Evening Citizen printed an article by William Rankine, a member of Woodside CLP, about Paul Foot who was recently interviewed by the Glasgow City Labour Party in connection with an article that he wrote for Young Guard. In this article Young Guard was referred to as 'banned' and 'proscribed', and the report which appeared in the Evening Standard also used these terms to describe us. At the moment the possibility of action against the Evening Standard to obtain redress for the damage done to us by this libellous report is being considered. This time it is Young Guard that suffers at the hands of the monopoly capitalist press and their lackies who are quite prepared to distort the facts for their own ends.

On page seven of this month's issue there is an article by John Knight of Kingston YS which in effect is a criticism of the basic policy of Young Guard. We hope that this will stimulate our readers to think carefully about their own basic ideas - and then write them down and send them to Young Guard. A free copy to the comrade who sends in the best reply to this article.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE REPORT

"This conference reaffirms its belief that complete democracy in the Young Socialist movement is essential to its continued healthy growth. It therefore places on record its regret that no steps have been taken to bring the official Young Socialist newspaper New Advance, under the full democratic control of the Young Socialists".

So begins the composite resolution carried at the Second Annual Conference of the Young Socialists last Easter. The resolution as it continues admirably lays down the basis for the democratic control but of course does not go into the real mechanics of the problem. The time has come when we must develop a complete plan for the taking over of New Advance by the Young Socialists and as the supporters of Young Guard have the experience of actually building a democratically run paper they should take the initiative. The NEC has agreed to the establishment of a sub-committee of the National Committee to prepare a report on New Advance. A good discussion in the pages of Young Guard can help immeasurably.

Point one of the demands made in the composite resolution was that "an editorial board consisting of Young Socialists be elected on the basis of one delegate per two adjacent regions, no later than 30th June 1962". Obviously there is no point in pursuing the date, but there is plenty of time to organise for the elections to be held at the Annual Conference next Easter. Point two is that "an editor be elected by this board at its first meeting, who is a Young Socialist and not a full time official of the Labour Party". I would suggest that the editorship be combined with that of business manager and that it be a full time job paid for by the paper.

As "the editorial policy of New Advance shall reflect the decisions of the YS Annual Conference" the National Committee must be responsible for editorial policy. Should the editor be appointed by the EB as in the resolution or by the National Committee? The EB whose meetings must "be held at least once a month" should be responsible for technical production of the paper and its circulation.

The final phrase of the resolution. "This Conference also instructs the National Committee not to work on any arrangements other than those for democratic control of New Advance", is a clear mandate for us all to oppose any half measures or partial control. Unless we can gain complete control over the paper it will not only remain almost useless to the movement but will become an increasing hindrance in our struggle to win young people to the cause of socialism and the ideal of absolute democracy.

EXPULSION OUTRAGE

As usual the order came suddenly and without warning ... and three members of the Young Socialist National Committee were expelled from the Labour Party. They were Liz Thompson, Mike Ginsberg and David Davies, who, between them, represented nearly a third of all Young Socialist Branches, by whom they had been democratically elected with huge majorities at last years annual YS conference.

Why have they been expelled. There is of course, no official reason (apart from vague cliches about their 'unsuitability' for membership of a 'democratic' party). The less naive of us know perfectly well what the reason is - simply that their political views differed sharply from those of the Labour hierarchy, and that their presence on the YS National Committee provided an irritating clog in the well-oiled machinery of the bureaucracy. Silly hints about proscribed organisations will not do anything to convince the majority of YS that the NEC were to any extent justified in their action. The fact remains that these three people were elected by YS Conference, and their expulsion is a direct insult to the entire YS movement, and also to that idea of 'democracy' to which the bureaucrats (those of them that ever say anything, that is) so fervently adhere. Young Socialists everywhere - from the remaining members of the National Committee to the smallest branch in the country - must campaign by all possible means in protest against this monstrous decision.

Flash from Scotland

Glasgow Federation reinstated.

Scottish Regional Conference called.

Youth Officer

McGrandle resigns.



MAG'S CHARTER

For some time now the Tories have been trying to stem the tide of anti-Tory feeling. Their latest attempt is the production of the Workers' Charter. The main points are as follows:- Employers will have to give details of employment to workers when they are engaged. Any change in these details must be given to the workers within one month of the change being made.

After two years service a worker will be entitled to a fortnights notice of the sack and after five years or more, four weeks notice.

Two weeks notice of strikes must be given or the workers involved will lose these new 'rights'.

As an election stunt this charter seems a certain non-starter, for one thing it excludes nine million workers altogether, but this does not mean that we should dismiss it as being of no significance. The reference to legal restriction of strikes is particularly dangerous as it could well be the beginning of a move by the employers to make unofficial strikes illegal as they are in West Germany today.

SOUTHERN REGION REPORT

More than fifty Y.S. from all over the Southern region attended a weekend school at the Clarion Hostel near Tonbridge, Kent, recently. The subject was "socialism tomorrow" and was led off by Ian Mikardo of the Party national executive committee.

The main issues thrashed out in special committees were policy principles, attitude to the electorate, and the organisation of the party. In the general discussion which ensued several delegates said that the problems of capitalism could not be solved without making a structural break from the present system.

The need for democratic control, including workers' control of industry, at all levels was also emphasised as was the necessity of fighting for a truly democratic party in which the leaders were responsive to the wishes of the rank and file. Commenting Comrade Mikardo said he agreed with a lot that had been said although he was not sure about workers' control as he thought it might lead to regionalism.

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for news and views

WORKERS' CONTROL IN YUGOSLAVIA

DAVE ABLITT Central Nottingham YS

Unfortunately, all the articles on workers' control which have been printed in Young Guard omitted any mention of Yugoslavia probably the only country which is operating a system of direct workers' management. Incidentally readers should note that the term "workers' control" implies that the workers only control the industry, and do not, necessarily own it. "Workers' management", however, implies both ownership and control.

The Yugoslavs have, since the introduction of workers' councils in 1950 demonstrated beyond doubt the superiority of their system over both capitalism and the traditional methods of socialisation. When the railways were nationalised, in 1948, control was not handed over to the railwaymen. Lack of competition resulted in a lack of incentive to increase efficiency. The Yugoslavs, by directly relating increased production to increased benefits for the producers, have removed the capitalist incentive and substituted a much fairer one. The results have proved extremely encouraging.

The Yugoslav technique, was introduced in 1950, when the first workers' councils were set up. The basic system has remained unchanged since that date, although changes have been made when experience has shown them to be necessary. The workers' councils

elects by all workers through a secret ballot, have complete control over their factory or farm. This goes so far as to include responsibility for the distribution of profits. The workers' council, in conjunction with the district commune, elects a director of the enterprise who is subject to the control of the council.

When the system operates in smaller units (e.g. the retail trade) the workers council does not exist, but meetings of all the workers replace them. The director is then elected by, and is directly responsible to, the workers in his production unit.

