

# IMPACT



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## EDITORIAL

### Labour Government works ...for who?

After three weeks of hectic dullness and electioneering, Mr. Wilson has his working majority and the country can now look forward to another five years of Labour Government and Wilson's brand of socialism. The swing to Labour at the polls and the resultant "landslide" victory opens up new horizons, both for the Government to pursue policies more oriented to socialism than hitherto - if indeed that is the wish of the Labour Government - and also for the Left, both those within the Parliamentary Labour Party and for the rank and file members. We are, of course, talking blindly at the moment. Wilson has yet to announce his new Government, and we have no knowledge of what this Government will mean for the Left, what it will entail, or even if the Left will be taken into consideration at all. One thing does seem clear, however, the Left should no longer be viewed as the stigma that it was in the last Government - the 'wild men' of the Left, with the potential of bringing down a weak Labour Government. Now perhaps we will see some positive action from a Parliamentary Left that has been almost mute during the past seventeen months.

We have signs locally however, that the Labour Party is stiffening in its attitude towards any criticism from the Left; and as this could be taken as a possible pointer to the line that may be seen nationally - it must therefore be viewed with apprehension by the radical Left. Barry Collie, Information Officer of Centre Peace, and a member of Wood Green Labour Party, stated, in a letter published in the Wood Green Weekly Herald of 18 March, the case for radicals to abstain from voting in the General Election. He said: "It is ironical that the rank and file of the Labour Party...committed to social reform and against the arms race should find themselves trying to return a Labour Government committed (by lack of conscience) to a set of opposite ideals."

...on its defence and foreign policy Labour has proved it can be as illiberal, reactionary and jingoistic as the most die-hard Tory. ...there is no excuse, tiny majority or not, for the Labour Government's whitewashing of the bombing of defenceless villages and maiming of the innocent (Vietnam)...one can only conclude that if re-elected and continues to implement policies almost indetical to those of the Conservative Party...it will be a waste of time for Labour sympathisers to vote."

Within a few days of the letter appearing in the press, Mr Collie received a reply from Wood Green Labour Party, signed by the Secretary/Agent. We have Mr Collie's permission to use this letter, and below we present a precis of it, it opens: "Dear Barry, I was astonished to read... (of) your attack on the Party and the Candidate. Some senior members of the Party have asked me to reply publicly...I do not propose to do so unless, of course, the Press ask me for a statement. ...although I have been a member of the Party many years...myself often in conflict with the leadership on certain questions, it is the first time I have known a member to publicly attack the Party at election time. It is extremely disloyal...only our opponents benefit from such tactics, The issues mentioned...have been debated many times locally. ...you were more often than not absent when such issues were debated. You have a democratic right to express your views...one would think from your letter that it was written in frustration ...the reverse is true. To not attend when such issues were under discussion, and then to write such a letter at election time is rather worse than disloyal. The Party will no doubt have something to say about the matter after the Election...I thus feel that it is my duty to protest, on the Part's behalf, at your action. Thank heaven the people you criticise, the members of the Parliamentary Party, have shown more loyalty in the last, difficult, seventeen months."

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To those of you who are reading this on the March, we take this opportunity to give you a brief introduction to IMPACT and the Haringey-Enfield Centre Peace. It is not enough just to march; the campaign must be fought 24hrs a day, 12 months a year. It is for reasons such as this that Centre Peace was established. It is essential that CND is not just an annual flower, blooming only on the road between High Wycombe and London. We are campaigning not merely for the acceptance of our slogans, we wish to see a radical change in the social structure, and for this to take place we must have firm roots in the society we wish to change. Centre Peace is an attempt to move towards such a position.

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the illustration on page seven is by Jimmy Johns

S. E. ASIA - the Domino Theory

Peter Lambert

"If the war in South Vietnam is lost there is no question but that Laos and Cambodia will go next."

Angus Maude MP, House of Commons, 8.2.66

"If we allow the communists to win it will become easier and more appetising for them to take over other countries."

