

# YOUNG GUARD

the paper with a socialist programme for youth

No. 10

July-August

4d.

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## WORLD FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

**WHY** do we fight for Socialism? Because we believe that it is the only way of life that can give the world freedom—freedom from war, freedom of thought, and freedom from hunger. For most people of the world hunger is their greatest enemy, an enemy that strikes through malnutrition, tuberculosis, yaws, blindness, unalleviated misery.

In the last 60 years the world population has doubled to 3,000 million, of which more than half are starving. In the last 12 years 1,000 million babies were born, but 150-200 million of them died before their first birthday. Of the survivors 600-650 million suffered from hunger and disease. It is estimated that 40 million people suffer from yaws yet one shot of penicillin each could cure them. The cost of the penicillin shot? 4d. The life expectancy

of an Indian is 32, ours in Britain is 70.

Perhaps the most bloodcurdling fact of all is a financial comparison. The amount necessary to raise the conditions of these starving people to a European level is only £5,000 million, yet the annual expenditure of the world's states for military purposes is £40,000 million. This budget for death comes before the welfare of their fellow men. These are the horrifying facts—The two spectres that menace mankind are war and starvation. As these figures show they are inseparable. Let no apathetic cynic say that socialist youth no longer has anything to fight for. Now, more than ever before, we must reassert our faith in International Socialism, the only thing that can save the world from destruction and starvation.



Africans flee fascist bullets at Sharpeville

### Africa

A continent aflame—Its people in revolt against the tyranny of white minorities and Western imperialism, this is the history of Africa, since World War II. One by one the peoples of the continent are winning their independence but still the fight goes on, the savagery of the white rulers, in face of the inevitable is equalled only by the determination of Africans.

After 8 years of slaughter in Algeria the French have capitulated to the F.L.N. leaving the fascists of the O.A.S. to fight their hopeless battle against the Algerian people.

In Angola, the Portuguese rulers still practice slavery and torture of opponents, but the revolution of 1961 continues. In that year the long suffering coloured population, 4½ million strong, declared war on the Salazar regime, demanding the right of education, decent wages, free speech, and racial equality. The reply of this "Christian" nation (Britain's oldest ally) was to massacre the people with sub-machine guns and NAPALM bombs supplied by the defenders of freedom, the NATO alliance. "I estimate

we've killed 30,000 of these animals, and we'll kill another 100,000 when the dry season starts". These were the words of a Portuguese officer talking to a "Daily Mirror" reporter last year. The Tories reaction to these atrocities was to send ships to Angola on a goodwill mission, to sell frigates to the Portuguese, and send Lord Home to Lisbon, for the anniversary celebrations of the fascist coup d'etat which founded the present regime.

In South Africa, the pressure grows. Verwoerd introduces the Sabotage Bill carrying the death penalty for unlawful entry, damage to property and possession of firearms. The white racialists ban free speech, African Trade Unions, and all socialist ideas.

When £60 million was spent on arms the Minister of Defence F. C. Erasmus made clear his intentions "You must not think that we are arming against an external enemy, we are not. We are arming to shoot down the black masses."

For the oppressors time is running out. Salazar, Verwoerd, Salan, Tshombe and the rest cannot contain the demands for independence, equality and justice.

### Europe

The past few months have seen exciting developments in the fight against dictatorship in Spain, Portugal and Greece.

In Spain the Asturian miners struck and sparked off nation-wide demonstrations against the Franco Regime. Although their Trade Unions were destroyed after the defeat of the Spanish workers in 1938, the strikers showed amazing solidarity and heroism in face of hunger, arrests and policy brutality. In one incident they were forced into the mine at gunpoint but still refused to work.

Students demonstrating in Madrid shouted support for the strikers and even some sections of the Catholic Church, for long a bastion of fascism, came to the aid of the workers.

Most of the demands of the strikers have now been granted and there is a lull in the battle for freedom, but Franco's gaols are still full of political prisoners. Some are Asturian miners, some are socialist students, but many are comrades who were captured during and after the Civil War. In Burgos Prison alone there are 465 political prisoners some of whom

have been 25 years in goals.

In Portugal, another Fascist Regime, Salazar's, totters to destruction. Student demonstrators have been fighting in the streets with police and army since the beginning of March. On May 10th 1,000 students were arrested during an anti-government sit-down and "academic mourning" (refusal to attend lectures etc) is wide-spread. The students are demanding freedom of the press and a removal of the ban on international contact. The statement of the Portuguese Minister of Corporation shows that unrest is not confined to the classroom "I warn workers against celebrating 1st May as anything but the feast of St. Joseph, in the liturgical sense." Greece, is also in trouble. The elections of last October were greeted here as a triumph for the West, but on April 20th 100,000 people marched in protest against the rigged vote. In fights with the police 50 were arrested and 40 seriously injured. They will join the other 1,500 socialists in prison.

The reactionaries cannot stop the tide of history. The old order is crumbling. Let us do all we can to help our overseas comrades to smash it.

# EDITORIAL

WALTER Wolfgang, Ernie Roberts, Illyd Harrington, Keep Left, Bertrand Russell, ...the heads continue to roll, all for the cause of 'democratic socialism'.

As patience and tolerance become scarcer and scarcer qualities among the Labour Leadership, the phrase 'democratic socialism' appears in every speech they utter and every document they produce with increasing frequency.

Not that 'Young Guard' opposes socialism or democracy—in fact we consider the two words to be synonymous, and are at present advocating a considerable dose of each. However it would seem, in the light of recent events, very useful to define what we mean by democracy in the Labour Party.

A perverted morality is rapidly developing within the party, which allows the leaders to flout conference decisions with impunity (even ones they proposed themselves) yet should a rank-and-filer step out of line he is labelled with the latest smear—communist dupe, trotskyst wrecker, infiltrator, disruptionist etc.—and called up for interview and sentence. In such circumstances the word democracy would seem a little out of place, yet we are told that such activities are necessary to preserve democracy within the party. We consider that they indicate a very rapid retreat from democracy.

Socialism requires the conscious participation of all members of society in the making of every decision that affects them, i.e. a really democratic society. Socialism cannot be achieved until the vast majority consciously want to transform society and are actively engaged in bringing about such a transformation—i.e. a really democratic movement. Such a movement must be led by a party whose structure reflects the society it seeks to create; a party in which every member consciously participates in every decision which is taken and is actively concerned with the creation of the policy of the party—i.e. a really democratic party.

It is important to remember these ideals as we struggle to preserve our remaining democratic rights within the party. This struggle is of the utmost importance, for unless we stop the rot, the heads will continue to roll.—V.F.S., C.N.D., Michael Foot, Tribune, Young Guard, M.C.F., Young Socialists, etc., etc.

★ ★ ★

Stop Press—As we go to print, news comes of suspension of four members of the Y.S. National Committee, Davies, Ginsberg, Tallantire, Thompson. Inquiry into *Young Guard*. Based on alleged disruption of Y.S. Conference. We state both our meetings during Conference open and attended by people of all views. For defence we wish to contact all non-Y.G. supporters present Friday & Saturday meetings. Appeal. Protest in every possible way against suspensions.

