

MILITANT

FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH

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SIX PENCE

On other pages: —
Housing
Moscow, Peking
Young Socialists
Vietnam

T.G.W.U. GIVES THE LEAD ON INCOMES POLICY

By Arthur Deane

(Chemical Workers Union)

The dilemma facing the Labour Government of attempting to put Britain economically on its feet after years of Tory mismanagement cannot be solved by using similar methods; a new approach is needed. If the problem is one of productivity then quite obviously we cannot use the methods employed by the owners of industry, i.e. of placing the responsibility on the backs of the working class, of exhorting them to greater efforts and to make sacrifices in order to line the pockets of coupon clippers and stock exchange gamblers. A new approach is needed that rids the economy of the inefficiency created by the ownership of the industry remaining in private hands and its consequent criteria: profit.

The Incomes and Prices Policy of the Labour Government is doomed, despite the support given to it by the Trade Union Executives who met on Friday 30 April 1965. This support was given in face of and despite the demands of the workers for increased pay to meet the ever-increasing cost of living. Already there is a big movement inside the A.E.U. demanding the breaking of the three-year contract on wages. Other unions, such as the N.U.R., are demanding increases well above 3½% laid down by the Incomes Policy. The victory of George Brown at the T.U.C. Special Conference, thus becomes a paper victory, and under these conditions will not have any lasting effect.

The now famous Joint Statement of Intent sets out its main objectives as... "to ensure that British industry is dynamic and that its prices are competitive."

To raise productivity and efficiency so that real national output can increase and to keep increases in wages, salaries and other forms of incomes in line with this increase, to keep the general level of prices stable...

Thus, by the stroke of a pen, Utopia (and a capitalist one at that) is announced to the blaze of the T.U.C. trumpet and employers' horns. This takes place at a time when the competition for overseas markets is reaching its highest point. Alas, it is because of this that the need to limit the effect of a powerfully organised working class becomes a matter of major importance.

NEEDS COMPETITION

In order to be dynamic capitalism needs the pre-conditions either (1) of immense wealth, so that it can modernise its industries, thereby outdoing its competitors (2) an ever expanding market where it can sell its ever increasing productivity. It was this dilemma that led Harold Wilson to say to the Bankers of America that the problems of Balance of Payments can only be solved in one country at the expense of the other.