President Johnson, Honolulu, 6.2.66

"Lord Walston, Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Foreign Affairs, said . . . . We had no quarrel with Chinese communism. As far as we had a quarrel with China, it was with Chinese imperialism."

Guardian report, House Of Lords Debate  
11.2.66

These quotations sum up two arguments commonly given for the presence of American forces in Vietnam. The Domino Theory - that if Vietnam "falls" to communism, then so will the rest of Asia, and the idea of Chinese imperialism and its containment. They share a common basis in that they are not concerned so much with discussions of fact, but in the way in which we view the reality of Asian and Chinese communism. This is in sharp contrast to the question of aggression in South Vietnam, which is a disagreement over the truth of the various statements made on this issue (see IMPACT March 1966, p8 for some of these.) This article analyses the basis for these two notions.

The Domino Theory has quite a deal of power, since, inevitably, when we read about the possibility of nations in Asia having a communist government we tend to react as if it were something that was going to happen to us. We imagine a communist government coming to power in Great Britain, and realise that this would probably involve the loss of several freedoms which we now enjoy. But would we necessarily view this prospect in the same way if we actually lived in Vietnam, Laos or Thailand? Most of us living in Britain would be afraid that if we had a communist government, we might well suffer limitations of our freedom. For, notwithstanding the liberalisation of the various communist regimes, it is still a fact that in most of these countries, freedom is limited in some way. Probably we might lose the freedom of speech, the freedom to criticise, that we enjoy at the moment. For although freedom is limited in Britain - how many of us, for example, have the freedom to put our views on TV? - we recognise that there is an important difference between the amount of freedom enjoyed in Britain and that enjoyed in the East European countries. In addition, there might well be curtailment of the right to own private property. This we might well agree with in the case of very large landowners, but we would probably not agree with the formation of communes or collective farms, or the abolition of small shopkeepers. But do these thoughts have any reality for the peasant in South East Asia? Wouldn't they seem to him (and to most people in these countries) to be merely academic points which might be alright in our Western situation, but which he would feel to be irrelevant to his own situation? For at the moment, in most of the countries in South East Asia, the governing regimes are of a dictatorial nature. In Thailand, in Vietnam and in Indonesia, freedom of speech is severely limited. Indeed, it is questionable if the people in these countries have ever enjoyed these rights which seem to us so basic and so essential. So are they likely to view the dangers of a communist regime limiting their freedom with the alarm that we might? They can hardly be worried at losing something which they have never had. And what about the question of the private ownership of land and property? In most of these countries the land is not owned by the peasants, but is worked by them with almost all the profits from the land going to the landowners. The peasants want to own their own land, and they see the prospect of getting rid of the landowners as a step in this direction. Our talk on the dangers of land collectivisation will seem to them to be mere sour grapes on our part. Indeed, they may not even have heard of it, for according to Michael Wall writing about Vietnam in the GUARDIAN; "The Communist political cadres who have infiltrated the village life over the past ten years and more, do not propound Marxist-Leninist theories, nor (wisely) do they mention land collectivisation." (22.2.66)

So, to the peasant, it must seem that he has nothing to lose, that (to misquote Marx and Engels) they "have nothing to lose but their chains."

What, in reality, are the alternatives which the people of South East Asia are being offered? The West is generally offering them the prospect of an anti-communist regime which may attempt to establish parliamentary democracy along Western lines. In most cases they will not be adverse to the existence of the landowners and small capitalists, although they may well be adverse to any measures of socialism - the definition of "socialism" being that of the US or other Western governments. In their own countries, the Western governments have accepted the idea that their own societies need no radical alteration, even the majority of the Socialist parties in these countries having accepted the need for a "mixed economy" and for the existence of "the market". Thus they do not look too favourably on measures which involve radical change in Asia, since they have come to accept that such changes are no longer necessary in their own countries. But what the people of these countries want is an end to poverty and hunger and then freedom. Their priorities are the priorities of survival. Thus the major need for them is ownership of land and freedom from the landowners. And it is this the West is none too keen to give them. For, starting from the base of anti-communism, we find that our first allies are those who enjoy privilege in the present system. For it is they who would stand to lose most from the prospect of communism. And they are not against communism primarily because of a love for democracy. They are against communism because they do not want to lose their power and their freedom to make money. Thus, in the eyes of the peasants, the West is on the side of the landowners, and thus must obviously be against them. This is the circle in which the West is trapped. South East Asia is falling to communism not because of intimidation, or because of "Das Kapital", but because the only alternative the peasants are being offered is to side with the landowners and opt for the status quo.