Opponents of workers control continually raise the argument that the workers, unused to power and incapable of exercising it sensibly, will be so anxious to gain something for nothing, that they will cause the downfall of the economy. If this were true it would be especially true in a relatively underdeveloped and poor country, such as Yugoslavia. But experience has proved the opposite. After the initial stages the Yugoslav workers ceased their tendency to erode away their funds on their immediate needs, and began to re-invest a larger proportion in the enterprises which they controlled. From this it would follow that the workers of highly developed countries, who do not feel the need for immed-

iate increases as sharply as do the Yugoslavian people, would react in an even better fashion.

The success of the Yugoslav method of workers management cannot be disputed. The rate of growth of the Yugoslav economy between 1955 and 1959 was surpassed by no other country in the world. In other words they have outpaced every other similar country in the world. And they have done it in a manner that has the support of the workers. When profits have been made the workers have decided how they should be distributed. And, when sacrifices have proved necessary it is the workers who have decided what form they should take.

Having described the virtues of the Yugoslav system, I now hasten to state that no socialist should ever harbour the illusion that Yugoslavia is an earthly heaven for its working class. There still exists a privileged caste, and the bureaucracy, if not as powerful as that in the rest of the Communist block, is strong. But, through the system of workers councils, the working class do have some control at a local and factory level. And, above all, they have proved the concept of workers management to be a practical one. It is surprising that socialists do not make more use of the Yugoslavian example, in order to strengthen their arguments.

FROM WHERE I STAND:

a column by 'Fianna'



Another phoney image has been slurred in recent weeks. It is one of Macmillan's favourites; the Anglo-American alliance, "special relationship" . . . "north Atlantic alliance of free peoples" and so on.

The vicious and unprincipled auctioneering that has been going on over the Skybolt missile has put an end to that. Being "noble allies in the cause of democracy" does not prevent the rulers of both countries stabbing each other in the back, it seems. The lies, deceit and sheer moral enormity of the battle to foist Skybolt on this country shows how hollow are the alleged principles which the "western alliance" claims to stand for.

It seems that if the White House succeeds we shall have to stump up an extra £170 million, for the missile (which in any case only goes to give superficial plausibility to a completely implausible British deterrent). Just as well to remember that, for this, we could decently house all the old people at present living alone and penniless in slums; we could also provide homes for about 250,000 families, and build three new hospitals.

It is fantastic that we should still have to fight for such basic needs and rights in the second half of the twentieth century. But of course the rights and needs are also denied to the vast mass of humanity who for the most case are living in far worse conditions even than our old people.

Consider for instance the fight of the trade unionists in Aden. The latest crime of the Tories there has been to imprison for up to 12 months, three TU leaders for publishing "subversive" (ie anti Tory) propaganda demanding the right of self determination. Recently other prisoners in Aden were flogged until the skin was torn off their backs.

By now most YS branches will be in the process of dealing with election of delegates and resolutions to the various regional conferences and also the national conference to be held in Scarborough for some peculiar reason this year. I also note that the request of the YS that conference do not clash with the Aldermaston march has been ignored once again.

Talking about the YS, looking at "our" journal *New Advance* (editor young 40 year old Reg Underhill), I see that Master David Warburton, Vicar, is still roaming about. His is the column that has retained the distinction of being illiterate, ill-informed and grossly prejudiced all at the same time.

Since he was so free last month distributing Christmas presents let me suggest three for himself; a textbook of basic English, a C.N.D. membership resignation form; and a dry nappy.

By the way did you read, tucked deep in the columns of financial news, of the disaster at the South African gold mine (claimed to be the "most profitable in the world") where more than twenty African miners were killed. Reporting this at the company's annual meeting the chairman expressed his regret and added "we hope to have production under way again as soon as possible".

BRUNEI — REBELS IN MAJORITY

FRANK STONE Yarmouth YS

Every day new places hit the news. Last month it was Brunei. British troops were sent to the British protected state in Northern Borneo to crush the 'rebels'. The rebels, we were told, - and that's about all we were told - are against the Malaysian Federation. Well what is the Malaysian Federation?

It is the plan to merge the territories of Singapore, the Federation of Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei in a Federation of Greater Malaysia, which will be dominated by the reactionary right wing government of Malaya. The basis of the federation is such as to exclude many, possibly a majority, of the Singapore people from full citizenship rights in the federation.

Opposition to the federation has come from the main opposition party of Singapore, the Barisan Sosialis, who refuse to recognise the validity of a recent referendum in favour of Malaysia in which no opportunity was afforded to vote against merger and those casting blank votes were threatened with loss of citizenship rights.

Nevertheless 25 per cent did cast blank votes.

Strong opposition has also been voiced in Brunei and Sarawak. In Sarawak all demonstrations and rallies were banned during the visit of the Cobbold commission of enquiry into North Borneo and Sarawak. The Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP), prevented from holding the mass demonstrations they had planned, at very short notice organised a petition. 112,000 signatures were collected in the few days available, representing nearly one-sixth of the total population, and they claim given time over four times this number would have been collected.

Examples of the sort of democracy exist in Sarawak and Singapore is provided by the arrest, following "illegal" rallies, of four trade union leaders and nine SUPP committee members in Sarawak, and the ban imposed on the first annual conference of the Singapore Association of Trade Unions by the Singapore Internal Security Council, composed of British, Singapore and Malayan Federation representatives,

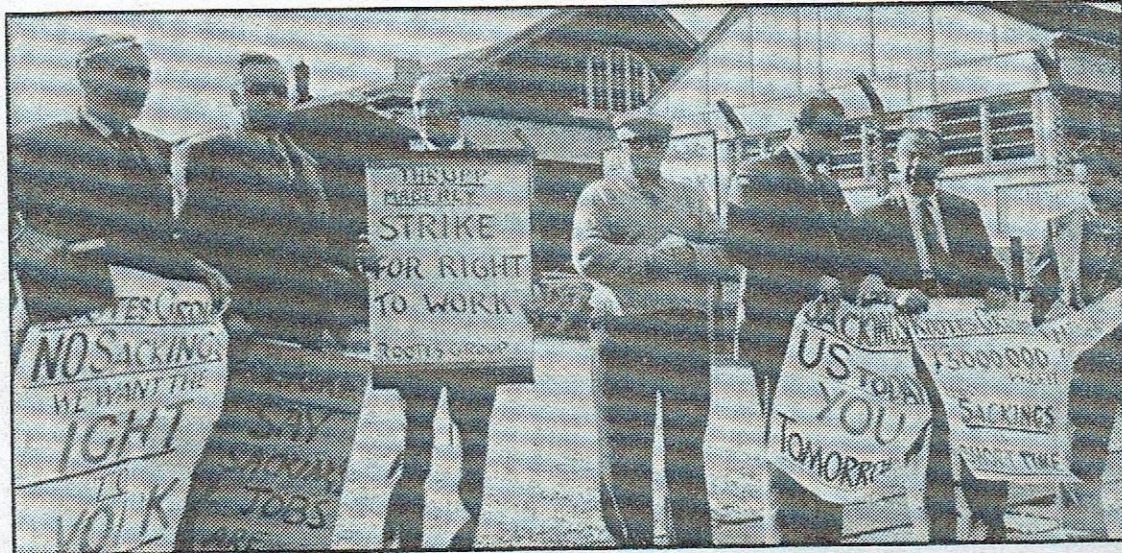
In Brunei the recent local elections held on August 30, are a guide to the people's attitude to "merger", with Partai Rakyat (People's Party of Brunei), the only party opposing Malaysia winning 54 out of 55 seats. Since the election the independent who won this seat has joined Partai Rakyat - and so the 'rebels' number 100 per cent! However, on the Council Negera of Brunei only 16 are elected representatives, the remaining 17 being nominated by the Sultan of Brunei himself, and similarly in the State Executive Council only 6 are elected and 7 nominated by the Sultan.

