

# YOUNG GUARD

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FOR  
SOCIALISM  
& FREEDOM

Contents: Y.S. News - Transport -  
Rhodesia, Malaysia, South Africa -  
Youth in Industry - Parliamentary  
Socialism - Apprentices

## THE FIRST 100 DAYS: LABOUR IN RETREAT

No doubt the Labour victory represents some sort of achievement. It is the first time in this country that a social democratic party has gained power in a period of comparative prosperity. But the election results are not encouraging for "Transport House," since the Labour win was due more to the Tory record than any real alternative offered by the Labour Party.

The bright young Fabians, Mark Abrams and his tame sociologists, who advise the Party leadership have had their theories rudely shattered. The tactic of wooing the middle class vote has flopped. With half a million or more potential voters than in 1959 the total Labour vote fell by 11,000. The only areas where Labour made significant gains were Merseyside, Clydeside, the industrial parts of Northern Ireland and London. These are areas where specifically working class problems of unemployment and/or bad housing conditions are particularly urgent. Any analysis of the results is open to question, but one fact seems certain to us: there is no evidence for the right wing to claim that a moderate classless policy wins elections. The claim that a militant, class-orientated policy for Labour will win elections seems to us more valid than ever.

A Labour government is a new situation for the Young Socialists. What does it mean for us, and what action should we be taking? Most members of the YS have no illusions about the new Labour Government. We can expect some reforms which will benefit working people, but no attempt will be made to shift the capitalist class from its position of power. The YS, as the most mili-



Final scene of 1963 Conference

tant section of the Labour Party, can help to show that the answers to the problems of the working class aren't simply to be found in a change of government, but require drastic changes in the system. It is important to fight for reforms which benefit the workers but which will probably be abandoned by the government in the face of the necessities of the economic situation. The actions of the government so far are indicative of the extent to which Labour wants to change the present system. The leadership is committed to preserve the present system and hopes that by revitalising capitalism it can meet the workers' demands. The immediate job is to get an incomes policy so that private enterprise can increase its profits by cutting wage costs and accumulating more for investment. If this can be maintained over about two years, British capitalism will be in a posi-

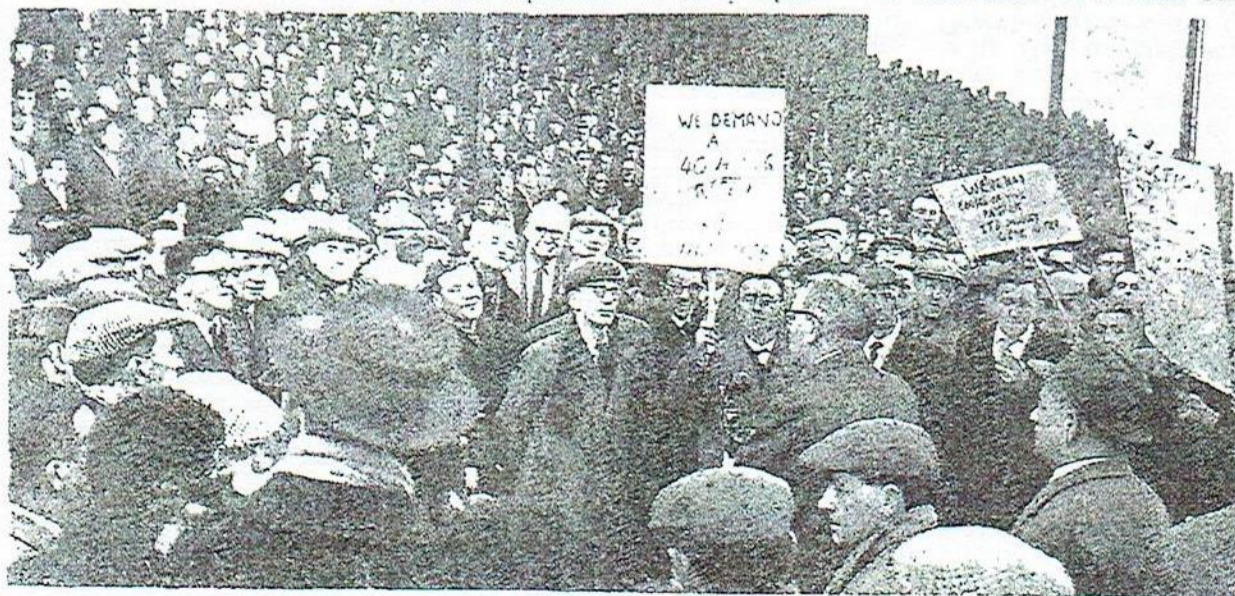
tion to compete much more favourably with Europe and America, and can start providing the increased wages, housing and welfare that people expect from Labour.

Of course, if the governments of competitive countries can do the same we will be no better off. International competition will simply be more intense and critical.

The budget illustrates the extent to which Labour is prepared to attack the living conditions of the rich minority rather than put the tax burden on ordinary people. The increase in income tax is certainly a small concession to putting it on the richer groups. We feel very sorry for the boss earning £200 per week: his tax goes up from £80 to £82 per week. The National Insurance stamp is going up by 2s. however much you earn. The petrol tax is levied on everyone. These charges will take about 4s. a week out of

your earnings whether you earn £10 or £100.

As expected pensions and benefits have gone up; that is if you live through the winter and collect it next March. Mr. Callaghan promises that he is going to tax wealth and capital gains next year. But he has given the wealthy plenty of warning and the accountants and lawyers will be busy in the next few months finding ways of hiding their client's money away. Mind you, one company has already declared four dividends in one day to avoid the proposed profits tax. The Labour economists don't object to the boss who makes a "reasonable" profit. It is still true that in this country two-fifths of private property is in the hands of one per cent of the population and four-fifths in the hands of ten per cent. The Labour government's foreign policy gives little reason for celebration. When Young Socialists and other left wingers raised the question of Labour policy on defence (Polaris) and colonialism (Aden, Guiana . . .) before the election they were told to give Harold time. Does anyone maintain that Mr. Gordon Walker needs any more time to make clear his (presumably the government's) policies? With minor modifications, these are merely a continuation of Tory policies. These issues ought to be discussed. We in the Labour Party have never had the opportunity of formulating policy on them. It is up to the Y.S. to lead the left, challenging the reformist policies of the Labour Party and to show up the idea that more efficient and "fairer" capitalism can solve the problems of



WILL THE WORKERS ACCEPT AN INCOMES POLICY?

Cont. on page 8



# Young Guard

'Young Guard' is an open and democratic paper produced and financed entirely by Young Socialists. Its editorial policy is generally representative of the Young Socialist movement and its pages open to young people of all opinions.

It is run by its readers who hold regular readers' meetings wherever there is support and elect representatives to an editorial board which meets quarterly. This editorial board elects the editor and assistant editors necessary to produce the paper.

'Young Guard' is financed by its supporters who contribute up to 2/6 monthly towards the printing costs.

Our basic points of editorial policy are enumerated below.

These can be changed at any time that the readers decide.

## Our Aims

A Labour Government committed to nationalisation under workers' control of the banks, insurance companies, land and major industries;

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

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

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

Votes and full legal rights at 18;

Three-year apprenticeships, full trade union rights and the ending of blind-alley employment; free access to the highest educational facilities for all and the replacement of the tripartite system of education by comprehensive schooling;

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

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### LABOUR WORKER MEETING

Wednesday, 2 December  
at

The Hope and Anchor  
Upper Street,  
Nr. Highbury Corner  
8 p.m.  
All welcome

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## From Reds to Neds

Kathy Reilly  
Springburn Y.S.