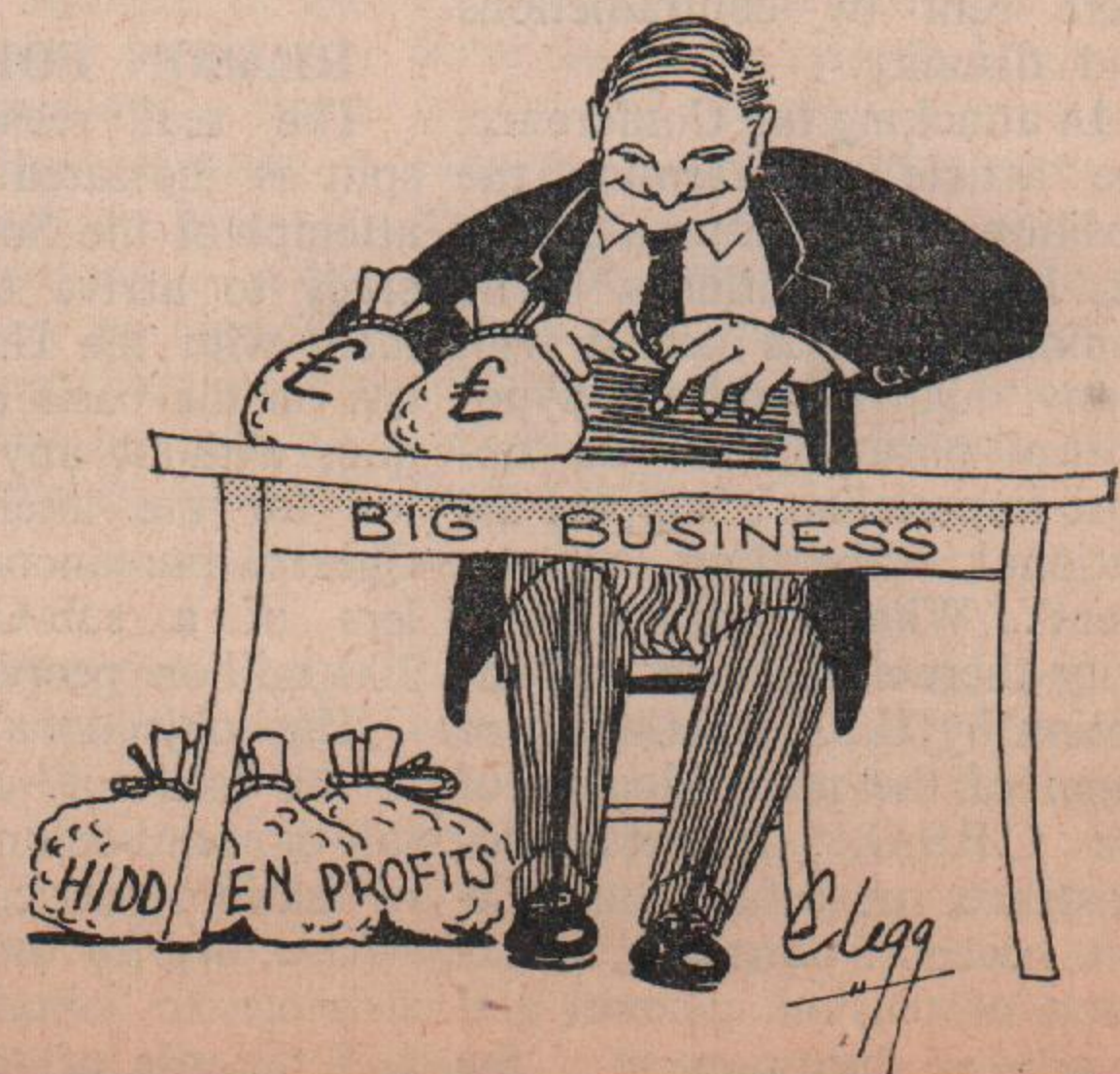
Under these conditions, the only way out for the capitalist class is to find some way of placing the burden on to the shoulders of the workers. The workers, however, are not prepared to forego or to lose any of the gains they have made since 1945. Therefore, whilst they may, for a short time, accept some limit-

ation on wage demands to give the Government a chance to prove itself, they will inevitably, at the failure of this policy, move into action on wage increases.

PLANNED ECONOMY

Perhaps one of the most important aspects of this policy for trade unionists is its attempt to interfere in the normal process of collective bargaining, and the allying of the Trade Union Movement to the state machine.

Whilst on the one hand every worker realises the need for a planned economy, which would give rise to an increase in real wages, he realises also that this cannot be done on the basis of the chaos that now exists in industry which is produced by the competition between the various private sectors of the economy. Whilst industry remains in the hands of monopolists and private coupon clippers productivity will always be tied to the profit motive and no real planning can take place. Therefore, if the criteria for the future development of society has to be increased productivity, then there is no way out on a capitalist basis. Only when society takes over the means of production under Workers, Technicians and Consumers Management and Control will it be possible to plan and control the economy. Production will then reach undreamed of heights; it is this way out that the Labour Government must take. They are doing this, in part, in the steel industry to deal with this problem of production; it was done in the coal industry, now the rest of industry must be taken over in order to solve these problems.



LOOKING THE
WRONG WAY
MR. WILSON?

DOMINICA: GUERRILLA'S FIGHT U.S. INTERVENTION

By P. Taaffe

With nearly 20,000 paratroops and marines occupying Santo Domingo, the capital of Dominica, and another 4,000 being committed for action, American Imperialism has moved against the revolt on the island. At first the pretext of saving American lives was used as an excuse for this blatant intervention in the affairs of an "independent" country. Though not a single American had been killed before the invasion of American troops, this classic pretext for invasion has now been dropped.