I come now to the question of Chinese communism. On this, the Vice-President of the United States, Mr Humphrey is quite clear. "We are learning to fight the wars of national liberation as the Communist Chinese (sic) call them. These are wars of international oppression." (Wellington, New Zealand, 20.2.66) What is the image that these words conjure up? "Oppression" gives us the picture of a subject people kept in their place by force and the use of arms. It implies, in fact, that an actual war is being waged by the Chinese; that they are not just giving physical aid or exporting an ideology, but that they are sending men and troops somewhere to keep a people "oppressed". But where is this

happening? Where is this country that is being oppressed? The only two cases that I can think of which come anywhere near to this category are Tibet and (possibly) the recent troubles at the Indian border. But have the Chinese suggested that either of these were wars of 'national liberation'? Was Vice-President Humphrey talking about Vietnam perhaps? If he had any private information about the presence of Chinese soldiers in Vietnam, then he hadn't mentioned it to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, for he told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at their recent hearings: 'We have not seen Chinese in South Vietnam. There have been occasional rumours to that effect, but whenever we have checked them out, so we don't find Chinese taking part in the Vietcong operations.' So where is this oppression taking place? The answer surely is that it is not. The Chinese are in favour of aiding revolutions abroad, just as, in many areas, the West is in favour of suppressing them. But they are aiding them in the ideological sense, although sometimes with a limited supply of arms too. It is this that the US and the West seem incapable of understanding, so that they are continually looking for and even imagining, the existence of armed might. What the Chinese are exporting is an ideology, and this seems to be just as much 'peaceful co-existence' as is any of the Western propaganda which is also exported to Asia.

H A R V E S T S  
O F A  
K I N D

Keith  
Musgrove


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EVERY WEEKEND

NIGHT JOURNEY

Roger Pavey

Night, while buses thunder  
downhill to the  
crumbling image of the day.

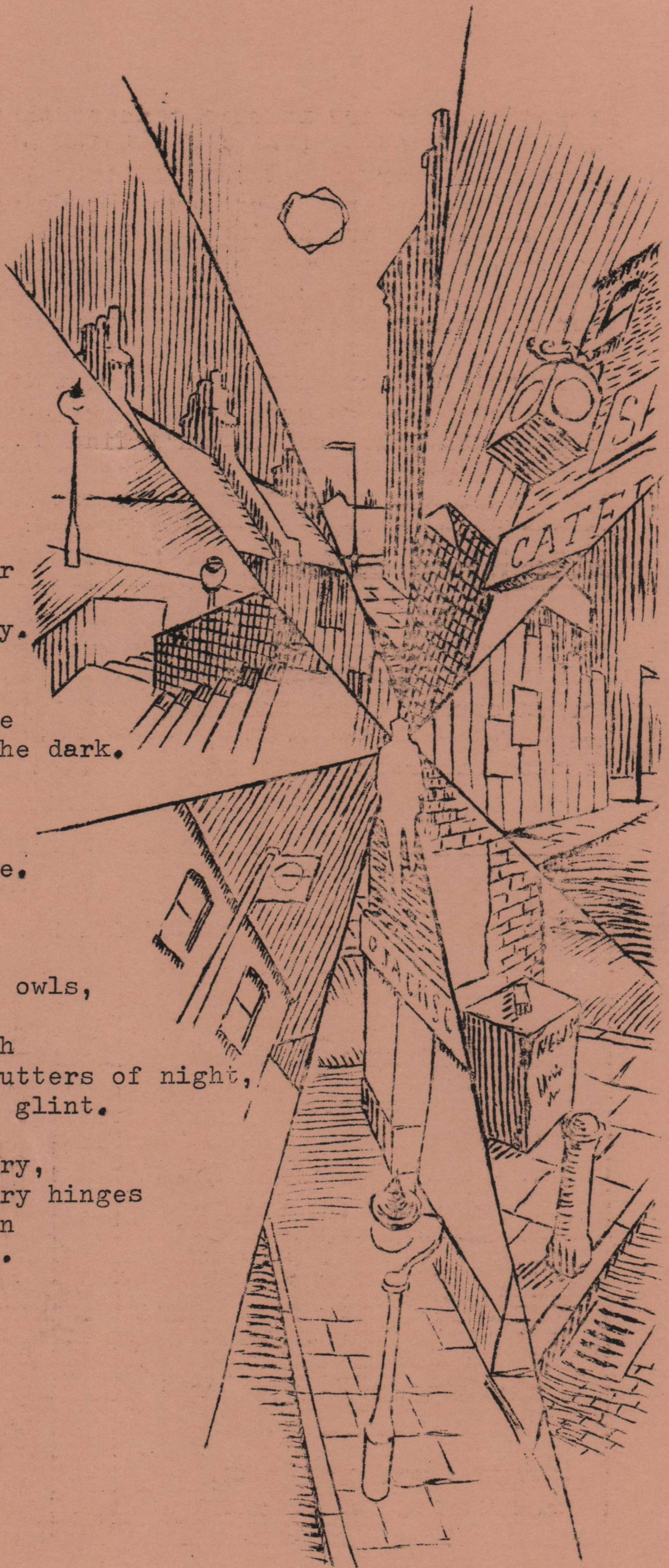
While the sleepy town  
regathers its memories the  
stars/lights flicker at the dark.