This article is an account of the recent activities of the Glasgow supporters of the majority of the YS National Committee. It hasn't been written to add to the diatribes of factional warfare, but in an attempt to induce Young Socialists who support these people to ask themselves why the "leadership" needs to resort to these tactics.

If any of the people concerned deny that these events occurred, we invite them to write to "Young Guard" where they can be sure of publication.

After the re-establishment of the Glasgow Federation in late 1962, by doing a deal with the political innocents of Maryhill YS, Dempsey, Macedo and Co. got control. As their fetish at that time was "unemployed youth," political activity in the Federation was nil. Everything revolved around the "unemployed youth" who were brought along to Federation meetings to out-vote opposition. This meant that the "leadership" controlled the Federation and could co-ordinate activities at national level.

Subsequently many comrades got fed up with the manner in which these meetings were conducted, and stopped attending (wrongly, I believe). When the next AGM came along, the "leadership" had done such a wonderful job organising their branches and starting new ones (something they claimed but which never materialised) that they had to bring people through from Edinburgh to vote them back into office. (We have the names and addresses of two who admit to this.)

Shortly after this, Hamilton, the National Committee member, arrived in Drumchapel. His principal achievements there include a member of his branch being beaten up after being accused by Hamilton of supporting "Young Guard" (which he didn't). His branch has recently been suspended pending investigation, for what can only be described as hooliganism at a ward meeting. Yoker LS in the same constituency has also suffered that fate.

In the months following the AGM the Federation became an almost exclusive club. Branch secretaries who disagreed with those in control usually received notification of Federation meetings one or two days before the meeting. As the abuses of democracy in the Federation grew progressively worse, Govan YS took the only course open to them and wrote to the City Party requesting a special meeting to sort out the position. Nothing happened. Four months later a meeting was arranged by Gorbels, Woodside, Shettleston, Govan and Springburn YS, and members from Drumchapel, Cathcart and Provan, which asked the City Party to recognise this as the official Federation. This was refused, but a meeting was called three weeks later and each branch allowed six delegates. Yoker YS, however, tried to get 12 delegates in, and Hamilton, whose branch didn't receive delegates' forms as the secretary had left the YS, sickened, forced his way in.

As they were unable to pack this meeting, it was obvious that the reigning officials wouldn't be re-elected. Just before the meeting, when someone asked him if he was going in, Hamilton replied "Yes, but not for long." The meeting soon developed into a free-for-all. This was inevitable since it became obvious that the Federation officials and their supporters wouldn't accept defeat. They left and held another meeting in a hall which had been

booked beforehand.

What more proof could anyone ask that they went to the Federation meeting with the intention of wrecking it.

Apart from the kids who tag along purely on the basis of record hops, they have 10-15 supporters in Glasgow. They've now formed a break-away federation and still issue leaflets in the name of the Glasgow Federation. Between Federation and branch activities they have left unpaid bills for over £100, whilst banners have appeared on demonstrations from branches such as Gorbals (where they have no support) and Partick (which doesn't exist). They also claim that "Young Guard" supporters, and Govan and Gorbals YS, plotted with the right-wing party officials against them. When elected officials behave in the manner of the ex-officials of the Glasgow Federation, packing meetings, or only informing their own supporters of meetings, what are we supposed to do, sit back and let them?

When these people behave as they have in Glasgow, we say they've nothing in common with socialists or working-class democracy. They profess belief in workers' control, but destroy every vestige of control from below once they're in power. The new Federation intends to ignore them as much as possible and get on with building the YS. We appeal to Young Socialists who get news of YS affairs solely from "Keep Left" to look at the facts.

## East London

Tessa Mundy Hackney Y.S.

The East London Federation has been operating on a stop-go policy since its conception about five years ago. A.G.M.'s seem to have been held pretty regularly, say, every three months. However, last February, after yet another A.G.M., a very successful day school was held, and since then, the Federation has been working more or less continuously, with the exception of the election break.

Branches in East London, which up to now have been completely disinterested in the Federation and all its works, are now joining in and seem very keen, rather more keen than the founder members:

We've now held some fairly successful activities, and besides starting a Federation bulletin, incorporating various articles, a day school on Labour's economic policy (plus a speaker on the docks) with a big dance in the evening is being planned for late December. A recruitment campaign is being planned and we hope soon to make the East London Federation one of the biggest and most active in London.

## Y.G. NEB

The Young Guard National Editorial Board, held in London on November 7th, was attended by 20 delegates representing London, Southern Region, Scotland, Leeds and Oxford, and numerous visitors. Reports indicated that Young Guard's position has altered little over the past year and that support has been maintained. Sales and subscriptions collected were just sufficient to finance each issue. A political resolution was adopted proposing that under the Labour government Young Guard should become more agitational, for the

## The Fight to Save the Y.S.

The Save the YS Campaign Committee (composed of representatives from this paper and the paper "Militant") is holding a further meeting on January 10 at the Conway Hall in London.

There will be several differences between this and the September 20 meeting. In September, because of the short notice and the imminence of the election, it was not possible to include the constituency parties. The emphasis of the meeting was primarily on getting a Labour Government elected and uniting the Young Socialists to fight for democracy in the Labour Party. The January 10 meeting is intended to unite the left in the YS and the constituencies around a programme of political demands based on the policies decided at the YS Brighton Conference: in particular, nationalisation, workers' control and colonial freedom; and also, the right of the YS to campaign in the Party for these policies.

The Conference of the Labour Party at Brighton (Dec 12-13) is unlikely to provide any opportunity for discussion of these issues or of the Young Socialists. For this reason, and because we are hoping for a big attendance of Party members, we have decided to make the meeting an all day affair. The morning session will be addressed by speakers from the Young Socialists; the editors of "Young Guard" and "Militant," one or more of the National Committee of the YS, and a representative of the Apprentices' Movement (from Merseyside). It will be mainly concerned with the defence of the Young Socialists. One issue of paramount importance is the national conference: are the NEC going to call it this year? It is unlikely; if not (and we will know by the end of December), we ought seriously to think about holding a conference. (The action of Keep Left in calling a Conference for Feb 27-28 is surely premature; they seem determined to deepen the split and cut themselves completely off from the Labour Party.) Also there is the question of the National Committee: does it exist?

The afternoon session will be an open political discussion, introduced by a number of Labour MPs and prominent left-wing trade unionists. We are hoping for wide participation by constituencies in this discussion, to raise the questions which the NEC will certainly try to evade at Brighton.

This meeting will cost money. We would welcome donations from YS branches, Constituency Parties and Union branches, to be sent to: M. Caffoor, 78 Tottenham Lane, London, N.8.

### YOUNG GUARD

London Readers Meeting  
Sunday, 6 December, 7.30  
Lucas Arms  
Grays Inn Road  
All supporters welcome

implementation of Labour's social programme and in the likely clashes between the government, capitalism and the labour movement.

A new editorial board was elected, Fred Lindop replacing Gus Macdonald as editor. Comrade Macdonald was elected to the editorial board, but has since resigned. The future of the Young Socialists and the Labour government were discussed in detail, the NEB supporting the Save the Young Socialists Campaign and its political programme.

Finally, thanks were expressed to Gus Macdonald for his hard and valuable work as editor for the last year.