More than 35 years ago the American marines intervened on behalf of the bloody dictator Trujillo. This tyrant built up a personal fortune of more than £150 million swindled illegally from the people, and his bloodthirsty and debauched rule did not evoke any protests or action on the part of the American Imperialists. The American Government, while proposing some measure of reform at home, bids for the title of World counter-revolutionary policeman for capitalism. Continuance of this role will soon reduce the vaunted reforms to nothing.

The excesses of the Trujillo regime led to the revolt and overthrow of the regime in

1963. But the "reforming" Government of Juan Bosch proved incapable of taking any radical measures against the landlords and capitalists. Failure to take radical steps led to a new counter-revolution and the coming to power of an army-backed dictatorship under Senor Reid.

REVOLUTION SUCCESSFUL

The new revolution was led by army officers, in the name of Bosch. They showed they meant business by arming the people. The section of the army which had revolted, together with the people, inflicted defeat on the forces of the counter-revolution led by General Wessin. It was to save the latter from utter defeat, that the American forces intervened, at the instance of the American ambassador Mr Bennet, and the urgings of the sinister American Central Intelligence Agency.

The reason for the intervention is perfectly plain, as the "Times" correspondent reports "most of the upper class, who are accustomed to run the affairs of the capital and the country, have either taken refuge in embassies or relied on American connections to qualify for evacuation..."

It is the arming of the people that the American ruling class fear. Consequently they are calling for the disarming of the insurgents. They have frankly indicated the real spectre which they are trying to lay...the spectre of Cuba. There too a revolt which began as a struggle for reform ended in a social revolution. They see the same process in the Dominican Republic and other countries of South America. They are haunted by the crimes and exploitation of American Imperialism and the native ruling classes.

FOREIGN OPPRESSOR

This act of international piracy, in the language of these hypocrites, of "aggression", may succeed temporarily. But to maintain it they will have to occupy the country. The situation has changed from pre-war with the development of national consciousness and the technique of guerilla war, so successfully used by Cuba and the Chinese. There is no revolutionary cement stronger than hatred of a foreign occupier. The arrogant and panic-stricken American capitalists have yet to learn that to occupy is one

Cont. page 4

MOSCOW - PEKING. THE REAL DIFFERENCES

By Ted Grant

Using the pretext of support for national liberation movements, the Chinese "Communist" Party and Government denounced the recent Conference of Communist Parties in Moscow in almost hysterical terms. The Peking Review of March 26th writes "Of the 26 Parties whose attendance was ordered by the leaders of the C.P.S.U., the seven fraternal Parties of Albania, China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Rumania and Viet Nam firmly refused to take part in the divisive meeting. The fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties of Australia, Brazil and India likewise condemned and opposed the meeting.

"AGAINST REVISIONISM"

The 19 units in attendance were rent by contradictions and disunity.

In attacking the Conference, the article, representing the position of the Chinese Stalinist leaders, continues "The communique... is larded with many high sounding hypocritical phrases, such as 'oppose imperialism', 'support the national liberation movement'... What a striking similarity there is here to the adoption by U.S. Imperialism of some of the main slogans of the C.P.S.U.! Peaceful co-existence, peaceful competition, peaceful transition, relaxation of tension, general and complete disarmament, **the two-power domination of the world**, (our emphasis) joint support to the reactionaries of all countries, joint efforts to undermine the world revolutionary movements through the United Nations, joint efforts to oppose China, and so on—these slogans and schemes of Khrushchov's have all been

taken over by the U.S. Imperialism! The leaders of the CPSU and the U.S. Imperialists have joined in a love feast, exchanging information and working in common against communism, against the people, against revolution and against the national-liberation movement for the purpose of maintaining imperialism, revisionism, and reaction everywhere against all revolutionaries. And to sharpen the split "The divergence between Marxism-Leninism and Khrushchov revisionism... is a divergence between two antagonistic classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie".

The article sums up "In a nutshell, they are continuing to adhere to Khrushchov's reactionary policy of Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the domination of the world."

REASON FOR SPLIT

The real reason for the split is indicated here. The attempt of the Soviet bureaucracy to arrive at an agreement with the U.S. Imperialists on the basis of the status quo, without any consideration for the interests of the Chinese bureaucracy, controllers of a sub-Continent of 700 million people.

