

YOUNG GUARD

March 1962

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No. 7

The Paper with a Socialist Programme For Youth



Young Engineers demonstrate in Glasgow

Y.S. ACTS AGAINST —



The Tory Bomb

EASTER is coming and Young Socialist branches throughout the country are mobilising once more to join the march on London from the H-bomb factory at Aldermaston. They will march in active opposition to a government which is preparing to destroy all living people in the name of freedom.

Many times in the past, young and active people have marched in protest against the wealthy minority whose interests rule this country. As the Chartists of the 1830, and the Hunger Marchers of the 1930s, they marched in defence of the health and the rights of the mass of the working people. Now they are marching for the right to live.

Protest

Every Aldermaston March since 1957 has been greater than the last. Now is the time for Young Socialists to gather behind one banner all the people they have won over during the year, by sitting down, demonstrating, leafleting, arguing or writing. A new peak be reached in the building of a massive movement of protest that will sweep the country to destroy the hydrogen bomb and the power of the wealthy owners of our industry whose profit lust created it.

The Tory Colour Bar

RACIALISM is nothing new. It is a social deformity that has appeared many times in the past. As Young Socialists, we know that it is not only wrong but also stupid to support those who spread filth and lies about our fellow workers who happen to have a different colour skin.

Perverts

Foolish because those who preach racialism are the first to seek the destruction of the Labour movement. It is these perverts who the Tories have now supported, (not for the first time) by introducing the colour bar Immigration Bill.

Young Socialists

By taking part with our banners on demonstrations and by leading the fight to oppose the bill, the Young Socialists have shown that they are 100 per cent opposed to all attempts to divide the youth and working peoples

by race or skin or in any other way.

Brethren

To be successful, the fight for socialism must capture the support of workers of all races and nationalities... for only under socialism will exploitation of colour cease, and with it the work of those racialists and fascists who have now joined hands with their Tory brethren.

THE pro-Government Government Mayor of Kempton Park (South Africa) was asked whether he would allow Japanese into Kempton Park's swimming pool:

"Japanese swimmers in our new dynamic-size pool? Not a chance! Nor Chinese—not with our municipal elections coming soon".

The mayor of Beaufort West weighed in with a contrary view. "We welcome the Japanese with open arms. This is a big wool-growing area, and the Japanese are very interested in our wool". *Scotsman* Feb. 14. 1962.

JUST WAGES

"My answer to those who are always asking for 6d more an hour here and shilling an hour more there is... we must not pay ourselves more than we earn" Lord Cobold, governor of the Bank of England, *Daily Mail*, 23. I. 62.

WHO'S PAUSE?

In October 1946 the average hours per week worked in Britain was 47.7 hours.

In April 1960 the figure was 48.

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In the last six months of 1961, productivity rose by 4%, wages by 2%, living costs by 4½% and dividends by 14%...

The Tory Pay Pause

DESPITE some of the most disgraceful sell-outs in Trade Union history a solid opposition to the Tory Pay Pause is being built up. Young socialists have been active in this struggle to preserve workers' living standards. Apprentices were prominent in many demonstrations held by the engineers in support of their national strike and in South Wales the enthusiasm of the young shop workers contributed to the success of the Woolworth's strike. By producing and distributing leaflets young socialists show their solidarity with the engineers and railwaymen on strike.

Collaboration

Neither Greene nor Carron must be allowed to get away with collaboration with the boss. They should be demanding 30 per cent for the railwaymen not selling out for 3 per cent and a smile from Mac.

In the coming months young socialists must do all in their power to help in the struggle against the pay pause. Victory can mean an increase in workers' self-confidence and enthusiasm for trade-unionism and socialist politics. Defeat will mean the disillusionment and fragmentation of the working class.

Inside special feature—Trade Unions—1926-1962

EDITORIAL

WITH his characteristic tongue in cheek hypocrisy Prime Minister Macmillan has announced what many of us in the Labour movement knew to be inevitable... the resumption of atmospheric nuclear tests. Not only has our Tory champion of the "Free Way of Life" agreed to the use of Christmas Island by the Americans but the Tories are to carry out some tests of their own in Nevada.

To the majority of active workers in the Labour movement, this latest exercise in nuclear gangsterism by Macmillan and his associates in Washington will come as no surprise. Too many of those spokesman who condemned in rounded terms the resumption of tests by Russia's rulers last autumn, had past records of their own for nuclear crimes, to deceive us with their apparent regard for the safety and health of humanity.

How many deformed infants and how many leukemia deaths will be directly caused by this latest lot of "Western democratic tests" we may never know exactly. What we do know as Socialists is that neither H bombs nor nuclear arms of any kind will assist the youth and working peoples of the world in the struggle for a life free of war, poverty, disease and injustice.

Let the Young Socialists and YCND supporters show those thugs who call themselves the world's rulers and those Labour leaders like Gaitskell who are not prepared to come out in unqualified opposition to the tests, that our object remains the elimination of the nuclear murder machines... and their masters. In 1962, as ever, let our cry be "NO BOMBS", "NO BOSSES" and "PEACE THROUGH SOCIALISM".