## AMERICA

by Sergio Junco

ALTHOUGH it would be illusory to affirm that McCarthyism has been completely wiped out from the American political scene, it is nonetheless true that there has been a big retreat from the witchhunting of the early fifties; and it is within the context of this improved political atmosphere that it has been possible for some political groups in the U.S.A., which are still very small at present, to make radical analyses of the evils of American society and consequently to advocate publicly and struggle for radical remedies to the evils which are inherent in the social system existing in the U.S.A.

### Y.P.S.L.

Not a single radical group in the U.S.A. can claim to have a working-class membership. The **Young People's Socialist League** (youth section of the Socialist Party—Social Democratic Federation) is so far no exception to this rule. Like all other radical youth organizations it derives most of its strength from the increasing political awareness of American university students. Obviously, with its continuing growth, the Y.P.S.L. will look more and more towards becoming a more representative organization than students movements usually are.

### STRUGGLES

The Y.P.S.L. concentrates most

of its strength in supporting and actively participating in all the struggles of the American people for justice and human rights. Trade-unions, Civil Rights, Peace, Civil Liberties are the main arenas of struggles within the U.S.A. The Y.P.S.L. supports and participates in each of these struggles both for their sake and also because they are important steps to our desired goal: Socialism.

### PEACE

It is encouraging to notice in the American political scene that the peace movement is gaining supporters every day. At a recent rally in Washington, between 5,000 and 6,000 young people demonstrated against nuclear testing by any power, and for American unilateral initiative in disarmament. Y.P.S.L. was one of the sponsors of this important demonstration. We also give complete support to the **Student Peace Union**, with which we share a good deal of political orientation, as well as to **Turn Towards Peace**, the most important adult peace organization in the U.S.A.

### PAY-PAUSE

On the Labour scene, the prospect for the future is one of intense struggle, not only for the defence of the already achieved gains of the American working-

## SAVE THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

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PROTEST MEETING SPONSORED BY TRIBUNE

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Sunday July 22nd 2.30p.m.

DENISON HOUSE

Vauxhall Bridge Rd.,

(1 min from Victoria Stn.)

Chair—Dick Clements

(Ed. Tribune)

Speakers will include members of the Y.S. National Committee

All Labour Party members welcome

## YOUNG GUARD ACCOUNT

March 1st-May 31st

INCOME	
Brought For'd	2 10 10
London	15 19 5
Scotland	38 11 10
Midlands	12 5 6
North West	10 12 8
North East	7 18 0
East	10 1 10
South	6 1 5
Wales	4 10 6
Other Sales	16 8
Collections	7 3 7
	<hr/>
	116 12 3

## EXPENDITURE

Printing	88 0 0
Postage	8 12 4
Blocks	2 18 2
Stationery	10 0
Bank	4 0
Rooms	1 10 6
Carried For'd	14 17 3
	<hr/>
	116 12 3

Outstanding:

Postage	7 19 5
Blocks	3 19 4

Miami sit-in

## EDITORS REPORT

Despite the continuing threat of proscription, the number of articles submitted for this issue reached an all time high—in fact we could have had 3 different *Young Guards* which would certainly have confused Transport House or alternatively 24 pages which we would have dearly loved but for an odd drawback called finance. A really big effort by our supporters in collecting money would let us contemplate 12 pages and make the job of the Working Editorial Board, in deciding between so many good articles, much easier.

Reg and his hatchetmen had a swinging time at Skegness, their greatest achievement in the name of 'democratic' socialism being the banning of the sale of all "unofficial" literature (except the *Daily Herald & Evening Standard*). Despite this, *Young Guards* were sold, and by June 10th we had virtually sold out of the June issue. Good work comrades!

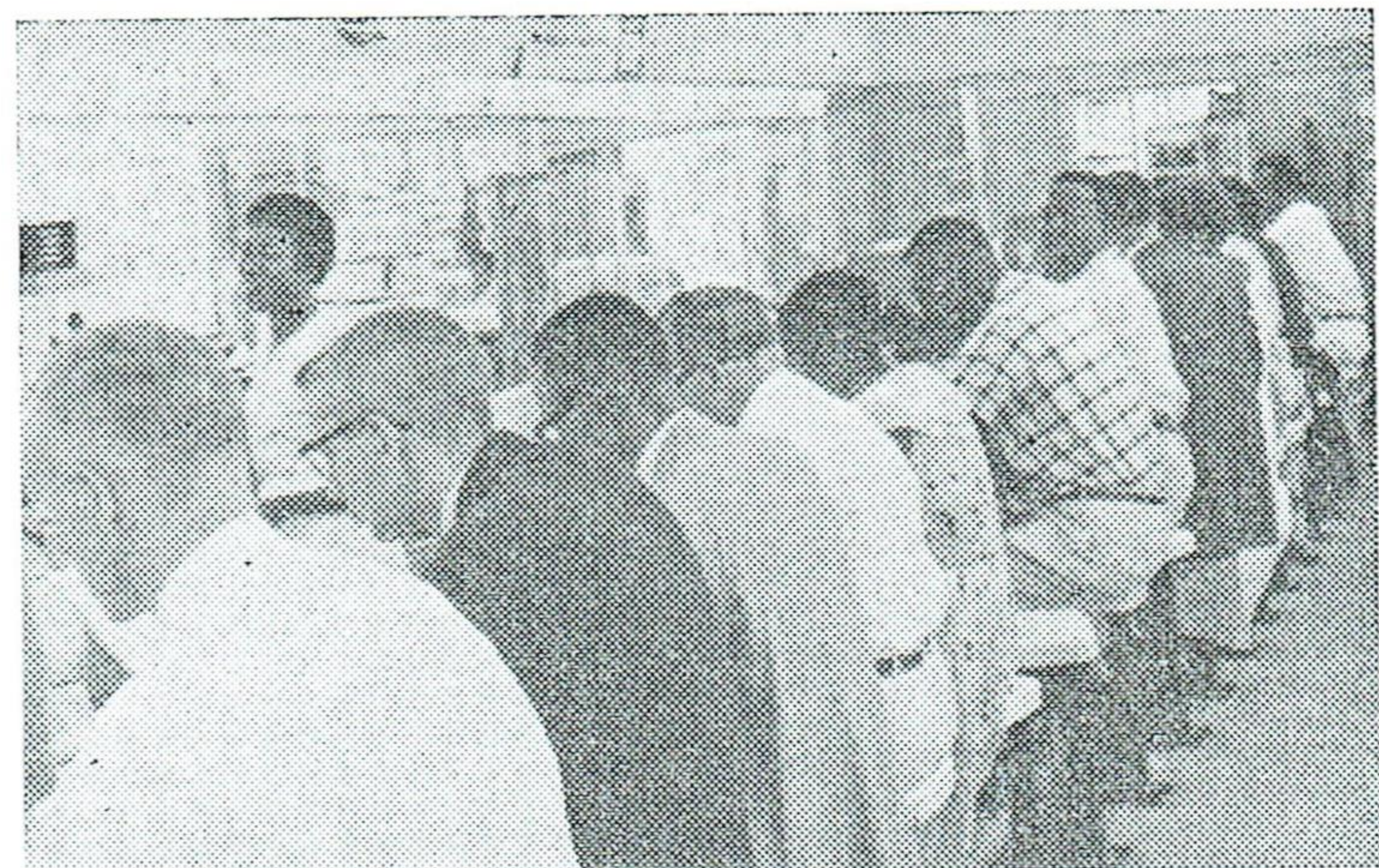
We hear that "Counterblast" is now available at the Transport House book-stall (apparently it is allowed such facilities because it supports official policy—Reg has exercised his discretions in respect of tests and *Polaris*).