The objections in relation to the "sell-out" of the colonial or semi-colonial peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa, are for the purpose of striving to obtain influence and the use of this influence to increase the power, privileges, prestige and income of the Chinese bureaucracy. Thus the Chinese Government attempts to compete with the American Imperialists and the Soviet bureaucracy, in giving "aid" and loans to "underdeveloped" parts of the world, despite the enormous needs

of China itself, which remains a backward area despite the progress made since the Revolution.

The real attitude of the Chinese Government is shown in the very same issue where they laud the reactionary



military-police state of Pakistan, a feudal-capitalist-theocratic regime. "Chairman Liu Shao-Chi and Premier Chou En-Lai in a joint message on March 22nd greeted President Ayub Khan on the occasion of Pakistan's National Day and congratulated him on re-assuming the presidency following his election in January." This followed the giving of £50 million in aid to this reactionary government. So much for the support of the national liberation movement. China, like Russia is playing the game of power politics.

The struggle between China and Russia, following on the exposure of the crimes of Stalin, the events in Hungary and other developments has resulted in the splitting of the "Communist" Parties on nationalist lines.

From the point of view of

the Moscow bureaucracy the meeting in Moscow was a failure. The attempt to reassert Russian control did not succeed. Each party was given a relative independence of movement as a result of the split.

Nearly 40 years ago Trotsky predicted that the theory of "Socialism in one Country" would result in the destruction of the Communist International, and the nationalist degeneration of all sections of the International. Even formally the Communist International was dissolved during the last war, now each Communist Party has a nationalist outlook. The bureaucracy of each Party while maintaining domination over the rank and file has completely abandoned the revolutionary Internationalist outlook of Marx and Lenin. Thus ingloriously the British "Communist" Party carries the Union Jack in its demonstrations.

CHINESE PARIAS

From the side of the Chinese the working class can expect no better a lead than from the Russian Stalinists. The Chinese while mouthing revolutionary phrases have opposed the reforms carried out by the Russian bureaucracy in order to maintain their rule. Because of their position as a "pariah" in international affairs, which American Imperialism has imposed on them, they can pose as being more revolutionary than the Russians.

This can lead to sincere workers in the Communist Party, despairing of the opportunism of their leaders looking to China for a revolutionary lead. This is to move from the policy of Beelzebub to that of Satan.

The lesson of modern developments underlines the correctness of the great theorists of Socialism: the need for an internationalist policy. The world has become far more integrated economically, with every part dependent on every other part, than even in the early stages of capitalist development. No country can stand on its own. Internationalism is an expression of the fact that the interests of the working class of the world are organically linked.

NEED INTERNATIONALISM

The abandoning of the pretence of internationalism by the so-called Communist Parties, the split between Moscow and Peking, the open reformism of the Communist Parties of the West, lays the basis for a new and deeper crisis in the Communist Parties. The rank and file no longer accepts without question the policies of the leadership. The confusion caused by 3 or 4 decades of miseducation by the so-called leaders of these parties still plays a great part in the thought of the ranks. But great events will put these leaders to the test again and again.

The ideas of Marxism, the simple and pure ideas of Lenin on the class struggle, of international solidarity, of the need for workers democracy, of control of industry and the state by the workers, will find their way to the consciousness of the ranks.

The Moscow meeting marks a new stage in the degeneration of Stalinism. It will mark a new stage too in the regeneration of the ideas of Marxism throughout the world.

U.S. Impasse In Vietnam

By Keith Dickinson

The American Imperialists continue their bloody and frenzied attempt to crush the resistance of the people of Vietnam. The senseless bombing of the North continues. This in reality serves no military purpose, but is intended to force the Government of the North to "negotiate" terms which American Imperialism can accept. The Labour Government, despite mounting opposition from the workers in the Labour Parties and trade unions continues to give diplomatic support to the American Government. The reactionary Gordon Walker, on his special mission, allegedly for peace, announces with blimpish stupidity that the war can be "won" and that "morale in South Vietnam is higher", because of the bombings. Had Gordon Walker had discussions with the workers and peasants, instead of the corrupt tops in Saigon he would have obtained a different answer.

