

YOUNG GUARD

FOR SOCIALISM AND FREEDOM

February 1966 No 38 6d

UNIONS FACE GREAT DANGER

by Dave Graham

THE KNIGHTS of the Trades Union Congress have adopted a policy which could mean the end of trade unions as we know them.

At the last meeting of the TUC General Council they voted in favour of support for George Brown's proposed legislation against unions. They were further to the right even than the TUC congress last September which supported the vetting of wage claims. But the TUC council lined up with the Labour Party conference decision to support legislation.

Jail sentences

If George Brown's schedule is maintained, legislation will probably be on the statute books by April. From then on militant trade unionists and shop stewards could face heavy fines and jail sentences if they fight for better wages and conditions.

Big struggles are developing in industry. The moves by the right wing Labour and trade union leaders must give the employers tremendous confidence to move against the organised labour movement, but the bosses and bureaucrats are in for some nasty shocks, for the working class will not readily accept cuts in their standard of living.

The workers are confident of their strength. Last year instead of wages rising by 2½ to 3 per cent (the "guiding light") they rose by 8 per cent, proving that the workers had not been browbeaten into submission by government threats.

The employers realise that it is



RAY GUNTER
chief architect of antiunion legislation

vital to shackle the trade unions if their plans to modernise British industry so that it can compete with world capital are to succeed.

All Young Socialists should be active in the trade union movement and present a policy that can attract large numbers of workers around us who will be looking for an alternative to the present Labour leaders.

Now is the time to launch a campaign for the defence of trade unions and for the nationalisation of the basic industries. These are real demands and can receive support from many disgruntled trade unionists.

What better example is there for nationalisation than the scandal of Fairfields, the Clydeside shipyard? The workers have been told that if they want the yard to remain open they must throw away the union rule book. This means that the rights that generations of workers fought for are going to be completely smashed if the employers have their way.

TUC hits out

The London Lambeth Trades Council have called a lobby of parliament on 26 January. The main theme of the lobby is to call upon Labour trade union MPs to oppose any anti-trade union legislation.

The General Council of the TUC have disaffiliated the Lambeth Trades Council. They think this will ensure that the lobby is a failure but the reverse will probably be true.

A number of other trades councils are supporting this lobby, together with branches of the AEU, TGWU, ETU and many other unions.

Every ys branch should make sure that a delegation is appointed. The lobby must be the beginning of a campaign against the Labour government's connivance with the employers and bankers.

1966 promises to be a year of big class battles. The Young Socialists must be aware of what is in front of them.

We have to defend the basis of our movement in order to ultimately wrest it from the control of the enemies of socialism. That is and must be our aim.

Will Labour drop comprehensive schools plan?

by Ian Craib
(NW Croydon ys)

A FULLY comprehensive and unstreamed education system is a useful and worthwhile reform, but there are signs that this will not be achieved by the present government.

A circular sent to local authorities last July asking for the submission of plans within 12 months for a fully comprehensive system said the best form of school would be one catering for all children between 11 and 18, but it went on to give five acceptable variations.

Two of these are, at a pinch, acceptable to socialists. One involves automatic transfer at the age of 13 or 14 from a junior comprehensive to a senior comprehensive, and the other a similar two-tier system, the junior school catering for children aged 8 or 9 to 12 or 13.

The third alternative consists of a comprehensive school from 11 to 16 followed by a sixth form college.

With the present shortage of accommodation, the increasing size of sixth forms, and the raising of the school leaving age in 1970, this could very well involve some sort of selection to decide who will go to the sixth form college.

The last two alternatives are distinct compromises, and allow for the separation at some age of those children who will stay on until the age of 18. They will either be the only children to transfer to a senior comprehensive or they will go to a separate senior comprehensive to those children who leave school at 16.

Both of these alternatives allow the grammar schools to be maintained in their present form and provide an excellent

loophole for reactionary councils.

The reasons given for allowing these compromises, at least as interim measures, is that it might be impossible to implement a fully comprehensive system with existing school buildings. This is a reasonable statement, but one of the few definite points about the government's education policy is that the money for the necessary vast rebuilding schemes will not be made available. Comments about arms expenditure would be superfluous.

Action from the government to deal with public and direct grant schools has also been noticeably lacking, yet an end to this privileged section of the education system should be the first step to achieving a system where there is genuine equality of opportunity for all children.