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THE scurrilous betrayal of the railwaymen's claim for a wage increase to match the rise in the cost of living, by Sidney Greene and the other so called leaders of the rail unions has highlighted current Tory tactics to carry the pay pause to victory by weakening and dividing the working class.

"Divide and conquer" have long been weapons in the armoury of the Tories and the employers to defeat any attempts by the workers to defend their living conditions. These tactics are once more being put to effective use to smash opposition to the pay pause.

As a recent article in the employers newspaper, *The Financial Times* made clear, the government's object at present is to deal piece meal with the unions, one by one, and to frustrate any moves by the unions to coordinate opposition to the "freeze".

It is not the job of *Young Guard* to say where and when strikes should be called. What we do know is that when strikes are called unless they are effective, the results can be disastrous. The strength of the Labour movement has always lain in its unity. As Socialists then we give our support to all attempts to unite workers of different industries against the common enemy.

Young Trade Unionists give a lead

Ron Taylor USDAW & North East Leeds YS.

RECENTLY the Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers gave their official support to a strike which involved their members working for Woolworths in South Wales. The strikers demanded trade union recognition and higher rates of pay, from a company which had a trading profit of over £33 million during 1960. Union branches, Trades' Councils and other trade unionists declared their interest and gave their support.

The number of strikers was small; in one shop only 27 workers struck out of a total of 250. In others the number was even smaller. Pickets were placed outside the shops and in one case where there were no strikers a young girl came out of the shop, pledged full support to the pickets and joined the strike. In another shop, the only striker was a sixteen year old girl who, in pouring rain, never left the picket line.

The strike lasted for only one

week and ended in a victory for the union. It seemed an easy victory, as only a small proportion of the workers had come out.

This was due to the terrific support from the South Wales miners who planned to boycott the stores and hold large demonstrations in front of the major stores until the strike ended. This threat during the profitable Christmas trading would have cost Woolworth's too much money, so they gave in. The strike could never have been so successful without the militancy of the shop girls and the solidarity of the miners.

Young workers have been the most receptive in the attempt to take trade union organisation into new fields. USDAW has run schools for young trade unionists and these have been overbooked. But are there enough facilities for youth? One of the resolutions on the lengthy agenda for the USDAW Annual Conference in May calls for the formation of Youth Federations.

De Gaulle's dilemma

Paddy Wall

AMID plastic bomb explosions murders, kidnapping, police brutality, strikes and demonstrations, the myth of Charles de Gaulle, architect of a stable France, is crumbling. Four years of de Gaulle's "Strong State" have failed to find a solution to the problems which divide the French nation. The festering sore of the Algerian situation lingers on.

In Algeria the O.A.S., underground army of right wing extremism, enjoys the support of most of the Colons, especially in Algiers and Oran. The campaign of terror, counter-terror, murder and lynching, as the OAS attempts to cower the muslim population of the cities is of no avail. All the death and mutilation wrought by General Salan and his followers cannot shake the solid support for the F.L.N. show by the Algerian people. For the first time since 1954 the Green and White flag of the Algerian Nationalists is openly paraded in the muslim quarters.

An important section of big business, the section which more than any other supports de Gaulle, wants peace. The war in Algeria costs France over £800 million a year; an army of half a million has had to be maintained in Algeria. The representatives of the new modernised post-war industries wish to reduce this terrific drain on the resources of the economy. For this reason they are willing to reach an agreement with the F.L.N. and for this reason tired of parliamentary government they supported de Gaulle as the

This would give young people an opportunity to get together and discuss subjects of specific interest to youth, many of which are not given enough attention at branch meetings. An example of this is the pay of young shop workers which is completely out of proportion to that of an adult. A man on full wages receives about £9 a week, a youth of sixteen who does the same job and works the same hours gets only £4.7.6d. a week. Trade unions should negotiate for the rate for the job, not only to achieve equal pay for women but also for young people.

The Ministry of Labour reported at the end of 1960 that 48,791 boys and 82,453 girls under eighteen entered the distributive trades during that year, totals far higher than any industrial group. Here then is a place where young socialists working in this branch of industry must take the lead, they must join in the ranks of the young trade unionists and fight and organise to get others to join.

TO JOIN THE YS, WRITE TO THE NATIONAL YOUTH OFFICER, TRANSPORT HOUSE, LONDON, S.W.1.

man who could achieve such an agreement.

The reactionary officers of the French army have a burning hatred of the working class, a hatred nurtured by successive defeats in Asia and Africa. Defeats which they blame on the "softness" arising from the democratic rights of the French people. Over the bones of the workers' organisations this French equivalent of the Gestapo seek to establish a fascist regime in France. An agreement with the Algerian Nationalists could well be the signal for an uprising on the lines of the Franco revolt in 1936.

Facism is not popular today even with big business, yet it remains a reserve weapon to use against the working class, for this reason it is impossible for de Gaulle to deal effectively with the O.A.S. and its sympathisers in the establishment. Self-confessed tortures are acquitted by an army court martial, 8 demonstrating workers are killed by police thugs, right wing politicians escape from jail almost at will.

The Labour Movement in France has been repeatedly betrayed by its leaders—from the sell out of the sit-down strikes in 1936 to the massacre of 40,000 Algerians in Constantine in 1945, by orders of a government which included socialists and Communists. The French Socialist Party voted for increased war credits at the outbreak of the Algerian war, the communist deputies abstained from voting.