Every serious newspaper reporter has indicated that the war is irretrievably lost. It is just a question of time. The measures of the American Imperialists can only provoke the further hatred of

the peasants and people of Vietnam. The guerilla war will continue implacably. The attempt of American Imperialism to maintain itself in Vietnam, will involve greater and greater intervention. The American Marines and paratroops were introduced because it was impossible to rely on even picked South Vietnamese troops to defend the air and other bases of the American "advisers". Now even this is not enough. The Marines more and more openly are intervening in the war. More and more the Americans are being compelled to act as an army of occupation. If the war had not already been lost, this role would make it certain. The hatred of the foreign usurper will add fuel to the flames of the peasant war against the landlord.

RAINY SEASON

But the commitment of some tens of thousands of troops will not be enough. Now that the Americans are becoming openly involved in the war, with the coming of the rainy season if the war is to continue the Americans will be forced to deploy hund-

reds of thousands of troops, if they are to hold the country down. This would turn them into an open army of occupation.

But the American workers and people would not tolerate an endless war of violence and brutality on the people of Vietnam by their troops. The demonstrations of the American students against the war mark the beginning of the disillusionment and resistance of the American working class and the American people against the criminal and brutal war being waged by their Government.

Both Moscow and Peking while professing to stand for the interests of the world working class have acted, when faced with the test of the war of American Imperialism against the people of Vietnam, purely in their own "national" interests, i.e. the interests of the national bureaucracies, the ruling caste of managers of industry and the state.

The Kremlin bureaucrats are conspiring with the imperialists for a "peace" in Vietnam, which would leave them with positions of power and influence in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The Chinese bureaucrats are mainly con-

cerned to extend their own power and influence in the area. Thus they vie with the Imperialists in the disgraceful game of power politics. This was demonstrated when, according to reports which leaked into the press, the Chinese Government deliberately delayed the sending of anti-aircraft and other arms by the Russians to North Vietnam. Despite the systematic air-raids of the American Air force, they did not speed these arms shipments, which had to be sent across China, (because of the danger from the American fleet if sent by sea,) because these might increase Russian "influence" in Hanoi.

END INTERVENTION

Thus the first consideration of these cynical bureaucrats is not to help the Vietnamese people fighting for their freedom and independence but the jockeying for position to extend their prestige and power. In this they ape the Imperialists, the British Imperialists supporting the Americans because of their interests in Malaysia, while the French Imperialists, recognising the inevitable defeat of American Imperialism in the area, jockey for support with the Hanoi regime.

While Moscow is supporting a Cambodian conference

between 9 powers including the South Vietnamese Government, and not including the Viet Cong, the Chinese Government has flatly opposed the suggestion. Neither is concerned with enhancing the power of the working class, or raising the level of consciousness and understanding of the international working class, which was one of the main motives of the Soviet Government in the time of Lenin.

Despite all diplomatic manoeuvres, despite the might of American Imperialism, the Vietnamese people will get rid of the foreign invader, and destroy landlordism and capitalism. The workers in the trade unions and Labour Party must increase the pressure on the Labour Government to cease supporting the American Imperialists, to demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam. Let the people of Vietnam settle their affairs themselves.

FOR NEW BOOKS

AND
SOCIALIST

CLASSICS

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EDITORIAL:

YOUNG SOCIALISTS AT THE CROSSROADS

Since its inception 4 years ago the Young Socialists have made little progress. The reasons for this are on the one side the bureaucratic stifling of Transport House and more important the failure of the Y.S. to become a fighting organisation of all sections of youth. Even if all the demands for organisational reform were granted by the N.E.C. of the Labour Party, this would not mean that youth would flock to the Young Socialists. Only if the Young Socialists can offer positive solutions in all aspects of their daily lives, will young people turn to them. Young Socialists have not seriously considered the means of winning Youth to the Y.S. We have seen in the last few years important struggles by the apprentices, nurses, and shop workers and only with a few notable exceptions have branches and federations given a lead.