Britain's interest in Malaysia is both strategical and economic. Britain's military commitment in the area is substantial, operating within the framework of SEATO and an Anglo-Malayan Defence Pact, while Brunei is the Commonwealth's third biggest oil producing area.

The Malayan Federation is not due to be finalised until August next year. Is it too much to hope that British Labour will oppose Malaysia and support independence for the peoples of N. Borneo from the rule of oil interests?

UNEMPLOYMENT

A Feature by Glasgow
Young Socialists.



Causes of Unemployment

by Paul Foot
Woodside YS

"I loathed having to do this. I know what it means to the men and their families at this time of year. But for months we had been overproducing, hoping the market would improve. It hasn't and we can't go on like this for ever".

Mr. J. M. Wotherspoon...plant manager of The Remington Rand factory at Hillington, Glasgow. He was announcing the sacking of 300 men. 27th November, 1962.

"Continued operation at Renfrew is no longer economically possible without substantial capital investment which, due to overcapacity in both shipbuilding and engineering, cannot be considered". ... Lord Weir; Chairman of Weir Holdings; Announcing the closure of Simons-Lobnitz shipyard, Renfrew, and the loss of jobs for its 1,500 workers. 10th December, 1962.

We have to look no further than the statements of the capitalists and their lackeys to discover the real causes of capitalist crisis.

Mr. Wotherspoon says that men have to be sacked because the firm is **overproducing**. They are making more typewriters and electric shavers in Hillington than they can sell. There must, therefore, be a cut in production and manpower if Mr. Wotherspoon is to survive.

This is not because no-one wants any typewriters. Many, many workers would be glad to have one. The trouble is that they have not enough money, or rather their wages are not high enough to buy one.

Ten men at Remington Rand, Glasgow, of different skills, may produce 100 typewriters in a day. Their combined wages will be less than the value of those typewriters, because the bosses must keep a percentage of that value as **profit**. The profit is the life-blood of the boss. It enables him to re-tool his factory to stay in competition with other typewriter manufacturers throughout the world.

The same process takes place with all commodities. And since workers make up

almost all the consumer market, this means that the total consumer income is not enough to purchase the total of consumer goods. The result is overproduction...firms producing beneath capacity and workers being paid off.

In abstract this means that capitalism should be in constant crisis. But over the years the system has managed to even itself out for quite long periods (there has not been a really serious crisis in world capitalism for 23 years).

How then does capitalism postpone the crisis of overproduction? Quite simply, by paying workers for work which does not produce commodities for consumption.

Take **machinery**, for instance. Machinery is not consumed by the workers. So while workers are building machinery and factories, they are receiving wages for goods which they do not have to buy back, and they can spend this money on goods made elsewhere by other workers. This fills the gap for a while. But eventually the factories and machinery are completed, more goods are made from them, and the problem for the capitalist is raised as sharply as ever.

Then there is imperialism - the building of railways, factories etc. in underdeveloped countries. This too means that workers are paid for goods not consumed, and can form a market overseas for consumer goods made at home. But again, one day the railway is completed. And then again the problem recurs.

The ugly machinery of war also provides a let-out for the capitalist from the overproduction problem. Workers do not buy rockets and tanks for their own use. But they make them, and get paid for doing so. At the moment in Britain and America, for instance, a huge section of the national product is devoted to the military budget...about 10 per cent. That is the main reason why the two countries have experienced only minor depressions since the beginning of the last war. Other totally non-productive industries like advertising, and dead-end office work, have helped to shove the problem of overproduction temporarily into the background.

But - unhappily for the bosses - overproduction is not their only worry. The other factor which keeps them awake at nights is the falling rate of profit. The rate of profit is the actual profit divided by investment. It is the amount of profit the capitalist makes for the amount he invests. The nature of the competitive capitalist system forces the rate of profit down and down.

Various devices - such as the war economy - will slow down the fall, but they will not halt it or reverse it. Since the war British and American private enterprise has experienced a slow but sure decline in the rate of profit. When Lord Weir says he cannot keep Simons Lobnitz open because the necessary investment is economically impossible, he means that if he invests the necessary money for re-tooling, his rate of profit will slump disastrously. That is why 1,500 men are thrown onto the rubbish heap.

Now the point is that the twin problems of overproduction and the falling rate of profit cannot be solved or ameliorated by the same tactics. The two major obstacles of capitalist economics are contradictory..

Cutting wages is good for the rate of profit, but it lands the capitalist even more heavily in overproduction, difficulties. Raising wages helps overproduction, but is disastrous for the rate of profit. Raising arms expenditure helps overproduction, as shown, but it damages the national rate of profit. That is why in the last two years British arms expenditure has been cut from 10 per cent to 7 per cent of the gross national product. That is also what all the Skybolt fuss is about.

As capitalism veers away from one cause of crisis, it lands itself on the rocks of another. And either way, the workers suffer.

But the vital point to remember is that increasing unemployment, unemployment itself, is an essential characteristic of the capitalist system. As long as capitalism exists, as long as commodities are produced at a value for profit, then there will always be unemployment and misery among the working class.

PROSPECTS

by
Denis O'Hea
Gorbals YS

The market saturation which arises from overproduction, happens on a world scale, not just nationally. It results in a falling-off in production in the consumer industries, with attendant lowering of demand in the heavy industries.

Since the last war this situation has been aggravated by the ever-increasing momentum of the colonial revolution. The victories won by the oppressed peoples against imperialism have had serious repercussions on the metropolitan economies. For instance, the Arab National Revolution lost to world finance capital an annual income of nearly £4 billion. America lost incalculable sums from the revolutions in Cuba, Latin America and the Near and Middle East. This has all led to increased production costs at home, causing intensive rationalisation in order to maintain a steady level of profits.

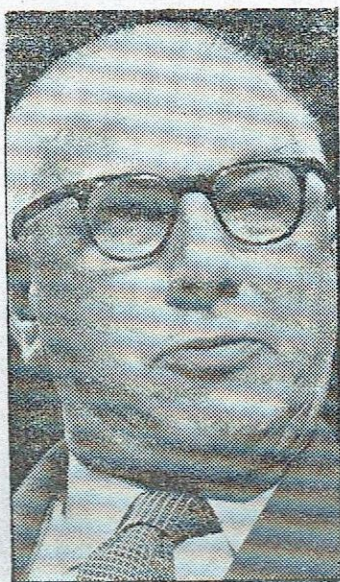
Automation and the replacement of many workers by machines, aggravates the situation. Furthermore Britain, because of the decline in world markets, is being forced into Europe to get a boost for her ailing economy. This has meant further rationalisation, particularly in the 'feeder' industries - coal and railways - so as to be more competitive within the EEC. All these national factors naturally affect the unemployment figures - to the detriment of the working class. What then are the immediate prospects?