This month we present a feature on housing by our Liverpool supporters. For the future we plan to have 2 page features on women and socialism, workers control, United Nations, apprentices, Chartists, etc. Lets hear other ideas.

Finally an oft-heard plea for material. *Young Guard* needs far more local news from the movement, so lets have short reports on your own struggles at work, or in your Y.S. or Y.C.N.D. branch etc.

So lets make this month an all time record for sales, donations, and articles.

P.S. Press deadline for September issue—August 16th.



class but to extend them vigorously. This defence is very necessary given President Kennedys' threat that the government will oppose increases in wages of more than 3 per cent. a year in many sections of the economy. This 3 per cent is alleged to be the equivalent of the annual increase of "productivity." This scandalous threat, which reminds one so much of Selwyn Lloyd, must be resisted with all the resources that the American Labour Movement can command.

### NEGRO

The fight for Negro rights in the South as well as in the North

is the most important movement going on in the U.S.A. at the present moment. Negroes are realising more and more that their enemies are also the enemies of social progress in general. In the South the fight against discrimination has to be directed against the same people who oppose the massive unionization of both White and Negro workers as well as any kind of social legislation.

In conclusion, the task ahead is enormous and our strength very small, but this should not deter us from vigorously working towards our goals.

# FOLK SONG

When the word "folk-song" is mentioned the image conjured up in many people's minds is that of song strewn with tired platitudes about how good life is; songs about fighting for the glory of King and Country and the joy of serving a good and honest master.

The existence of these songs cannot be denied, as most of us at one time or another sang them during our schooldays . . . and therein lies the answer. A great number of these songs you will find were produced by individual song-writers who were for the most part completely divorced from the everyday life of the common people, and other songs, although created by the people, have been taken up by the ruling class and its minions and "pretied up" to conform with bourgeois standards of consumption.

## BALLAD

The mass of songs however which has remained within the oral tradition of the workers has played a vital part in the recording of working and social conditions and the political struggle of the oppressed classes.

The basis of rural folk culture in Britain was the ballad—a song whose most striking qualities were a firm narrative line and an economy of words which emphasised its dramatic impact.

Alongside these songs developed the more casual folk-song, which was usually shorter, more subjective and dealing with everyday events in the life of a rural community.

All these songs, ballads and casual, passed through the "folk process"—that is the oral tradition—the good songs being kept and refined by this process, those which are not so good being rejected.

## MUSIC HALL

With the industrial revolution, the drift of workers to the towns intensified. The songs went with them. Many rural songs remained intact; others were modified to suit their new surroundings; still others were rejected or forgotten. New songs arose out

of the pressures of industrial existence. The intolerable conditions produced many fine songs—much harsher in their cry of protest, much more direct in their condemnation of their ruling classes.

But the spontaneity and originality of folk-song were seriously threatened in these late Victorian years by organised entertainment—most of all by music hall. There was of course a great deal of exploitation in music-hall. But, since most of the artists were themselves from the working class, many of the songs they sang retained the idiom and themes of the old rural and industrial folk heritage. Thus the music halls continued in part a working class tradition in song.

## RAGTIME

The 1920's drove folk-song underground. It was swamped in a deluge of silent film, "talkies," "popular music" consisting largely of vulgarised New Orleans and Dixieland jazz in the form of Ragtime, dances like the Charleston, and stage musicals from Broadway. In this era the foundations were laid for the exploitation by capital of all forms of entertainment on a fantastic scale. Economic competition killed the music halls. Mass media began to grow, and to strengthen the capitalist forces of subjection. The now highly organised working class were alienated from their own culture by this very subjection. The history of entertainment follows the same pattern as does the history of industry and commerce . . . it is the same story of exploitation and centralised power.

## UNION SONGS

In the United States during that same period the same process was taking place. There the 1930's saw a battle for the right to organise on a scale quite unknown in the West. The formation of the C.I.O. for the workers in unskilled and mass production industries saw many new ideas in the approach to trade unionism. Chief among these was the sing-

ing and writing of union songs. The singing union organiser was a common feature in CIO trade unions, and groups of singers were formed to visit union meetings all over the country—the most famous of these were the Almanac singers. This last group consisted at one time of singer like Peter Seegar, Josh White, Leadbelly, Burl Ives and Woody Guthrie.

## NEW DEAL

The last mentioned is one of the most consistent and prolific writers of industrial folk-songs in the English-speaking world. Apart from his work in and among the unions, he was commissioned by the New Deal Government to write songs about the big dam construction projects. The best known of these is "The Great Grand Coulee Dam." Once again the folk song shouted its protest against the conditions and the treatment of the workers.

## W.M.A.

The post-war years in this country saw the formation of the Workers' Musical Association for the production of books and records of folk-songs, and later of the Ballads and Blues Association to encourage the singing of these songs. Neither was very successful, until the mid-fifties heralded the "Skiffle Era." Skiffle was based entirely on American folk-music, mostly negro in origin, and influenced largely by Leadbelly and Woody Guthrie. Skiffle clubs were formed which later laid the basis for folk-song clubs.

## SKIFFLE

Skiffle at first glance looked very healthy. It appeared to inspire a wave of spontaneous cultural activity among the country's youth. But it soon became clear that this spontaneity had degenerated in many cases into a desire to "make the charts" and a lot of money in Tin Pan Alley. There were also of course a lot of easy profits for guitar and record companies. The full power of the capitalist guns were brought to bear on this new target. Taste and originality were

quickly disposed of . . . and skiffle died the death of ruthless exploitation.

## TIN PAN

The significance of skiffle was that it brought home to many people that there was more to songs and singing than the dreary trash that the song-pluggers and "cats" of Tin Pan Alley had to offer them. People went deeper into the field of folk-song and discovered a wealth of music they had never dreamed existed. So organisations like the Ballads and Blues Association were given the necessary support to function properly.

## GIMMICK

Unfortunately the folk-song clubs which have sprung up all over the country have suffered from too great an emphasis on American material tending to ignore our own rich heritage. This is gradually being righted, and folk music continues to gain in popularity. It would however be disastrous if folk song got the same treatment as did skiffle, as it is a valid cultural expression of working class thought and feeling and not just musical gimmickry.

## GLASGOW

Another type of folk-song which has developed recently is that of the topical "protest" song. Most notable of these are the anti-Polaris songs written and sung in and around Glasgow. They have proved invaluable to demonstrators adding strength and unity to their cause.

The story of folk-song is the story of the working-class itself. Even to-day there awaits beneath the surface a mass of song, music and story which has been produced over the past hundred years or so by the industrial working class.

This store must not be lost, as it is an invaluable part of our cultural heritage. The folk song can be augmented and guided by the organised labour movement. This could help to create the working class consciousness needed to bring the whole crumbling and decaying system crashing around the shoulders of the capitalist class.

## OUR AIMS

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

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

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

An internationalist policy based on co-operation with genuine labour movements throughout the world;

Votes and full legal rights at 18;

Three-year apprenticeships, full trade union rights and the ending of blind-alley employment;

Free access to the highest educational facilities for all and the replacement of the tri-parite system of education by comprehensive schooling;

The full development of and free access to sporting and cultural facilities;

The building of a democratic Young Socialist movement pledged to achieve the above programme working in conjunction with young socialists from other countries.