The workers have slowly recovered their strength and confidence, the recent strikes and demonstrations give proof of this. Learning from experience a new leadership can be built, based on a clear socialist programme and a recognition that one cannot fight bullets with resolutions of protest. For one thing every worker clearly understands what facism means, even some of the less backward of the leaders may have learnt this lesson from history and this fact in itself can give a new impetus to a regrouping of the French left.

YOUNG GUARD

Editor: Chris Davison,
42 Ingleby Road, Ilford,
Essex

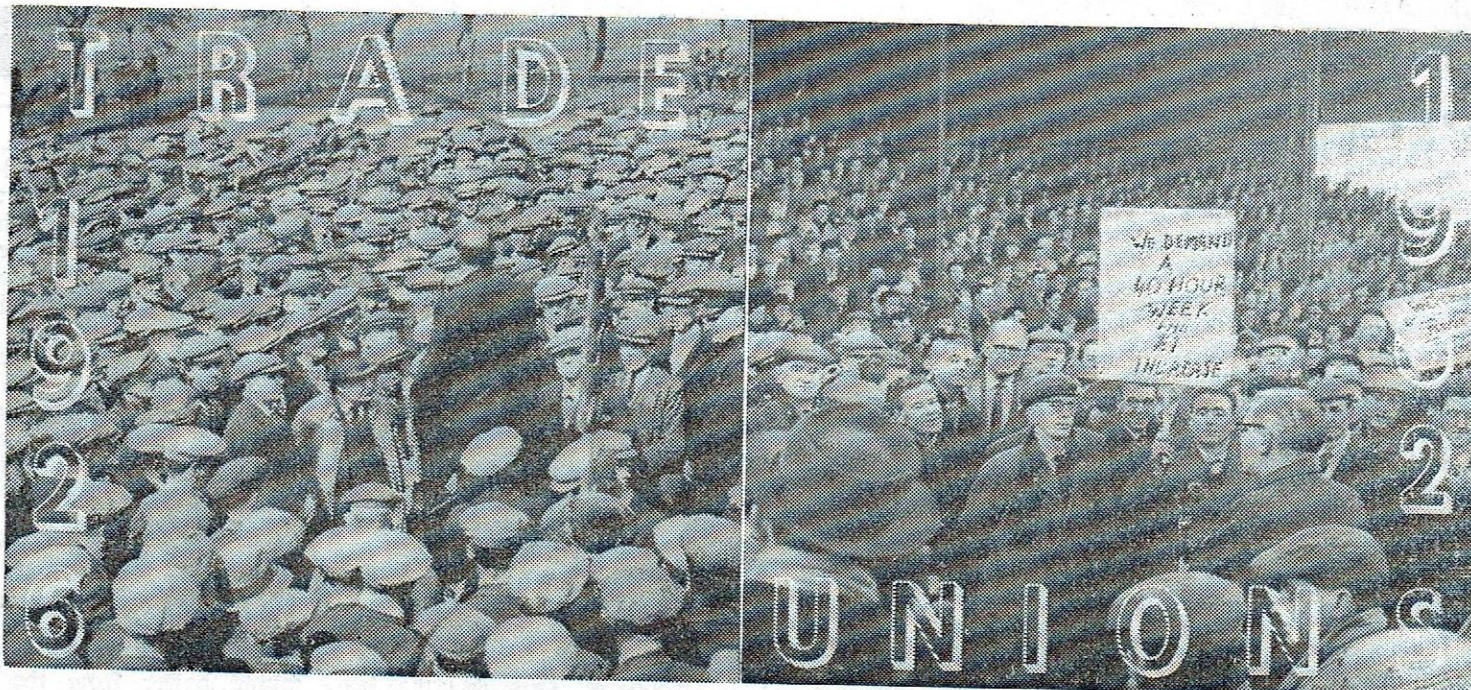
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Business Manager:
Keith Dickinson,
15 Scargreen Avenue,
Liverpool, 11.

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LONDON READERS'
MEETING

Saturday, March 10th, 6
p.m., at the George, Old
Barley. Speaker: John Pal-
mer on the YS and the
Labour Party. Tube: St.
Paul's.



by
GLASGOW
Y.S.

How They Grew

These two pages are devoted to a survey of trade unions. As we enter the greatest, and most irretrievable, of the capitalist crises since the war, nothing is more important than a rigorous inquiry into our working class organisations.

Because of space, there have been many vital problems to which we have not referred. Most important of these is the question of British trade unionism's entry into Europe.

What we have done is first, briefly, to trace the history of British trade unions. We have composed a chronological guide, taking the story up from the passing of the Combination Acts in the late 18th century. These acts were the first general Government attacks made on working class organisations, and they resulted in the Luddites—a futile protest movement, which destroyed machinery for lack of any other way out of their misery.

There is a supplementary article on the shop-stewards' movement which began before the first world war as a movement for closer harmony among engineering unions.

Over the page we try to answer two questions. First what can best be done to make British trade unions effective under capitalism? Second, what role will trade unions play in a socialist society?

