

**VIETNAM: labour movement must demand end of bloody Yankee aggression and force government to stop supporting Johnson's brutal suppression of**

**MILITANT**

FOR YOUTH AND LABOUR

**Vietnamese struggle for peace, freedom and democracy**  
(see also page two)

NUMBER FOUR

MARCH 1965

SIXPENCE

# LABOUR MUST KEEP PRICES

# DOWN!

PRICES OF NECESSITIES AND FOOD continue to rocket up. Two thousand five hundred items have increased in price in the grocery shops since the general election.

Biscuits in early January went up by 5d. to 10d. a lb., sausages a 1d. per pound. Taking a few items at random, corned beef, sauces, pies, vinegar, jam and breakfast cereals have risen from 1s. 2d. to 4d. in cost.

Meat and household necessities are also going up. The unfortunate holders of mortgages on housing, including many young, newly married couples find themselves faced with additional payments of up to £1 a week.

The cost of living is creeping up and up. At the same time the profits of the manufacturers, especially the food combines and barons are soaring.

In the first 11 months of 1963 they made £180 million. In the same period of 1964 this increased to £206 million! There will almost certainly be an even greater jump in profits in 1965.

George Brown, with a blaze of publicity, announced that he was determined to take action to stop the increases. After he had spoken, the manufacturers met, deplored the rise in prices but made no recommendations for action.

George Brown and other leaders of the government have sternly demanded from the trade unions that they limit their wage demands, but no action is taken against the

employers to limit their profits and their ramps.

While the promised pension increase of 12s. 6d. for a single person and 21s. for a married couple has been delayed, the cost of the barest existence has already risen by more than 2s. 6d. a week. There is no standstill for prices of food for the pensioners, only a standstill for pensions.

Apart from big business, nearly all sections of the community are affected — workers, housewives, the middle class, shopkeepers and small business people.

Here was a magnificent opportunity for the Labour government to gain the support of the overwhelming majority of the population against the hard-faced racketeers of capitalism. To be blunt, the impact of George Brown's verbal warning against increasing prices was like trying to stop a runaway steamroller with a pea-shooter.

The labour movement is very sensitive to the question of the increase in prices. The Glasgow parliamentary Labour group met with Glasgow Corporation Group and officials of the Glasgow Labour Party on January 15 to discuss the matter.

Their solution was pathetic: Glasgow housewives should be asked to write to their MPs giving details of shops which increase their prices. How will this help matters?

When the Small Grocers' Federation,

representing tens of thousands of small businessmen, sent a delegation to see Douglas Jay at the Board of Trade to protest and expose the activities of the big food manufacturers who waste up to £500 million a year on advertising gimmicks and spurious give away prizes, which considerably increase the price of their goods. Jay haughtily refused to see them "because of lack of time."

It is time that the labour, trade-union and Co-operative movement gave a lead to the mass of the people. Right-wing Tory Enoch Powell blurted out the true sentiments of big business when he said they were in trade to get the maximum profit.

Every penny must be squeezed from the people. He told the manufacturers to ignore George Brown's warnings and, in effect, to tell the government to go to hell.

It is time for the Labour government to issue a call to its active supporters. There is only one way to deal with the problem. Shop stewards, trade union branches, Co-ops, housewives and small shopkeepers must set up committees to investigate the rackets of big business.

They must demand to see the books of the big manufacturers and combines to see why they must increase costs and profits.

Open the books! Let the committees decide what prices should be charged.

# DEMOCRAT MORSE HAMMERS U.S. ROLE IN VIETNAM

'South Vietnam has never had a free government'

This indictment of US policy in Vietnam was made by Senator Wayne Morse (Democrat, Oregon) in a written debate with Henry Cabot Lodge, former Ambassador to Saigon. It appeared in the magazine section of the January 17 New York Times.

TEN YEARS AGO THE United States embarked upon an adventure in South Vietnam that was just about 100 years out of date. While Britain, France and the Netherlands were terminating their rule over their Asiatic colonies, the United States began trying to establish its own beachhead on the Asiatic mainland.

Although present at the Geneva conference of 1954 which drew up the accord whereby France withdrew from its old colony of Indochina, the United States refused to sign the final agreement. So did one of the subdivisions of Indochina, South Vietnam.

The United States began a heavy programme of financial and military aid to a new premier in South Vietnam who, we believed, was most likely to preserve a Western orientation. When it came time for the 1956 election throughout both North and South Vietnam required by the Geneva accord, we and our client in Saigon, Ngo Dinh Diem, realised it would be won by Ho Chi Minh's followers not only in his own North Vietnam but in the South as well.

South Vietnam refused to proceed with the election.

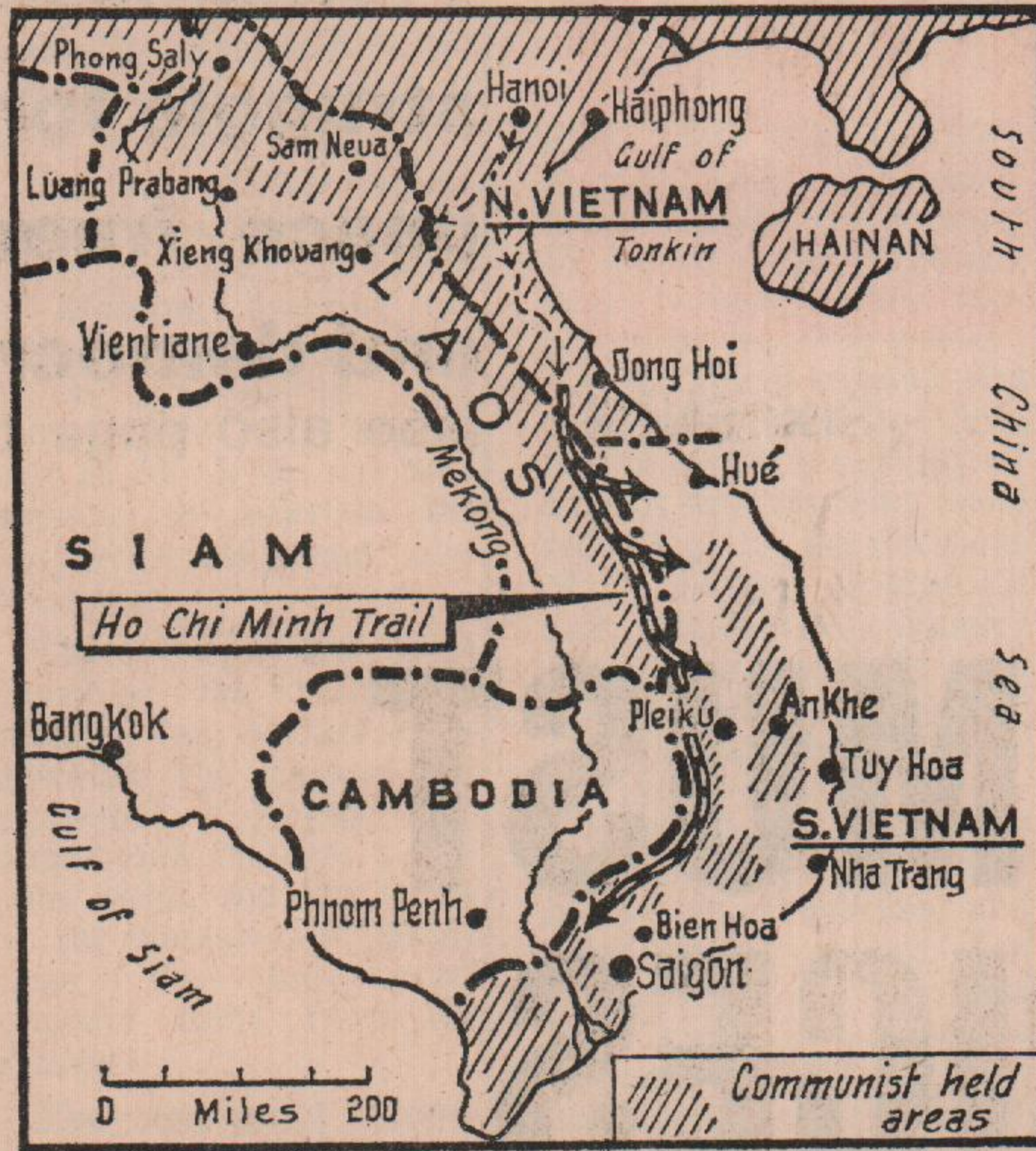
In the last decade we have explained our policy as one of helping a free government resist Communist subversion. But South Vietnam never has had a free government.