# TRANSPORT FOR SERVICE

says

Dave Percival (TSSA)

Transport busmen adopted the right tactic by stating the right answer to staff shortage is higher wages, not reduced services. The tube workers who struck three days before the election were right in refusing to accept London Transport train cuts and the labour movement must now show stronger support for this demand. Of course, British Railways and London Transport, or whoever the bureaucrats happen to be, always claim sympathy with pay demands but insist increased costs are passed on direct to the consumers: chiefly working class people who are encouraged to blame the transport workers. At the time of writing the latest wage claim has not been settled but the arguments used are following a familiar pattern. It is clear that the concept of public transport being a social service must be established as a firm working class demand of the Labour government along with such key questions as housing, free health service and educational opportunity. It is not without significance that the railway unions are among those most closely tied to the Labour Party, and make some of the most generous contributions towards general election funds. The government's exposure to working class pressure is therefore evident, because if it proceeds to rationalise the railway system, demanding greater flexibility without remuneration, as the Tories have done, Sid Greene will have difficulty in maintaining the support for Labour now strongly

Railway staff employed 29 December 1962:—	
Administrative, clerical and technical	71,933
Stationmasters, supervisors and control staff	22,488
Traffic staff	233,346
Maintenance and construction	145,399
Miscellaneous	11,372
Total	474,538
Overall reduction—	
1948 648,740	1953 593,768
1958 550,123	1959 151,863
1960 514,500	1961 500,434
1962 474,538	

Labour costs in railways 60 per cent of total. "There are, therefore, real opportunities for cost saving by improving the effectiveness with which men and machines are employed". Estimated number of staff made redundant by proposed passenger closures 16,200. Estimated number of staff lost by rationalisation of goods, train and maintenance staff 13,500. "It is important to realise that the elimination of cost factors will exceed the net saving expected from the various charges, and this will reduce the vulnerability of the railways to future cost increases." 1957 agreement regarding manning of diesel and electric locomotives and multiple units: contribution made by the union was of considerable value. Rapid development of new forms of traction makes it desirable to seek agreement . . . in the field of train manning. . . .

Naturally the Tories see transport as either something to make a profit from, as in the case of road haulage, or a method of subsidising private capitalist concerns, through special cheap freight charges, or by placing remunerative orders for locomotives, rolling stock, etc., with private manufacturers while British Railways workshops sack workers. Since the provision of a full system of transport for people does not fit into these categories their policy has been one of steady erosion of the feeble attempt at a planned system introduced by the last Labour government. The various methods of transport are split, with investment decisions taken for narrow interests rather than the overall need of national transport. Labour policy has consistently been summed up in the cliché "an integrated transport system," but the exact purpose of the system has never been made clear. Will it be integrated in order to give capitalism the kind of intensively invested industry it needs or will it mean frequent, relatively cheap public services. Like so many questions facing Labour, it is a matter of priorities. At least there is some hope that we might be sheltered from some of the worst results of Beechingism. Wilson has said, "We shall halt the main programme of rail closures . . . relating the rail programme . . . to the requirements of a national integrated transport policy." Labour is also committed to the expansion of British Road Services, but this is a very poor substitute for a nationalised road sector, which even Signposts wanted, but has now been dropped so quietly that even the most ardent "state socialist" has not noted the omission. We do have the apologetic assurance that "C" licence fees will be increased and that road hauliers will be required to make a bigger contribution to overall road costs, but much of private capital already thinks that it pays plenty toward the road hauliers' profit by taxation funds being used so generously for road development.

Of course the holy cow of Tory transport policy was the sanctity of the private vehicle, partly because one of the pillars of British capitalism is the car industry, and partly because it is the justification for the deplorable absence of a proper public service. Although the motorist claims to be persecuted by parking matters, traffic wardens, etc., in fact the social wreckage caused by the motor car is nowhere near compensated for by this. It is an amazing fact that only one family in eight has the use of a car, but the rest of the community is expected to use building materials for their storage, pay the medical expense (or very frequently, funeral expenses) of their victims, and generally adapt itself to these anti-social machines. Of course, the attraction of cars is that they free their owners from dependence on our pitiful public transport facilities. I am quite sure that many people would be glad to end the worry of insurance, tax, HP payments, as well as the constant danger to life and limb if the public was getting the transport service it deserves.

The problems of the transport workers are naturally intimately related to the question, for it is they who suffer chiefly from Tory neglect of public services. In the days of relatively full employment it is clear that wages 10 per cent (in the case of railwaymen) below comparable jobs in outside industry will not attract men to an industry where conditions are inferior. London



held in the branches. An interesting example of this arises in the case of "liner trains," which are that part of the Beeching dream which called for fast block freight services between industrial centres which necessitates outside business interests using the terminus depots at the cost of 10,000 railway cartage staff jobs. Up to now the NUR have resisted this scheme, but a chat from George Brown (over a drink?), pointing out the finer points of economics to Greene may alter this position. Mr. Tom Frazer, Labour's new Transport Minister, will be subjected to pressure both from the transport unions and Constituency Parties, which often show an encouraging interest in transport. Young Socialists can have a key role in ensuring that Mr. Frazer is not able to forget them.

## Stand up to racialism

Mr. Wilson's condemnation of St. Andrew's Labour Club was strongly worded. However, the Labour Party is reported to be considering tighter controls over immigration. Presumably Mr. Wilson is concerned about the possibilities of Tory exploitation of the colour issue to wipe out his slender majority. Surely it is clear from past experience that the Tories always win on an appeal to reaction. If it continues in practice to give way to racial prejudice, the Party will only succeed in demoralizing its activists and alienating the coloured workers from politics.

## COMMENT

### GUIANA

In our last issue we made some comments on the situation in British Guiana and Tory policy towards the colony. Now that we have a Labour Colonial Secretary, can we expect any changes in policy? It seems unlikely, judging by Mr. Greenwood's guarded and non-committal remarks on the subject. He intends to listen to the views of all parties. No attempt at impartiality can succeed in Guiana. The Forbes Burnham ("Nationalist") Party will stop at nothing to prevent independence under a Jagan-led Government. It seems fairly clear from reports in the Observer, Guardian etc. that the police in Georgetown have evidence of sabotage, intimidation and murder by Burnham supporters and there is also evidence of American (CIA) activity in the colony. The Americans are quite determined not to allow any progressive government to survive in Latin America, and past experience tells us that they are not at all choosy in their methods. Racial feeling has been exploited to prevent working class unity. The British Government has merely prevented this from getting out of hand and has at the same time represented Jagan's "extremism" as the cause of the trouble. Extremism in this case equals land reform and nationalisation of some foreign companies. (It seems unlikely that the workers of Guiana, whether Indian or Negro, are totally opposed to this.) Faced with this situation, will Mr. Greenwood accommodate himself to the Americans?

### How soggy Can you get?

We never set much store by Tribune's political wisdom, but we've been sickened in recent months by its complete abasement before Harold Wilson. CND (remember Tribune's proud boast—"The paper that leads the fight against the H-bomb"?) has long since been dropped as an electoral liability; we are expected to wait patiently for some crumbs of concession from Mr. Gordon-Walker. Some hope! Despite Labour's pre-election promises, Wilson will probably be forced to stick to the broad outlines of the Polaris agreement. Tribune will presumably swallow even that one.

Tribune has, of course completely accepted the need for an incomes policy. Its socialist theory now consists of congratulating James Callaghan on his budget, and thinking out how such a policy can work. Equal sacrifice on the part of the bosses and the workers is apparently the answer. Apart from the fact that this is economic nonsense (where does the finance for expansion come from if profits aren't bigger), surely their memories can't be all that short. Don't they remember Stafford Cripps' "equal sacrifice"—hold back wages and distributed profits, while share prices rise accordingly? Funnily enough there was no mention in Tribune of George Brown's statement reported Sunday 8th November. "We want private industry to flourish." At least Mr. Brown has no illusions. But it will probably take Michael Foot and Co. two years or so to lose some of theirs.

Will his job go?



# WORLDSCENE

## RHODESIA Chris Hill N. Islington Y.S.

There are two economies in Southern Rhodesia, a subsistence economy and a money economy.