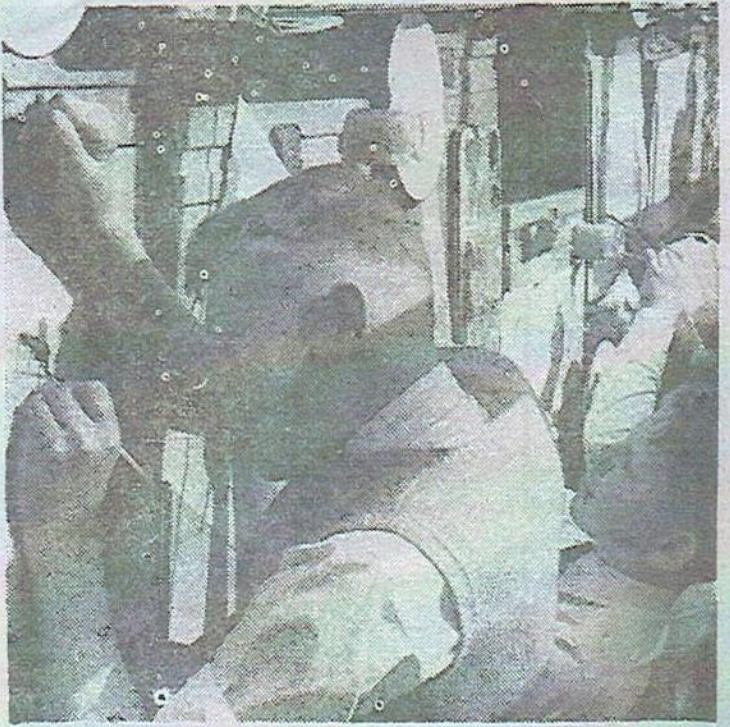
Streaming

There is a widespread and mistaken tendency for socialists to regard Comprehensive education as a cure for all the present inequalities and injustices, but there is increasing proof that streaming does, in fact, separate working class and middle class children as effectively as the 11 plus and that the development of those children not in the A stream is at least hindered, and in many cases reversed.

This is something that must be pointed out. The government does not seem to have heard of it.

The abolishing of streaming inside comprehensive schools is about as far as it is possible to go in educational reforms within the present economic system. In a world of competition between firms and coun-

Continued on page 3



KING HILL REVOLT GROWS

by John Larke
(Socialist Action)

THE FIGHT against the bureaucratic, Tory-controlled Kent County Council over the King Hill Hostel at West Malling is gaining momentum.

The hostel, a barren group of ex-RAF huts where the KCC provide minimal "temporary accommodation" for homeless families, first came into the news when the Daniels family of Bromley (who had become homeless through no fault of their own) became due for eviction after being there for the maximum permitted stay of three months.

They refused and instead of allowing themselves to be thrown

out, with the children taken into compulsory care, they stayed put, and Mr. Daniels—in defiance of the ban on husbands—moved in to be with his distressed family.

Since then, several families have followed suit; a charter of rights has been drawn up and two men have been to jail for refusing to obey a judge's order not to stay with their wives.

The facilities at the hostel include three rooms for up to six children, one kitchen range per hut which takes two hours to boil a kettle and is supposed to heat the building as well, crumbling paint, communal washing and toilet arrangements. These have been brought to the attention of those responsible: Richard Crossman, Housing Minister, Kenneth

Robinson, Minister of Health, and Dr. Elliot (KCC Medical Officer of Health).

The KCC is taking Mrs. Daniels to court to try and remove her and her family from the hostel. The case is based on the meaning of the council's duty to provide "temporary" accommodation under the 1947 National Assistance Act.

Further information can be obtained from the Friends of King Hill, 5, Clock House Road, Beckenham and any contributions to the fighting fund which has been set up to help the families and pay legal and publicity expenses should be sent to Dr. D. Bannister, 27 Meadow Walk, Wilmington, near Dartford, Kent.

This struggle is important to all working class people.

Young Guard's weekly FOLK CLUB THE CADRE

London's most revolutionary folks club opens Saturday, 5 February at the Two Brewers, Shoe Lane, off Fleet Street
Singers: Gena Glazer, Tom Dillon, Bill and Sean Thompson, Fred Hayes, Kenny McPherson Brianard, Jean Dunt, Kaiser Bill's Jug Band'

Young Socialists' conference defeats right wing on immigration and incomes

by Bob Cartwright
(Brentford and Chiswick ys)

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. Nationalisation under workers' control of the banks, insurance companies, land and major industries.

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

The self-determination of the colonial peoples and the withdrawal of all British troops from overseas;

An international policy based on co-operation with genuine labour movement throughout the world;

Votes and full legal rights at 18; Three year apprenticeships, full trade union rights for apprentices, 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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If you want more news in Young Guard, you must provide it. Send us a brief account of your branch, schools, regions, etc.

Young Guard is willing to provide speakers on most subjects at YS branches, schools and ward parties within reasonable distance of Central London (London, Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex, Essex and Herts).

Plases write to the Editor.

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DESPITE a year of upheavals the political tendency of the Young Socialists was shown at the national conference, held in November at Malvern, to have remained respectably left-wing.