## HEUTHANASIA

*What a friend we have in Gaitskell—  
He deserves the workers' thanks;  
While we march to Aldermaston  
He's cahooting with the Yanks.  
He'll have made his contribution  
Beating ploughshares into swords—  
Come the bloody revolution  
He'll be in the House of Lords.*

by Dr. Alex Comfort

From Anti-Polaris Song Book, Glasgow Song Guild,  
109, Balgrayhill Road, Glasgow.

## TRIBUNE

Labours' weekly 6d

Remember  
the  
22nd

222 Strand E.C.1

## PEACE NEWS

Every Friday 4d

No Bombs  
No Tests

5 Caledonian Rd.,

# HOUSING THE PEOPLE -

Once again the claim that we now live in an era of plenty has been blown sky high by the revelation that 3,500 homeless people have had to seek refuge from private landlordism in the welfare centres of the London County Council.

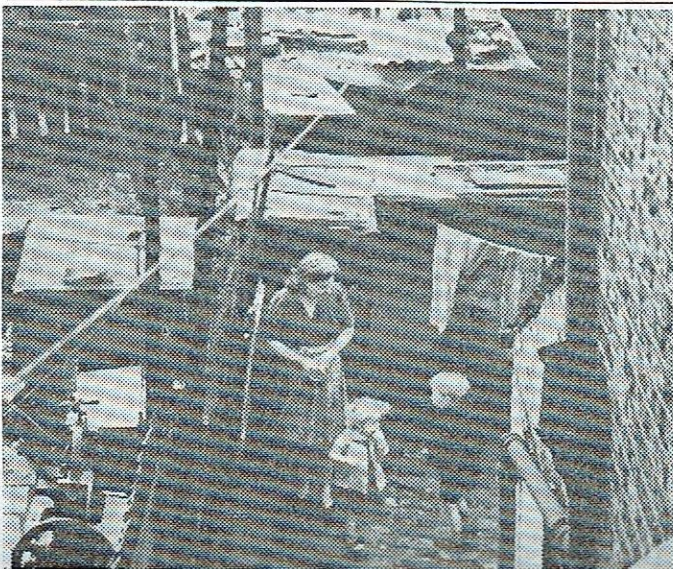
The desperate plight of the homeless reflects in a more lurid form a general disease repeated again and again throughout the country. Housing is the greatest social problem in modern Britain. Particularly is this true in relation to human degradation, misery and suffering. How many undocumented broken marriages and how much racial violence finds an origin in the rotten slums which smear our towns and cities?

The housing problem arose from the very development of the capitalist system and only a new society, with a fresh approach, breaking down the barriers between town and country and

sweeping aside the morality of the money lender and the slum landlord, can solve the question. It is necessary to say this for those who play a part in dealing with housing at a local level need reminding that sincere and wholehearted as their efforts may be they are at best scratching at the surface of the problem.

Bad housing is a tremendous social evil, its effects are deeply felt by millions of workers and young people every day of their lives. To say that in a socialist society decent living accommodations will be a universal right provides little consolation to the slum-dwellers of Glasgow, Leeds, London or Birmingham.

By tracing the development of the housing problem, its present magnitude, and examining certain aspects in detail, we hope we have created interest in a constructive programme, for to us socialism means practical answers to very real problems.



## LAND HOUSING SCAPEGOATS

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## No Differentials

**HARDLY** a day passes without some journal of the Capitalist press railing at council tenants and the "privileged" status this section of the working class enjoys. Encouraged by this continual barrage, the Tory Government has endeavoured to persuade local authorities to introduce differential rent schemes to remedy this "scandalous" situation. The Tories, with their unlimited propaganda resources, are able to project the image of these schemes as being one of social justice, aimed at bringing about "equalisation" of rents. Considering the favourable response this formula has met amongst many of the working class, it is essential that we examine the socialist attitude towards differential rent schemes.

### MEANS TEST

Differential rent schemes vary in composition from one authority to another, but retain the mutual characteristic of determining the rents of council tenants by reference to their income, i.e. a means test. Before judging the Means Test, we must first of all understand why many financially harassed councils resort to these schemes in order to keep their heads above water.

### LOANS

The Labour Government, 1945-51, putting top priority on council building, made available to local authorities extensive housing subsidies and loans, through the Public Loans Board at rates of interest which never exceeded 3 per cent. Since then the Tories have virtually abolished all loans through this body, and have forced local authorities to depend on the financiers and money lenders for funds to finance their housing programmes. A number of authorities, including Manchester and Liverpool, have recently advertised for short term loans at rates of interest varying between 6½-6¾ per cent. It can be imagined what effect such borrowing has on the financial situation of an authority.

### TORY WEAPON

The question is often posed: "Granted that Tory policy is responsible for all this, but should not socialists support any idea which will distribute the burden of meeting the housing deficit according to income." A differ-

ential rent scheme presupposes a Means Test, which is the traditional weapon of the rich for driving down the standard of living of the workers. More Government machinery, dossiers and bureaucracy has to be created in order to put such schemes into effect, which causes more expenditure. They encourage snooping by other tenants and are designed to split the working class. They mean verifying earnings with employers. How would a private tenant greet the prospect of his landlord immediately deducting a percentage from a hard won wage increase! This is the lot of the council tenant under a differential rent scheme since approximately one-fifth of total income is usually considered to be the amount available for rent.

### HIGH RENTS

Differential rent schemes are a means of squeezing as much as possible from council tenants in order to repay the interest rates of the money lenders. This is illustrated by a survey of those authorities using these schemes. Of 154 local authorities classified as "high rent" authorities 113 use differential rent schemes. Among these 154 there are 43 who charge an exceptionally high average rent of 35/-, which usually amounts to about 50/- when rates are taken into account. It is significant that 39 out of the 43, or 92 per cent use these schemes. On the other hand, only 7 out of a total of 115 authorities, which charge an average of less than £1, use the differential rent scheme, which makes nonsense of the Tories claim that this is the best method of housing the poor.

### RESIST

Mr. Martin Bond, a Tory London County Councillor, stated during the debate on London's homeless that "private enterprise cannot build to-day at rents that the working man can afford." Labour councils must take this admission of bankruptcy at face value, and must continue to build houses at "low rents" even at the risk of surcharge by the District Audit, and must resist the temptation of becoming agents of the Tory Government by meekly passing on increases to council tenants.

**ONLY** 8.9 per cent of Britain's total land acreage is built on and yet news of land fetching £48,000 per acre, frequently hits the headlines highlighting the contradictions of the economic system we live under.

The present "Land Famine" finds its origin in the outdated population growth figures of 1947. It was estimated at this time that the rate of growth of population would increase to 650,000 per year by 1957, and remain steady after that, but in actual fact it rose to 782,673 in the year 1960, and it is expected to reach 925,000 by the year 2000 A.D. Consequently the amount of land allocated to meet the 1947 figures is now insufficient for future needs, hence the land famine.

### 8,000,000

The number of new houses which will be needed by 1980 to cope with this population increase is in the region of 4,000,000, and with another 4,000,000 required to replace those houses which will be 100 years old by then, it makes a total of 8,000,000 new accommodation units necessary by 1980.