The subsistence economy involves Africans, those two and a quarter million acres allocated to their race under the harsh Land Apportionment Act. Their share is the least fertile, most infested by tsetse fly and farthest from railways and markets. Nor is it big enough for the growing African population. In it, the degenerate remains of tribalism—chiefs are paid by the government and dare not oppose it—are losing ground in face of the constant disruptive migration to urban areas, and the more individualistic type of farming initiated by the Land Husbandry Act of 1951 with the veiled intention of creating a conservative African peasantry to balance the seething urban elements. However, Africans bitterly point out that they are given only six-acre holdings, and have no capital to work them intensively, while the average European farm is 2,000 acres, and occasionally really big farmers make rich livings by cultivating a tiny proportion of their acreage a year and leaving the rest fallow; the same primitive and wasteful system the Africans were to be lifted from by the Act!

### Rugged Settlers

The money economy involves both Europeans and Africans. There are not many white farmers, despite the image of the rugged settler—approximately 8,000 out of a total of 78,000 Europeans in employment were engaged in agriculture in 1956—but the few there are are apportioned 49 million acres as against the Africans' 37 million, and it is better land. They employ 120,000 Africans. Laws have been passed limiting African agricultural enterprise to protect their cash-crop profits from any competition, and 80,000 Africans were moved off European land between 1949 and 1956. In 1957 only one million out of a suitable 32 million acres of European land were cultivated, and Africans are land-hungry.

However, most Europeans of the 221,000 white minority are city-dwellers, and they enjoy a high standard of living, with cheap domestic service thrown in. The average European wage in 1958 was £995, the average African wage was £80. The Europeans jealously guard their privileges, and they are benefiting from the very low cost of African labour. In 1934 an Industrial Conciliation Act was passed providing for the setting up of councils of employees and employers to determine wage-rates and regulate apprenticeships. It explicitly excluded the African from its definition of "employee," and so barred him from bargaining procedures and from any trade but that of unskilled labourer at special low rates. The Southern Rhodesian Labour Party rejoiced! We believe, surely rightly, that there is a natural connexion between "Labour" and "Socialism," but it is not always an obvious one. A new Act of 1959 is much better on paper, and makes discrimination illegal, but an all-African union could be accused of perpetuating a

colour bar, and there are provisions for the representation of minorities that Europeans can use to their own great advantage.

The Africans, then, are the other side of the money economy coin. Europeans have always needed African labour. In the early days they ensured a supply by imposing a hut tax on natives in the reserves so that they were forced to earn some money every year. Urban Africans—there are now about 510,000 of them—say one-seventh of the African population—live in native urban areas controlled by European local authorities or in African townships. The townships are kept as far away from European housing as possible to facilitate European suburban expansion, and this adds greatly to the bugbear of commuting. They are overcrowded and insanitary. Many Africans cannot afford an economic rent for even low-standard housing, and their diet is sparse and monotonous.

Naturally, the Southern Rhodesian political system reflects and maintains the glaring inequalities between black and white. Fifty members of the legislature are elected by those registered on Roll A, namely 84,500 Europeans and 2,500 Africans with the requisite educational and income qualifications. "B" Electors have 15 members to represent them. 149,000 Africans are eligible for registration on it, but only a small minority bother (10,000). A big enrolment campaign was staged in 1962 by Sir Edgar Whitehead's party, but Mr. Kock, the official in charge of it, admitted before resigning "If anyone believes that the ordinary African does not know what is going on in this country he is making a fatal mistake."

Nevertheless Ian Smith is committed to thwarting African advancement and riding the wave-crest of white supremacist militancy, as was shown by the decisive defeat of his fellow-racialist and political opponent Sir Roy Welensky in the October Arundel by-election. The African is unfortunately divided into two movements. ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) and PCC (People's Caretaker Council). Their leaders, Rev. Sithole and Joshua Nkomo, are in detention (Nkomo illegally, our Privy Council has just ruled). Many other African leaders have been imprisoned, restricted, forced into exile or subjected to police thuggery and intimidation, especially since the sealing off a month or so ago of the townships of Highfield and Harare. White liberals are beginning to experience persecution in the South African manner, the "Daily News" has been shut down, Europeans who treat Africans as equals are told to leave. On 21st October began the "indaba" at which 600 servile chiefs supported Smith to the hilt on the question of Rhodesian "independence," protected by police and troops against intimidation by their own "children" and the inquisitiveness of foreign journalists. The few chiefs who disagreed with Smith could not find transport to attend. One of the entertainments laid on was a show of strength by the Royal Rhodesian Air Force. A more democratic procedure was open to the tenth of the adult population that has the vote. The poll in the referendum on independence was low, but strongly in favour



Freedom for Ian Smith but not for them

## ADEN Support for PSD

John Strauther Stoke Newington YS

The election of the Labour Government has so far meant no change in British colonial policy, most significantly in Aden and South Arabia. Anthony Greenwood is going to talk with Adeni party leaders, but Mr. Gordon Walker has made it clear

that there will be no withdrawal from the Aden base; indeed he intends to strengthen Britain's "role" in the Indian Ocean to please the United States. The Labour government apparently proposes to perpetuate the Tories' support to the Royalists in Yemen, insisting that Nasser's republican troops be withdrawn and the Saudi Arabian royalists admitted. Meanwhile, British troops must continue to "protect" the South Arabian Federation. Two factors are at stake here—Anglo-American oil and far-East imperialism. The Arabs must be freed to sell their oil without foreign military occupation and the Malaysians and Vietnamese must be allowed to determine their own future.

The South Arabian Federation was an undemocratic device imposed on Aden to suppress the People's Socialist Party, which represents the workers of the Aden TUC, the most advanced labour movement in the Middle East. Several of its leaders are still in prison. Young Socialists must demand their release, and the reversal of Labour's policies adopted from the Tories. We must support the Adeni workers and Yemeni republicans, the withdrawal of British troops and democracy for South Arabia.

Acknowledgements: Blocks from Tribune and Peace News

of it. Some wind was knocked out of its sails by Wilson's sharp warning on October 27 of the disastrous consequences of UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) which preceded it. The opposition leader Sir Edgar Whitehead said that UDI would cut Rhodesia's exports by half and lead to African government in six months.

But simply remaining British will not help the Africans much. The judiciary can be corrupted or bypassed, parliament can be rigged even more than it is, the army and police can still be used against the population, trade will keep the increasingly oppressive regime on a footing. The power behind Smith is a tobacco-baron "Boss" Lillford. We must press action to boycott Rhodesian goods now along with South African. We consume 39 per cent of Rhodesia's tobacco. Of course, government or trade union action is needed for this to be effective. Otherwise we are limited to supporting African nationalism, especially its more progressive urban branches, and helping individual sufferers. Cash is always useful.



# SOUTH AFRICA:

## Labour must impose sanctions now

Paul Coysh - Surbiton Y.S.

The nightmare of the Rivonia Trial finished with what most people considered to be the only thing the Verwoerd government could do, opposed as it was by World opinion. Nevertheless, the nightmare continues for all those in South Africa who dare oppose the Nazi-type rulers and we can certainly expect more show trials in the future. Nearly every day reports coming out of the Republic show how grim the situation is, and how one by one, even the most insignificant opposition to the government is being crushed. The main mouthpiece of criticism with which the majority of white South Africans come into contact is the English-speaking press which keeps up a constant barrage of attacks on the murder of civil liberties in the country. Within the last year, a government-sponsored Press Commission reported on the attitudes and tactics of the domestic press and more recently, among the many people who have been imprisoned and kept quiet are several journalists working for the big English-language newspapers. On the whole the opposition press continues to stay in business because of the financial connections it has with "liberal" big business and its appeal to English-speaking whites who, even if they disagree with the anti-government line cannot read newspapers which support the government because these are, in the main, Afrikaan-speaking.