Darkness shut out  
only occasionally by  
the blinkered eyes of time.

The neon blinks its  
ghostly tune to the  
accompaniment of solitary owls,

love wends its lonely path  
through the treacherous gutters of night,  
through splintered neon's glint.

Thought becomes fragmentary,  
night swings on its mystery hinges  
- dawn becomes an illusion  
that gathers dust.





# Campaigners' Notebook and Diary

APRIL NOTES: The Easter March and after....

SATURDAY  
9th APRIL

March starts High Wycombe. Local coaches:-  
Enfield Town - 8.30; Southgate Underground - 9.00;  
Tottenham Town Hall - 8.30; Edmonton Angel - 8.45;  
Cock Tavern Palmers Green - 9.00; Wood Green  
Underground - 9.15.

SUNDAY  
10th APRIL

March continues from Uxbridge Common. Local coaches  
from Enfield Town - 9.45; Southgate Tube - 10.00;  
Turnpike Lane - 10.15.

For Hornsey area coaches contact Mrs R. Hodgson,  
16 Leaside Mans., Fortis Gr. Rd., N10 (TUD 8974).

MONDAY  
11th APRIL

Last day Easter March from Chiswick. Groups arrange  
own meeting points, contact:-

Tony James, 110a Lansdowne Road, Tottenham N17  
Mrs A. Mielosyzk, 106 Perth Road, Wood Green N22  
David Norwood, 6 Marquis Road, Wood Green N22  
Derek Wallace, 14 Derwent Ave., Edmonton N18  
Mike Frohnsdorff, 77 Hazelwood Lane, N13 (PAL 9511)  
Peter Soulsby, 144 Fox Lane, Palmers Green N13  
Andrew Collier, 34 Cedar Park Rd., Enfield (ENF 0028)  
or Centre-Peace, 321a High Road, Wood Green N22

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VIETNAM  
STATEMENT  
FOR SIX  
NORTH LONDON  
NEWSPAPERS

With the Easter March and the General Election over  
a major activity will be collecting signatures for  
the Vietnam Statement, agreed by the Haringey and  
Enfield Peace in Vietnam Committees. CND Groups  
and individuals can contribute; they are also asked  
to assist in the job of visiting prominent local  
citizens. See your Group Secretary (as above) or  
contact Ann Shapson, 86 Whitehouse Way, N14 (ENT  
0093) or Nora Carlin, 15 Linden Way, Tottenham N15.