Can Capitalism reach this target? Look at the Tories record:—

Year	Houses Built
1948	227,616
1953	317,779
1954	347,805
1961	269,062

### DIVIDE WORKERS

And the shortage remains! Shortage of houses can lead to division amongst workers. The misery created by housing problems often leads to racialism. Any condition which creates the idea that coloureds are being housed before other workers, and thereby causing a worsening of the housing shortage helps the speculators. Unfortunately the backward workers suffering under overcrowded and miserable conditions are naturally susceptible to this propaganda.

### IMMIGRANTS

What is the truth? The coloured population is only 400,000 in Britain—less than 1 per cent of the total population. Approximately 1,700,000 people left Britain between 1952-61 and in the same period only 400,000 immigrants of all nationalities came into Britain.

The idea that some blame for the housing problem lies with the coloured immigrant is preposterous. He comes to Britain to escape terrible living conditions at home, where he is unemployed or viciously exploited and finds himself a victim of the housing shortage on imperialism's home ground.

The housing problem belongs to Capitalism and until Labour resolutely fights it we will not win the white worker to Socialism, let alone the coloured worker.

# A SOCIALIST SOLUTION

THE housing shortage is a legacy of the Industrial Revolution. The inrush of the rural population, created a scarcity of accommodation within the towns and makeshift workers dwellings were thrown up to meet the situation. In many of our large cities these constitute the slums which countless Tory and Liberal ministers and their "slum clearance" programmes have failed to obliterate. The "bloodsucker" role of the landlord who assumed some importance at this time has undergone no favourable change since then.

## RENT CONTROL

The landlords, who have always been a most irresponsible and vicious section of the Capitalist class, were seriously curtailed at the outbreak of the 1st World War, when rent control, i.e. the limitation on the amount of rent a landlord can charge, was introduced to prevent speculation. This remained till the support of the landlords for the cause of Toryism, was suitably rewarded by the 1957 Rent Act. At the outset of the "great peace" in 1918, they were allowed to increase rents by 40 per cent so long as they undertook to repair and maintain their property.

Between the wars public funds had to be used to persuade private enterprise to build 430,000 houses because the building industry, as to-day, found a more rewarding field in the erection of luxury hotels and office blocks.

## 1957

The introduction of the 1957 Rent Act, marked the beginning of an era when the landlords and property barons were given the undisputed right to ride roughshod over the rest of the population, to demand astronomical rents and to reap huge profits. The six million houses, rent controlled before 1957, were the object of this particular piece of Tory legislation. Under the act houses above £30 rateable value, £40 in the case of London, were de-controlled while the rent of houses of a lower RV were increased by twice as much where the landlord was responsible for repairs. If a change of tenancy occurs, other than a change within the family, controlled properties are immediately de-controlled, and let at the existing "market price." One particularly old and defective house was reported by the "Evening Standard" (October 1960) as having had its rent increased from £1 12s. to £7 in a week!

## MUSCLE BOYS

The landlords have resorted to all manner of trickery and intrigue, even to the extent of using the "muscle" boys, in order to



A GORBALS STREET 1962

force a change of tenancy. The gloating jubilation of the landlords and property barons, is reflected in the healthy balance sheets of most companies. The London County Freehold and Leasehold Co., who own 9,000 flats in London, increased their net profit from £271,000 in 1956, to £582,000 in 1960. The Victoria Property and Investment Co. paid a 5 per cent dividend in 1956, but were able to pay a 110 per cent dividend in 1960. No wonder Mr. Butler could say in November 1960, that the Rent Act would bring dividends in the end!

## AGGRESSION

That Private Landlordism has failed to satisfy the housing needs of the people, is emphasised in every Government report. Last year's housing census, revealed a net shortage of 54,901 houses in relation to the number of households. One would think that in the light of the depressed housing conditions of the working class and middle class during

the last ten years, and especially since 1957, a logical housing policy for a working class party to pursue would be one more aggressive than those pursued in the past. Not so the Labour Party. The one policy, municipalisation, which could seriously tackle the basic evil, private landlordism, was dropped by the last annual conference. Space does not permit an exhaustive study of this policy, as outlined by the policy statement "Homes For The Future," but it is self-evident that with a few modifications, it was a necessary means of attracting to the Labour Party all those people presently held to ransom by the landlords and "the market."

## SOLUTION

Frederick Engels said 90 years ago, "The housing question can be solved only when society has been sufficiently transformed for a start to be made towards abolishing the contrast between town and country." The validity of this statement is surely borne out by the experience of society since

then. All manner of earnest debates, enquiries, slum clearance programmes, etc., have done nothing to arrest the disease. The capitalists are unable to really understand that housing is directly related to the economic forces which control our society.

## THEY IGNORE

Drawing our lessons from the isolated socialist experiments of Owen and Fourier, where the contrast between town and country was non-existent, we know that only Socialism, with a plan for production, can fully meet the housing requirements of the people. The Labour leadership in their election addresses ignore society's greatest evil, capitalism, and are content to concentrate on the social services, housing included. Let the Young Socialists turn against them their mealy-mouthed phrases and actions on this issue, by counter-posing a real socialist policy and a determination to struggle jointly on behalf of both private and council tenant. Socialism is not some wonderful formula, for solving social problems, at some unspecified future date, but is a means of remedying immediately the existing housing chaos. We know that our proposal for the immediate requisition by the state of the large houses of the rich, and fashionable hotels, to house the poor and needy, will cause a certain consternation amongst the ranks of the "respectable" labour leadership. But it is certain that this step would meet with the ready approval of London's homeless.

## DEMANDS

If we are to harness the combined misery of the private tenant, council tenant and the house owner against a system which perpetuates the excesses of the landlords, building societies, estate agents and money lenders, we need a programme upon which to base our attack. We therefore put before the Y.S. and Labour Party a series of demands, which from time to time have been before the Labour Party Conference.

- (1) The Nationalisation of all urban land and big building and civil engineering firms.
- (2) Requisition by state of all unoccupied and underoccupied property.
- (3) Municipalisation of all rented accommodation.
- (4) Loans to all local authorities at low interest and 50 per cent Government grants for houses which replace slum property.
- (5) Local authorities to begin immediate building programme of 400,000 houses per year.
- (6) An end to all differential rents.

THE SECOND IN A SERIES OF YOUNG GUARD FEATURES DEALING WITH THE HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT AND THE PROBLEMS FACING SOCIALISTS TODAY. THIS MONTH'S FEATURE WAS PRODUCED BY YOUNG GUARD SUPPORTERS ON MERSEYSIDE—FROM BIRKENHEAD & BEBINGTON, BOOTLE, CROSBY, GARSTON, TOXTETH, WALLASEY & WALTON Y.S. BRANCHES

## LETTERS

### Carry on

For some time I have been hearing about your paper and the reports always seemed good from those whose political opinions are similar to mine. Having now read the June issue of Young Guard and agreeing with the aims of the paper, I will try to persuade all my socialist friends (and even some who are not socialists) that Young Guard really speaks for the Young Socialist movement and for the youth of the world.

Carry on the good work.

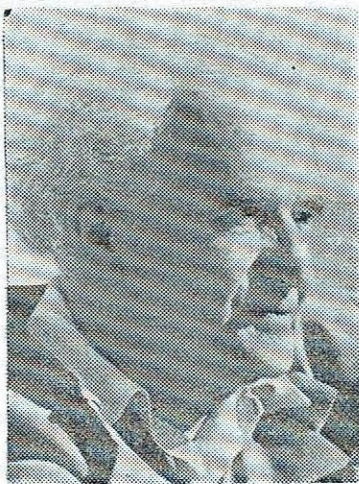
Fiona K. Scott-Batey,  
Newcastle-on-Tyne.