The Transport House restrictions did not appeal to the majority of delegates and at the opening of the conference some of them questioned the right of John Charlton (the Transport House selection) to chair Conference.

In his opening words as "chairman," Charlton dared to criticise the Transport House manoeuvrings but went on to urge the delegates to make the best of the new constitution. This seemed to appease the indignation of most delegates and, with the promise of a full discussion on the revised constitution during the afternoon's closed session, the attack fizzled out rather prematurely.

Attacked government

The opening session was devoted to a discussion of the *Rebuilding Britain* document submitted by the NEC. It was introduced by Maurice Foley, MP who enumerated the failures of the Tory administrations and then went on to defend the action of the Wilson government in carrying out similar policies. In this session resolutions on rail closures and regional governments were also discussed, but the resolutions that provoked the most argument were the three which, in varying degrees, attacked government policy.

The first of these was moved and seconded by Dave Percival, Croydon NE and Mike Downing, Croydon NW. Both speakers called for cuts in the arms bill and British overseas commitments as a means of solving the balance of payments crisis and demanded the nationalisation under workers' control of the major industries and an end of the government's incomes policy.

Fierce discussion

The second resolution from Basingstoke and Liverpool, Garston voiced similar views; the third resolution and by far the most mealy-mouthed in its criticism was introduced by Birmingham, Sparkbrook, and confined its attack to steel and immigration. The Sparkbrook delegate seemed more intent on defending the Government than on speaking to the resolution.

After some fierce and sometimes erratic discussion, in which conference made it clear that it disagreed with quite a major part of government policy, not even Anthony Wedgwood Benn, summing up for the platform, could sway the conference. The NEC's symbol of perennial youth is clearly more adept at charming the housewives of Bristol.

When the votes were counted, the document was rejected by 140 to 70, the Croydon resolution was passed by 117 to 99, and the Basingstoke resolution was narrowly lost by 104 to 101. The platform steamrollered conference into next business under which the Sparkbrook resolution was overwhelmingly approved.

Rousing speech

Immigration was the subject for discussion during the early part of the afternoon session and it was clearly a really emotional issue. Mike Caffoor of Hornsey moved a resolution that in the context of discrimination against young immigrants, castigated the Labour Government for its retreat on immigration.

It was easily the most rousing speech of the whole conference and when he left the rostrum the Hornsey delegate was given a standing ovation with several members of the platform also daring to display a respectable enthusiasm.

Supplementary to the first reso-

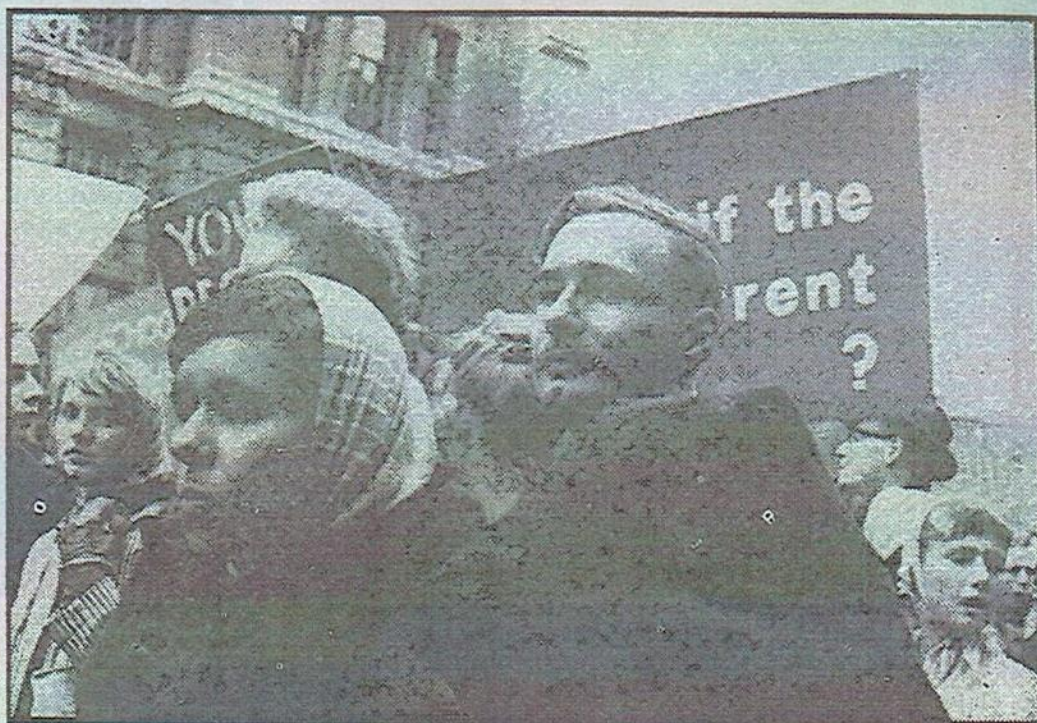
lution was another which dealt more specifically with the integration of immigrants. Moving the resolution, Paul Coysh of Surbiton pointed out that far from making integration easier, the White Paper would be a positive hindrance.