The saturation of world markets, the colonial revolution, and industrial rationalisation within Britain and the EEC suggest that capitalism is heading for its most serious crisis since before the Second World War, and there can be no great hope for a rapid recovery in trade and production. Entry into the EEC, together with increased public works and armaments expenditure, may mean an unhealthy boost for trade, but its effect will quickly wear off. The immediate future looks bleak for the working class of the world.

FUTILE "SOLUTIONS"

what the leaders
say

by Vincent Walker
Gorbals YS and
Jim Scott
Clydebank YS



Unemployment - the disease peculiar to capitalist society; the spectre which strikes fear into the hearts of the ruling class; the sentence which condemns hundreds of thousands to the misery of the dole queue...

Today we are passing through the latest in a series of post-war recessions in Britain which has sent the out-of-work figures rocketing. 600,000 is the figure estimated for the dole queues in early February. It looks as though these men and women can give up any serious hope of finding employment for some time to come. What has become of our affluent society? Where have the dreamy promises of a doubled standard of living gone to? It is easy to count to 600,000 - a dull, dry figure. But no one can count the total in frustration, despair, degradation and broken homes which is the result of enforced idleness.

We must not delude ourselves that the problem of unemployment arises through the errors of tired, incompetent or evil men. What rubbish! The problem is simply that because of the dynamic of capitalism, because of the private ownership of the means of wealth production, the economy is based on the profit motive. Thus eventually, the capacity for producing outstrips the capacity for consuming.

This all leads to the disgusting spectacles of capitalism - miners without coal, builders living in squalid, overcrowded houses; cotton - spinners having no clothes for their children...Have we too much coal, houses, shirts, coats, shoes? Ask any old age pensioner.

Capitalism is on trial - but who will find it guilty? Who will fight for its abolition, and an end for ever to the curse of unemployment?

Certainly not the Tories. Watching Mr. Maudling and his cronies fiddling around with so-called 'solutions' is a truly pathetic spectacle. The most popular idea is to 'inflate' the economy by cutting purchase tax, and granting more investment allowances. The trouble with all this is simply that if they do too much of it they land themselves in the other capitalist death-trap of inflation and balance-of-payments difficulties. Listen to Mr. Maudling in the House of Commons on 17th December, 1962. "Six hundred thousand is certainly too high, but to halve that figure would bring back the problem of inflation and the balance of payments crises".



Maudling;
No answer under
capitalism.

In other words, they've got to have unemployment to keep their system going.

But the real tragedy of the present situation is that the Labour Party and Trade Union leaders don't have a clue either. Look at some of the absurdities suggested by these men in the past few weeks. 'SCRAP AND BUILD'. The Scottish Trades Union Congress have seriously suggested that ships should be scrapped and new ones re-built in their place. What a farce! Why not scrap everything and make it again? What is the point of building anything if it is merely to be scrapped? We do not want work for the sake of it. We want necessary work, for the good of humanity.

PUBLIC WORKS. Labour MP's, top trade unionists, Labour Lord Provosts all over the country beg and plead for an extension of public works. Build a road here, a bridge there, a tunnel there. That, so runs the argument, will solve the problem.



Callaghan;
Nothing from
Labour.

And immediately the demand is made, the capitalist Government agrees. 'Yes' it says. 'We will do that'. We will build a road here, a bridge there. We can easily afford that out of taxes, and it will help the problem of overproduction'. Maudling has already voted £15 million to public works (mainly roads) in the depressed areas. And what happens? A few more men are employed. The force goes out of Labour's demand, and its attack. The capitalist system continues with its contradictions...and its unemployment.

'JOBS FOR SCOTLAND' - the most publicised piece of bureaucratic bungling for years. The STUC has carried out a great orgy of conferences, discussions, deputations ... and unemployment has risen

nearly twofold. The outrageous feature of the Jobs for Scotland campaign is that it is unashamedly nationalist. This, and other similar demands made on their own - like Jobs for Merseyside and Jobs for Newcastle - merely sets workers in different areas against each other while the leaders carry out their little nationalist squabbles for more work for different areas. The final pitch of hysteria was reached the other day by Mr John McWilliam, Labour convener of Fife County Council, who wrote a letter to Sir Patrick Hennessey, managing director of Fords in Britain, suggesting that Fords move their factory from Liverpool to Fife, where 'labour, I can assure you, will be more amenable'. This loathsome class-collaboration is the logical consequence of a campaign for jobs on nationalist or regional lines.

All the other querulous demands of Labour and TU leaders lead us up the same capitalist cul-de-sac. Demands for advance factories, for coal-fired power-stations, for more inducements for industries to move North - none of them challenge the capitalist economy, which if allowed to go on, will always reproduce the problem of unemployment. Under the shelter of solving the 'immediate' problem by getting a few more jobs for a few of the unemployed, the Labour leaders are condemning the workers to an infinite recurrence of the same misery. These demands are useless. We want action against capitalism, not action for the continuance of capitalism and the saving of the bureaucrats knighthoods.

WHAT TO DO! Four Demands For Socialists

by Pat Mullaney
Gorbals YS and
Jim McCallum
Govan YS

As unemployment increases over the next few months, and as the working class look more and more to the Labour Movement to solve the problem, it is vital for socialists to work out a plan of action. If we cannot improve on the ideas of the present Labour leadership, with its lack of policy and perspective, we can expect the capitalist class to employ more brutal, repressive measures on a working class which has been led up the garden path. The other articles in this feature have shown that unemployment is a disease inherent in the capitalist system, and that it will never properly be abolished until the working class - internationally - has established a socialist regime.

On the other hand, there are at present 600,000 unemployed workers and millions of employed ones who see socialism as something in the distant future. We have to demonstrate to them that socialism is the only solution, but we must do it in

terms relevant to the way the workers are thinking. We must therefore put forward demands - demands which must above all raise the socialist consciousness of the working class. In order to do this the demands, while appearing perfectly reasonable and fair to the worker, must seriously threaten the capitalist system. In other words, they must be demands, which the capitalist class cannot and will not agree to without seriously impairing or destroying their class domination. We therefore suggest the following demands:-

WORK OR FULL MAINTENANCE.

You are unemployed not because you are lazy or incapable, but because of the anarchy of capitalist production. If the worker is redundant for these reasons, he should make the system pay for the same maintenance as he got when he was employed in the system. If they cannot give you work, then they should provide full maintenance.

This idea - that people who don't work should be paid FULL maintenance (ie the same as people who do) is totally unacceptable to the capitalist system both in theory and practice. And yet it is the most logical demand of all.

SHORTER HOURS. HIGHER PAY.