In its ten years of existence its governments have been picked for it by the United States and maintained by our heavy doses of economic and military aid.

The fraudulence of our claim has been starkly exposed by the successive coups in Saigon and by the piecing together of one government after another by the American Embassy. Leaders suspected of favouring neutralism or any form of negotiation for settlement of the civil war are firmly excluded from government ranks.

The major tools we have used in manipulating political and military leaders have been various threats and promises regarding our aid, which now hovers around the level of \$600 million a year in a country of 14 million people. This sum is excessive of the cost of keeping 23,000 American "advisers" and large contingents of aircraft in the country.

In fact, our official explanations of why we are there now play down the "helping a free government" line and play up



This map shows extent of communist support and proves that 'rebels' do not infiltrate from the North, but from the South which the Americans claim supports them!

American security and American prestige as the stakes in Vietnam.

At least, the explanations are getting closer to the truth, which is that the United States took over this quarter of Indochina in 1954 when the French pulled out.

Having intruded ourselves into Southeast Asia, where we never were before, it was this country and not the Communists who made our prestige in Asia the issue.

Our Secretary of State often says that "China must leave her neighbours alone."

Under this premise, our officials have vaguely threatened to expand the war to North Vietnam and possibly China if we cannot win in South Vietnam. But there are no Chinese forces in South Vietnam nor Chinese equipment in appreciable amount. Americans are still the only foreign troops in South Vietnam.

Nonetheless, China has the same interest in what goes on in the subcontinent of Southeast Asia as we have in Mexico, Cuba and other countries of Latin America. She will increas-

ingly resist having hostile governments on her borders, as do Russia and the United States. We recognise and accept this principle as regards Russia, but we refused to recognise it as regards China.

This has been true even though we have watched other Western nations ousted from Asia and Africa by rising nationalism. It was inevitable that once China became part of this tide she would reassert her interest in the governments on her borders.

A reawakened China would assert this interest whether she were Communist or not. The more we escalate the Vietnam conflict, the more likely China is to intervene directly.

Far from maintaining our prestige in Asia, our present policy in Vietnam is eroding it. The fact that we are losing despite the steady increase in our aid, the addition of 23,000 American advisers, and complete American air domination, has already led several Asian nations to throw out an anchor on the Chinese side.

Of the famous dominoes that were all supposed to fall to China if we failed to take up the French burden in Southeast Asia, Burma and Cambodia have already neutralised themselves. Pakistan has made it clear that the aid she gets from us is directed against India and not against China.

Japan and India, the largest non-Communist

nations of Asia, who might be expected to be the most helpful to us in Vietnam, have not associated themselves with what we are doing there.

Of all the nations touted as potential Chinese victims, only Australia and the Philippines have offered tangible help in South Vietnam. The Australian contribution amounts to some 66 "advisers" and three air cargo planes. The Philippine offer of a force of volunteer veterans was turned down.

That is the extent of the local interest and support for the American view that we are saving all of Asia from Communism by our policy in Vietnam. Surely if one of these so-called dominoes believed it, they would be fighting side by side with us in Vietnam.

They are not, because they see us having to run faster and faster just to stay in the same place in Vietnam. They see that the bulk of its people are too indifferent to American objectives to resist the Vietcong. They know that sooner or later we will have to leave and they do not want to jeopardise their own standing in Asia by supporting a last-minute white intervention.

**Morse is solely concerned with saving the face of American imperialism. Nevertheless he has punched holes in the typical Western propaganda about America's "peace-keeping" role in S.E. Asia.**

## Big business has £400 million stake in Malaysia

by Singa Rayer

THE CONFLICT IN Malaysia is common knowledge, but the significance of Britain's commitment in the strife-torn area is not known by the majority of the British people.

What is Britain's stake in South-East Asia? R. H. C. Steed of the *Daily Telegraph* recently answered this question. He wrote, "In supporting Malaysia to the hilt, Britain is of course aiming to safeguard British interests. British investments of £400 million, to contribute to peace and stability in the area and to the defence of Australia and New Zealand."

The Canberra correspondent of *The Times* has commented, "If South-East Asia is taken to include Australia, New Zealand, Malaya, Singapore, Indonesia and Siam, then (British) investment there was considerably greater than it was in the whole of Western Europe. . . . In Britain it goes without saying that this scale would be worth defending."

The returns for this investment are far greater than those for corresponding investment in Europe.

Malaysia consists of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo (or Sabah). The tiny state of Brunei is in fact though not constitutionally, a part of Malaysia.

Britain's colonisation of these territories was incidental to the highly lucrative trade with China. The policing of the trade routes against the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese rivals required at first, the occupation of the coastal areas.

The growth of the Industrial Revolution and the expansion of trade created a great demand for cheap raw materials and exclusive markets for the finished products.

This led to the wholesale colonisation of every available "place in the sun." Local resistance was crushed with brute force.

The territories were secured for British adventurers and speculators who flocked to the area like flies to a heap of manure. The inevitable result was chaos and the impoverishment of the local inhabitants.

Today, in Malaya proper,

of the 100 rubber estates of between 3,000-5,000 acres, 89 are British-owned and only 11 are in Asian hands; of the 52 estates of over 5,000 acres, 45 are British-owned and only seven are Asian-owned.

Singapore is the largest port in South-East Asia whose storage and lumbering facilities are equal to any in the world. It handles practically all the trade in this area.

Shell Petroleum struck oil in Brunei and annual exports amount to well over £80 million a year. The chief produce of North Borneo is timber and the concession is owned by the British North Borneo Chartered Co.

The principal exports of Sarawak are oil, rubber and timber valued at over £10 territories are separated from the mainland of millions a year. These three Malaya by 350 miles of sea.

Of all the colonial and imperialist powers, Britain is the most experienced.

After the last war the British ruling class saw the writing on the wall. Nationalism, they knew,

could not be contained by force.

They forged an alliance with their native counterparts who invariably led the national movements. The logic of the situations compelled the native bourgeoisie to lean heavily on the imperialists for support and sustenance and Britain was able to transfer political power and yet keep her investments intact.

Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman and his clique had proved their mettle in the fight against the communist guerillas and fully merited their "independence" in 1957. No such trustworthy group emerged in Singapore nor in the other three territories, which explains the Tory determination to hand them over in a platter to the redoubtable Tunku.

Leaders of trade unions and other progressive movements who opposed Malaysia were incarcerated, banished, battered or deported to modern St. Helenas. The metamorphosis of the five territories into the political entity called Malaysia was

cont. on Page 5

# MILITANT

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## A STRUGGLE FOR A YOUTH MOVEMENT

SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, Transport House has regarded with suspicion the development of a Young Socialist movement. They needed young people for election work and the distribution of literature, collecting subscriptions, canvassing and participation in recruitment, but at the same time the young people attracted to the party were serious in their opposition to capitalism and demanded socialist policies for the labour movement.

This brought them into opposition to Transport House, who wished to dilute the programme on which the labour movement stands. The leaders would not allow the youth movement to control their own paper for fear of the radical ideas which might be put forward. Transport House clamped down on the paper and it ceased to be taken seriously by the younger members.

The bureaucracy severely restricted and confined the work and rights of the Young Socialists, who nevertheless always had the sympathy and support of the majority of the rank and file in the trade unions and ward parties. It was this fact that made the problem always an insoluble one for Transport House. In any action they took against the youth movement, they were bound to come up against pressure and opposition from the ranks of the party.

The Young Socialists were hampered, frustrated and prevented from winning unorganised youth to the banner of socialism. Nevertheless, some were recruited and helped to revitalise and rejuvenate constituency labour parties. It should have been possible for the more advanced members in the Young Socialists to take advantage of the concessions given to them under the pressure from the adult ranks, to work to build the youth sections and at the same time to participate in the work of the constituency parties. This could have been of great benefit in reviving and developing the socialist consciousness of the adult party.

Instead of doing this, the young people who captured the majority at the last conference of the Young Socialists systematically worked for a collision with Transport House. Transport House were relieved and obliged to find their task of controlling the "impractical" and "visionary" ideas of the youth made easier, because in their irresponsible activities and tactics, the National Committee majority incensed not only the hardened bureaucracy but even the militants and left-wing elements in the Labour Party and the ordinary trade unionists and rank and file Labour workers.

The crisis has come at a particularly unfortunate time with the advent of the Labour government. The attempt to call an unofficial Young Socialist Conference will play into the hands of the right-wing. It gives them the opportunity to chop off not only those elements addicted to rowdiness and hooliganism but many self-sacrificing, sincere and courageous workers. To move away from the Labour Party at this time is tantamount to desertion when the battle for socialist ideas and policies in the labour movement is just beginning. It is just what Transport House desires.