The retirement of Lady Gammans, MP for Hornsey for the past nine years, will cause many a mixed feeling. Certainly her lucid political insight, which has been such a dominant feature of Conservative political philosophy in Hornsey, will be sadly missed. Perhaps as an IMPACT "tribute" to her it would be fitting to quote from one of the last speeches which she delivered to the Women's Advisory Committee of Hornsey Conservative Association; when she said, in reference to the Bill to legalise homosexuality (which she voted against): "Questions of morality are arising - a halt must be called to the slide downhill; we have to consider the effect on the unthinking masses if they are given the go-ahead on all kind of things. We are going more and more on the slide, and I don't think the country can afford it". (my italics - Ed.) If Councillor Rossi is elected as successor to Lady Gammans, and can maintain the same standards, the people of Hornsey are surely in very capable hands!

The Conservative candidate for Wood Green in his Election address (which must be one of the worst seen) describes himself as the "family" candidate - whether by that he means that he is in the family way, or that he has a family (no mean feat, let me assure you) I'm not quite sure; but at least one fact emerges from the semi-illiterate scribblings: he's definitely the Tory candidate. In a brief summing-up of his career, the Election Address reveals that he is 46 years old, lives in Haringey, helped in the famous Orpington bye-election and concerns himself in many charities - all of which seems to prove that Mrs Butler, The Labour candidate, isn't going to have much trouble getting back to Parliament.

When Liberal supporters arrived at Rokesly Infant's School recently, for the formal adoption of their candidate, Mr Percy Meyer, they found the Hall was already occupied by members of the Elysian Concert Society. The secretary of the Society, Miss Bromige, made it apparent that the Group weren't leaving - "We booked the hall" she said "and are rehearsing the 'Messiah' and we have lost enough time already". The Liberals had to go round to the adjacent Junior School which was unlocked for them. The candidate was heard saying "I'll flay them tomorrow, I'll flay them" - he was referring to the balls-up made by the bureaucrats at the Town Hall. Funny as it was, however, more was to come - in the shape of Mr Meyer's adoption speech, which was full of the usual quota of banal cliches and platitudes one has come to associate with Parliamentary Candidates of all parties. After all the claims from Mr Meyer about the things Labour hasn't done, what the Tories wouldn't do, but what the Liberals would do - given the chance - perhaps the Town Hall bureaucrat responsible for the Hall booking might have known what he was doing after all!

IMPACT AT THE HUSTINGS

Dave Norwood  
Sally Lambert  
Peter Lambert

During the election campaign we attended one meeting of each of the three candidates in Southgate and, in addition, the Forum on International Affairs organised by Muswell Hill UNA at Rokesly School on 17 March attended by the Hornsey candidates. We present below the result in these two constituencies and then the reports of the meetings.

HORNSEY

H.A.L. Rossi (C)	21,116
C.S. Yeo (Lab)	20,501
P. Meyer (L)	5,026
M. Morris (Com)	1,184
Majority	<u>615</u>

SOUTHGATE

A. Berry (C)	21,171
P. Gourgey (Lab)	9,743
G.J. Bridge (L)	<u>8,679</u>
Majority	<u>11,428</u>

SOUTHGATE

Conservative : Ashmole School : 22.3.66

Mr. Maudling: He favoured entry into Europe and on Rhodesia said 'force must not be used to solve this issue', he favoured discussions with people from Rhodesia'. He criticised Labour for breaking its election pledges and said the Conservative Party wanted to end the restrictive practices of management and labour. On the balance of payments improvement, he said the halving of the deficit was 'going to happen anyway'.

Mr. Berry: He criticised the broken promises of the Labour Government. An election was being held because of the economic position of the country and because the Labour Party was anxious to introduce 'full socialist measures..steel and yet many other industries will be nationalised'. He disagreed 'very strongly' with the imposition of a comprehensive system of education, it would be a 'complete negation of democracy if the scheme was imposed before the electorate had a chance of discussing it themselves'. He was particularly against the amalgamation of schools on separate sites. He was in favour of the transferability of pension rights; many people not receiving pensions at the moment would under a Conservative Government. As a new MP, he felt an MP had a responsibility not only to discuss and take part in matters of national and general importance, but to discuss and take an interest in the day-to-day problems of their constituents.