### Sectaria

I got a copy of Y. G. at Nottingham on Sunday, and really how you can waste valuable time and money on such a hotch-potch of a paper, and purport it to be in the interests of Socialism beats me. You don't seem to have sorted yourselves out and seem only concerned with back street wrangling.

I am a real campaigner—and surely you can see a much better way of spending your time and energy on the only genuine socialist organisation in the world the Socialist Party of Great Britain. You must surely have come into contact with it—Why don't you study its literature? I can assure you that your group in Notts are in for a hammering now that I am back home. For information and knowledge of Socialism 1 page of "Socialist Standard" is worth 1 dozen of your nondescript stuff. So please contact S.P.G.B. in what ever way you can and learn what Socialism really is about.

Harold M. Shaw Derby



Ben Gurion

### Zionism

We in the Zionist movement face the tremendous problems of winning youth away from the gaudy attractions of a materialistic society, and imbuing in them the dignity of labour, the recognition of a great culture, and a love for the Jewish Homeland.

The younger elements of the Labour movement are sadly misinformed about the situation in the Middle East; and particu-

larly the aims and achievements of the Zionist movement. Most of the newspaper coverage of Israeli affairs is of a sensationalist nature, e.g. "The land where Free Love is practised openly." It gives a completely false picture of what life is like in the Kibbutz (or communal settlements). The reality is much more mundane. The average kibbutznik is a hardworking family man, but unique in that despite his rural work, he takes a lively interest in world affairs and usually has a wide cultural interest. Adultery and divorce are very rare.

The adolescent life of Kibbutz children is no doubt freer from inhibition, and in fact, psychologically more healthy than that of city youth anywhere in the world. The pre-marital relationships of kibbutzniks certainly do not exceed that of "normal" society, and probably the incidence prior to the age of eighteen is much less than that of urban society.

In conclusion, I can say from experience of my stay in a Kibbutz, that the atmosphere of the average settlement is that of a hard-working community. Unlike most working-class groups, swearing and drinking are practically unknown, and in the evening, when the members play with their children, the spirit of peace and tranquility has to be experienced to be believed. Shalom!

Colin J. Shaw

Young Poale Zion (Zionist Socialist Youth)  
Manchester Branch.

### Pensions

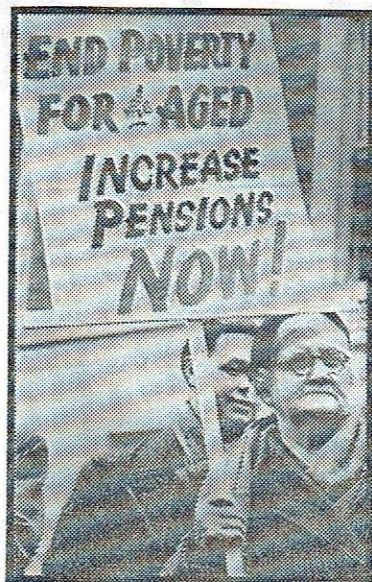
What is an old age pensioner? He is a figure of pity and degradation. Why? Because of the ignorance and apathy of the people who will not protest at the obvious conditions which prevail; although they themselves will probably end their days in the same way.

The present situation of the old age pensioner is ghastly. In Twickenham cases of malnutrition have been reported, and Twickenham is not alone in this.

A single person over 65 receives £2 17s. 6d., a married couple £4 12s. 6d. The figures are quite ludicrous and unlikely to improve.

Under this government, pensions will never be raised. Evidence of this is the mere fact that it was this government who withdrew the cheap rate of cigarettes and cinema. The cost-of-living is going up. Yet they deny the pensioner a cheap rate of coal, instead, even with the glut of coal which exists, the price increases every year. This is how the Tory Knights of Benevolence act. It is beyond their minds to give a little, instead of take. An old age pensioner could receive special rates on all items of importance, i.e., food, heating, clothes, etc. But at present pensioners pay the same price as someone earning an average wage.

How can any civilised people justify condemning a large, de-



fenceless section of the community to misery and hunger. Only a Tory would try to answer that.

H. Webb,  
Hemel Hempstead Y.S.

### Protest

Since the foundation of "Young Guard," I have found myself in disagreement with a large section of your editorial policy particularly on such questions as the role of the United Nations and entry into the Common Market.

This does not alter the fact that "Young Guard" has played an immensely valuable part in retaining the interest of Young people in the Labour Party and the ideals of socialism at a time when the actions of certain sections of the Party seem calculated to drive them into despair at the possibility of influencing Party policy through the usual constitutional channels. I know that your organisation is strictly democratic and self-financing and that anyone who sells the paper has a right to participate in its running. I know also that many of the comrades associated with "Young Guard" are amongst the most dedicated and hard working members of the Labour Party whom I have had the privilege of meeting.

If, as is the case with many independent journals, you are in competition with the Official publication, then the challenge should be gratefully accepted by "New Advance." If Young Socialists are not reading the latter journal then one may be forgiven for supposing that it does not represent

their aspirations and their spirit of independence which demands that they themselves produce what they sell.

Personally, I would like to see "Young Guard" broaden out into a different type of newspaper, but my primary purpose in writing to you is to express my disgust at any proposal to proscribe the newspaper. Ideas can only be countered by ideas and administrative remedies have the ring of a soul-less bureaucracy which democratic socialists learned to despise during the era of Stalin.

If there is room in the Labour Party for "Counterblast"—and I believe there is, then there is certainly room for "Young Guard." Let those who oppose this method of conducting political debate within the Labour Party stand up and be counted because until the witch hunting stops we will be so bound up in fratricidal strife that the resounding Socialist victory which could be ours at the next General Election may prove as elusive as the last three.

If the Labour Party can abandon its timidity and tap the vast source of radicalism which will be found elsewhere these days its future is assured. If it insists on proscriptions instead of principles it will go the way of Mollet and the S.F.I.O. One clear condemnation of ALL nuclear tests and the consequent mass murder of children yet unborn would be worth a thousand proscriptions and enquiries. The offending groups would be swamped by the number of new recruits.

Paul B. Rose  
(Prospective Parliamentary Candidate, Blackley.)

### Culture

Congratulodes on the debate of the roundy-roundy needle machine from which sex-matey woa woa yea yea sound, against the wavey-wavey baton chap and arty picture canvas man.

Surely solutio be in hybrid cultcho enculpating both "New Statesy" telly page and "Tribule" book revude. Additio, "Cliff sings Wolfgang Amoedius Mozart" and "Twist Twisty with Barbirolli-man." This solutode suit both probi-worky-bloke and brain-bulgy-bod, with a hybrid swingy-dodgy-Brittle-brain cultcho.