The group incurring the greatest wrath of the government at the moment is the South-African Liberal Party, which stands for a multi-racial capitalist democracy. Many members of this party have had to endure banning, confinement to restricted areas, detention under the infamous mis-named 90-day law, and various degrees of mishandling and torture by the police—nothing new in South-Africa. The party is nearing total collapse caused by the systematic harassment of its office-bearers. The party paper "Contact" now appears as a duplicated news-sheet. With these brave people we should not forget all the others: needless to say the thousands of Africans who face the courts every day, not only for political offences but simply contravening a petty law which could perhaps relegate them to a life of slave-labour on a white farm or worse. There are the University students, many of whom are being persecuted and spied on by their racialist classmates, the professors who depend on the Verwoerd administration for their livelihoods, the ladies of the Black Sash Movement who hold street vigils with a flame of freedom, frequently to obscenities shouted at them by young supporters of the racist regime and the 90-day Protest Committee run by an ex-member of the United Party "opposition" who resigned in protest at the lawful restrictions of freedom. In such an article it is impossible to detail all the different groups and individuals who by their very presence are a danger to the regime.

The case for economic sanctions has been argued consistently and should be applied without delay. The new Wilson government should do all in its power to initiate such action and make a start by progressively running down all trade with the Republic. The Trade Union Movement in this country should likewise take

such action as is necessary and press for international agreements and co-ordination of action to refuse to handle any goods or become willing accomplices to the production of military or non-military goods which would strengthen the economic security of South-Africa. Protests and boycotts by sportsmen and writers, philosophers and the Beatles should be matched by workers and progressive and humanitarian governments. We all know of the more prominent vested interests concerned at exploiting the resources of South Africa: an international complex headed by British and American capital and backed by the governments of France, Belgium and Portugal. But of course, other countries have interests and are going ahead and opening contacts. Just as it did in the thick of the Algerian War, so now the West German government is encouraging capitalists to seek out new markets while Verwoerd and company remain in power. In 1961, at the time of Sharpeville, Herr Hans Granow, West German ambassador to South-Africa stated that "... the friendship between our peoples will always become firmer in the face of the storms of to-day..." Granow's successor, Herr Karl Overbeck, wrote in the racially aware "Afrika Post"—a German-language South-African magazine, circulation 75,000—"It is only right and proper to wish to defend South Africa against

the shadows arising in the background. This embassy will stand by you in this." It is interesting to note that Granow held high diplomatic posts in the Hitler government and that Overbeck entered the Nazi Foreign Ministry in 1934 and was a member of the brown-shirted Storm-troopers.

Recently, talks between various ex-Nazi West German industrialists and members of the South-African government on the likelihood of the two countries producing nuclear weapons, have been moving ahead steadily.

This is just one of the many terrifying things which are going on in South-Africa. People must be made aware of such happenings which could affect the whole world and menace the whole of humanity. November is the start of a new push by the Anti-Apartheid Movement for a campaign in Britain. Everyone should do what they can to assist the campaign.

Fairly good coverage of the situation in South-Africa can be found in these newspapers: "The Guardian," "Daily Worker," "The Observer." Other papers and especially the weeklies such as "Tribune," "Peace News" and "New Statesman" give fairly well-informed articles on the general situation from time to time. Organisations which should receive support: The Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London,

W.I. Subscription 10/- per year (5/- for students). Members receive a well-documented newsletter and in-Paper-back books dealing with various aspects of South-Africa:—

"The Rise of the South African Reich" by Brian Bunting (Penguin—4/6).

"Guilty Land" by Patrick van Rensburg (Penguin—3/6).

"Let My People Go" by Albert Luthuli (Fontana—3/6).

"South West Africa" by Ruth First (Penguin 5/-).

"South African Tragedy" by Alan Haigh (Consul—3/6).

"South Africa's Rule of Violence" by Patrick Duncan (Methuen—7/6).

"Naught for your Comfort" by Trevor Huddleston (Fontana—2/6).

"Sanctions Against South Africa" by Ronald Segal (Penguin—4/6).

"South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt" by Govan Mbeki (Penguin—4/6).

"The Dispossessed" by Laura Longmore (Ace—5/-).

"Cry the Beloved Country" by Alan Paton (Penguin, 3/6).

"Transvaal Episode" by Harry Bloom (Seven Seas—3/6).

"World of Strangers" by Nadine Gordimer (Penguin—3/6).

"Goddam White Man" David Lytton (Penguin—3/6).

## Malaysia - phony democracy

Ian Craib N.E. Croydon Y.S.

A few months ago Malaysia celebrated its first shaky year of existence. Its primary purpose being anti-communist, it is an amalgamation of Singapore, Malaya, North Borneo, Sabah and Sarawak. The original proposals would also have included Brunei in the Federation. Singapore and Malaya are geographically connected, the former being more or less an off-shore island of the latter. Political connection was an obvious next step but Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Malayan Prime Minister, was not willing to accept a simple merger because he feared that the large Chinese population in Singapore, many of whom have strong connections with mainland China, would favour the Communists. (Malaya, remember, had just finished a long jungle war against Communist guerillas) Duncan Sandys, then Colonial Secretary, solved the problem by suggesting that, in order to counterbalance the Singapore Chinese, the British-controlled territories of North Borneo, Brunei, Sabah and Sarawak should be included in a Federation.

Great care was taken to show that the people living in these areas were in favour of the Federation, plebiscites being held in the territories concerned. The U.N. was called in to verify the results, which it did except in the case of Brunei where there had already been a rebellion against the British. In the event the Sultan of Brunei turned traitor on the British who had hitherto protected him, and Brunei was excluded. Closer examination shows

that opinion in the other areas was by no means unanimous. In Sarawak the United Peoples Party was opposed to the Federation. In Malaya itself the opposition parties, all opposed to Malaysia polled 49 per cent of the total vote. In addition, many non-Malays in Malaya (principally Chinese) are denied the right to vote. In Singapore, where many leading Socialists are imprisoned (without trial or right of appeal, accused of being engaged in a "communist" conspiracy") 25-30 per cent of the electorate followed the instructions of the Barisan Socialists, who are anti-Malaysia, and left their ballot papers blank. In North Borneo the majority of the population are probably far too backward to really understand the issue. Despite the inclusion of the British territories Singapore still does not have the number of seats on the Federal body that its population merits. Thus it can't be claimed that the Federation has mass support and it certainly is not true that it is the bastion of democracy that the Tories and the right wing of the Labour Party claim it to be.

Since the idea of the Federation first appeared, it has been opposed by Malaysia's nearest neighbour Indonesia. President Sukarno accuses Malaysia of being neo-colonialist and is continually threatening to "crush" it. This has recently taken the form of sending guerillas across the border into Sarawak and North Borneo. These he claims are Malaysians acting spontaneously, but he still promises to withdraw them

every so often during cease-fire negotiations. In the past year 7,000 plus British troops as well as Navy and Air Force units have been engaged in opposing Sukarno. Since it is difficult to believe that these troops are there to protect democracy, and not British financial interests, their presence justifies Sukarno's accusation of neo-colonialism. This is not to say, however, that we must support Sukarno. The Indonesian ruling class is finding, like many other ruling classes before it, that an external enemy is useful in stabilising its own position at home. Indonesia is in an almost permanent state of economic and administrative muddle and there have been at least five attempts on Sukarno's life. Malaysia tends to divert attention from domestic problems. A war with Malaysia can bring nothing but more suffering for the Indonesian people. What then should be the attitude of the Labour Government to Malaysia? Its first step must be to withdraw all British forces from the Federation and to demand the release of all political prisoners and hold elections on the basis of one man one vote. This would take away Sukarno's main justification for his action.