The struggle should be waged in the wards, trade union branches and constituency parties for socialist policies to be implemented by the Labour government, together with a demand for an expansion of the rights and participation of the Young Socialists in deciding party policy. The possibility of work varies from area to area, but the problem should not be to leave the field to the right-wing but to expand the influence of the Young Socialists to the level of the best and most sympathetic local parties.

It is impossible to build a Young Socialist movement separate and apart from what happens in the broad labour movement itself. Both Transport House and irresponsible ultra-lefts seem to want the same thing: a separation of the militant Young Socialists from the labour movement.

Instead of calling for an unofficial conference, a campaign should have been conducted appealing to the labour movement for the calling of an official youth conference. Events will demonstrate the insanity of breaking away from the Labour Party. Now is the time for all conscious socialists to fight for the building of an autonomous youth movement as an organic part of the labour movement.

The policies of Militant are reflected in editorial statements; signed articles express the views of their authors and not necessarily those of the editorial board.

## The Alexander appeal

# Aid desperately needed for victims of Verwoerd tyranny

by Alan Harris

MARCH 2 IS THE DATE set for the appeal of Dr. Neville Alexander and 10 of his associates now serving sentences from five to 10 years in Verwoerd's jails for alleged acts of sabotage against the South African regime.

The re-trial will investigate whether the chances of the defendants have been diminished through certain irregularities which took place at the original trial, such as the unlawful opening of the instructions of the defendants to the defence counsel.

These instructions had not been passed on by the prison authorities to the defence and when the defendants got them back, they found among them a page in the handwriting of a secret policeman who had interrogated the defendants, in one case under conditions of torture.

Little is known about the personal conditions of the 11 defendants, though it is believed that most of the seven men who are on Robben Island are in solitary confinement and that the four women in jail on the mainland are two-in-a-cell and without work or opportunity of study.

There is evidence that Neville Alexander was physically assaulted by warders on Robben Island because of his courage in objecting to the brutal and degrading manner in which prisoners are searched.

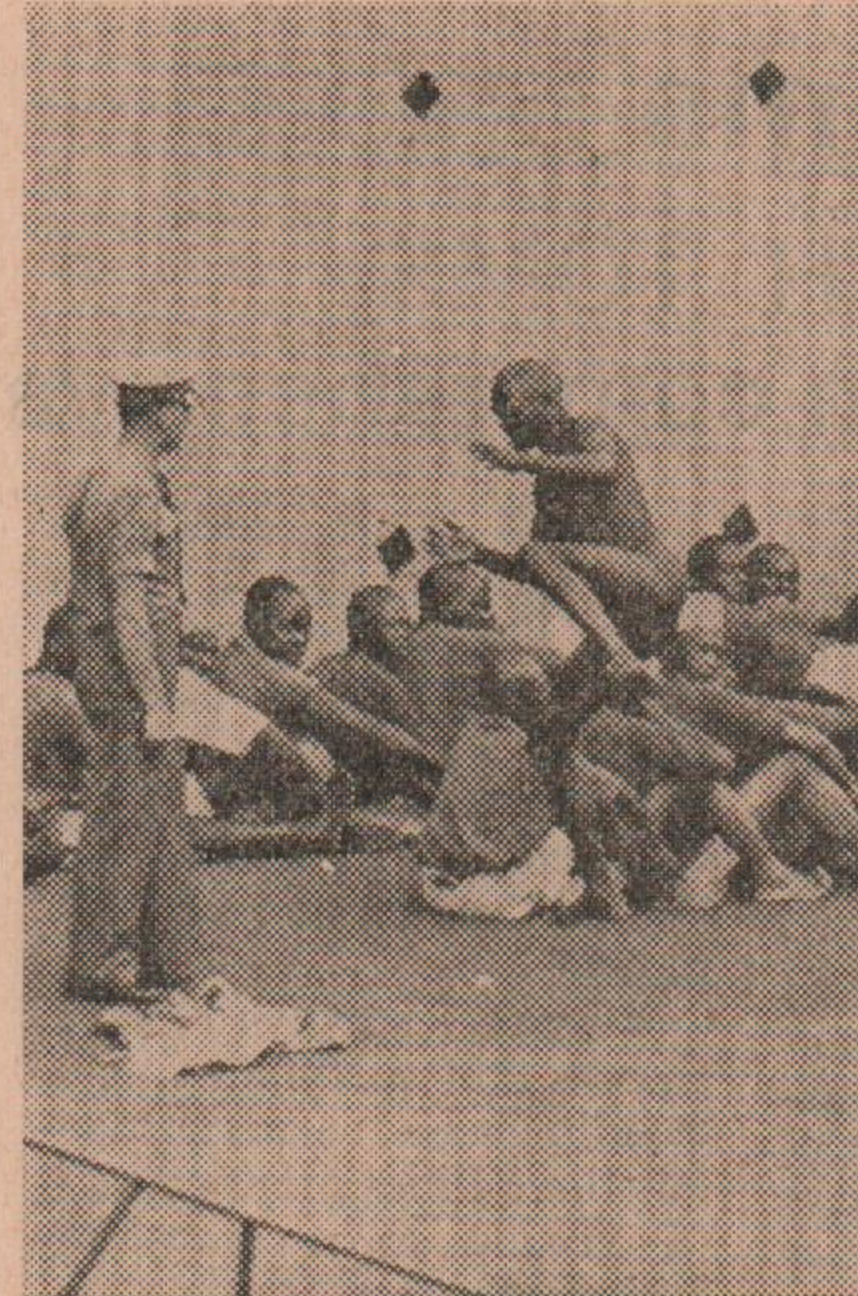
After work each day the prisoners are compelled to do the "Tausa dance", which involves jumping in the air, clapping their hands, stripped naked and exposing their sexual organs.

Dr. Alexander received an injured ear-drum as a result of the attack. Lionel Davies, Marcus Solomons and Ian van der Heyden who witnessed the assault were placed in solitary confinement.

Through the imprisonment of Neville Alexander and thousands of other political prisoners, the South African government has headed the opposition movement against its racial and apartheid policies. In addition, the talents of brilliant young men like Neville Alexander are being denied academic outlet.

Alexander gained a doctorate at Tubingen University, Germany, on an Alexander Humboldt fellowship, and was the first non-white recipient of the fellowship in South Africa. His successor was the son of Dr. Verwoerd.

The Alexander case aroused considerable protest and substantial aid in German academic circles, where his work is highly regarded. A committee of students and faculty members covering most of the universities in the Federal Republic raised the bulk of the funds to meet the costs of the original trial and are now engaged in a similar



The Tausa dance: picture shows African prisoners forced to perform this humiliating dance in a Johannesburg jail. It was taken with a telescopic lens.

(Picture courtesy of 'Anti-Apartheid News')

effort for the appeal.

Reports from South Africa show that Dr. Alexander is anxious to continue his academic work while in prison and special permission to do so was required from the prison commandant. The National Union of African Students wanted to help him in his studies but has had great difficulties in doing so, because it has lost many of its most courageous members through arrests. The NUSAS represents over half of all South African students.

Now that the date of the appeal has been fixed no effort can be spared during the next few weeks to raise the money required to meet the legal costs. The Alexander Defence Committee is planning a number of fund raising activities during February.

Amongst them will be a demonstration outside South Africa House during the weekend before the appeal. Plans are to demonstrate at South Africa House on Friday evening, February 26 from 5.30 to 7.00 p.m. and then march to a central meeting hall for a public meeting or social evening.

A further distribution of collection sheets is being made to student organisations, Labour parties, trade union branches and other sympathetic organisations.

To date, £415 has been turned over to Defence and Aid, which is the body responsible for collecting and forwarding money to South Africa to aid and defend victims of Verwoerd's racist laws.

Students at a number of universities and colleges have raised sums ranging from £1 to over £20. Students at Hatfield College, Durham University, raised the grand sum of £21 3s.

by voting a 1s. 6d. levy per head.

A Newcastle student sent in £27. She raised this amount through persistently approaching students and other individuals and explaining the issues involved.

Collections have come in from factory workers and teachers, Labour Party, Young Socialist and trade union branches, Amnesty International, Anti-Apartheid groups and similar organisations. Collections have been taken at political meetings ranging from a few shillings to £35.

Student groups, debating societies and United Nations groups have also contributed. A social and dance held at Africa Unity House, London, realised £50 and a group of Nottingham supporters raised 11 gns. at a similar function.

Smaller but no less important sums have been received from friends holding social functions in their own homes and from individual donors.