Jim,  
Vauxhall Bridge Road YS

LONDON YOUNG GUARD  
READERS MEETING

★ ★ ★

POLICY FOR YOUTH  
(heated discussion expected)

★ ★ ★

Discussion led off by  
Robin Jamieson &  
Gus Macdonald

Sunday 15th July, 7.30 p.m.  
'THE GEORGE'  
Old Bailey E.C.4.  
Nr. Tube St. Pauls

SOUTH EAST ESSEX  
FEDERATION RALLY

★ ★ ★

Speakers:—  
DRIBERG & MIKARDO

★ ★ ★  
Theatre Workshop Play

Dancing

Held at:—  
TOM DRIBERG'S HOUSE  
BRADWELL, ESSEX

Sunday 2nd September  
Details from—B. Kiddell  
Glengariff, Dunton Dr., Lawdon,  
Essex

# ORT... REPORT... REPORT... REPO

## YCND CONFERENCE

ALTHOUGH many of us consider the H-Bomb to perhaps be the biggest impertinence we have had from the ruling classes so far, we are, unfortunately, in a minority. Therefore as rainbow bombs explode daily about our ears each disarmament conference—the real thing, not Geneva—becomes more important.

The real thing, of course, is C.N.D. and the Committee of 100, who, for all their faults, are the only bodies who discuss disarmament. Only about 150 delegates turned up at the annual Y.C.N.D. conference in London last month. Y.C.N.D. is still growing at a pace which "respectable" politics could never equal, but this attendance indicates that the vast majority of members either just wear the badge, or go on to Aldermaston once a year, thinking that this is enough.

### INDEC

That the Young Socialists did not support the conference as they should, except for a minority, is inexcusable. I suspect that there were two reasons. Firstly, many comrades were busy trying to ensure the continued existence of the Young Socialists, which is fair enough. But many Y.S. members who are unilateralists refuse to spend much time with the Y.C.N.D. They refuse to present Socialist arguments to the Y.C.N.D. for some queer psychological reason.

However those comrades who were at the conference did manage to help in the rejection of I.N.D.E.C., and the idea of C.N.D. candidates. Also, much

emphasis was laid on trade union work at the conference.

### UNIONS

One of the resolutions passed suggested certain steps to further the disarmament cause in the unions. Y.S. members should make sure that these steps are taken in their YCND branches. A trade union officer should be appointed in each group, and on regional and area committees, trade union work should be placed on the agenda regularly and every eligible member should be in his union. Action should include discussion at union branches, and the strengthening of the youth wings of the unions (such as A.E.U. junior workers' committees).

### NO STRIKES

Resolutions calling on the Y.C.N.D. to commit itself to the Labour Party and the Young Socialists were defeated by quite large majorities. Until C.N.D. can grow roots into the working class movement it can still become a nine days' wonder. But resolutions are no substitute for action, so we still have a chance. A resolution calling for more emphasis on industrial action was also defeated. Not surprisingly, the Young Communist League voted against this.

### QUEEN

A resolution that a telegram be sent to the Queen for her birthday was defeated by only 47-42. Whether the many abstentions were Y.C.L. delegates, or whether they took a hard line I do not know.

## EASTERN

COMRADES, remembering the attempt to split the West London Federation, will view with suspicion the proposal of one or two right-wing branches to split the Metropolitan Essex Federation. The majority of branches in the Federation are left-wing, and although it is suggested that this proposal is not motivated by political considerations, one wonders whether it would have been put forward if the political complexion of the Federation had been right-wing.

Before considering any action the Regional Committee is circulating branches for their views to see if there is a substantial demand from the membership for this move. A decisive "no" is anticipated.

### PROSCRIPTIONS

Young Socialist delegates to the Eastern Regional Conference of the Labour Party were responsible for introducing a successful Emergency Resolution deploring the threatened disciplinary action against Bertrand Russell and others. The resolution, moved by Martin Lawn (Met. Essex Federation) was carried by 107 votes to 42, much to the annoyance of NEC representative James Callaghan, who brought out the

Communist smear against CND and gave his audience a heart-rending picture of the NEC loyally carrying out the dictates of Conference regarding proscribed organisations and protecting the Party from subversive elements.

Mr. Callaghan did however point out that the NEC is elected by Conference and Conference didn't have to re-elect members if they didn't want to. Perhaps Young Socialists will see that CLP's take Jim up on this suggestion next year!

### M.C.F.

Regrettably another resolution on the Conference Agenda protesting at the Regional Council's attitude in refusing affiliation of the YS Regional Committee to the Movement for Colonial Freedom was lost by the narrow margin of 8 votes.

### FEDS

A resolution calling for political discussion at Federation level fell because of the non-attendance of delegates from the sponsoring YS Federation. This is regrettable, especially as the Regional Council had decided to support the motion and instructed the Regional Youth Officer to speak in support!

NALSO—YOUNG GUARD—NEW LEFT  
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## KESSINGLAND CAMP

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## NALSO

IT IS no longer possible for Transport House to regard NALSO as the left-wing court jester of the Labour movement. Quite a while has passed since a member of the NEC amiably told us that resolutions from NALSO went straight into the wastepaper bin. Last year's executive were even accorded the accolade of being investigated by NEC.

It is being realised that the only viable path for NALSO to follow is one of close contact and co-operation with the Young Socialists. This is shown by the large section of the NALSO Conference devoted to the topic of the Young Socialists and by such joint action as the demonstrations against the Immigration Bill.

### KESSINGLAND

This was the mood that brought forth the idea of holding Kessing-

land Camp, a camp for both NALSO and the Young Socialists. The camp is hoped to fulfil two functions; first, it will provide an enjoyable seaside holiday and secondly it will help the two branches of the socialist youth movement to thrash out those questions that concern them both. It is unfortunate but true that we are more willing to shout slogans than to think. The only real victories that the Left have been able to achieve were significantly on defence, virtually the only topic on which the Left has presented a lucid independent programme, as opposed to its usual negative reaction to Right-wing initiative. Perhaps Kessingland will help in the formulation of our own "Signposts."

JULIAN ATKINSON  
Eltham YS  
(NALSO E.C.)

## SCOTTISH

THE BIG fight is on. In the week of the disbandment of the Glasgow Federation, as the fantastic hysteria of the party officials rose to fever pitch (with all sections of the Press recording every tremor), it looked as though the YS would suffer a terrible setback.

### MAY DAY

But since then the tide has slowly been turning. At a meeting of Springburn constituency GMC the YS admitted that many of them had taken part in the May Day demonstrations. After some argument, a motion calling for the disbandment of the YS mustered five votes in its support (more than 70 attended the meeting). Thirteen other Glasgow constituencies have cleared their YS after failing to prove any association with May Day. Craigton constituency also passed a motion deploring the attack on independent YS newspapers.

### WOODSIDE

The chopper still hangs—at the time of writing—over Woodside. The City Party had decided not to allow the constituency to investigate its YS, as there were too many YS in official positions in the constituency. A special GMC meeting was therefore convened, and visited by a four-man investigation committee from the City Party, including the chairman and secretary of the Glasgow Campaign for Democratic Socialism. The investigation appears to have been a mixture of indignation and farce. The investigators ended up by far the most embarrassed. They will make their report to the City Party EC

on Thursday, 21st June. According to the Sunday Telegraph the whole constituency "may be disbanded."

### PRESS

Where does the Press get this kind of information? One of the most nauseating aspects of this whole affair has been the method with which inside Party information has been leaked to every quarter of the capitalist Press.

### ICE-PICK

At one of the Springburn ward meetings the City Party chairman—a member of the ward—was ranting on about "Trotskyists" in the YS, when one of the YS stopped him and asked what a Trotskyist was. Comrade Trainer replied, after some stammering. . . . "Oh, you know . . . He got an ice pick in his head." This succinct definition left the members in no doubt whatever about the sinister undercover movements threatening the Party.