All support must be given to the Socialist parties in Singapore and Malaya, and everything possible must be done to unite the working people of these countries, who are at present split by racial antagonism, against the Tunku and Lee Kuan Yew.



# Youth in Industry

Labour  
Left

Roger Rosewell (Metal Mechanics)

New industrial techniques have brought many changes into the workshop. The large scale subdivision of tasks and increased complexity of the product have turned a skilled man, say a toolmaker, who would complete a job from start to finish including all machining and in some cases even designing, into an operative covering just one part of the job. In most sizeable factories now they have tool fitters, tool room turners, jig borers, tool designers, etc., instead of the old time all-round toolmaker.

This, and the improved educational levels has resulted in the effective demise in many industries of the time-served tradesman. The vast majority of skilled men in engineering today have served no apprenticeship, and what's more don't notice the loss.

## Snobbery

Those apprentices who are being trained, in the larger factories at any rate, are being trained with a view to their eventual employment in various executive jobs such as production engineers and managers, designers, ratifiers, etc. In the larger firms very few apprentices nowadays stay at work on the shop floor. These apprentices often receive scandalously low wages. They often, however, receive in other ways benefits which young workers who are not apprentices but are on the same wages do not get. For example they often get free technical books, subsidised meals, days off with pay for technical education etc. Both for this reason and for purely craft reasons young workers are often divided from each other by snobbery and jealousy. The apprentices strike

of 1960 was a good example of this, only the apprentices struck. In many cases young workers who work under even worse conditions stayed at work. This is a sad commentary on the relations between workers.

These barriers are often encouraged by trade union officials. Even trade unionists of the narrow sort feel there is some connection between strong shop organisation and the influx of new labour by refusing men, however skilled, who have not received apprentice training.

## Divisions

At the same time apprentices are systematically separated from the men. They are frequently moved from shop to shop, or placed under the control of special apprentice supervisors. Previously they used to be attached to a particular worker. The firm often sets up a phony apprentices committee to organise the social activities of the apprentices and direct their activities into safe paths. In some cases this has rebounded, for example in the apprentices strike some of these committees organised and led strikes in particular factories quite independently of the established shop stewards organisations, although with their sympathetic and active support. One such case was the strike of over 200 apprentices at Standard Telephones and Cables.

There are of course many exceptions to this trend away from the apprentice-trained tradesman; on the Clyde and in shipbuilding and ship repair in general the apprentice-trained tradesman is still the rule. There are also many places, especially the smaller works, where apprentices are

used purely and simply as cheap and easily disciplined labour.

A very serious problem is the employment of young workers who receive the same low rate of wages without any of the benefits which apprentices get. These workers outnumber apprentices and at the same time "stay on with the tools." Besides being heavily exploited these other young workers are virtually excluded from representation in the factories. Trade union officials and others with mental rheumatism bemoan the fact that young workers are not joining the trade unions. But why should they? Have the trade unions done anything for them? The problem within the factory remains.

## Unity

The Ghetto into which young workers have been placed must be destroyed. This won't be done by the trade union Moguls but only by the factory and shop organisations, and by the young workers themselves. It is no solution to this problem to set up, as some unions (eg AEU, USDAW) have, junior workers committees. The committees in any case have no powers. They only increase the isolation of the more advanced young workers from the basic industrial organisations. In my opinion the emphasis should be placed on integrating apprentices and young workers within the existing factory organisations. Young workers should have their own stewards and where possible junior workers committees in the factories. These would cut across the artificial barriers of snobbery and sectional interest which exists between apprentices and other young workers.

## Sex - A new discovery

John Strauther Stoke Newington Y.S.

A girl student at Oxford was recently suspended for half a term because the Humanist Society, of which she is President, decided to produce a pamphlet giving students fairly frank advice about sex. Of course, the kind of attention this attracted from the sensational Press may have influenced the College's decision. Even so, it was typical of the moral censorship imposed by a University Establishment whose official attitude to sex and the single girl is still that of a puritanical Victorian guardian.

Most students and young people are fortunately not subjected to the stifling and inquisitorial atmosphere of an Oxford girls' college. They have more freedom in boy-girl relationship than their parents had. Gradually the rock of conventional morality is being chipped away (although a clergyman who suggested recently that sexual relations between an engaged couple were not immoral was immediately denounced by his colleagues). Young people accept more and more among themselves (though few dare to admit it to their parents!) that sex before marriage is not wrong with or without a ring. But, by and large, they lack the knowledge and understanding which ought to go with this enlightenment. Because of the hold which Christian morality has on education and public attitudes, sex

education is either excluded completely from school and home, or it is taught in an entirely clinical manner, without any attempt being made to explain the psychology of sex relations, and the elementary physical aspects.

Most of the books on the subject are useless; they have the biology text book approach and they skate uneasily over the subject with airy-fairy nonsense about the "beauty of love." Two books that don't fall into either of these categories are "Sex and the Single Girl" by Helen Gurley Brown (published by Muller, 18s) and "Mainly for Wives" by Robert Chartham (published by Macdonald, also 18s).

The first would make most mothers of bedsitter girls see red, although to most young people it will sound like conventional wisdom, on a variety of subjects including the moral aspects of sex.

The second is a short and readable practical guide to lovemaking, essential reading for men, too. It relates various aspects of lovemaking to the psychology of women in an honest and convincing way.

You can get both these books at your public library. "Sex and the Single Girl" may be found on the shelves, but public library morality dictates that "Mainly for Wives" be kept under the counter with all the other "dirty" books, safe from enquiring youngsters.



The study of the 1945-51 Labour Government in the September YG was a valuable one; it would be interesting, however, to expand your comments on the role of the Left during this period. A particularly interesting example is the case of conscription, an issue which may well face a Labour Government again in the not too distant future. When the Labour Government decided to introduce conscription in 1947, 72 "Left-wing" Labour MPs declared open opposition to the proposal. Under this significant pressure, Attlee was prepared to make some concession, and proposed to reduce the period of National Service from 18 to 12 months. At this point, however, Montgomery and the Army Council threatened to resign *en bloc* if the period of military service were less than 18 months. After this threat, there was no further significant Parliamentary opposition—only a handful of pacifists and Communist sympathisers voted against National Service. The majority of the so-called "Left" conceded defeat.

## Letter

This "revolt" by the Left of the PLP was typical of the many short-lived and ineffective manoeuvres of the Parliamentary Left. Extremely Left-wing and militant phraseology fades away rapidly when confronted with the harsh realities of class power. The whole philosophy of the Parliamentary Left is based on the idea of exerting pressure. But in the first place, this pressure is of no real force, because it has nothing to back it up beyond the sanction of the withdrawal of their votes by a handful of Parliamentarians. And secondly, the pressure is disdirected, for it is aimed at the leadership of the parliamentary Party. But even if the PLP were completely dominated by the Left, it would be of little use for winning real class victories, for Parliament is becoming increasingly irrelevant to the real meaning of power.

In the period 1945-51, the Left, although conditions were relatively favourable to it, achieved nothing. In the present situation, it will not only achieve nothing, but will do positive damage by spreading confusion and demoralisation among the rank and file of the Party. Such a denunciation of the Parliamentary Left will be attacked as sectarian, but in fact the clear exposure of Parliamentary tactics is essential immediately, if the present situation is not to lead to a serious setback in socialist consciousness as a result of disillusionment.

To attempt to set out Socialist policies for a Labour Government, as the October YG does, is in a way to encourage such illusions. Certainly we must demand reforms from the Labour Government in a greater quantity than it seems prepared to give. Certainly the best platform for the advocacy of Socialist policies is inside the Labour Movement. But we must always be sure to state clearly and unambiguously that Parliament is not (by its all too obvious ineffectiveness at present), and moreover *cannot become* (by its very nature as an assembly of representatives cut off from those they represent) an instrument for the creation of a society based on workers' control. I hope that in the coming months YG will stress this point more firmly than it has in the past.