We should demand a sliding scale in hours and wages to fit the unemployment situation. To stimulate consumer demand, wages should rise at least the normal union rate. Furthermore whenever a firm is threatened with redundancy, there should be no pay-offs - but the work should be shared, with all workers working shorter hours for the same wage. Once again the system is responsible for the redundancy and the system should adapt itself in what appears a perfectly reasonable way to stave off the misery of unemployment. And the best thing about this demand is that it raises the solidarity between employed and unemployed workers.

NATIONALISATION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL OF ALL FAILING INDUSTRIES.

Factories close, not because there is a surplus of goods produced, but because there is not a profitable market.

We should demand that when a firm threatens to close the worker through his shop committee must take over and continue production of the traditional product until the type of production can be changed. The workers' committees should be composed of representatives of all departments of the factory, and be responsible for the productivity quota, and the appointment of managers and technical advisers.

With two thirds of the world's population on or below starvation level there is a market for anything we care to produce. This might not be a profitable market for the capitalist, but for the worker and his committee it could be.

Contact could be made with factories producing identical products, thus enabling planning of quantity and quality, and cutting out of wasteful duplication.

This immediate demand must be made in connection with the more general one of the nationalisation of all major industries. It is not of course sufficient in the long run that we take over the factories which capitalism cannot operate. We must also take over the ones which are functioning.

Lastly we demand the RETURN OF A LABOUR GOVERNMENT. The present Tory Government is acting only in the interests of capital and Big Business. We call for a Labour Government as a positive step in the direction of the abolition of profit, the solution of the economic crisis and the achievement of socialism.

READERS' LETTERS

YG and Jazz

In the December issue of *Young Guard*, your jazz expert, Bill Vester, stated that his column would continue in the same vein until he ran out of ideas. He mentioned that it might be in two months time. I suggest that he shouldn't bother to wait and just pack it in right now. If you're going to have a jazz column, get someone who knows something about the subject.

DISGRUNTLED JAZZ FAN.

The role of YG

The Young Socialist Movement started with great expectations, especially for those comrades who had spent many years fighting for a national movement. Despite the inexperience of the majority of the YS, first annual conference showed that they were very militant and quick to learn. *Young Guard* was formed to give a political lead to the youth who had just entered or were about to enter the movement. Initially, *Young Guard* was to a certain extent successful, and so too were the other papers, but today the picture has changed. The reasons for this change are the suppression of the movement by Transport House, both politically and organisationally, and that many Young Socialists had illusory ideas about building mass branches on the basis of dances and socials etc. (in certain areas of the country this can be done).

However the hindrance to the building of the YS and preparing the ground for the victory of socialism, has been the mistake of not turning out to the working class in their struggles and attempting to build from there. Instead of doing this, the movement is becoming a talking shop and stagnating.

The YS should be active in the factories; they should be forming apprentice committees and winning them to us on a socialist programme. They should be forming unemployed committees, pointing out the political implications of the bomb, the struggles of the workers, and the problems of society in general. There will always be differences of opinion within any movement, but when the left-wing allow these differences to play a major part in the stagnation of the YS then the time has come for re-thinking.

We must begin to convince people of our ideas on the basis of our actions and not simply our resolutions. To do this we must make *Young Guard* more active in giving a lead, but unfortunately it is rapidly becoming divorced from the working class movement. Instead of speaking as a paper of the working class it speaks as a paper which is viewing the movement and the workers from above. It is not too late to build *Young Guard* as a paper that can lead the YS, but to do so it must adopt a programme, which is, in actual fact, a perspective of the ensuing struggle.

TED MOONEY, Bootle, YS.

KL and YG

What amounts to a campaign of smears is being conducted by certain elements associated with the *Keep Left* against *Young Guard* and its supporters.

The allegations are that the Editorial Board politically retreated in face of the NEC's threats to proscribe the paper and that the paper is actually vetted by Transport House before publication. It follows that YG was allowed to continue publication and KL proscribed. Such is the argument.

As one of those who conducted the discussions with the NEC's representatives, it is necessary to say that such allegations are completely without foundation. We would not be party to any such deal with Transport House. The position of the Editorial Board was made clear in issue No. 12 (October - 1962).

We have always been in the forefront of those working for the return of a Labour government. At the same time we have always been in the forefront of those who work within the labour movement for the adoption of a thoroughgoing socialist policy. These two aspects are for us inseparable.

There would be no point in producing a Young Socialist paper to reflect the views of Transport House. I believe that our only purpose can be that of expounding, defending and applying revolutionary socialism against the class collaborationist policy of that section of the movement which today officially dominates it.

It is necessary to condemn these smears which in themselves reveal a political poverty. On the other hand it is necessary to say that the confusion and inconsistencies of certain material published in the paper weaken its role amongst the youth. One failure has been not to publish and invite discussion around the Youth Charter which was submitted some months ago. Another failure is that of not advocating the editorial policy of the paper in relation to the slogan "For a Labour Government".

Young Guard is a genuine attempt to unite the left-wing of the socialist youth, or more correctly to give a united expression to the programme upon which the paper was founded. Only those concerned with their own petty factional ends could reject this attempt or involve themselves in machinations to thwart it. Above all among the youth it is necessary to honestly and seriously discuss political problems and this must mean the freest possible expression of views. Where common aims are established and where common agreement can be reached on the major problems it would be criminal not to reach that agreement for common work.

KEITH DICKINSON, North Paddington, YS

YG wits

I feel I must protest strongly at the brand of sick humour contained in recent editions of *Young Guard* and in particular the November issue. You display a completely middle-class attitude to life by this and you are clearly devoid of any working class feelings. For example, the advert for the Folk Club, Stratford; this is completely nauseating. Also such things as Gaitskell's picture on the application form, the advert for the *Young Guard* Readers' meeting plus the rather silly ditties and poems. I am forced to say that unless *Young Guard* improves quickly, I shall have to think seriously about my continued support, and I feel that many comrades feel the same.

VINCENT JOHNSTON, Kirkdale, YS.

Strikers' Wives

"Fianna" in his column in the December issue of *Young Guard* raised a problem that most of us have ignored for some time - the effects of strikes etc. on the wives of the strikers. The biggest strike breakers in Britain today are not the police, the army or the bloated capitalists but the wives of the actual strikers (not for the same reason, of course). These wives, naturally enough, see things differently from their husbands. They want

to know where the next pound is coming from, whether they can afford to buy any meat for tomorrow, whether they can pay the grocery bill and whether little Willy will have to go to school with holes in his trousers. This attitude is coaxed along by the Press, Radio, TV and, naturally enough, the Boss. This situation is regrettable but it happens. Our present propaganda is obviously not good enough and I think our female comrades will have to start thinking of how to raise the level of class consciousness amongst working class women. Any ideas?

BARRY BURKE, Hackney, YS.

Cuba

In the December *Young Guard* Sergio Junco continued his contemptible trickle of abuse against socialist Cuba. A few of your new readers may have been misled by Mr Junco's collection of distortions and quotations taken out of context, and in considering Junco's reply to Sid Williamson's letter from Cuba would do well to remember that Williamson is a young socialist living and working in Cuba. Junco lives in London!