If there are any readers without collection sheets or who can help by supporting any of the fund raising activities of the Alexander Defence Committee, please get in touch with the secretary, Connie Kirkby, 27 Thursley House, Holmewood Gardens, London, S.W.2 (TUL 6984) without delay.

March 2 is the date of the appeal. Time is running out. Alexander and his 10 associates have to rely on the help of all those living outside South Africa who oppose racialism. Money cannot be collected inside their own country.

Please make a determined effort. All donations should be sent to Defence and Aid, 2 Amen Court, London, E.C.4. Cheques and postal orders should be made out to Defence and Aid, Alexander Appeal.

## ORDER FORM

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# COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

## Taking 'class' out of the classrooms

By KEITH TOMS  
a London comprehensive teacher

MANY EDUCATION authorities are planning their secondary education along comprehensive lines.

There are two main reasons for them to do so: the need to combine the various sections of secondary education in order to enjoy the economies which result from the establishment of one large unit, the comprehensive school; and the desire, on the part of many Labour-controlled councils like the London County Council, to see that the secondary-age children in the area which they serve receive a genuine chance to develop themselves to their full capacity.

It is the second reason that has formed the main rallying point for the opponents of comprehensive education. They do not object to education being cheap and, when it comes to state education, the cheaper it is the better.

The abolition of selection strikes right at the hearts of those who believe that even state education should be on a class basis.

British state education was founded on a class basis. The grammar schools have provided an efficient outlet for middle-class parents who wish their children to receive a "good" education without paying.

Recent surveys have shown that a child with a middle-class background has three times more chance of getting to a grammar school than a working-class child and 10 times more chance of getting into a university.

This is why the middle class protest when the grammar schools are threatened with merger into a comprehensive system.

The majority of working class children have to accept the overcrowded classes of the secondary modern schools and with the knowledge that they are to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in our affluent society.

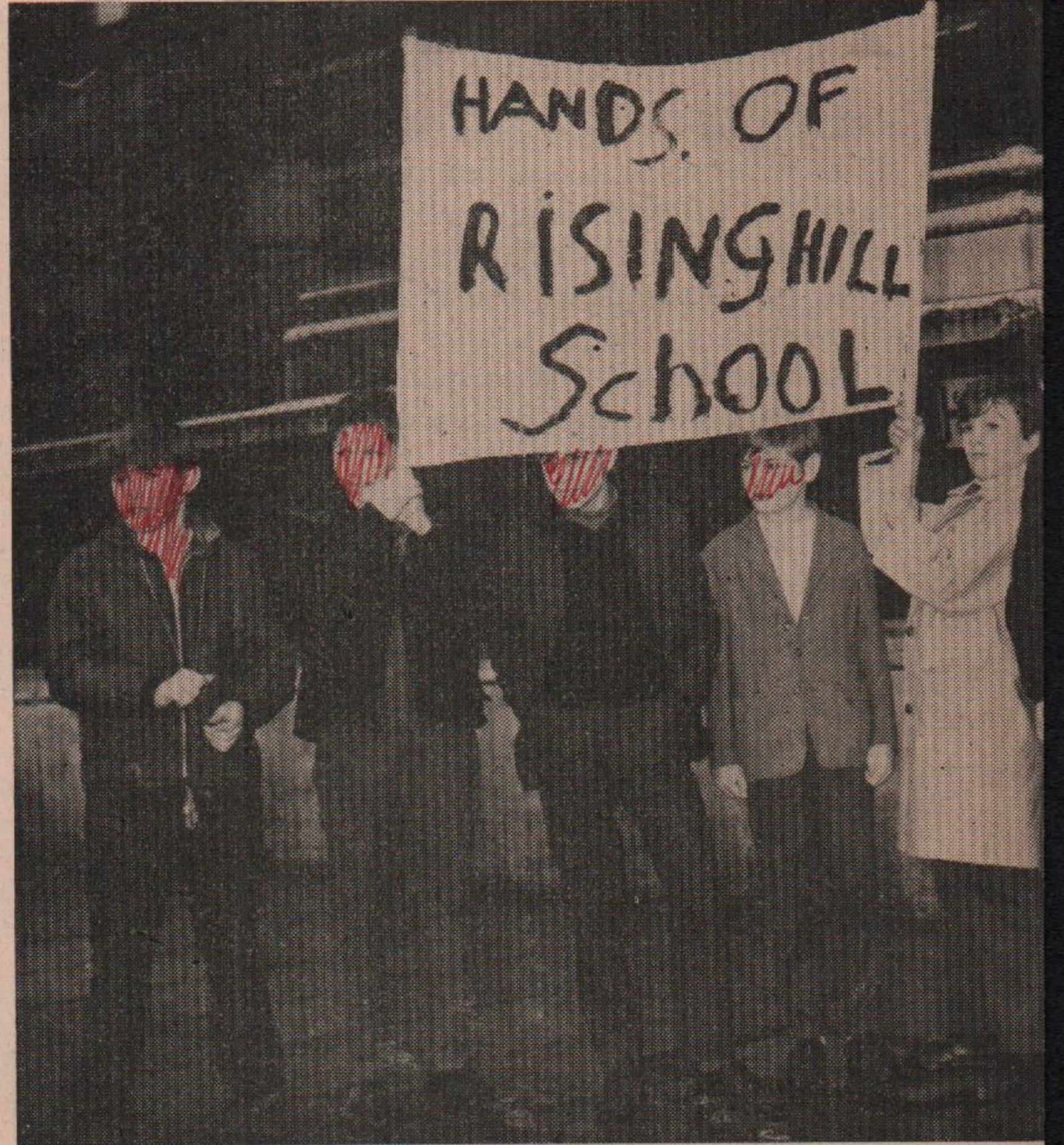
Their parents are very conscious of the fact that their children are receiving a third-rate education. You will not see many of them

protesting when the secondary modern disappears after the establishment of comprehensive schools.

From the Tory Press comes the impression that all the comprehensive schools are found in London and all are of low standard. No mention is made of other areas, such as Anglesey and Flintshire, where the comprehensives are functioning relatively successfully.

The LCC has allowed grammar schools to exist side by side with the secondary modern and the comprehensive. The grammar schools take the children who are considered to be academically suited to the type of education they offer. This appears on the surface to be the only criteria by which the children are judged.

But, the opponents of the comprehensives have received a severe shock in the latest figures which compare the academic results of the grammar school with those of the comprehensive. These show that even in areas where the more able



Pupils seen demonstrating in Downing Street last month in support of a comprehensive school in Islington, north London. In spite of a harmonious integration of several nationalities, the Labour government has threatened the school down and dealing a savage blow to better education.

children have been "creamed off", the comprehensive compares very favourably with the grammar school.

The press has tried to counter-balance this by high-lighting schools where disciplinary problems have been encountered.

Disciplinary problems are

generally more pronounced in areas where overcrowding is widespread and this is true of most working-class areas in London. Our society very often condemns children to live in pig-sties but expects them to behave like angels.

The curriculum is often not related to the require-

## Militant rents an office

IN VIEW of the increasing amount of work involved in producing and distributing **MILITANT** and in order to centralise this work, the editorial board have been forced to rent a room to work from, particularly at weekends.

Any supporter willing to give us a hand will be wel-

come to 197 King's Cross Road, London, WC1. Only two minutes' walk from King's Cross Station, it is relatively convenient for most people in the London area.

We are also able to let the room for meetings, and any labour, trade union or Co-operative organisation

interested in booking the room, especially during the week, would be welcome to make enquiries. There is seating for up to 30 and the charge would be purely nominal, but will help us pay our rent.

Write or call **MILITANT**, 197 King's Cross Road, London, WC1.

## Step up the drive for £500 fighting fund

THE **MILITANT** £500 Fighting Fund has already received a good response without much effort being put in, but the response has not been good enough.

To enable us to keep up and improve the very high standard already set in **MILITANT** by extending our resources of blocks and typefaces and to meet the additional expense of our new office we need a large increase in funds.

Everyone who is serious about fighting for Marxist ideas and the building of

the labour movement must pull out all the stops to see that the £500 target is reached.

When you are selling, ask for donations, get Co-op, trade union, Labour Party and Young Socialist branches to give generous donations. Make a collection at your factory, office or school.

In the next issue of **MILITANT** we shall publish a list indicating the response from each area. Make sure your area is near the top of that list.

Why not organise a **MILITANT** Readers' Forum in your area. We can supply the speakers if necessary. Already successful forums have been held in North and South London, Brighton and Newcastle. Only by enthusing people with the ideas the paper represents can we win the necessary support.