Ian Birchall  
Wood Green YS.



# Parliamentary Socialism

Gus Macdonald

**Parliamentary Socialism**, by Ralph Miliband. Merlin Press (paperback). 12s6d.

Miliband's assessment of British Labour history first appeared only four years ago yet it is already the standard work of reference and recent studies by DN Pritt and Tony Cliff rely heavily on **Parliamentary Socialism**. It has a powerful influence on the attitudes of many Young Socialists, for under Miliband's unsympathetic rather hostile glare illusions which have teased the minds of socialist romantics for half a century shrivel and disappear. Miliband's objectivity penetrates the red rosy mists of Labour's past and is a powerful antidote to the empty rhetoric which is often the placebo administered to pacify the rank and file. Remorsefully he pricks the sacred bubbles and cuts the giants of legend down to life size.

There was no golden past. The majority of Labour MPs in 19... did owe more to Methodism than Marxism. And they were proud of it. World War I was an imperialist war. The slaughter of worker by worker meant near indescribable carnage. Yet the Labour Party took a patriotic stand for King and Country. They were the recruiting sergeants of reaction. One by one the illusions vanish. The Red Clyde and stormy South Wales shrink into perspective and are almost lost in the widespread apathy and ignorance. Convulsive mass action was rare. Betrayals by the leadership were constant and often, as in the General Strike and 1931, crucial. Among the proletariat the heroism of the miners and others was swamped by the dull-eyed subservience of the rest of the working class.

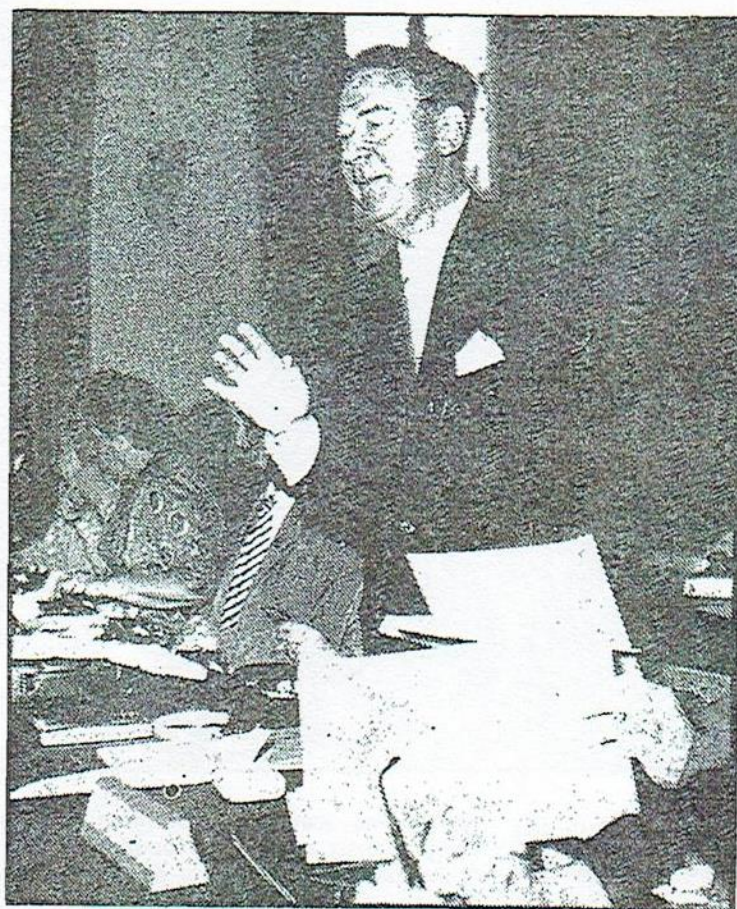
This is not a book for romantics. How many marched against hun-

ger? How many went to Spain? What was the membership of the Trade Unions? By how many did Labour's membership slump? What was the membership of the Communist Party? Where did Labour stand in the great issues of the twenties and thirties? Piece together the answers to these questions and what emerges is a picture of a murky, disreputable period when Labour capitulated to the pressures of collapsing world capitalism. Militancy was the prerogative of the ILP and CP. Both tiny and in reality powerless, they could do little to mobilise the working class against the menace of fascism or their indigenous oppressors.

Much of this has been made familiar in the last years. It is of great interest but no longer of primary importance, for invoking the socialist past is no longer the powerful incantation it once was. The "technocrats" of Wilson's scientific revolution to whom the exponents of the mixed economy are trying to hand the Labour Party will not wince at this attack on the Party's traditions. They are not only disinterested, in many cases they are ignorant of the past. Of more immediate concern is the analysis of Gaitskellism and the attempts of the right-wing to decant the last dregs of socialist content from the Labour Party programme.

Gaitskell's partially successful attempts to undermine the class nature of the Labour Party led him into what must have been for the revisionists an infuriating paradox. The more they "modernised" the Party programme, "declassified" the Party image and made Labour more "attractive" the less successful they were. 1950, 1951, 1955 and 1959 saw the puffy, slick and insubstantial programmes rejected by more and more voters.

## BOOKS



After years of feuding with the rather ineffectual parliamentary left Gaitskell's proposals for dropping the nationalisation proposals of Clause 4 were flattened by the trade union revolt.

Gaitskell's dilemma still dogs the revisionists of Labour though it now floats deep beneath the surface of unity. If you throw out common ownership then the trade unions see no reason for continuing to support Labour. Indeed their relations, as George Woodcock knows, were almost as good with a Tory government as they are with a Labour one. Without the unions the Party would

become an impoverished shadow of its present self. Without the socialism, the volunteers who man the election machine would soon desert, and there are not enough candidates, relatives and aspiring careerists in Britain to fight a general election.

But most important of all, as Miliband points out, most voters believe that the best people to run the capitalist economy are the capitalist party.

Now in paperback at only 12s6d this book should be read by every British socialist.

## Tenants say: This land for homes

The Labour Party has issued a ban on any further office building, it also hopes to set up a Land Commission to purchase development land. But what about the offices that are already built? What about the houses which have been converted to offices? What about the complete perversion of the shapes and patterns of our cities by the profit motive? We already have homelessness, overcrowding, commuting and traffic jams. The symbols of power and prestige crowd the people out of the centres of our cities. The process is already far advanced. The boom in office building was in any case drawing to a close. The offices and the houses in their spacious private grounds are already standing. It has been many years now since much development land has consisted of more than areas of old housing already holding more people than could be decently rehoused on the same site. To start tackling the problem, we need the power to take over existing land uses and change them, to reconvert the offices to houses, to open the private gardens and squares to the public. Present compensation levels for compulsory purchase make this totally impossible at present. But even nationalisation of all land, unless controlled by those who need it may mean no more than nationalisation of the mines has meant to the miners. There is plenty of land already in

public ownership, but misused. For example the railways own thousands of acres of land in London. But British Railways are a self-centred, bureaucratic empire. There is no question of them planning their use of land so as to make as much as possible available for housing where it is needed. Where they do own housing they have started a policy of evictions. Tenants of theirs in St. Marylebone for example, received letters this summer giving prior warning of notice to quit; the site is to be handed over to a private property company: "This proposal is in accordance with the Railway Board's policy of maximising revenue from its properties and you will appreciate that this particular site has very valuable potential. No doubt you will wish to seek alternative accommodation, but I regret that I am unable to assist in this matter.