If the Young Socialists are to go ahead a new turn at the next Young Socialists conference in November must be made by the movement as a whole. A turn outwards towards the youth.

Militant believes that this is only possible on the basis of the adoption of a Youth programme. This programme must take up the specific problems of the different sections of youth and through a series of demands unite them in the struggle for Socialism. Our own ranks must be infused with the understanding that young people in the factories, offices, mines and universities are frustrated and hemmed in by the restrictions of capitalism.

Elsewhere in this issue we reprint part of the Youth Charter first advanced by RALLY 15 years ago. The whole of the charter will be serialised in the next few months. In doing this we hope that a discussion will follow in our pages and indeed in every Young Socialist branch on the need for a Youth programme.

FROM LEFT AND RIGHT

THE DIRECTOR AND GEORGE BROWN

In an interview in the April issue of "The Director" Mr. George Brown has generously promised that "businessmen have more hope of making money under a Labour Government than before."

"Those directors whom I have met," he complains, "clearly agree with me what ought to be done... When I say what I am saying now it is called socialistic—and that's exactly what prevents businessmen saying it in public. In private we seem to agree wholly."

"After all," he declares frankly, "I'm willing to get myself in trouble from time to time with my left wing. Why shouldn't some of them risk getting into trouble with their right wings?"

"We—and by we in this answer I mean the British public and not the Labour Party—are going to run a mixed economy for as far ahead as we can see. And... that means something like 80% of the economy will be private enterprise. Without any question at all, private enterprise should be allowed to earn its profits."

Hundreds of thousands of hardworking LP activists sacrificed a great deal to get a Labour Government elected.

Even if big business have no basic objection to the Government's performance so far, they will never come out with open support.

No, Mr. Brown. Don't let them fool you. Don't imagine you can "plan" other people's property. The only way we can go forward is if you turn your guns on to the bosses and

take the "commanding heights" into public ownership.

NEED A HOLIDAY ?

"Militant" readers will be glad to know that, despite all the gloomy news on other pages about living conditions in Britain, (the Rachmans, building society parasites and land speculators), the outlook for some is very bright. An item in the "Financial Times" for the benefit of "those who want to escape to recover from the Budget" advises "anyone with £7,000 or £8,000 of sterling to sell" that "the Bahamas is the place to go". Not only, they say, "because they are without income tax, capital gains tax or land tax; nor because drink and cigarettes are cheap; nor even merely because of the classic climate (winter average 72 deg., summer 82 deg.)."

"It is because the Bahamas, being part of the sterling area, are among the few sunny spots where U.K. residents can buy property without the new rigours of exchange control which Mr. Callaghan has imposed on U.K. buyers of foreign land and houses." A new villa there can be "freely bought" by anyone with the money to pay for it.

But the "Financial Times" was not written for the likes of us, and it is not for us to dream about this sunny retreat. The people who make their fortunes out of our work naturally feel a bit shy of living almost in our midst all the year round. Let us tell them we'll leave them alone on their desert islands, if they leave us alone with the wealth we've created here.

Work And Industrial Neurosis

By Bob Edwards

Marx and Engels pointed out 127 years ago that, "owing to the extensive use of machinery and to divisions of labour, the work of the proletarians has lost all its individual character, and consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine and it is only the most simple and monotonous and most easily acquired knack that is required of him".

Recent figures reported in The Times show that in 1961-2 twenty six million working days were lost through industrial neurosis, that is, days when the worker was drawing sickness benefits for psychoneurosis and psychosis. This compares with five million days lost through strikes. In 1962-3 the most conservative estimate was 27 million, compared to two million lost by strike. Over the past few years more and more concern has been expressed by mental health authorities and by big business over the sharp increase in industrial neurosis (i.e., all mental illness resulting from the nature of a man's

work), and there are moves to study this problem, and the effects of automation on the worker. One notices at once the complete lack of Press publicity on this subject; only the usual ranting about the working man bringing down the economy by his selfish strike action appears. Let us look at a few strikes in recent years that appear on the surface to be of a petty nature; for instance, the Ford dispute of 1963 over a tea break. Now Fords of Dagenham is particularly up to date, with an endless production line churning out something like 2000 cars a day. Consider for a moment the effect on a worker of doing the same operation perhaps 7 or 8 hundred times in an eight-hour shift: the same mechanical operation for 3 or 4 hours solid, the whole lack of thought or enjoyment; nothing seemingly created, only perhaps a tightened bolt. How relieving it must be to reach an island in the sea of monotony — a tea break. It is only by personal experience of working on assembly lines that one can appreciate the strains involved,

the repetitious labour and the welcome break for a cuppa.