Start Collecting now. The fight for Marxist ideas means a fight for a Marxist paper.

BUSINESS MANAGER.

## LEYTON - A GRASSROOTS WARNING FOR

THE DEFEAT OF Patrick Gordon Walker at Leyton provides a sharp lesson for the activists and militants in the labour movement.

The Press and the Labour leaders tried to concentrate on the secondary factors involved in this set-back.

The resentment of the local voters at the displacement of Reginald Sorenson, the parochialism of Leyton, which is almost a separate area from London, the intrusion of a "foreigner" instead of a local man, the bureaucratic impositions of Transport House and the after effects of Smethwick and the "racial issue" are all given as reasons.

Almost as an afterthought, the issues of increasing prices, the rise in MP's pay while old-age pensioners have to wait for their modest rise and the general fumbling and ineptitude of the government in the measures they have taken are grudgingly conceded as reasons for the result.

On the eve of the election all the public opinion polls predicted a victory for Labour by 2,000 to 4,000 votes. Even the discredited

Tories did not expect to win.

After the election public opinion polls had conducted a completely representative question of a tiny handful of the voters, selected at random during the day, when of the Labour voters at work, to demonstrate that even had there been a higher poll the result would have been the same.

Had the Labour government demonstrated that it had at heart those closest to the people - security, peace, better standards, decent living and education for children and more than starvation pittance for old folk then the result would have been different.

The cynicism that even large sections of Labour voters, they're all the same "they're all out to feed their own nests," accentuated by the way in which the MPs themselves a rise of £1 a year while insisting the old folk must wait. A quarter of the electorate are old-age pensioners and they could hardly

**MALCOLM X - NEGRO REVOLUTIONARY  
WE MOURN HIS DEATH**

S



... against the proposal to close the Risinghill comprehensive school, progressive teachers and the leaders of the London County Council are shutting down the school for working class children.

ments of the teenager. It is gauged to make him conform and obey those who have the upper hand.

At present another 60,000 teachers are needed to reduce the average size of the classes to 40 in primary schools and 30 in secondary schools. With the raising of the school leaving age to 16

the problem will become even more acute.

The problems of education cannot be considered in isolation.

The comprehensive system is basically a socialist concept. It will only be efficient in a society which is planned along socialist lines.

## PRIM LABOUR

to expected to be enthusiastic about the hold up in increasing their money. At the same time, the prejudices of the Tory and Liberal middle-class and even politically backward sections of the workers who voted Tory and Liberal at the general election, were reinforced by the bumbling of the government.

The capitulation to big business, the carrying out of similar policies to the Tories, the raising of bank rate, which hit people with mortgages on houses, undermined the confidence of the active workers.

It was the massive abstention of the less politically-conscious sections of the workers at Leyton that accounted for Gordon Walker's defeat.

If the active workers are to be enthused, if the less politically-conscious are to be brought out to vote, if workers who vote Tory and Liberal are to be won over to Labour, it can only be by convincing them by action, by demonstrating in practice the superiority of socialism to capitalism.

The real cause of the defeat is that in their economic policy the Labour leaders

have caricatured the worst features of Tory "Stop-Go." Even the Tory journal, *The Economist* comments sadly when criticising the projected measures of economy in spending projected by the Labour leaders, "Heresy though it will be to say this in the City, there does seem to be some danger that this unexpectedly right-wing Labour government may be about to enter into yet another uncharacteristic manifestation of stop-go."

In the three by-elections held since Leyton, there has been a small recovery in the fortunes of the government. But to the politically active sections of the labour movement, Leyton should constitute a warning of future disaster.

They want a fundamental change in society and this cannot be obtained by bowing before the bankers, industrialists and monopolists.

Only a daring attack on privilege and profit, taking over the "commanding heights of the economy" and appealing and basing themselves on the initiative and support of the working people can Labour fundamentally change society.

Report from the 'land of the free'

# American reactionaries witch-hunt Young Socialist students

From Barry Sheppard

JANUARY 25 — THE Indiana Supreme Court today upheld the constitutionality of Indiana's Anti-Communism Act. The court's action overturns an earlier decision at the local level in Bloomington, Ind., and once again places the Bloomington student defendants in danger under the witch-hunt law.

James Bingham, Tom Morgan, and Ralph Levitt, students at Indiana University in Bloomington, were indicted under the law in 1963 for their socialist beliefs. The three defendants were officers of the IU Young Socialist Alliance. Defence counsel and the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students are now planning the next stage of their fight against the unconstitutional law.

The three-to-one decision by Indiana's high court reversed the decision of Judge Nat U. Hill last March, which concurred with defence arguments that the law is unconstitutional and quashed the indictments.

Prosecutor Hoadley appealed Hill's decision to the state Supreme Court. The defence contends that the law violates freedom of speech and assembly, is preempted by federal legislation in the same field, and is unconstitutional in other ways, including vagueness. It was on the final point that Justice Amos Jackson based his dissent.

The position of the majority of the Indiana Supreme Court was summed up by Chief Justice Arterburn, who said, "Absolute and unlimited freedom in society is only the reverse side of the coin of anarchy."

In an absurd and dangerous analogy, he likened the restriction of speech to traffic laws, saying, "We are restrained on streets and highways in our liberty or action, in order that one person may not injure another person in society, and the same is true with reference to speech."

The case of the Bloomington students began May 1, 1963, when Bingham, Levitt and Morgan were indicted for having attended a March 25 meeting on the IU campus where Leroy McRae, a Negro and a national officer of the YSA, spoke about the civil-rights struggle.

McRae's remarks about the constitutional right of Negroes to defend themselves were twisted by local prosecutor Thomas Hoadley into advocacy of "force and violence." This was the first case in US history brought against students for their campus activities.

This first indictment was struck down that summer because of faulty wording. Hoadley secured new indictments, with another count

tacked on. The new charge indicted the defendants for "assembling" on May 2. They had indeed assembled — in a friend's apartment to discuss their legal defence against the first indictment.

The Anti-Communism act claims its object is to "exterminate communism, communists and any or all teachings of the same." Against this barbaric law and the false and witch-hunting indictments, a nation-wide defence committee has been formed. The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students has over 600 sponsors across the country, including many prominent academic figures.

The CABS includes such persons as Lionel Trilling, Mark De-Wolf Howe, H. Stuart Hughes, Bertrand Russell, John Lewis of SNCC, and many others.

Many student groups, including the National Student Association, are supporting the defence.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has taken the Bloomington case as a test case, and has provided the services of its general counsel, Leonard Boudin, Daniel T. Taylor III, of Louisville, Ky., is acting as co-counsel. The Indiana Civil Liberties Union filed a friend-of-the-court brief in the state supreme court.

The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students needs funds and support to carry on the fight against the indictments and the reactionary law. For more information and to make donations, write: Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, P.O. Box 213, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y., USA.

## MALAYSIA

from page two

pushed through in the teeth of the fiercest opposition from the mass of the people.

The mission successfully completed, the last Tory Colonial Secretary, Duncan Sandys returned home triumphantly to report to parliament and take part in a farcical comedy in which the Rt. Honourable Harold Wilson, leader of the Labour Party benignly congratulated him on his achievement.

Wilson, in turn, was congratulated by a Tory backbencher for congratulating Sandys!

"Socialism," apparently, is fit only for the British people; it is a dangerous force anywhere else if it threatens British investments and property. Ernest Bevin's dictum that colonies

are necessary to maintain the standard of living of the British workers still echoes along the Labour corridors of power.

A large number of British workers either do not wish to be reminded of their wage-earning status or are too lethargic to be concerned about the fate of other peoples.

There are over 65 thousand British troops in Malaysia. It costs the taxpayer £1,000 a year to maintain a single soldier.

It is high time that the trade unions and all other progressive movements in this country put pressure on the Labour government to bring the boys back and let the people in South-East Asia decide their futures for themselves.

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# EXIT THE OLD WARMONGER

WINSTON CHURCHILL lived and died the sworn enemy of socialism.

Many of the thousands who mourned his death did so solely because of his war record; in recent weeks, many working-class people have remarked that although he "won the war", he was no friend of theirs.

But Churchill's role during the last world war was activated by the same motives that guided his long political career—defence of the capitalist system and maintenance of the rule of the British ruling class.

The reason that Churchill was for long stretches deprived of office in this country was because he lacked that sophistication and subtlety that marks his colleagues in the seats of power. His ruthlessness, especially when dealing with the labour movement, made him an unreliable spokesman for a system fighting tooth and nail to keep its dominant position in the world.