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On defence, he said the Conservative Government had 'left our country in an extra strong position'; the Labour Government had tackled defence in a completely wrong way.

Labour : Garfield School : 17.3.66

Clr. Merrion: Since 1964..pledges honoured..prepared to take unpopular steps. In 1945 carried out a social revolution.. seeking mandate to carry this a stage further..our record '45 to '51 and 17 months..against 13 years.

Mr. Gourgey: 500 days..splendid record..country's willingness to face the facts..deficit..manfully and bravely tackled. Tory government..return to 'stop-go', credit squeeze, high rate of unemployment. Labour's record..sterling strong..National Economic Plan..Ministry of Science and Technology..slum clearance..Rent Act..prescription charges..pensions..wage related sickness and unemployment benefits..comprehensive schools. Foreign Affairs.. defence policy rational and adequate for the needs of the country, avoids wasteful expenditure Tories incurred. First in the world with Minister of Disarmament..Britain has tried to set a systematic example of aid and trade, overcoming terrible poverty. 1949..if India hadn't been independent, communism would have swept over Asia..a terrible situation for western powers. Image abroad of Government..vigorous, brave, manfully tackling and overcoming its many problems.

Clr. Smythe: ..didn't give us the power to do the job..don't let Labour ruin it?, don't let Tories interfere with it!

Questioner: ..comprehensives..how it would affect us?..

Clr. Smythe: ..one-tier comprehensives..some being built already which can be used, but almost as well done by grouping..intend to come into areas to explain what we are doing..not buildings that matter..kind of education in school.

Same Questioner: Overseas development..poured out millions.. nothing but ingratitude..slung our representatives out.

Mr. Gourgey: ..took millions out..wealth based on exploitation of India over many years, merely returning some of the wealth now..Communism offers to us the greatest challenge ever faced. Lenin.. "communism will ultimately come to London and Washington via the Yangtse and the Ganges"..first has already happened.. in 1962, Chinese invasion of Northern India.

Liberal : Hazelwood School : 24.3.66

Mark Bonham Carter: Outlined the Liberal policy at home; said that the Liberals rejected the idea of an East of Suez role, and were in favour of strengthening the UN and admitting China to UN.

Mr. Bridge: He began by saying the rise in the cost of living and prices was in large measure due to restrictive practices on both sides, but the other parties hadn't been able to deal with these or with monopolies. As a result of a Liberal campaign against tyre price fixing ten years ago, a Monopolies Commission recommended action in twenty-two out of twenty-four cases. By 1964, there had been action on two of these! The Labour Party was dependent on Union finance and the Conservative on big business, only the Liberals were completely independent. The Liberal Party was in favour of rate reform and had called a rates protest meeting in Southgate. The only people to vote against a protest resolution were the delegates from the Labour and Conservative parties. The Liberals wanted Site Value Rating instead of the present policy. They also maintained pensioners should not have to go to the N.A.B. in order to manage. Pensions should be tied to a special cost of living index, contributions being a percentage levy on total income, not on a 'same rate for all' basis. People should vote for the individual candidate rather than for the party or the leader. If he were elected, he would bring up the personal problems of his constituents in the House of Commons. He felt that the people of Southgate were split 50-50 over comprehensives, had he been elected in 1964; he would have called a public meeting in Southgate on this issue. However, the real need was for more, and better trained teachers, without which no system could work. The Liberals were not in favour of sending British troops to Vietnam. They supported the US, but said that we must influence them to get round the conference table, preferably through the UN. The war bore hallmarks of the Spanish Civil War in that it was a war of ideals, the communism of China versus the democratic system of America. He supported both NATO and the UN, because he believed small groupings such as NATO would pave the way for World Government.