These pages have been written and planned by a group of YS in Glasgow—from Woodside, Craigton, Gorbals, Renfrew and Springburn branches. About 20 of us have taken part and the pages are the result of group discussion, research and amalgamation. We hope that this method will be taken up and expanded by other Young Guard groups throughout the country.

Our thanks are due to a Tory print-worker who has done a lot of block-making for us... as he explains "for a mate", and NOT "for the cause".

There are many revolutionary and socialistic elements in the English proletariat, but they are mixed up with conservatism, religion and prejudices, and can't somehow break through to the surface and unite.

Lenin in conversation to Trotsky: 1903.

1824 The Combination Acts were repealed but then still imposed severe limitations on the unions, which were now lawful but could not enforce their demands by strike action.

There followed a decade of rapid growth of trade unions with the emphasis on national unions with revolutionary aims culminating in—

1833 The Grand National Consolidated Trades Union set up under the early socialist pioneer, Robert Owen.

1834 The Tolpuddle Martyrs—this episode set the unions back many years. Six Dorsetshire farm labourers had formed a branch of the Agricultural Labourers' Society and, in accordance with general practice, had taken an oath of loyalty. They were tried and convicted to deportation under a Medieval act forbidding the administering of secret oaths.

1834 With the collapse after some bitter struggles, of the Grand National, attention was turned for the next few years to the battle for the Charter to give full political rights to the working class. It too collapsed although many of its points were later adopted by the British Parliament.

1850 The growth of such craft unions as the Associated Society of Engineers which, because of the legal restrictions placed on them, operated more like Friendly Societies, protecting their crafts, paying sickness benefit and stressing negotiation with the employers.

1868 Foundation of the Trades Union Congress and increasing pressure from the unions for a legalisation of their position.

1871 Act legalising the unions

and allowing them greater freedom of action. The craft unions were numerous and are the origin of the emphasis in the trade union movement on organisation by craft rather than industry. They were to be weakened considerably by the new general unions and the dilution of skills brought about by new machinery, the first World War and finally widespread unemployment.

1880s *The new era in Trade Unionism.* The matchgirls', gasworkers' and dockers' strikes brought in the period of New Unionism or general unions often under the leadership of Socialists like Eleanor Mace, John Burns, Will Thorne, Tom Mann and Ben Tillett. Unions now come into direct contact with political aims.

1899 Labour Representation Committee set up with the unions and Socialist Societies to secure working class representation in Parliament.

1901 The State still had not accepted the right of unions to strike, and the Taff Vale judgement of this year made the unions liable for damages caused by strike action.

1909 The Osborne Case—another legal decision which made political activity by the unions illegal.

1913 After much unrest and continual pressure from the group of Labour MPs in Parliament, these two judgements were reversed.

1914-18 The unions gained in power since their cooperation was now needed for the war effort but an unofficial movement under Shop Stewards began to assert itself (see next article).

1921 After a period of great activity, during which much enthusiasm was shown in the unions for the Russian Revolution, the economic crisis began to weaken them again.

1926 The General Strike. The economic crisis brought on the biggest trade union effort in their history but they were too weak to succeed and the defeat of this strike coupled with the depression of the '30s combined

to retard trade unionism once again.

1927 The Conservative Government passed an act restricting the right to strike.

1939-45 Again the war gave the unions their chance to increase their power and they were brought into collaboration with the Coalition Government on such enterprises as the Joint Production Committees to help output.

1945 Labour Government repealed all anti-union legislation passed in the '20s and the trade unions moved into their position of collaborating with the Government and employers in order to ensure a smooth passage for the Labour Government. This finally consolidated the trade union bureaucracy as part of the state machine and along with high employment and relative affluence the unions were numerically larger than they had ever been but with apathy widespread, qualitatively weaker.

Shop Stewards' Movement

The 1914-1918 war was an Engineers' war and the government was forced to come to an agreement with the Engineering Union Executives and work out what came to be known as the Treasury Agreement in 1915. Under this agreement, the unions voluntarily surrendered their rights and promised to keep an industrial truce while accepting more extensive use of semi-skilled and unskilled labour in skilled jobs.

Opposition to this dilution of Labour and restriction of rights come from the workshops and the Shop Stewards Movement who saw that once these rights were taken away, then, with the certain unemployment after the war, the workers would have to fight for their return.

The first war-time strike—for 2d an hour—took place in February 1915 on the Clyde and was organised by the Shop Stewards. As Davie Kirkwood, the convener at Parkhead Forge told Lloyd George, the strike was organised, "in defiance of you, in defiance of the Government and in defiance of the Trade Union Officials." Soon

● cont. page 6

IN BRITISH CAPITALISM

TRADER Unions in a capitalist society can be organised in two ways. They can be organised by *craft*, with each distinguishable craft or occupation forming a separate union, while the mass of workers without any specific trade or occupation are lumped together into "General" unions.

The other form of division is by *industry*. Under this system all workers in an industrial group form one union. Thus there is one union for workers in shipbuilding, mining and so on. Although there are obviously "fringe" cases, this division is quite simple. British industry for instance has been divided naturally into 19 industrial groups.