As a young Home Secretary in 1910 he ordered troops to open fire on striking Welsh miners; two were killed. He similarly used troops against a railway strike when one worker was shot down.

A contemporary records that Churchill planned the operation as if the strike covered the entire country and threatened to explode into civil war.

When the first world war broke out, Churchill jumped into the fray, finding his niche in the deployment of men for the dreadful slaughter and carnage of that "dirty traders' war". As First Lord of the Admiralty, he insisted on his Dardanelles policy in 1915, which led to the loss of many

thousands of lives and inflicted a severe defeat on the British forces.

He was sacked but in 1918 was made Secretary of War, a position he used to organise the intervention by 14 capitalist nations against the young Soviet republic. The subsequent defeat of the allied intervention by the Red Army made Churchill the leading and outspoken black reactionary who lead the crusade of the following decades against the USSR.

It is pertinent to note here that Churchill's role in the second world war seems somewhat feeble when compared to the mammoth task undertaken by Leon Trotsky in transforming legions of peasants and workers, embittered and exhausted by years of Tsarist autocracy and the horrors of war, into the efficient fighting force known as the Red Army that beat back the military might of the Western powers.

It is worth adding that neither Trotsky nor Churchill were "great men" acting in isolation. They did what they did in the interests of the systems that had pushed them into prominence, the one socialist, the other capitalist.

Churchill's next major task was the organisation of right-wing forces to fight the general strike in 1926. He edited a daily paper which vitriolically attacked the workers' cause and he manoeuvred gunboats towards the Thames with orders to fire on the dockers.

This was too much for his Tory colleagues, led by Prime Minister Baldwin. Much more closely attuned to the conservative

bureaucracy that controlled the TUC than Churchill, they knew the union leaders would seek compromise and capitulation, rather than take the strike to its logical conclusion — workers' power.

Baldwin was right. The strike folded and Churchill was pushed to one side, an embarrassment to his cause.

Churchill is now hailed as the lone voice that spoke against appeasement to Hitler in the 1930s, but he was prompted not by dislike of the Nazis but by the need to find a suitable cause to regain power.

Power, in the early 30s, seemed very remote from the balding, cigar-smoking reactionary, who had fallen out still further with the Tories over their plans to give some concessions to the Indians.

Characteristically, Churchill referred to the Indian nationalist leader Gandhi as a "fakir, striding half-naked". He had many other choice epithets—communists, for example, were known as "baboons".

During the turbulent decade that led up to the second world war, Churchill often praised both Hitler and Mussolini for their "well-organised" states that were building a "bulwark against bolshevism." He openly sided against the murderer Franco in the Spanish Civil War.

Churchill's "brilliance" was that he realised that Hitler—just like any other capitalist politician—could not be trusted. Chamberlain and the other appeasers of fascism hoped, by granting territorial concessions to Hitler, to turn him into all-out war against the Soviet Union, destroying their

main enemy and once again bringing German capitalism to its knees.

Churchill saw that Hitler might prefer to fight the west first before turning east and this alone prompted his defiance of appeasement. Thrust into power and backed up by Labour ministers in the war-time coalition, he pursued the same policy, manoeuvring to keep Germany and the USSR at each other's throats and ultimately to destroy each other while the West captured or kept hold of the Balkans and the middle-east.

Churchill's refusal to open the second front in order to relieve the sorely-pressed Soviet troops was designed to bring the USSR down while the rest of the Allies took a rich haul of the pickings nearer home.

To the intense surprise of the West, the Soviet Union won through, decisively beating the Nazi hordes, but suffering terrible casualties, with over seven million dead. Stalin seemed to have the whip-hand now, with the Germans defeated and the Red Army occupying most of Eastern Europe.

Churchill and Roosevelt were forced to negotiate a deal with the Soviet dictator. Stalin was to be allowed to keep hold of the Eastern states if he gave Greece to the West.

Cynically, Stalin agreed, ordering the communist-led resistance in Greece to capitulate to the western stooge government of Papandreu. Churchill moved his troops in and brutally crushed the remnants of the resistance.

The war was won, but the political spoils did not go to the much-vaunted victor. In 1945, the British workers,

together with the middle class, voted him from office and put Labour in power with a massive majority.

Churchill turned his attention to foreign affairs once again and the great champion of "peace" and "progress" proclaimed the Cold War in his famous speech at Fulton, Missouri, in 1946 when he spoke of an "iron curtain" cutting off eastern Europe and stressed the need to contain and defeat communism, by which he meant social progress anywhere in the world.

Although he became premier again in 1951, he was rapidly becoming senile and out of touch with the delicate *real politik* of the post-war period. He was gingerly removed from power by his grateful Tory colleagues and promoted to the position of National Idol, to be trundled on stage whenever a crisis in Britain required a suitable image to side-track disgruntled voters.

At his death, Harold Wilson and the Labour government joined in the fulsome tributes and the national mourning. History may forgive them their fumbling and inadequate measures to deal with the economic crisis, but not their involvement in the honouring of the old adversary of progress and social advancement.

It is a telling reflection of the government which declares it will modernise Britain that one of its first acts was to acquiesce in a feudal orgy for an evowed capitalist reactionary.

JOHN  
LILBURNE

THE PRODUCTION forces of capitalism stagnate. In 1963 there was a "boom" in the USA. Production attained the record figure of 85 per cent capacity.

At the same time there were five million unemployed, according to official statistics.

If a Russian factory manager were found to be working his plant at 15 per cent below capacity he would probably be shot for industrial sabotage!

In Britain, Labourites and Tories indulge in sterile debates on the possibility of attaining a 4 per cent annual growth rate.

In the USSR over the past ten years production has increased on average by around 11.3 per cent per annum, with permanent full-employment, and, in fact, a shortage of labour.

China, over the same period has averaged something like a 27 per cent annual growth rate.

In Yugoslavia in 1963 the national income increased by 12 per cent, productivity by 10 per cent, industrial production by 15 per cent.

In all these countries, there are tremendous breaks on the economy—the

## WHY SOCIALIST PLANNING IS SO VITAL

second of two articles by ALAN WOODS

drain of agriculture, the obstruction of bureaucracy, and the heritage of backwardness and poverty of the past. On top of this, Yugoslavia suffered the devastation of Skopje.

Yet these countries all attained growth rates compared to which Callaghan's miserable 4 or 5 per cent (and the even more scandalous actuality of the .3 per cent average over the past 10 years) is shown up for what it is—a farcical disgrace.

What all these countries possess, which we do not, is a publicly-owned, centrally-planned economy.

Yugoslavia, in this respect, lags behind the others, making significant concessions to private-ownership and the price mechanism. The result was demonstrated in the two years preceding 1963, when growth had to be damped down by

credit restrictions imposed to counterbalance a deteriorating balance of payments system.

But even with these restrictions, growth expanded by 5 per cent per annum. Faced with these figures, how can any serious socialist regard a 4 per cent growth rate as anything but stagnation?

If these countries can score such successes, what could not highly industrialised Britain do? On the basis of a centrally-planned nationalised economy, with workers' control of production, a 10 per cent annual growth rate would be the absolute bare minimum we could expect.

With such a programme, Labour could confidently promise the working class double their present standard of living in 10 years. Labour would not scrape through the next election

with a majority of four. There would be another 1945 landslide.

There are two approaches to nationalisation. Both are equally correct.

It is the ABC of economics that optimum flow of investment must be guaranteed to the most productive sector of the economy. If 20 per cent is nationalised and that 20 per cent consists of ruined firms, maintained only to subsidise the profitable 80 per cent with cheap rail transport, coal, gas and electricity, then naturally it would be right and proper for any government to run down the public sector, except where it proves useful to the private sector.

Beeching is not only correct to slash passenger services, he is actually under a statutory obligation to do so. The Labour government placed all

nationalised industries under a statutory obligation to pay their way, in spite of the fact that they were already making a loss when they were taken over—or, rather, when the State bought them at vastly inflated prices.

The type of nationalisation carried out by the 1945 Labour government was nothing to do with socialist nationalisation. The only productive parts (road haulage and part of steel) were auctioned off by the Tories at knock-down price after the Labour government had been kind enough to renovate them at the expense of the taxpayer.

Now steel will be re-nationalised as a face-saver. And it looks as though we shall be paying again for the privilege of 13 years of

cont. on page seven

# Time to end the scandal of London's housing

by Ellis Hillman, LCC and GLC

THE HOUSING PROBLEM in Greater London will soon become the responsibility of the newly elected Greater Council and the 32 new London borough councils.

On their failure or success in tackling this problem will depend the fortunes of the Labour Party in London and, in all likelihood, the country as a whole.