Junco doubts Williamson's statement that "housing is one of the top priorities here", and quotes a few of Castro's words (probably taken from a five hour speech) to show that housing is not the top priority. All socialists must realise that the top priority must be the defence of those gains already made by the revolution. On the suppression of the Cuban trotskyist paper *Voz Proletaria*, Comrade Junco demonstrates his lack of information. It is true that the paper was seized, but to imply that it is still suppressed is to lie. Junco suggests that we ask the Cuban trotskyists for their side of the story. Why not go one better? Che Guevara described the action as "an error committed by a second rank functionary". Since then *Voz Proletaria* has reappeared and Junco must agree that it is encouraging to hear of a government speaking against the suppression of a small socialist group.



Junco when speaking of the ORI (integrated revolutionary organisations) quotes a few lines from a speech of Castro's "we are ruling this country in the name of the working class, in the name of the working classes, and ... of course the mass is not going to elect the nucleus. The party is not a party of election—it is a selection which is organised through the principle of democratic centralism". An honest man would not attempt to use this tiny fraction of Castro's speech in the manner in which Junco does. Of course Junco does not bother to mention the rest of the very long speech which was made to explain the removal of Anibal Escalante from the leadership of the ORI, because he tried to bureaucratise it and put it under the control of the Cuban CP. The quote by Junco was Castro's illustration of the state the party was degenerating into. Comrade Junco must have performed a mental somersault to say that the ORI is still subordinate to the Cuban CP.

Finally Junco states that he supports the slogan "All hands off Cuba", I would

like to ask Comrade Junco two questions. Is it true that he is a member of the American "Young People's Socialist League" and that this party supported President Kennedy in the presidential election?

MICHAEL RATCLIFF, Notting YS.

Hands off Cuba?

Dave Ablitt in the December issue of *Young Guard* confesses himself confused by the slogan "All Hands off Cuba", since "99.9 per cent (recurring) of the blame for the Cuban crisis rests fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the Americans".

It seems to me that at some stage in the discussion on Cuba, socialists must ask the question; "Why did the Russians establish nuclear bases on Cuba, and, more important, what possible justification was there for doing it?"

The Communist Party, of course, were anxious to avoid the question as long as possible. Hence the Daily Worker's fervent denial that any such bases existed on the same day as Khrushchev agreed to remove them.

When the question did irresistably present itself it was coolly and casually ignored, while time and space was devoted to apportioning blame to the Americans.

Some socialists, however, did not ignore the issue. At a meeting of the Glasgow Trades Council, one delegate made a violent attack on Khrushchev for "backing down" over Cuba ("I support Russia unconditionally; that doesn't mean I can't criticise her actions"). He ended his moving oration thus; "ALL ARMS FOR CUBA! ALL NUCLEAR ARMS TO DEFEND THE CUBAN WORKERS!"

This idea that nuclear weapons can be used in the class struggle is one which must command the attention of all socialists.

First, does anyone suggest that these weapons should be used in the class struggle - with the untold and unspeakable damage this would mean to the working class, of whatever country? I doubt it. Instead, the comrades who defend possession of nuclear weapons for fighting the class struggle borrow the following argument from Mr Gaitskell. 'The bombs' they say 'act as deterrent, keeping the iron heel of imperialism at bay' (any cliché would fit in here). To which the reply is the same as the reply to Mr Gaitskell - that once you have accepted the need for a deterrent, the need for an arms race, you have accepted the need to use the weapons at some stage.

For at some stage in the future one side is bound to achieve such a military superiority as to be able to strike the other with relative impunity. And then if his duty is to win the war, it is his duty to use the weapon, for fear that the other side may achieve such a superiority and themselves use the weapon first. The nuclear arms race must end in the use of nuclear weapons, and that is something no working class movement can tolerate.

The task of socialists is to fight the whole bureaucracy and machinery of nuclear war wherever it exists, and particularly to oppose any extension of the present limits of nuclear war.

That is why, comrade Ablitt, while heartily joining you in any opposition to American imperialism, I prefer "All Hands Off Cuba" to "More Rockets for the Cuban Workers". And those are the real alternatives.

PAUL FOOT, Wooside YS.

ANOTHER LETTER

Chris Arthur (Workers' Control and the Struggle for Socialism) puts his finger on it when he says that "socialism is about nothing if it is not about freedom". Far too many socialists for far too long have been tied to the bureaucratic conception of socialism in either its paternalistic Fabian form, or in its totalitarian Stalinist form, while abusing or ignoring the other stream of socialist thought.

The tenets of traditional vulgar Marxism regarding the inevitably recurring economic crises of capitalism, each deeper and more prolonged than the last must be largely rejected; Keynesian and post-Keynesian techniques have provided governments with the tools necessary to control the economy and prevent the periodic economic catastrophes which characterised a particular phase in the development of contemporary capitalism. The permanent contradiction in capitalism (common to both East and West) lies in the alienation of the worker; simultaneously the worker is treated both as an object, an automaton, a mere cog in an inhuman machine, and at the same time he is a participant in the production process and is essential to it.

However, the experience of the Soviet Union has clearly demonstrated that state ownership and control of economic organisations do not in themselves lead along the road to socialism and freedom. The idea that alienation ends with the 'worker's state' taking over the ownership and control of the economy is a result of a misunderstanding of Marx; alienation is not a result of commodity exchange; on the contrary, commodity exchange is developed from the alienation of human activity...

The rethinking of our ideas in the era of "affluence" the twin problems of alienation and worker's control, and the overcoming of the former by the latter will, and must, play an increasingly important part. We must reject the thesis that lays primary emphasis on finding freedom outside work, for he who is a slave at work cannot be free outside it. Thus we must re-examine the libertarian tradition of socialist thought, rejecting what is bad and keeping what is good and relevant to our times. Although we cannot and must not work out blueprints for the future in utopian fashion we must think around the practical problems of industrial democracy. We must examine and draw upon the experiences of the era of workers' control in Russia in 1917 and 1918; of the Spanish workers and peasants during the civil war, the workers' councils of the revolutionary workers in Hungary in 1956; and the Yugoslav experience of workers' self-management. Above all we must struggle for that association of men in which "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all".

ANDREW MILLER, Esher, YS

BOOKS

by Monica Foot
Woodside YS

The Manus people of the Admiralty Islands, a group of about 2,000 living in eleven autonomous villages along the south coast of the Great Admiralty Island, in 1928 - and presumably still today - presented "the curious anomaly of a small group of people at Stone Age level without monotheism, without any political forms more complex than kin groupings held together by official ties and exchanges, who have developed a form of character structure that in its puritanism, its capacity to postpone pleasure

for economic gain, its industriousness, its capacity to exploit other individuals for profit, and its high free level of intelligence including great ease with machinery is curiously like the character structure associated with the rise of Protestantism and modern capitalism in Western Europe". (my emphasis).