In Britain, BOTH of these systems operate and interlock. We have many craft unions (shipwrights, platers, woodworkers, painters), and we have our enormous general unions (T & GWU, NUGMW). There are also attempts at industrial unions like the NUM and the NUR.

This form of organisation has grown up haphazardly without any serious attempt at planning. The result is, always has been, disastrous for the British working class.

While both systems try to operate, neither does as it should do. In a supposedly general union you can find whole industrial groups (such as gasworkers in the NUKMW, or busmen in the T & GWU), and in supposedly industrial unions you too often find the old reactionary craft divisions (engine-drivers and footplate-men stick doggedly to ASLEF, while the "middle-class" clerks and ticket-collectors staminate in the TSSA).

Although there are only 19 industrial groups, there are 185 different unions affiliated to the TUC, and as many others not so affiliated (local government employees (NALGO) and teachers (NUT)). The unevenness of this situation results in serious splits in the working class. A great deal of nonsense is talked about "white-collar" unions, and the need to pander to their "advanced" social status. Nevertheless it remains true that the ratio of manual to non-manual workers is 1 to 3. In 1935 it was 7 to 1. Only 25% of the 900,000 non-manual workers affiliated to the TUC have affiliated to the Labour Party. Socialists know perfectly well that the non-manual worker is in exactly the same relation to his employer as is the manual worker. But the point to be made here is that his reluctance to associate himself with working class or political aspirations can largely be put down to the way in which his union is organised. As long as the "white-collar" workers conglomerate exclusively in "white-collar" unions, they will remain the weakest link in the working class movement.

The craft divisions in manual unions lead to the most grotesque

civil wars within the working class. They lead to crazy demarcation disputes and stoppages which have nothing to do with the struggle against capitalism (the internecine warfare between shipwrights and platers on the Clyde shipyards is a squalid example).

The organisations of union branches on geographical basis means that the worker's union activity is disassociated from his work. The result of this throughout Britain has been a steady increase in working class activity on the shop floor. The shop steward plays a much more important role in the class struggle than does the union official. In 1959 there were 2,734 strikes. Only 78 of them were official. The most militant defence of the workers' interest in the last decade has come from the shop floor organisations, and the clumsy structure of the trade unions is largely responsible.

Socialists should press for union organisations on industrial lines. These have the following advantages:

Industrial unions can take changes in the methods of production in their stride. They are not bound by old craft divisions which may become irrelevant as industry is modernised.

Demarcation disputes would completely disappear, and there would be much more freedom of action for each worker.

In industrial unions the greater unity makes it much easier to demand a closed shop.

Splits in the capitalist class which are essential to the nature of capitalism could be exploited with much greater force. Different firms in the same industry can be hit at different times. Tactics and weapons for the class struggle become infinitely more diverse and subtle.

Geographical organisation on the lines of where the worker lives can be replaced by divisions as to where he works. Thus a great deal of the apathy and bureaucracy in branch meetings would give way in the face of shop floor militancy.

With only 20 or so large unions, we could have a General Council with real political power. This Council could find it easy to plan a National Wage Policy within the working class movement—thus obstructing any possibility of a financial aristocracy among workers. It could also be better prepared to demand that the increase in automation must mean the same number of workers working lesser hours for the same rates, and NOT the same hours, the same rates and less workers.

Finally, perhaps most important, industrial unions would mean the gradual assimilation of white collar workers into the same organisations as the manual worker. Thus the greatest split in the working class movement would be healed.

As far back as 1924 a resolution was passed at the TUC calling on the General Council to investigate the problem of industrial unions. In 1927 the General Council reported back, explaining that most craft and general unions defend their sepa-

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

rate organisations on reactionary grounds of tradition or economic superiority. These points they regarded as reasons for doing nothing about the 1924 suggestion. We should think of them as relevant obstacles in the path to industrial unions. Many of the tasks before socialists are comparatively simple. We must press for the amalgamation of craft unions, which is already happening, and for stronger autonomy for the industrial sections of the general unions (the two big general unions are already split into industrial groups). We must support the growing tendency toward large Union Confederations.

Above all, remember that history is on our side. The relentless movement of capitalism will gradually force the unions to organise on industrial lines. Our job is to understand and speed up the process.

One final thing. Change in the outward structure will not solve the problems. There will always be the threat of the growth of hard bureaucracy within the unions. This can only be counteracted by relentless demands for democratic elections and supervision at every point in the line. Otherwise we will find Sir Tom Williamson at the head of our industrial unions!



Ray Gunther

"I reject the right of men to use the industrial weapon for political ends. I have always fought against it because I regard it as a denial of the principle on which our democratic institutions are built".

Ray Gunther (Labour's Shadow Labour Minister).
House of Commons. Jan. 1962.

IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

WILL we have trade unions in a socialist society? The question might seem academic, but it is vitally relevant to any analysis of the purpose of trade unions, and of what we understand by socialism.

It is NOT the function of trade unions to change society. They have come into being for the specific task of maintaining the workers' standard of living, and of making advances in wages and conditions. They are therefore limited by their nature

in what they can achieve. They cannot be media of complete revolutionary change, even though they are driven from time to time by the employers, the state, or even by the inadequacy of their own political parties, to act as if they were.