Most speakers from the Floor criticized the White Paper and it was certain the platform would suffer another defeat. Although there was no official speaker for the platform, Maurice Foley did make some general comments on the work which the ys could do to help the integration of immigrants but he said nothing about the White Paper itself. Both resolutions were passed with only two votes against them.

The delegates went into closed session to discuss the ys organisation. This session, as in previous years, was a very heated one, with the platform slowing down the proceedings in an attempt to evade the last resolution which called for the resignation of the National Youth Officer, Reg Underhill. They succeeded, but suffered heavy defeats all the way along the line, with the conference referring back the annual report and condemning the new restrictions, as well as reiterating its demand for the democratic control of ys publications.

Sunday morning saw the long anticipated flare-up between the platform and a large section of the conference. The row started di-

Young Socialists in action



rectly after the report of the Standing Orders Committee emergency in which two resolutions on Rhodesia and underground tests were ruled out of order for discussion with the Foreign Affairs document.

The conference was told by Reg Underhill that they could not question Standing Orders and attempted to manoeuvre the conference into discussion of next business, calling on NEC member W. Simpson to introduce the document on *Industrial Training for Youth*.

Vicious attack

The Industrial Training debate proved to be a rather innocuous one, with the platform stressing the importance of industrial training in an "age of technological development." The ys role was to be confined to better conditions for apprentices. The discussion erupted when Frank Chapple, in summing up the debate for the platform suddenly entered into a vicious attack on those delegates who had criticised any aspect of government policy. Nevertheless, the platform got conference approval for the document.

The conference was soon to find an objective for the indignation which Chapple had stirred up. Explaining a few points on the Foreign Affairs document, the National Youth Officer made it abundantly clear that there was to be no vote taken to determine the degree of

support for the government's foreign policy. The document was a painful apology for all Wilson's retreats, appeasement of white racialists in Rhodesia and unashamed support for American barbarity in Vietnam.

Although no vote was allowed, the document was couched in such terms as to give a clear impression that it represented ys opinion. It was a marked defeat for the left at the conference that they were unable to mount a sustained attack against the platform and carry a majority in favour of rejecting the statement.

It was left to the tenor of the debate alone to show how passionately most delegates disapproved of government action in all spheres of foreign policy.

Conference ended with a half-hearted debate on education, but inspite of partial defeats on the Sunday, the delegates had, in the main registered both a sharp rebuff to Transport House for its attempts to shackle the ys and to the government for its rightwing policies that were trying to drive down the wages and conditions of the working class.

The ys remains an active political force. Though its voice seems small and muted at present, it can, with the policy decisions of Malvern, attempt to strengthen its ranks in preparation for the major clashes ahead in which young workers will have a vital role to play.

Superficial look at youth

by Dorothy Bass
(Hampstead ys)

YOU MAY NOT have noticed it, but you have been investigated. And I don't mean by Transport House; this was much more subtle, so subtle, in fact, that it never broke the surface.

Two leading pop sociologists, Mark Abrams and Alan Little, have just published their findings in the *British Journal of Sociology* under the title "The young activist in British politics."

The trouble is that when they discovered how few were in politics (they calculate 5 per cent are members of a political party—the only criterion they are interested in) they seem to have lost interest, and their survey can hardly hope to qualify as a serious contribution to the subject.

Brased

It isn't just the fact that only 105 interviews were held; they could have been representative, but the basis of selection isn't given, and judging from the information gleaned they weren't. Nor is it that the bulk of their knowledge was obtained from those rather biased gentlemen, the parties' youth officers. You don't have to

be a student of sociology to see how unrevealing the survey is.

Look at some of the general conclusions. The Young Conservatives, by far the largest youth organisation, tends to be social and not very militant. The Young Liberals, the smallest group, are allowed a lot of influence in the adult party, because they don't do any harm, but often wonder what point there is in being in it.

Conflict

The ys, the writers perceptively discover, is perpetually in conflict with the NEC because it is too left wing. In a flash of revelation they find that the YCS are mostly middle and upper middle class, the YLS a sort of disaffiliated white collar group, and the ys largely working and lower middle class.

Their examination of the ys is laughable. For a start, the official figures of membership, number of branches, etc, are not only out of date, but weren't true when Transport House claimed them. No youth officer is going to tell researchers, "Well, there are only half the branches there were last year, only three are loyal, and we keep hammering the rest."