#### HORNSEY FORUM ON THE UN & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

1. What role do you consider Britain should play in strengthening the UN?

Morris: Britain's role nothing to be proud of. Every 'progressive' disappointed over question of China's entry to UN. Britain should insist that China's admission be determined by a simple majority. On the question of Aden and Rhodesia, we voted same

way as Portugal and other reactionary countries and abstained on economic sanctions against South Africa. We should align ourselves with the most progressive people and countries and strengthen the UN practically.

Rossi: Condemned refusal of some members to pay their share of the peace-keeping tasks; supported admission of China to UN.

Yeo: Stands by Universal Declaration of Human Rights, word by word, letter by letter. Britain's contribution to UN had increased recently from £23mill. to £31mill. (Rossi - these are 1964 figures - due to Conservatives!) Against principle of countries paying only for actions they supported, supported idea of special peace-keeping fund. On new ways of financing the UN, he mentioned idea of making all airlines belong to UN, and profit going to finance UN. Foreign policy must be seen to be putting UN policy above others.

Morris: Rossi did not budge on question of admission of China, still talked of a  $\frac{2}{3}$  majority. Doubted if Yeo had said any of his earlier remarks in public between the elections.

Yeo: Peace-keeping - Labour working very hard. Over Aden, supported condemnation of violation of human rights, supported proposal to pull out of Aden.

2. If elected, would you join the House of Commons UNA Group?

All: Yes.

3. What constructive part has the UN to play in stopping the war in Vietnam?

Rossi: UN can encourage talks between the parties and provide proper supervision to see that free elections are held.

Yeo: Wanted complete dissociation by this country from the imperialism and brutality of American action in Vietnam, a settlement on the principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and the provision of free elections for North and South Vietnam.

Morris: Criticised Yeo for saying nothing on this issue for the last eighteen months. Without British support, the war would have ended a long time ago. The issue could not be settled by the UN, only by observance of the 1954 Agreements, and these had been broken by the US intervention.

Rossi: The Government had merely continued Conservative policy.

Morris had made no mention of free elections. The Americans were in Vietnam at the request of Vietnam.

Morris: Stood by the point made by the North Vietnamese, free elections under UN supervision.

Yeo: The Labour Party had done a magnificent job, but had made some grievous mistakes which he firmly disagreed with, and he would take this line in the House of Commons.



4. According to the National Plan, productivity should be increased by 25% by 1970, do you agree that 1% should be given to the developing countries?

Morris: Yes, but isn't enough, need a proper trading relationship with the old colonial countries.

Yeo: Yes, but aid should be increased. Most aid is regarded as an investment, we need to increase interest-free loans.

Rossi: Yes, more assistance overriding need for these countries.

Meyer: (Arrived during this question) Did not think would be 25% increase, but in favour of increased aid, bulk given through UN.

Yeo: People, not only money, should be sent to help countries.

5. Would you support a British initiative at the UN to make economic sanctions against Rhodesia mandatory on all members?

Rossi: No, advocated talks between the British Government and Rhodesia, but handing over of power couldn't take place until the Africans were ready for it.

Yeo: Yes, wanted the present economic sanctions extended to South Africa, and made mandatory. The sanctions must be given time to work, if they didn't, international action was the only answer, but any military intervention must be through UN.

Morris: Yes, but situation due to lack of firm action on part of Labour Government, compare action in Aden where rebels were 'wogs'.

Meyer: Yes, but impossible to enforce as number of nations would opt out. If force must be used, responsibility lay with us since it was a domestic issue.

6. ...on possibility of extending Test Ban Treaty to a complete disarmament treaty.

Meyer: Any initiative by anyone anywhere was to be welcomed, provided there was an adequate control system, he was against the spread of nuclear weapons.

Morris: In favour of an underground test ban at once, as monitoring was not necessary. What had happened to the Labour Party's 1964 pledge about Polaris?

Rossi: Tory Party had taken leading part in partial test ban treaty should be followed up to include underground tests and steps to prevent proliferation should be taken.

Yeo: In favour of extension, and treaty on non-proliferation.

In favour of a treaty for underground tests above a seismic magnitude of four now, and extension to those below four, later.

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