Certainly, if we can conceive of a society in a state of extreme socialism, where classes and wage labour have ceased to exist, where the rule "from each according to his ability to each according to his needs" is the rule of social life, we can safely say that THEN trade unions—like the State—will have withered away.

The trouble is that the act of taking power from the bosses does not complete the process of smashing capitalism.

Capitalism can only be finally defeated when the workers' states have raised the standard of capitalist production and consumption beyond the highest level of international capitalist development. Until that happens—and it may take a long time—they will have to pass through a period of socialism in which the state, and the trade unions, must play a vital, if totally different, role.

Exactly what this role is can best be arrived at by examining the discussions that took place in Soviet Russia in 1921. By that time the revolution of 1917 had successfully beaten off its immediate counter-attackers in the shape of capitalist intervention and the White Army. Three views on the future form of the trade unions were then put forward.

First there was the anarcho-syndicalist view. This was that the control and direction of industry should be handed over immediately to the trade unions.

Lenin and the trade union leaders wanted rather to preserve trade union independence from the state. They believed that the unions should remain essentially DEFENSIVE organisations against the possibility of a "bureaucratically deformed" workers' state (the jargon is Lenin's).

Trotsky and Bukharin, on the other hand, wanted to see a decisive PARTICIPATION between union and the state in the organisation of industry.

The trouble with the syndicalist view has already been partly explained. It overlooks the necessity of the state in the transitional development towards extreme socialism. The huge legacy of reactionary values and ideas inherited by the new organs of power would make the immediate application of extreme socialist forms of government a ludicrous misfit.

Lenin and Trotsky both understood this, but both at the same time were anxious to ensure proletarian democracy. Lenin was terrified of the possibility of trade unions being absorbed by a bureaucratic state (how right he was!), and Trotsky insisted that the bureaucracy could

LETTERS

Algeria

Dear Comrade,

As one who has been associated with Young Guard for some time I fully understand the difficulties entailed in producing the paper and the necessity of cutting long articles. I appreciate the difficulties experienced by the editors, but the character of my article on Algeria in the February issue of Young Guard was changed to a certain extent by the editing and a more detailed explanation of my views is called for.

The main reason for my support of the Algerian revolution is that it shows every sign of evolving into a socialist revolution as opposed to a purely nationalist one. Over the last seven years the National Liberation Front (FLN) has been moving continually to the left until today the left holds a majority in the cabinet of the provisional government (GPRA).

This trend in the Algerian freedom movement can be compared with Fidel Castro's movement in Cuba. Like the Cuban revolution, the war in Algeria began with the principal aim of overthrowing a ruling tyrant and substituting a form of liberal democracy. Like the 26th of July Movement in Cuba the FLN depends for its support on the mass of the peasantry and working class. It is for the redistribution of land, etc. that the mass of the ordinary Algerians are fighting. Comrades should find no difficulty in believing that the Algerian worker or peasant will not be prepared to give up his new-found freedom to a native boss after suffering under a French one. It is obvious to socialists that the only course for Algerians to take will be a socialist one.

The gargantuan task of rebuilding the semi-feudal, war-torn country cannot be achieved under capitalism, but under a socialist system, with a planned economy, rebuilding will forge ahead.

It is also important for comrades to remember the nature of the FLN army which is unique in that it is governed by soldiers' committees (see Free Algeria January 1962). Today the FLN is educating the previously illiterate peasantry including the women and girls. Along the Tunisian frontier prefabricated schools have been erected for the purpose of providing a basic education for thousands of refugees.

If readers require further proof they should read the report by the Prime Minister, Benyousséf Benkhedda, of his recent tour of South America (Free Algeria). In this he makes known his great admiration for the path taken by the Cuban revolution. This is of special significance when we realise Castro never spoke in such left-wing terms until a much later date in the Cuban revolution.

Dave Ablitt,
Nottingham W.Y.S



Apprentices

Dear Comrade,

In offering my congratulations to all associated with Young Guard, I raise one issue which might be taken up in the paper. The apprentice system needs to be tackled by more than talk.

The recent apprentices' strike over the demand for more pay produced no lasting movement among the young workers. The Junior Workers' Committees in my own union, the AEU, are still the moribund bodies they were before that showing of latent militancy by the apprentices. While we all hear so much about the problems of apprentices, their poor conditions, the use of the present apprentice system as an important source of cheap labour for the boss and so on, there has yet to be a positive movement among the apprentices to put right the problems which appear to make them so angry.

I believe that it is the failure of the union bureaucracy to treat honestly with the apprentices that has kept so many out of the union altogether. But the most important thing surely, is for the young workers to realise that they must do for themselves what others are not prepared to do for them. Let it be clearly understood that the union membership would support the apprentices only if they showed themselves capable and eager to fight on their own behalf.

I have generalised and maybe

over-simplified the issue. It will be for the young workers themselves to reply, as I hope they will, with constructive ideas on what should indeed can be done now, to achieve unity in their ranks and a proper programme around which all apprentices will feel able to organise and fight.

Karl Dunbar AEU

Tribune

Dear Comrade,

I am writing a YS column in Tribune, which to my mind can be a welcome platform for YS opinion.