Nor is he going to tell them that the official journal, *New Advance*, is so pathetic and despised that there are unofficial papers with far larger circulations. It doesn't look

as if Abrams and Little found out these papers exist.

The whole thing is so uninformed that they discuss the decline of the ys without even mentioning *Keep Left*, let alone the expulsions, purges and walk outs. They are right when they say the official talk of "trotskyist infiltration" is a "naive oversimplification" but this is obviously a lucky guess, since their own analysis of the situation is based on such sweeping ignorance of the facts.

Other points seem minor. They dismiss all extra party activities, pointing to the failure of CND and the New Left. But the latter was always a minute group of university intellectuals—and the former a mass movement which brought many young people into the ys, and a political group in its own right.

Tenacity

The other youth group they refer to is the Young Communist League which, they say, has doubled in two years, but this doesn't deter them from their conclusion that British youth is not only nonpolitical but increasingly so.

I would have thought the ys was an example of great political tenacity since it continues to exist in the face of such open hostility from above.



Rush financial help to Young Guard NOW

YOUNG GUARD is an open and democratic journal produced and financed entirely by our readers. Unlike *New Advance*, we do not receive a massive subsidy from Transport House, and we are often stricken for lack of finance.

Recent events in the Labour Party Young Socialists have shown that never has there been a greater need for a rank and file journal which effectively fights for the policies which were decided at our conferences, and against those

which are being carried out in our name by the leaders of the party.

To produce an effective and regular journal we need money. We are therefore appealing to all supporters and readers of YOUNG GUARD to help our finances by taking the following steps.

1. Ensure that all outstanding bills are paid as soon as possible.
2. Take out Bankers Order Forms making a regular con-

tribution to YOUNG GUARD. Forms can be obtained from the Business Manager.

3. Make a contribution to our Fighting Fund. All contributions big or small will be welcomed.

We hope that all our supporters will take up the above suggestions. YOUNG GUARD is your paper, we fight for the policies which you decide. Every one of you can make an important contribution in the struggle for Socialist policies. Make that contribution NOW.

Democracy - right wing style

THE NEC decided before the last Labour Party Conference to change the constitution of the Young Socialists. The changes were clearly carried at the conference, with more than five million votes cast in their favour, and less than one million against.

Mere figures, however, are misleading. A clear majority of constituency Labour parties (estimates run as high as 90 per cent) voted against the changes, which were carried by the block votes of the trade unions, organisations that have little dealings with the YS.

One of the accepted changes was the amendment of the procedure by which the YS National Committee is chosen. Under the old constitution the NC was elected at national conference by the delegates from the regions concerned, on the basis of one delegate from each of the regions.

From now on, the NC members

will be selected by the adult Regional Executive Committees in consultation with the regional YS Committee. This measure was clearly intended to ensure that only NEC approved candidates reach the National Committee.

The first meeting of the Southern Regional YS Committee, elected in May 1965, took place on 10 December at Caxton Hall, Westminster. On the agenda was an item on the recommendation to the regional Labour Party executive of a YS member to serve on the National Committee. When this item was reached, a motion was moved that the name of the NC member should be determined by a ballot of branches.

The secretary of the committee, A. Capelin, the regional youth officer, said this was not possible and the chairman of the committee ruled that the motion could not be accepted.

It was then proposed that, as the wishes of the majority of branches in the region could not be accurately assessed, the existing

NEC member, Roger Rosewell, who was elected by a majority of more than 20 branches, should continue in this office.

One of the ex officio members of the committee nominated the chairman D. Collins. There were no other nominations and when the vote was taken Collins was elected by five votes to two. The four elected members of the committee were split equally.

Collins, who received only five of the 10 votes cast in the election for the Kent seat on the regional YS committee, was elected to an important position by virtue of the adult vote.

Young Socialists in the Southern Region must protest at this negation of democracy. Several resolutions have already been sent to the Regional Executive and more must follow. Branches should protest at this new move by the bureaucracy to politically gag the YS.

Roger Crossley
(Kingston YS)

Paranoid policemen

by Stan Beale
(St. Pancras North YS)

WHEN THE POLICE protect private property everyone may be suspect. For the detective, enmity becomes nothing less than a quality prevalent in life. He becomes paranoid and paranoia is an occupational disease of the policeman. But it is important not to oversimplify. The police have other functions which may occupy many of them all of the time.

They protect people's lives by catching murderers; they do various forms of social work, mostly simple referrals to a welfare department outside the departments office hours; they control traffic and pinch illicit parkers—a bit of mild paranoia on both sides here—and, of course, they uphold the "status quo" on occasions such as demonstrations and picket lines where it seems to be threatened.