### RUTHERGLEN

Strange things have been going on in Rutherglen . . . a strong YS branch in the Lanarkshire Federation. An old YS minute book vanished from the rooms, and when it was discovered the names of three Left-wing speakers to the Branch, as well as references to Keep Left, had been underlined in red.

### DRUMCHAPEL

In Drumchapel a strong and keen branch has recently been formed. In this vast housing scheme, just outside Glasgow, with more than 50,000 inhabitants, there is every chance of building the largest branch in Britain.

## Conscription

by a conscript

Since March the Tories skilful plan to re-introduce a measure of conscription has been law.

Yet while the Tories talk on one hand of it being necessary to retain National Service men because of the "Berlin crisis," on the other hand they speak of the need to streamline the army. The real problem facing them is a result of their failure to get enough men to fill the vacancies for skilled technicians.

Conscription officially came to an end in November 1960 to "honour" election promises made to the youth of Britain. This pledge has quickly been reversed and the Secretary for War, Mr. John Profumo, told Parliament that all officers and other ranks of the Royal Army Pay Corps are to be retained in the B.A.O.R. for an extra six months.

He added that "it might become necessary to retain some of those serving elsewhere."

Sure enough the "Berlin crisis" seems to have spread to the colonies. In addition it has to be remembered that there has been a drop in recruitment of up to 35 per cent. for some army divisions and the position has been exaggerated by the outflow of

national servicemen.

All national servicemen have been informed that they are liable to be retained if their release date is after April 1st last. The question they are now asking is what happens after the six months have elapsed, the Government will still be faced with the same problem?

It is the youth who are faced with this crisis. Feeling among the conscripts is running high. They are not impressed with the miserable solace of getting regulars' pay for the extra period, nor with inducements "to sign." The vast majority of them are now anti-Tory and in the task of making them pro-Socialist, a clear lead from the Y.S. conference would have helped.

For now, Socialists, and especially the Y.S., must make it clear that they stand for the abolition of conscription, whether it be hidden or open. In doing this we must expose the role of the army as an instrument of colonial oppression, of strike breaking and as a reserve weapon against the working class.

We must call now for an end to ALL conscription, and end to the subjugation of the colonial people, and the immediate return of all troops from abroad.

## New ideology

by John Varney Nottingham Central Y.S.

ONE OF the most profitable fields of propaganda dissemination for the ruling classes of Europe has been the class-room. It is not really surprising that we have so many ragged-trousered super-patriots when we realise that the first ten years of every worker's life are spent listening to defenders of the system preach the virtues of capitalism and the benefits it has brought. In Britain we are used to the map of the British Empire in which the sun never sets adorning the classroom wall.

At the tender age of six we stick our chests out with pride when we hear that the British colonised half the earth to build hospitals and roads for the ignorant natives. And how pleasing to hear that we conducted every war for the last 300 years honourably and fairly. It is through such brainwashing as this that the British ruling classes have been able to stir up a fever of nationalism in times of "national emergency."

### FAMILY

But for a British ruling class about to enter the Common Market the myth of the Common-

wealth as one big family, which has been carefully inculcated into the heads of the workers for decades must be proving slightly embarrassing. What kind of a family is it that will willingly sell its members down the river in favour of all manner of "foreigners" from across the channel? These are the inferences behind Lord Beaverbrook's anti-Common Market propaganda which fall on many receptive ears.

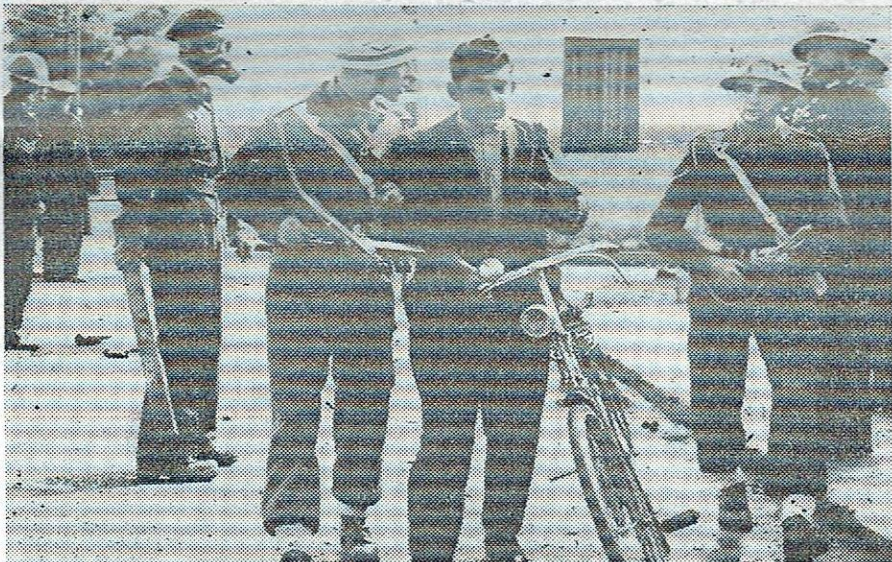
Obviously a big change must be made in the education system of Europe and especially Britain to curb outdated xenophobia. A new ideology must be built on the new economic superstructure of an integrated Europe.

### NOTRE EUROPE

The European Conference of Local Authorities (a body of the Council of Europe) which met on March 21st-24th gave an early consideration to this problem. Its advice to Local Authorities is to promote the ideal of European integration by establishing a "European Schools Day"; to intensify the European character of secondary and primary education, to distribute prizes such as "Notre Europe," published by the Council of Europe, to propagate the European idea by means of "paired towns" and to promote youth travel and exchange between Common Market countries.

### SCHOOLS

On the training of teachers, recommendations are to change history to give it a "European" slant, to introduce new text-books favourable to European integration and to equip teachers for the task of preaching the new ideology—that of a United Europe. It will not be long now before the crumbling, fusty map of the Commonwealth is torn down to make way for the map of the E.E.C. and the children told of the innumerable advantages of the new capitalism over the old.



British troops smash demonstration

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THE  
YS"

### TRIBUNE PROTEST

MEETING  
2.30 p.m. 22nd July  
DENISON HOUSE  
Vauxhall Bridge Road

## COURT MARTIAL

by Colin Tindley Swansea Y.S.

THE British Army of the Rhine has received some severe criticism from the press recently. From the one extreme of "secret trials" to the other of "washing dirty linen in public."

We are told of the high proportion of soldiers who have to face courts martial on charges of breach of discipline and of sentences for incitement to mutiny. But what of the cause of this incitement, the camp conditions.

### ORGANISE

In civvy street trade unionists have won the right to fight for better conditions, but the soldier can do little more than formally complain to his commanding officer. He has to make his objections as an individual and is not allowed to organise his col-

leagues in support.

"Incitement to mutiny" can take on quite a different significance during a war, but in peace time there should be no courts martial. He must have the rights of every trade unionist to better his conditions, and all offences should be tried by a civil court.

### CIVIL COURTS

Although he may be less conscious of it, the fact remains that the struggle of the soldier is indissolubly linked with that of the whole trades union movement; the struggle against capitalism.

The Trades Union programme should include the withdrawal of all troops from overseas postings, the right to form soldiers committees, and all breaches of discipline to be tried by democratically elected civil courts.

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