The railways themselves acknowledge 615 acres of surplus land available over the next ten years in the County of London. Much of this has lain derelict for years while the railways hold on and negotiate, blackmailing and bargaining with the LCC to be able to dispose of it in the most profitable manner possible. Some has already been sold or leased for offices and luxury flats. Yet this land could break the housing deadlock in such places as Paddington and St. Marylebone.

The two working class (solid Labour) wards of St. Marylebone have some of the worst slums in London. 40 per cent of the people here have no baths. Some two-thirds live in houses which should have been demolished twenty years ago. Twelve thousand people live here, without a single playground or bit of park, amid the fumes of antiquated power stations, passing daily the tens of acres of unused railway land. If those acres were built on, all the foul and decaying housing, the fortress-like blocks of "buildings" could be pulled down and rebuilt after, without displacing a single person in the process.

Here in Marylebone the first revolt has arisen. The Marylebone Tenants Associations (seven of them, representing several thousand people), have combined to set up a Campaign for Marylebone Homes. The walls are plastered with their notices. They have presented the Minister (Keith Joseph) with a petition signed by 6000 people, demanding the immediate use of all the land for "low cost housing." They have held mass meetings in packed halls attended by two and three hundred people. They have become a force to be reckoned with and conciliated by all the Marylebone councillors and parliamentary candidates. During the election campaign Keith Joseph (pressed by a worried Hogg) gave a promise that "all suitable and surplus railway

land (ambiguous terms) in St. Marylebone would be used for council housing." But the tenants have decided not to rely on this or on the change of government and not to rest until "the last roof is on the last building." Further action of various kinds is being prepared. Also a plan for the railway land and for the cumulative effect its use could have on the entire area, is being prepared by planning and architectural students, to be put on public exhibition. This is probably the first time that a plan has been commissioned by tenants. The brief is being provided by questionnaires widely distributed and by long conversations with each of the tenants committees.

The movement should spread. Paddington and St. Pancras also have surplus railway land in their midst. The general, abstract demand for more houses could harden into specific demands for a say in the use of land and in planning. The railways are only a beginning, there is misused public and private land throughout the country. A stand must be made to secure this land to provide decent "low cost" housing.

**Constance Lever**  
Hampstead Y.S.



# YOUNG GUARD

Fred Lindop

## Apprentices back but not demoralised

### National Organisation Needed

#### Vic Allen sentenced

Ian Birchall  
Wood Green Y.S.

The sentence on Vic Allen by a Nigerian Court has now been announced. Dr. Allen, a lecturer in industrial relations, was visiting Nigeria to carry out an official research project on the problems of trade unions in developing countries at the time of the General Strike last June. He was arrested shortly after his arrival, and was tried on charges relating to a document found in his possession, alleged to be a plan for the overthrow of the government. He has already served a two-month prison sentence for attempting to cross the border, and is now doing one year's hard labour with two years suspended sentence.

A disturbing incident connected with the affair was the case of Mr. G Jones a personal friend of Allen's, who was working in Ghana last summer. When he arrived in Nigeria attempting to visit Allen, he was (according to reports in the Nigerian Sunday Express) arrested, illegally and without justification, interrogated, beaten up and tortured.

Heavy debts have been incurred by the defence of Allen, and a group of Nigerians accused along with him. He is going to appeal so more money will be needed. All contributions should be sent to:

**THE V. L. ALLEN FUND**  
c/o ROY WILKINSON,  
DEPT. OF ECONOMICS,  
UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS.

or direct to:

**VIC ALLEN,**  
c/o BARCLAYS BANK,  
40, MARINA,  
LAGOS,  
NIGERIA.

The apprentices' long struggle for better pay and conditions, and the right of full trade union membership has suddenly sprung to life. First, the token stoppage on September 7th; then the national strike beginning November 2nd.

The tone of the movement was immediately clear. "We are not prepared to remain the shuttlecock to and fro between the employers and the trade union leaders." (The Apprentice Bulletin). This militancy was tempered by the realization that the movement had to go beyond the ill fated apprentice movement of 1960. In 1960, the basic aim was only a higher wage; this was partly gained and the impetus petered out. This time the demands were expanded. "Only an Apprentices' Charter, dealing with every aspect of the system of apprenticeship, will answer the question of permanent national Organisation. This will draw them into the Trade Union Movement, to struggle shoulder to shoulder with the tradesmen." (Apprentice Charter, Merseyside Apprentice Committee).

#### The demands

1. a percentage of the skilled man's wage—60 per cent at fifteen, to 90 per cent at twenty.
  2. a 35 hour working week.
  3. 4 weeks annual holiday.
  4. full wages during sickness.
  5. full trade union negotiating rights for all youths and apprentices. Points that should be added to these are:
  6. apprenticeships should be shorter—we reckon 3 years.
  7. all employers must be compelled by law to release apprentices for one day a week, or 3 months in every year, to attend college.
- The official reaction of the employers and the trade union has been almost uniformly hostile. The

Engineering Employers Association wrote to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, which then got its affiliated unions to write to all officials, requesting them "to take all steps to avert the threatened strike of junior workers." At a recent AEU Executive meeting, Sir William Carron used his casting vote to order the apprentices back to work. Members of apprentices committees have been threatened with court action by the employers for inducing breach of contract.

#### Organisation

Despite this, the apprentices have gone ahead spreading the strike and trying to build up the organization. A Leaflet put out by the Merseyside Apprentices Committee claims to have support in places as far apart as Dundee and London, including the Clyde, the Midlands and Yorkshire, as well as the main centre in Manchester. According to a member of the Merseyside Committee, Mike Sandbach, there were 22,000 apprentices on strike on November 9th. 600 were out in Dundee for a week. Some factory committees were reported to be functioning; for example, at Singer's in Glasgow and A.E.I. Manchester. There has been some fierce picketing; comrades report degrees of solidarity ranging from 70 per cent, to 30 per cent, with some factories where only one or two were out. (This is from the Manchester area.)

#### Need for Unity

A real national organisation is necessary to plan the apprentices' future tactics. The Direct Action Committee, which seems to be in a minority in the present movement, has gone ahead with definite plans without waiting to hear the views of

the majority of apprentices. The comrades should abandon their factionalism: the majority of apprentices just aren't interested. If future action (whether in March, or later) is to have any effect, it must not get bogged down at national level in the petty power politics of small groups of self-appointed leaders.

During this strike there has been some support from the shop stewards, although not as much as might have been expected; due mostly to lack of understanding on both side and marginally to factional conflicts between Communist Party members and supporters of the Direct Action Committee. There has been talk of organising in the future through the AEU Junior Workers Committees (officially or unofficially).

Although as yet the Committees have no powers, they may provide closer contact between stewards and militant apprentices.

For adult trade unionists as well as Young Socialists, the job is to urge solidarity, especially in providing money and preventing victimisation of the strikers, in their union branches, YS branches and Labour Parties.

Next issue will include:

**Labour and the Financiers**  
**Shipbuilding**  
**Glasgow Apprentices**  
**Northern Ireland**  
**Congo**  
**YG will be at Brighton**  
**for the conference**

#### The Election etc.

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poverty and exploitation. "Revolutionary" politics which have always bedevilled the left are not enough. Young Socialists must put up a consistent struggle for the immediate reforms that we might win and which challenge the whole basis of the ideas put forward by the ruling class and their allies in the Labour Party; and to unite the left in the Party against wage freeze, against a sell-out on housing and for a socialist foreign policy. But this isn't just a job for Labour Party meetings. Far more important, the YS has got to look outside into the wider Labour movement and join in the struggle there, in the unions and on the factory floor. The YS must play its part in pointing out the connection between suppression of unofficial strikes and a reactionary policy abroad, between the dockers' struggle and the fight for socialist policies in the Labour Party.



**AFRICAN WOMAN**  
Behind  
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of a  
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area