Function

Protecting property is the main function of the police and in these harrassing days of undermanned detection squads and private police forces with less discipline, more pay and armoured cars—not to mention nazi-helmets—the men who produce results, entrepreneurs of convictions like Harold Gordon Challenor, will thrive.

For the police service operates on a payments by results basis. Challenor caught criminals or, rather, he brought convictions and he rose quickly through the ranks until in early 1963 he was placed in control of a special CID night squad operating in Soho.

This work involved excessively long hours, yet even after it was disbanded Challenor's enthusiasm for his job remained undiminished until in mid-1963 he was first advised then ordered to ease up.

But the complaints had already started; both the half bricks and the seeds of Challenor's downfall had been planted.

In spite of being a very sick man, the police doctors did not declare Challenor unfit for duty until September 1963. He was admitted to hospital in October and seven months later was too insane to plead at the trial in which three of his colleagues were sent to prison.

Their punishment was no doubt vicarious, for nearly the whole of West End Central Station seems to be implicated in the malpractices that it became notorious for.

The injustices Challenor perpetrated were only discovered by accident. The man's illness would have come to light, but would the miscarriages of justice? Donald Rooum, who was arrested on a demonstration, just happened to have been reading a book on forensic science and was able to instigate a detailed investigation to prove his halfbrick had been planted. Even so, it was a long time before he or the others arrested and framed with him were released and others who had been framed before by Challenor and his pals never received the Queen's most gracious pardon.

Rare

The report of the public enquiry conducted by Arthur Evan James QC assumes that Challenor's illness is a rare occurrence, a completely unforeseeable event. Yet it should be clear to socialists that law enforcement—whether on this side of the bench or on the side of Mr. Justice James—is an occupation fraught with the danger of sliding paranoia.

Paranoid types, men who see an enemy in every man and fear in every corner, will be attracted to occupations such as the police, the magistrates bench, Securicor or prisons, if they are clever enough to rationalise their motives altruistically.

This is not to say that there are not fair or honest policemen, but they are not necessarily typical and increasingly they may spend most of their working life pounding the beat.

No wonder Challenor's superiors didn't notice the "onset of his paranoia." No wonder Mr. Justice James was surprised they didn't notice.

For James' and Challenor's interests are the same, and they are not the interests of socialists or, indeed, of anarchists like Rooum. They are the interests of the ruling class.

Socialists would do well to point out that the abolition of private property will eventually destroy many of the causes of persecution delusions. In a capitalist world, the police—and especially the CID—menace the workers' freedom just as directly as the criminal.

Everybody's doing it...

Sean Thompson (Woking YS)
ACCORDING to a never ending stream of articles from liberal intellectuals we are in the middle of a sexual revolution. What is in fact happening today is that the sexual morality of 19th century imperial Britain, still the main basis for popular judgement of what is decent and what is dirty, is rapidly crumbling as the social forces that produced it change.

As Trotsky said in *Their Morals and Ours*, "Morality is a product of social development; there is nothing invariable about it. Because morality is the product of the development of class society and is largely imposed from above, it always tends to lag behind, to be permanently out of date."

We are expected to live within the rules of a morality which every year drags hundreds of pathetic wretches into court because they are unfortunate enough to be homosexuals and punishes them for a disease less socially undesirable than VD, for which, of course, one is encouraged to have treatment.

Tragedy

It is this same morality that forces an unknown number of girls every year into the degrading tragedy of abortion, the same morality that gives de facto acceptance to prostitution through the Wolfenden Report and sells a million copies of *The News of the World*.

Socialists would not suggest that we can lay down any moral absolutes, but it is essential that we remember that socialism is basically about human relationships and about the dignity inherent in every human being.

Alex Comfort was right when he said that sex is the most enjoyable sport in the world and if we care at all for human dignity we should never cease to attack the obscene notion that one of the best of all



Brigitte Bardot — commercial sex symbol

human activities is "dirty" or "wrong."

We must also recognise the immorality of the "commercial traveller philosophy" that treats sex as one great merry-go-round. By treating a bedmate as merely a machine for providing physical enjoyment, one is denying his or her individuality as much as if one

was exploiting his or her productive labour.

Sex is fun. But it is also one of the major factors involved in human relationships. Devoid of respect or feeling it is sterile and meaningless, for we are all individuals, not merely disposable sexual units to use and throw away.

COMPREHENSIVES

from page 1

tries, education is by necessity tailored to meet the needs of the economic system and this involves the separation and training of certain sections of young people.

The much vaunted 1944 Education Act, drawn up by R. A. Butler, was designed to continue and entrench class divisions in the education system. The public schools for the children of the ruling class were left untouched, while grammar and secondary modern schools were aimed at pro-

ducing a steady flow of white collar and manual workers.