The growth of London and the conurbation of South-east England has been a growth not determined by social needs but by the laws of Victorian *laissez faire* capitalism. The breakthroughs in comprehensive development that have taken place have been the indirect result, in the main, of Hitler's bombing of London, particularly in the East End of London.

The greater London sprawl, over which the GLC, London boroughs and the South-east Regional Planning Board will have some measure of jurisdiction and control, is, in fact, subject to fundamental planning control only in a narrow and limited definition.

Despite Labour control of the GLC and the majority of the London boroughs, the local authorities cannot begin to face the everpressing weight of the social and economic contradictions that are being thrown up by the drift to the South-east.

It is only a struggle at national level that can force through measures to transform the economic base that can provide the balanced industrial and social development of South-east England, a development determined not by the crude index of profitability but by the needs of over-all planning.

In Greater London, Labour must give the local authorities the powers, to deal with the scandal of the area's homeless families. Emergency legislation must be drafted giving local authorities the power to take over all vacant property.

The boroughs should also be making a complete survey of all empty or under-occupied property in London.

The Minister of Housing should tackle the housing situation on a fundamental basis instead of in the usual piece-meal fashion. Interest rates for local authorities should be cut to provide the cheap money required for a crash programme for housing and school building.

All urban land should be placed under municipal or public ownership. Such measures, combined with a large-scale attempt to build the direct labour forces of Labour councils, could begin to tackle the present pressing problems.



The government must create a state mortgage authority which could challenge the building societies who keep on a leash some 2½ million people for most of their lives. Such an authority would allow young couples to buy homes at prices they can afford.

Failure to give battle will seriously undermine the faith of millions of labour voters.

## Militant readers meet in South London

THE FIRST MEETING of the SW London MILITANT readers' group was held in Battersea on Sunday, January 17. Twenty people, mainly Young Socialists from the area, attended.

Ellis Hillman, GLC, and Julian Silverman spoke on the need to fight vigorously for socialist policies.

Most of those present participated in the discussions that followed and it was agreed to hold regular readers' meetings in the area. Howard Filbey, Colin Clegg and Donald Thompson were elected as convenors.

In the course of the discussions it was decided to organise to fight bad housing, racialism and the many other problems affecting workers in the area.

There was general approval for the ideas put forward in the columns of MILITANT, though some felt the article by Roger Protz in the January issue was negative in its approach to the Labour Party.

S. Mani replied to the discussion and said that he would convey the feelings of the meeting to the next editorial board meeting.

## LETTERS to the EDITOR Abuse

THE tendency for personal abuse that is being shown by one of our less respectable and seemingly less responsible political periodicals, *Keep Left*, is one which I hope is not going to spread, as it does nothing to raise the lamentably low standard of serious political discussions among the more radical and progressive sections of the labour movement.

The fact that political organs like *Keep Left* have to resort to abusive personal attacks on prominent local Young Socialists, (I refer, of course, to S. Mani and Ron Hobbs) is, I feel, a strong indication of the level of political understanding on the part of the publishers, and the case is made all the more deplorable by the fact that the very things *Keep Left* is accusing Mani and Hobbs of—undemocratic and Stalinist behaviour—are the very crimes of which they themselves are guilty.

The reason for the vitriolic attack mounted by this paragon of literary veracity is obviously the expulsion from Wandsworth YS of three of their disciples for rowdy and childish behaviour at meetings, an event which the expeles brought on themselves. This lamentable affair was adequately dealt with in your January issue.

I feel, however, there is a deeper reason behind the attack. *Keep Left* in the past months has adapted a more openly hostile attitude to the official Labour Party and YS. They have arranged an unofficial YS conference for February and possibly the growing reaction against them in the YS branches not yet dominated by them has made them realise that this conference is not going to appear impressive to the more aware sections of the rank and file, especially if all the delegates are expelled members of the Labour Party, as seems likely.

*Keep Left*, with their customary disregard for the truth, are going full speed ahead to prove that the expulsions are the work of a few dedicated anti-working class capitalist lick-spittles, presumably with shares in ICI and that the expelled people were well-behaved working-class youths whose only ambition was to bring socialism to the Labour Party (which it needs).

Nothing could be farther from the truth, although the truth seems to be the last thing this paper considers.

ANDREW HIRSCHHORN,  
Brixton YS.

## Congrats

I SHOULD like to take this opportunity of thanking your editorial board for an independent Young Socialists' paper which presents views valuable for the labour movement today.

I look forward with great pleasure to many more successful editions of the paper.

HOWARD FILBEY,  
Wandsworth Central YS.

## Anti-Wilson?

CONGRATULATIONS on the editorial in the November issue of MILITANT. It is one of which all Young Socialists should take note.

It quite correctly stated that the YS, "must win a strong body of opinion in the constituency parties and trade unions that will balk any move to have the YS disbanded."

Roger Protz, however, in his front page contribution, clearly does not subscribe to this view. Perhaps he does not realise that there is a subtle difference between YS members not shouting "We want Wilson", and his attitude of proudly proclaiming "We do not want Wilson."

Realistic Young Socialists appreciate that Harold Wilson commands the support of most of the labour movement and that in hurling abuse at him they only alienate themselves from the rank and file of the Labour Party.

If the YS want to win the support of the labour movement for an alternative to the present policies, they must win respect by demonstrating that they are determined to support Labour against the Tories.

The editorial also quite correctly observes "The election of a labour government, whatever the policies of its present leaders, is a blow against the Tories, the employers and all those who profit from the present economic system in Britain."

Why this should be? It is because the bankers, landlords and industrialists who finance the Tory party have reached the Marxist view that a mass party represents class interests and not simply the leadership's policies?

They recognise that when the conditions arise for the working class to demand an end to capitalism, the Labour Party will become a socialist party.

It is a pity that those who advocate an "independent" youth movement do not understand this. If they did, they would see that they are proposing something more serious than independence from the right-wing leadership; they are advocating independence from the working-class movement.

I. F. PYPYER,  
Huyton Y.S.

## Wandsworth

THE STATEMENT by S. Mani, inserted in the January issue of MILITANT, is a disservice to truth and the labour movement. As supporters of MILITANT, we must regretfully but forcibly disassociate ourselves from the statement.

Let us make it clear that we consider the activities of *Keep Left* supporters in Wandsworth Central YS to have been deliberately provocative, to have invited expulsion and to have placed the members of the branch in an untenable position.

It was nevertheless wrong of S. Mani to have allowed himself to be provoked and to have acquiesced in a situation which involved the threat of expulsion and the

cont. on back page

## PLANNING cont.

mismanagement, exorbitant profits and anti-socialist propaganda.

Road haulage has been dropped from the Labour programme. Meanwhile, road transport continues to shovel profits into the pockets of the capitalist class.

According to the latest "Survey of Roads Goods Transport," road transport of goods in this country increased by nearly 80 per cent between 1952-62, and 33 per cent between 1958-62.

Even more remarkable, however, was the state of vehicles on the road. In 1962, more than half the goods vehicles on the road were less than three years old. When Labour nationalised road haulage, 40,000 vehicles were withdrawn from service; 4,000 of them were complete write-offs.

Every lorry was examined once a fortnight, overhauled every six months and rebuilt every four years.

The result? When the Tories took over again in 1951 they sold back brand-new, state-repaired stock at knock-down prices.

Given all this, it is amazing how many people in the Labour Party have been

gulled into acclaiming Labour's present programme as a "Great Leap Forward." It is nothing of the kind. Even the reforms in it are the same as Gaitskill's 1958 programme.

As far as nationalisation—the key-stone of all socialist policy—is concerned, the programme is actually a step backward. Wilson and co. are perfectly aware that every large industrial union has some clause written into its constitution in favour of nationalisation. It was able to judge the temper of the rank and file on the issue when Gaitskill tried to delete Clause 4 from the party constitution.

It has before it all the facts and figures cited in this article, yet it backs down even from the elementary question of national transport system.

Time and time again, we have stated our position on this subject. The fact that our "gradualists" have successively reduced Labour's majority in each election since 1951 is a clear indication of what the workers think of their policies. If the party is to go forward it must stand by socialist policies.

## Soviet strikes may have toppled Khrushchev

THERE HAVE BEEN persistent reports that, in the months preceding the downfall of Khrushchev, strikes broke out in several areas in the Soviet Union and that these played a significant role in the sudden removal of the premier from office.

The persistent discussion over the role of strike action in bringing down Khrushchev is based on two actual occurrences. The first was a strike of auto workers in the ZIL plant in Moscow, one of the biggest in the city and, for that matter, the entire Soviet Union. This strike, which lasted for several days, was staged to protest against an increase of prices at the canteen.