Such an anthropological observation clearly raises difficulties of definition for socialists. If the characteristics of capitalism can be produced in a Stone Age setting, what precisely is meant by pure capitalism?

This issue is one of many raised by *Male and Female* by Margaret Mead, republished by Penguin Books, 6/-. Miss Mead is the best-known anthropologist now thinking and writing and *Male and Female* gives a good indication why her reputation is so secure and so elevated. She has brought the study of folk customs and traditions (and I do not mean arty-crafty woodwork or artificially preserved song or dance; but the actual way in which real people teach their children to live) to a point where these matters are seen to be relevant to political organisation and the behaviour patterns of adults in any given society.

The method of discussion in *Male and Female* is unusual. Miss Mead compares the specifically sexual attitudes of seven tribes of Pacific islands with the attitudes, both sexual and non-sexual, of modern America. She is trying to uncover what is intrinsic and what is "learned" about the business of belonging to one or other of the sexes.

It is important to notice that Miss Mead's approach towards Western/sexual mores is not dictated by the existence of these mores. In other words, she is not one of your advocates of free love who preach their doctrine simply because it is outre in a given context, not because it has any necessary value as a human activity. Miss Mead sees beyond the customs and rigours of an age or a society. She offers the individual the possibility of honest and progressive self-knowledge. But she has no time for the act of simple truculent rebellion - neither understood nor serious in intention. Revolution needs a more thoughtful character.

POLITICS AND ART

by Thomas Moulds
Hamilton YS

The wrongness of the left's attitude to the arts was clearly expressed in "Unity - A Working Class Theatre", an article by John Shepherd in the October issue of *Young Guard*. For a start our leftist critic (I hope to offend John Shepherd less by generalising him with this title) makes the barbarous statement that, "other attractions include...above all, a bar!" (Exclamation mark his). If all you want is a drink, it's a pub you're looking for, not a theatre. This sentiment reminded me of the society theatres in 19th century France where the salon was larger than the auditorium, the acts lasted for three-quarters of an hour and the interval a full hour. Regarding the merely incidental social life of the theatre as having most importance, it is understandable that our leftist critic regards the incidentals of a play as important, completely ignoring what drama really is about. He believes a play should be a political tract instead of, as most good plays are, the imaginative creation of a situation which reveals the personalities, instincts and feelings of the characters involved in that situation.

Throughout his article, our leftist critic makes only one brief comment on the greatest of all writers, Shakespeare. That

POLEMIC

by John Knight
Kingston YS

"...The Liberal revival should have made it easier for us to regain our dynamic since it has removed the last temptation to experiment with a radical image and trim our policies in order to win the anti-socialist floating vote. Jo Grimond has got that vote already and we can now stop worrying about the unpopularity of nationalisation and the trade unions so as to concentrate on what we have never done before - polling the full trade union and working class vote. This is the best way of achieving a Labour revival."

So says Mr. R. H. S. Crossman and he ought to know. However, the realities of sectional power in this country give the short answer to such pettish outbursts. They are disquieting because they are sincerely meant and therefore symptomatic of a malaise which, if not speedily checked could well harden the latent puritanical instincts of the Left into arthritic rigidity.

It is an infection that takes 'form' most strikingly in the twin beliefs that the new-found prosperity of the working man is somehow sapping his social and political conscience and that only by re-affirming our faith in the deep spiritual values which apparently inspired us in the nineteen thirties, can we move the mountains of our present difficulties. In short, the Left are afflicted both by the fear of affluence and the nostalgia for austerity.

Naturally, runs the argument, the futility of matching pound for pound with the Conservative Party in the quinquennial bid for the support of the greedy bourgeois of the television age is strongly to be stressed. Far better, reply some on the Left, to wait until that fateful day when, under challenge from the East, the welfare capitalist system will collapse. That day might come in 1963; or 1970; or per-

this comment is adverse criticism does not seem to me to be exactly inviting into the socialist ranks anyone who realizes the human imagination can extend beyond playing football and knitting stringed vests. He complains that Shakespeare has written a political tract which he later on, by a process of double-talk, asks writers to produce anyway. Where Shakespeare has failed is that "he wrote in Henry V of the glories of fighting to increase the domain of a king in a most jingoistic fashion".

Apart from the meaning being foggy, this statement is demonstrably untrue. What Shakespeare has actually done is give us an objective account in extremely beautiful language (the most important thing about Shakespeare of Henry V's occupation of France. Two of Henry's long speeches are certainly appeals to chauvinism, but Shakespeare was merely examining methods of rhetoric and propaganda as he did in the famous Mark Anthony speech in "Julius Caesar". That Shakespeare understood the hypocrisy of these methods is seen in another speech revealing Henry's private thoughts where he asks, "And what have kings that privates have not too, save ceremony?" and ceremony he believes to be "poison'd flattery". The only approach to social comment during the whole play is, in the wooing-of-Kate scene, a slight satirical jab at Henry's greed.

Shakespeare is a person who, with a curiosity of great energy, explored the depth and range of human thought and feeling and has revealed his discoveries, with as little condemnation or praise as possible, in a language so beautiful that it gives his subject, humanity, a significance which is even holy. This view of human nature is needed in us, for, as the body needs to be fed, so does the mind and

haps in the second millennium. Anyway, sometime for was it not foretold in the Gospel according to Saint Marx?

All in all, such a brazen display of hypocrisy and arrogance shows a staggering contempt for the ideals and aspirations of the humble and very ordinary people whose allegiance official Labour demands and expects to receive as the prerequisite of electoral success. It is the crudest caricature of a society which if by no means perfect does at least offer its members a vastly increased and improved range of experiences than has even formerly been the case.

Today, despite the lingering pockets of secondary poverty and the urgent national problem of "old age in corners set aside", we live in a society which is both reasonably prosperous and broadly middlebrow. This was not foreseen even thirty years ago. Indeed, it was held that the great mass of the people could never be truly educated or could acquire a genuine appreciation of culture and that the entry of the mass society would herald the fall of reason and the eclipse of civilisation.

Current reality is of course vastly different. Whereas most people once led narrow lives working long hours at dull, arduous and sometimes brutalising labour, the opportunities for social and occupational mobility, the possibilities for enjoyment of the lively arts and the wider availability of foreign travel have given life for the common man an unprecedented fullness without, be it noted, any substantiated decline in critical standards. It is far removed from the good old bad days - the days of slums and soot, of cloth caps and dirty faces, the golden age that was really an age of grime. And speaking broadly, it is a situation to which the Labour Party should at least express cautious approval.

spirit, or, as Kier Hardie put it, "When there is no vision the people perish", and, as for we socialists, if we are to satisfy the needs of the human race then we must understand it and believe it worth saving.

YOUNG GUARD READERS' MEETING. LONDON

January 13th

meet your fellow
readers over a
beer at the Lucas Arms
Greys Inn Road, 7-30

SCOTTISH READERS' MEETING

Iona Community House,
214 Clyde St., Glasgow.
Sunday, January 13th,
at 11 a.m.