Comprehensive education, like the health service, can only improve some of the worst features of the present system. Only a complete transformation of society and the ending of class divisions can ensure a real socialist education system, but comprehensives are an important step in this direction and socialists should be vigilant in making sure that the government does not allow yet another of its election promises to be quietly dropped.

EARLY in 1966 though it is, we dub President Johnson Hypocrite of the Year. While he prattles to American televisioners of his plans for the "Great Society," he cynically continues his attempts to obliterate another people's society in Vietnam.

There seems little doubt as we go to press that Johnson is preparing to step up the war in Vietnam and possibly embroil all of South East Asia in this most terrible, most hopeless, most bloody round of imperialist carnage. Washington's "peace moves"—a slick but corny piece of Madison Avenue PR—are in reality a prelude to escalation.

Johnson's idea of peace talks is for his opponents to come bound and gagged to the conference table. The stipulations he outlines cannot—and, we hope, will not—be accepted by Hanoi, particularly as they ignore the real protagonists, the National Liberation Front.

Johnson plans to escalate war in SE Asia

There can be no steps towards peace in Vietnam until the NLF is recognised as the legitimate spokesman of the working and peasant masses of South Vietnam and—even more fundamentally—American forces withdraw from a country where they have no right to be. If the situation were not so critical, we might allow ourselves a hollow laugh at Johnson's declaration that peace talks should be based on the 1954 Geneva agreements, which the Americans, through the late and unlamented John Foster Dulles, refused to sign or acknowledge.

The task for British socialists is simple—unconditional and unequivocal support for the

NLF, not through paper resolutions or blood transfusions, but through a continual harrasing of the Wilson government. And by harrasing, we mean not futile gestures like the intervention of the Radical Alliance at Hull North, but continual and patient work in the Labour Party.

There can be no short cuts to socialism. While the Labour Party remains the focal point of the aspirations of the working class, we must work within it to spread our ideas and, immediately, to attempt to expose the present leaders who acquiesce in American barbarity in return for massive loans that attempt to bail out British capitalism.



American GIs in action in Vietnam

by Paul Coysh

(Surbiton ys)

SINCE RHODESIAN Prime Minister Ian Smith declared UDI, there has been a continual round of talks on oil embargoes, broken diplomatic relations, three-way splits in the Tory Party, with Harold Wilson mouthing Churchillian platitudes to a captive audience on television on suitably dramatic occasions.

Preoccupation with rebellion against the crown, "treason," and the vain hope that the effects of sanctions will split the Rhodesian whites and produce a moderate government, is yet another example of the jettisoning of previously held principles by the Labour leaders.

Left things ride

The preoccupation with diplomatic niceties is a public relations move which no doubt fools the Wilson sycophants in the Labour Party more than it does those owned by British capital—whose main attitude is to let things ride in the hope that profits will not fall.

The "enlightened" bosses would probably prefer a majority African government prepared to safeguard their interests, but military intervention has been ruled out precisely because disruption could result.

So the rebellious, nondescript Smith has committed "treason" while leaders in British Guiana who did no such thing had their constitutions suspended by invading British troops.

While talking of our "kith and kin" in Rhodesia during a television broadcast, Wilson said little or nothing about the plight of the four million Africans there. Little has been said in the popular mass media about the situation of the African people; all the sympathy goes to anti-Smith newspapers and their censorship problems.

White hysteria

The Africans, who had no say in UDI exist in an atmosphere of mounting "white christian civilisation" hysteria which Peter Bessell, Liberal MP for Bodmin, who recently visited Rhodesia, said would not be brought down by British or international oil embargoes.

The 1961 constitution Wilson hopes to restore after the fall of Smith, came into being after the break-up of the Central African Federation. It is based on two electoral rolls. In a revision of the constitution in 1964, the minimum qualification for entry to the A roll was £330 per annum and four years' secondary education. The minimum B roll requirement was £132 p.a. two years' secondary education and a course of primary education.

The average European earnings are £1241 p.a.; African earnings are £121 p.a. Together with the educational obstacles, this makes it clear why the African nationalist parties have boycotted such an obviously discriminatory arrangement.

Rhodesian 'Rebels' and British profits

The A roll vote elected 50 MPs to the Rhodesian legislature and the B roll the remaining 15 seats.

In the rural areas, where it has been reported that Africans have been forced to work at gunpoint on the tobacco plantations, subsistence is far lower than the average.

State expenditure on white education is 20 times higher than for Africans. The Africans who can afford to give their children some sort of schooling (apart from the small African middle-class represented by Josiah Gondo's minority

United People's Party) have to contribute towards school buildings and equipment. The whites get free facilities.