A notable feature of the strike was the posting of pickets at the plant gates. The reappearance of pickets in the struggle against bureaucratic practices in the Soviet Union is symptomatic of the pressures seeking to give de-Stalinization a qualitative thrust forward.

The second occurrence

was a wave of strikes in the Donbas coal basin. They were touched off by an increase in production norms which meant, in effect, a slash in wages.

The Khrushchev regime reacted violently according to the accounts circulating in Moscow, ordering the armed forces into repressive action. Casualties are rumoured to have been as high as 200. It has not been possible to ascertain the proportion of dead and wounded.

These events cast fresh light on the underlying reasons for Khrushchev's downfall. His removal was motivated, it is now confirmed, not only by a dispute within the top layers of the bureaucratic ruling caste. The fundamental pressure came from the masses.

The deep-going discontent underlines the weak position of Khrushchev's heirs and the difficulties they face in consolidating their regime.

# Labour must end aircraft deadlock

by Ted Grant

FOR THE FIRST TIME in many years, a workers' demonstration on January 15 for jobs was enthusiastically written up and supported by the Tory press.

Hypocritical concern was expressed by Tory politicians at the possibility of aircraft workers being made redundant by the decisions of the Labour government and the Hawker Siddeley decision to ruthlessly sack 14,000 men is a cynical attempt to further embarrass Labour.

Meetings involving thousands of workers were held in Preston, Weybridge and other aircraft centres. Ten thousand workers marched from Hyde Park after a meeting of protest had been held there.

Although Harold Wilson found time to meet the heads of the biggest employers in the industry, for "confidential talks," a six-man delegation of shop stewards were met by a secretary and told the Prime Minister could not see them "because of pressure of work."

The delegation made it clear in a message to Wilson that the demonstration was aimed, not against the government, but for the purpose of protecting the employment of the workers in the industry.

The aircraft industry could not exist without lavish state handouts. The state supplies the money for research and development, the state takes the risk—but the aircraft employers pocket the profits.

What humbug the Tories talk when they chant about private enterprise! The whole thing is a racket, but instead of exposing it and appealing to the workers, the Prime Minister wines and dines with the top employers and beneficiaries of this dishonest system.

In the last 12 years £4,000 million has been

spent by the state for the benefit of the aircraft industry. In the government estimates for 1964-65, aviation swallows up a total of £344,309,000.

Two-thirds of the money for industrial research is provided by the government, most of it for wasteful defence expenditure, of which the aircraft industry takes a big share.

In spite of this, the bungling and incompetence of the aircraft industry is notorious. Even the Tory government had to force through amalgamation into four big combines because of the scandalous inefficiency of the industry.

The amalgamations were strictly for the benefit of the giants in the industry.

After the investment of £5,000 million in new aviation projects in the past 12 years, only 10 designs out of 189 attempted were sold in quantities of more than 500. There has been 22 catastrophes in the air in Europe in the last 17 years; 20 of these were British planes.

The industry has been going from bad to worse. In 1958 aircraft exports reached £98 million; in the first 11 months of last year they were only £39 million.

The Labour leaders have declared that they would take action against any industry that "failed the nation." Could the record of any industry be worse than this, especially one dependent on public money?

The current row has been caused by the suggestion that the TSR 2, which would cost an estimated £1,000 million to develop, should be scrapped. But the Wilson solution of buying the American TSF would almost cost as much.

Russell Kerr, the Labour candidate for Preston

North, has pointed out that if ever there was an industry which "cries out for planning and for a substantial measure of public ownership" it is the aircraft industry.

If a state industry were run in the way the aircraft industry has been since the war, there would be screaming headlines in the Press.

With subsidiary industries, there are 260,000 workers dependent on the aircraft industry. They certainly deserve consideration.

The aviation workers' skill has been wasted in the last 20 years in a vain attempt by British capitalism to compete with American imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy in military power.

The British employers now realise that they cannot keep pace. They have undermined the British economy without coming remotely near the military strength of the two giants.

George Brown has hurriedly denied that the government intends to nationalise the aircraft industry, but the aircraft industry is nevertheless to remain a kept woman of the state.

This is not good enough for the labour movement. Workers, especially in the trade unions catering for the aircraft industry, and in such areas as Coventry, Bristol, Preston and Weymouth, must demand the nationalisation of the industry with minimum compensation for the owners.

The industry developed at state expense. Let it be run in consultation with the shop stewards and unions in the industry, for the benefit of the people generally. If the state is to provide the money for the above-listed ventures, private parasites must not benefit.

## LETTERS:

from page seven

disgraceful use of the police. He should not have voted for the expulsions; he should have made every endeavour to defeat such a move and, at the very least, called for a postponement of the motion for expulsion so that the YS branch could have attempted to reach agreement with the three members in question.

S. Mani's statement refers in passing to a wishy-washy remark allegedly made by the YS branch executive, to the effect that they could handle their own affairs without interference from the police. But nowhere does he make any comment on the action by the party agent in calling in the police. This silence is disgraceful and we, for our part, unhesitatingly condemn the use of the police to aid the machinations of the right-wing.

Equally disgraceful is his labelling of *Keep Left* supporters as "agents of the right-wing." It is not so very long since Marxists were labelled in a similar fashion by Stalinists and it is unworthy of any self-confessed Marxist to descend to such a level.

We call upon the editorial board of *MILITANT* to immediately join us in disassociating themselves from the statement made by S. Mani and to call upon him to make every effort in Wandsworth YS to re-open the question of the expulsions and to examine what steps can be taken to speedily reinstate the three expelled members.

At the same time we seriously suggest that *Keep Left* reconsiders its present attitude to the Young Socialists, which is provocative and dangerous and will seriously weaken the

struggle for socialist policies.

ROGER PROTZ  
GAVIN KENNEDY

### THE EDITOR WRITES:

We were surprised to receive the letter from comrades Protz and Kennedy. In the first case Protz has not raised the question with the Editorial Board and in the second case Kennedy long ago rushed into print without even waiting, less still making an enquiry, for the facts.

Nonetheless we are printing this letter because it typifies the comments of those who have succumbed to the pressure of the *News-letter* and *Keep Left*. Both these journals have conducted a vicious campaign of misrepresentation against Mani on the question of the expulsion of three members of the Young Socialists branch of Wandsworth Central—a decision taken by that branch and by the Constituency Labour Party, a decision which has been endorsed by many YS branches in that area despite energetic attempts to achieve the opposite.

How can a statement of facts, the truth, be a disservice to truth?

Fact one: They claim that Mani did not condemn the use of the police by the CLP agent. As the statement already indicated, the calling in of the police by the CLP agent was against the wishes of the YS officers, including Mani. The latter left the building when the police came in as a protest against the agent's methods.

The YS officers stated that they could look after their own affairs and refused to hold a meeting whilst the police were on the premises.

The suggestion is that there was some connivance with the use of the police. This is dishonest, a disservice to truth and disloyal to one's own comrades. Neither Mani nor any other comrade associated with the Editorial Board of the *MILITANT* would ever agree to such an act.

Fact two: The comrades in their letter state that Mani in his statement was disgraceful in labelling *Keep Left* supporters as agents of the right-wing. Who said that, and where? What was said was that *all whom employ hooligan methods aid the right-wing*, that with such methods they become agents of the right-wing, leaving themselves open to expulsion and dragging along with them (when they can) the left-wing in general. Two entirely differ-

ent things!

The statement of facts clearly answers the questions. (1) Every effort was made over a long period to convince these comrades of the errors of their conduct. (2) The branch tried to persuade them to put forward their political positions and stop hooligan methods.

The CLP itself asked for such an undertaking. All of this was refused by the three members. Not only did they refuse to give such undertakings but they answered by carrying on the same methods!

In this situation the only result would have been either the suspension of the branch, or at best the expulsion of five or more comrades. The right-wing would have, moreover, seized upon these charges as a weapon against the whole left-wing

and as usual would have attempted to answer the political criticisms of the left-wing with charges of alien organisational methods.

Who aids whom? Mani and the Young Socialists wanted to separate themselves entirely from hooligan methods, to save the best of the comrades and to defeat attempts to accuse the left-wing of alien methods and the accusation that these methods flowed from alien policies. Who aids whom?

So far as the YS branch is concerned, these comrades will be accepted back provided they give an undertaking to stop hooliganism. We ourselves will undertake to fight for the re-entry of these three comrades into the YS and into the LP if they will give this undertaking.