I request comrades to support this column by sending news and views of the YS to me regularly. Comrades are urged to support a column in a newspaper read by the Labour movement.

Brian Lyman,
Paddington S. YS

Support MCF

Dear Comrade,

Young Guard during the short period of its existence has rightly stressed that the struggle so far as young socialists are concerned lies with the apprentices and the Aldermaston marchers. It has urged support for CND.

Another national movement that is particularly deserving of the support of the Young Socialists is the Movement for Colon-

ial Freedom. The struggle against oppression that is taking place in the colonial territories is the most encouraging and progressive development of the current period. Youth tends to be more internationally minded than the elder generation and we should want to align ourselves with the historic struggle of the colonial peoples.

M.C.F. have prepared a special leaflet, which has recently been circulated to branches by Transport House, inviting affiliation. One or two branches and federations are already affiliated, but nothing like the number that ought to be. Eastern Regional Committee have decided that they want to affiliate and are urging branches and federations in this region to do likewise. It is to be hoped that other regions will follow suit.

In the coming year it will be necessary for M.C.F. to run important campaigns including one against the Government's Immigration Bill and racialism at home. Young Socialists should go into action on this issue and co-ordinate that activity through M.C.F.

Frank Stone
Yarmouth YS

YOUNG GUARD is in contact with the Student Peace Union of America. This organisation, based upon the Universities and colleges of the United States, and having a policy similar to CND, seeks to build up an effective opposition to nuclear tests and nuclear war. It has recently grown rapidly, now having 75 affiliated groups and a circulation of 12,000 for its publication the S.P.U Bulletin! In two years it has grown from a small regional group centred in Chicago to a national movement with regional offices in 7 key cities. We wish them every success and are ourselves encouraged by these hopeful signs from America.

YOUNG GUARD is published by individual members from Bethnal Green, Birkenhead, Chelsea, Chesterfield, Craigton, Croydon, Derby, Dulwich (College Ward), East Islington, Edgubaston, Eltham, Esher, Gilmoor, Gorbals, Govan, Greenwich, Guildford, Hackney C., Hendon N., Holborn and St. Pancras S., Ilford, Kingston, Leeds N.E., Leeds NW, Marylebone, Middleton and Prestwich, Nottingham C., Nottingham N., Nottingham W., Normanton, Oxford, Peckham, Ramsgate, Renfrew, Resolven, St. Pancras N., Shore-ditch and Finsbury, South Paddington, South Norwood, Springburn, Staveley, Stoke Newington, Swensea, Toxteth, Watford, Wallasey, Walton, Withington, Wimbledon, Willesden, West Derby, West Kingsdown, Woodside and Yarmouth YS Branches and Woolwich, Kingston, Thanet, Paddington and North Kensington, Dulwich, Birmingham, Ilford and Glasgow YCND.

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-partite 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.

Ten Days . . .

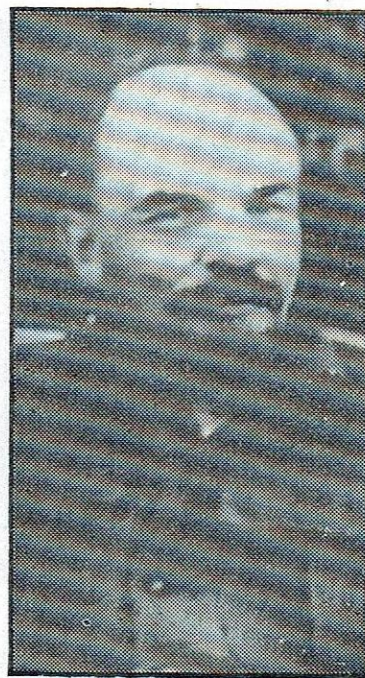
John Phillips
Shoreditch & Finsbury YS

THIS month Lawrence and Wishart have rendered a great service to the socialist movement by publishing a new edition of John Reed's *Ten Days that Shook the World*.

Briefly the book is an observer's eye view of the Russian revolution. Unlike Trotsky's *The Russian Revolution* it doesn't pretend to give a deep analysis of the social and economic background that gave rise to the revolution—instead it gives the 'meat': the crowded turbulent meeting "filled with soldiers and workmen, a monstrous dun mass, deep humming in a blue haze of smoke"; the street fighting, the battlefield and its aftermath "everywhere on the floor, along the walls, men were sleeping. Rough, dirty men, workers and soldiers, spattered and caked with mud, sprawled alone or in heaps, in the careless attitudes of death. Some wore ragged bandages marked with blood. Guns and cartridge-belts were scattered about... The victorious proletarian army!"; Smolny Institute, the headquarters of the Petrograd soviet where "men literally out of themselves, living prodigies of sleeplessness and workmen unshaven, filthy, with burning eyes who drove upon their fixed purposeful speed on engines of exaltation".

It portrays superbly the spirit

Lenin the
leader



FREEDOM RIDERS

John Lane
Paddington S. YS

News and Letters is a monthly newspaper that claims, with some justice to be a "unique combination of worker and intellectual". Produced and edited by Detroit auto-workers, it develops a distinctive ideological position which *Young Guard* readers should find highly stimulating.