Since UDI the British South Africa police, as they are still called, back the investments of Dunlop Rubber, Associated Electrical Industries and Richard Costain (Africa), aided by vocal hyenas in the Tory Party in Britain.

What is done is done? Wilson let Smith get away with it. It seems the only time when British troops would be used would be to protect "law and order" (which means

investments). The excuse would be the prevention of a "race war."

Troops must ultimately go in and take power from Smith. If they meet resistance they will have to show that they are not there for a holiday.

Arrangements must be made for a constitutional conference for one man, one vote at the earliest opportunity. In making this demand it is relevant to recall Harold Wilson speaking about the 1961 constitution in the House of Commons in 1963:

"We have said that no consti-

tution is defensible which fails to allow the people of those territories to control their own destinies. We have bitterly attacked the Southern Rhodesian constitution for that and a Labour government would therefore alter it. We've made that very, very plain."

These sentiments, yet to be endorsed by the present government, should have guided Wilson's actions long before UDI was declared. When and if Smith is brought down, Wilson must be held to this pledge.

The American nightmare

by W. J. Weatherby

Breaking the silence; the negro struggle in the USA. (Penguin Books, 5s.)

HERE IS certainly one of the most significant books about the American negro freedom movement ever written by any white man, and perhaps one that could only have been written by an Englishman. W. J. Weatherby went to the United States in 1960 as a correspondent of *The Guardian*, with the best of liberal intentions and the belief of many young post war Englishmen in the American dream.

When he visited New Orleans he met a young negro girl, C—, at an underground "integration party" and fell in love. The major part of the book is an account of their brief and innocent affair, the danger and violence it brought upon both of them and the transformations it worked in their attitudes.

By the end of the story C— had become a Black Muslim in Harlem, later returning to the south to die of leukemia, and Weatherby had resigned from *The Guardian* in

opposition to its moderate pro-Kennedy line on the negro struggle and had become deeply involved in the freedom movement. The dream had been replaced by a nightmare.

Interwoven with this personal story is his dramatic and skilled reportage of the struggles for school integration in New Orleans, of James Meredith as the first negro student at Mississippi University, guarded by 10,000 Federal troops; of the three civil rights workers murdered in Mississippi in 1964 (fully described in William Bradford Huie's book *Three Lives for Mississippi*); the church bombings and the marches in Birmingham and Selma, Alabama; the life of the negroes in New York's Harlem ghetto, where a teenager condemned to death could say "I never expected to make 21;" all this contrasted with events and attitudes in England, Europe and white America.

The impression compellingly conveyed is the tremendous traumatic shock of a white European liberal entering the brutal under-

world existence endured daily by the American negro and his gradual, painful discovery of the only possible human responses to it.

It is a terrifying but hopeful book, in that it both illustrates the true depth of the gulf in understanding between black and white in America and yet shows that it can be crossed by the white man who is willing to share the experience of the negro, for it also demonstrates the truth of the axiom that the colour problem is the white man's, not the negro's.

Not that this book or any other can offer ready political solutions. On the contrary, it proves that the problem will be with us for many years to come and that its solution will demand a long and agonising change going to the very roots of American society, and therefore of revolutionary importance for the whole world.

The politics of this change are not here closely examined, as they must be by socialists particularly in relation to the Vietnam war and the new American radical movement. But any socialist, es-

pecially in Britain, who wishes to begin to understand the questions which are involved must read this book.

John Strauther
(Stoke Newington ys)

JAZZ

"Spirits," Albert Ayler (TRA 130) IF IT WERE necessary to prove the validity of the "New Thing" as a creative force in jazz, I would not hesitate to recommend this, the most recent release by Albert Ayler. Ayler approaches the tenor saxophone with a kind of zealous rediscovery, a bitterly masochistic delight compared with which the farthest of far-out albums by Ornette Coleman sound like Lionel Bart.

No one musician has poured so much undiluted agony into a solo as Ayler has done on the title track, and for this alone he should be guaranteed a sizeable niche in jazz history.

The "New Thing" has come under more than its fair share of criticism since Ornette Coleman first recorded seven years ago, criticism that has tended to discourage the acceptance of the music in favour of the more conventional *avant garde* experiments of John Coltrane. Significant though these were, they represented an attempt by the musician to set himself artificial limitations.

John Lewis' flirtation with the "Third Stream" and Coltrane's attempted rapprochement between jazz and the Indian musical influence of Ravi Shankar are important, but they should not be interpreted as an indication of the direction in which jazz is moving. The expansion of jazz, after all, is limited to the exploration of its history and to the exploration of the history and subsequent development of all parallel fields of musical expression.

Without innovators of the calibre of Ayler, jazz would degenerate into a static art-form. Music can only gain from the further extension and development of existing trends.

Brent Carter
(Harrow Central ys)