THE GREAT WOODSIDE BY-ELECTION FIASCO

by Ian Mooney
Woodside YS

Woodside Labour Party is by no means a typical constituency party, but our experiences in the recent by-election must be of significance and concern to all young socialists. Woodside YS is a strong branch and very considerably integrated into the constituency party, for roughly one third of all the positions such as collectors, ward officers, constituency officers and executive members are 'held by' young socialists.

The by-election was caused by the appointment of the Tory MP as a judge and with a majority of only 2,086 it looked like a possible gain for Labour. The election machine moved in with Will Marshall, Scottish organiser, appointed election agent.

Our first great shock came when the new delegations were appointed for the election conference. We naturally expected an increase in the number of delegates but those poor innocents that thought that there were limits to what conscience would allow in the packing of meetings were cruelly disillusioned. Here are the cold hard facts.

	Normal delegation to GMC	Delegation appointed for selection conference.
Wards	24	24
YS	2	2
Co-op	15	15
Socialist Soc.	0	4
AEU	3	49
TGWU	1	58
NUGMW	1	89
Boilermaker	0	5
Scottish Horse & Motormen	1	15
Other Unions	7	15
Total	54	273

The Woodside EC were then told that their secretary was not allowed to check these delegations nor did the CLP have any power to alter the short list of nominees. Four days before the conference the secretary was given a list of delegates and in this short time was able to check up on the NUGMW delegation. He found

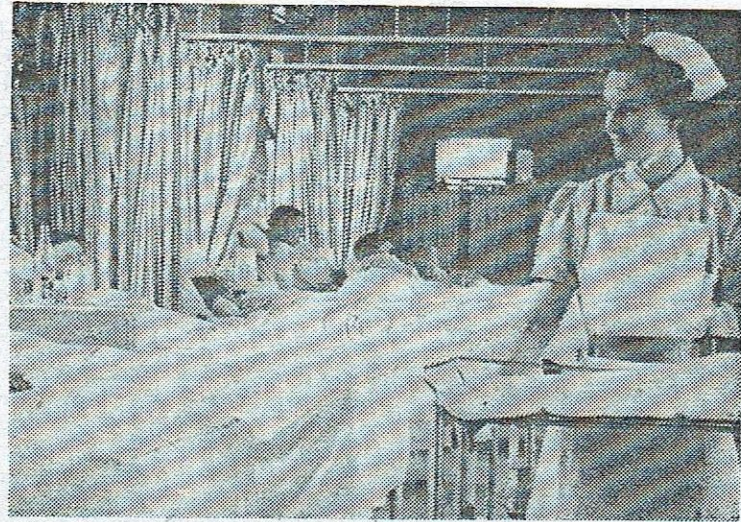
that none of the delegates had attended branch meetings to be appointed, but as Will Marshall pointed out this only contravenes union regulations and has nothing to do with the Labour Party. Of these delegates the secretary found that 11 denied that they were members of the union, 6 were members of branches that did not exist, 3 were people who had left the district and 14 had addresses outside the constituency.

At the selection conference itself there were 166 delegates present, but the secretary was refused the right to challenge any of these delegates. Eventually the man backed by the local party and YS, Carmichael, won by 83 votes to 78. Carmichael, a typical unilateralist left winger, a nice bloke and all that, collapsed completely under the pressure applied by the leadership and nothing was printed, done or said that was outside that envisaged in the campaign courses for election agents.

The election campaign itself was even more disheartening. The contribution to the raising of consciousness of the electorate was zero and the only apparent political result was the absolute disgust of some of the less battle-scarred young socialists who left the branch in disgust. Not only was it a political disaster but also an organisational one. The results of years of experience, success and one of the best constituencies in Britain counted for nothing, as we came under the rigid control of the bureaucrats. We soon realised that politics were out, discretion was to be our main theme. "We don't care if there is a 15 per cent poll, so long as they vote for us" we were told. We began with secret campaigning and discreet canvassing and in the whole affair only three leaflets were produced, one of those political. Little publicity was given to meetings and even the candidate hardly knew about them. Loud speakers were not in favour because they would stir up the Tories and posters were ruled out because they might be torn down. On polling day the majority of workers were concentrated in the poorest areas for Labour support.

Our efforts were crowned with success, it was a discreet poll of 54 per cent and we scraped in to a sickening victory.

The experience of this by-election has raised many questions about the relationship between the YS and the Labour Party as well as the general question of democracy within the party. The key question remains - were we correct in working for total integration of the YS into the local constituency party?



DEFEND THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE

by John Thomas
Newcastle North YS

When Bevan piloted the National Health Service Bill through the Commons, the opposition from Tories and doctors was so great that he was forced to make many compromises. He thought that with a continuous Labour Government he would be able to extend and complete the Health Service, eliminate private practice, establish lay control and integrate and extend the various services. Since 1950, however, extra charges have been imposed and increased, local health centres and individual health centres have hardly started and private practice is booming. The recent report on the Health Service stated that generally the Health Service was a good thing, but that provision for private medical care and private hospital beds should be encouraged, even subsidised.

The Powitt Committee Report said that the Health Service is a State Monopoly and therefore the user can have no appeal, no redress and no freedom of choice.

Freedom of choice for whom. Who suffers? The majority have no freedom of choice in the sense meant by the report however much private practice there is, because they simply cannot afford it. Most often too it is the really poor and old who most need medical attention. For most of us then there is no real alternative to the National Health Service. ...

However a man is free to choose another doctor under the National Service - in this important respect the NHS provides a freedom of choice. A private nursing home is able to provide better care and attention, but it is prohibitively expensive - a choice only open to a small minority. Private beds in hospitals have a worse effect - scarce beds go to those able and willing to pay rather than those medically in need. Any increase in private medication must of necessity worsen the NHS and at the same time create inequalities - two standards of service,

one for the rich, another for the poor. Even if we are able to pay for medical care privately a nationally organised system must be preferred and the operation of the NHS in the past 15 years has taught us that even present methods are far preferable to the buying and selling of medical care - for both doctor and patient.

There are many improvements that could be made - the NHS could become a fully salaried service replacing the capitation system whereby a doctor gets more money for every patient on his list (usually too big). Lay control of the administration - that is control by the consumer, the patient not the doctor - could ensure that grievances against the monopoly are dealt with and that the service is the best that can be provided for all of us. This can only be done if far more resources are made available for hospital building and general improvement of the service, financed by progressive taxation, not by an increase on the poll tax (or Insurance Stamp) which hits the poor hardest. The NHS must be improved so that nobody frustrated by long waiting lists is tempted to turn to private services.

The NHS is concerned primarily with curing (too little with preventing) disease. Perhaps the Ministry of Health could include the Ministry of Pensions and the National Assistance Board and the industrial health section of the Ministry of Labour. Closer links could be forged with the Ministry of Housing, especially in Local Government. The three branches (Hospitals, General Medical Services and Local Government Services) now unnaturally separated must be integrated. Health must be brought back into the forefront of the social services.

In the last resort, the attitude of the patient or consumer is the best safeguard against a poor service - we must press now for these reforms and continue to keep up the pressure even after we have won them.