Raya Dunayevska is the paper's leading theoretician. From her penetrating understanding and horror of the bureaucratic mind (she was secretary to Leon Trotsky), she rejects the usual points "Planning for Whom? planning for What?". Reorganisation of society from the base up, starting with the mass creativity of workers freed from outside control over their work-process—this is her answer to the "twin poles of state capitalism Russia and America".

This pamphlet is a collection of personal experience by a half-dozen Freedom Riders, and sitters-in, interspersed with editorial comment from the paper. The style is always unsophisticated, sometimes repetitive—but the obvious lack of editorial interference assists the reader's growing sense of direct communication. The writers have the knack of recapturing their own emotional responses to situations ("It was pouring down rain. I've never seen rain like that in person, only behind bars.") Most revealing of all are the extensive quotations of exchanges between the Riders and the police and jailers.

Almost every page has some example of arbitrary assertion of authority by the jailers. The catalogue builds up unrelentingly—"Everything was done to keep us in a state of nervous tension."

The political lessons are left to the reader. They emerge naturally from the felt experience of these young people asserting their humanity. Here is a portrayal of the frightened, petty and dangerous sickness of the United States. Here also are the potential creators of a new and sane society.

This pamphlet can be obtained from: Peter Cadogan, 5 Acton Way, Cambridge. 1/9 post free.

Jack Straw

WHO is Jack Straw? In 1381 he led the peasants from St. Albans to London in revolt against, among other things, wage restrictions, and they burnt down the Treasurer's manor at Highbury; anything out of date about that?

In this column I intend to write whatever comes into my head, and this month it happens to be Norman Mailer, whose latest book, *Advertisements for myself* was recently published here. It consists of an autobiographical collection of his writings, interspersed with "advertisements" telling how they were written and what they mean to their author today. As an insight into the mind of a writer of genius at work, they are fascinating. For us they are also important because Mailer is a socialist, and his work concerns the most vital issues of our times.

His first and most famous book was *The Naked and the Dead*, based on Mailer's own war experiences and about the triumph and destruction of Fascism, symbolised by two Army officers and their men. His second novel, *Barbary Shore*, was a resounding flop, but remains one of the key novels of the H-bomb age. Written around a hero without past or future, an ex-Stalinist, a Trotskyist and a government agent, it contains an extremely pessimistic yet realistic prophecy of the future of East and West. From here Mailer moved on, in his third novel *The Deer Park* to the world of Hollywood, where the only thing left is sex. This was slightly more successful than *Barbary Shore*.

For those who care about a future socialist culture, Mailer is essential reading; politically torn between Marxism and anarchy, glorifying violence, his real belief is humanity.

★

The white negro brings to mind the close connection between jazz and socialism. Leonard Feather, the critic, has stated that the number of American jazzmen who supported McCarthy could be counted 'on the fingers of one thumb'. In Britain, likewise, most jazz people are left-wing; Stalinists are fans and even players. Naturally, jazz musicians and fans are anti-racialists, often actively like Johnny Dankworth. A racialist who stumbled into an all-nighter at the Flamingo would die of shock. Many are also anti-bomb; the band which played the Red Flag in Trafalgar Square last Easter Monday was all-star. Is it because the American Negroes are the only working class to have produced a fully-developed music of their own that it appeals to working class youth? Perhaps like me they hear in it an expression of their hopes and fears not to be found elsewhere.

TRADE UNION FEATURE CONTINUED

● from page 4

not be effectively knocked out unless the workers struck at its solar plexus—control of industry.

The two views seem to be exclusive, but in fact the answer lies between them. Socialists must realise first that trade unions as protective organisations will persist in direct proportion to the success of the society's movement towards extreme socialism, which will make them unnecessary.

This understood, we can say that trade unions under socialism should concern themselves with all questions of wages, conditions, automation (and in these problems they should always have at their disposal the right to strike). But AT THE SAME TIME we should press for the establishment and recognition of the factory committee, whose purpose is the participation with the state in all matters of control and administration of wealth production (this trend has appeared quite strongly in the Hungarian Revolution and in Yugoslavia).

Unions organised for DEFENCE, Factory committee for CONTROL—that is the most sensible attitude to the problem of unions under socialism—but remember: it only applies to the period between revolution and extreme socialism, and the revolution can fairly be said to fail in proportion to the amount of activity which the new unions feel it necessary to engage in.

● from page 3

the Shop Stewards' Movement was regarded by the workers throughout the country as the only body which could work on their behalf and their demands extended to workers' control as the constitution of the Clyde Workers Committee shows:

i) To obtain an ever increasing control over workshop conditions.

ii) To regulate the terms upon which the workers shall be employed.

iii) To organise the workers upon a class basis and to maintain the class struggle until the overthrow of the wages system, the freedom of the workers and the establishment of industrial democracy have been obtained.

After the war, the Engineering Unions were released from the Treasury Agreement solely through the efforts of the Shop Stewards Movement. But in order to get support from the workers the Union leaders had to be more radical in their outlook, as was shown by their attitude to the Russian Revolution where the threat of a General Strike was held over the heads of the Government in order to prevent British intervention. With the return of the power of the leadership in the unions, the Shop Stewards Movement gradually died away until the Second World War where it made a fleeting appearance.