Industrial neurosis is nothing new. A Chaplin film of the 1930's "Modern Times" made a harsh attack on automation and its effect on the workers. It is only the sharp increase over recent years, the tremendous development of the means of production, the realisation that many apparently physical illnesses have a mental origin, and of course the boss's concern at the rising absenteeism, that has brought it into the eye of the top layers of society.

As socialists we welcome the coming of automation. But we also recognise that automation can only have its desired effect, that is, of a superabundance of commodities for the use of all, under a socialist planned economy. Then jobs which are tedious and require little skill can be done on a rota system. Under capitalism, automation is used only as a method of squeezing bigger profits and a greater surplus out of the toiling masses with very little consideration for their social well-being, nor the effects on their health.

S.W. London Report

YOUNG SOCIALIST FIGHT RACIALISM

By D. Thompson
Battersea Y.S.

"I don't really know why we decided to bar coloured people, but at the club's annual general meeting I'll again support the rule which keeps them out," Mr. F. Humphries, secretary of the United Services Club, Old Devonshire Road, Balham, told me a few weeks ago.

Since then the club, which caters for ex-servicemen and has over 500 members, has held its annual general meeting at which the colour-bar rule was not revoked. "We did not even discuss it," said Mr. Humphries.

This means that for the third year the club will continue a policy of prejudice.

It is foul because at the time the original decision was made by the club's 14-man committee there were a number of West Indians who played for the club's cricket team.

After each game the players went back to the club for a drink, but the West Indians were expected to stay outside.

Mr. Humphries said of that, "These West Indians are guests. They understand, it's the ruling of the club."

"This is one of the few places in Balham where we can do this. They are getting in everywhere and we want to hold out as long as possible." He reminded me, that it was a unanimous decision on the part of the committee to bar coloured people.

"Only one person who is a club member has objected, the others are in agreement that we should keep out coloured people," said Mr. Humphries.

That person is Mr. Douglas Tilley, of Haverhill Road, a member for ten years until he learned of the colour bar.

In this strong Labour area, only one councillor, Miss Joan

Lestor, has attempted to approach the club and argue against the colour bar.

The South West London Federation of Young Socialists are prepared to take action. They delayed because they reasoned that the rule could have been revoked at the clubs a.g.m.

They are asking the M.P. in whose constituency the club is, Mrs. Margaret McKay, to involve herself and I understand that she may make an approach to the club with neighbouring M.P.s. Hugh Jenkins and Dr. David Kerr.

The Federation are also planning a demonstration outside the club. Members have written to unions in breweries asking that deliveries to the club be "blacked". They are awaiting a reply.

They are also hoping to draw into this campaign adult party members who, to my knowledge, have not discussed the issue at all.

The Young Socialists appeal to all Party Members in the area to join with them in the struggle.

AU PAIR GIRLS ORGANISE

By Vera Frapporti

Hampstead Young Socialists are helping in the formation of an au pair girls committee. In law au pair girls are not employed as workers. They are foreign girls brought over to live as "one of the family" to help out with the housework etc. and to study English and the English way of life. The impression they get from leaflets handed to them in their own country paints the prospects of a pleasant stay in the country. In fact they are used as cheap labour with almost medieval conditions, and have virtually no rights.

They are very often required to work at any time of the day or night, can be sacked at a moment's notice, and left without money or a home.

They do not receive work permits and consequently there is no opportunity for finding alternative employment.

It is not uncommon for the agencies to demand a fee of £15. The agencies get money from the girls as well as a fee from the employers. This set up gives the employer the opportunity to use the girls as household slaves. This is a particularly vicious system as there is a shortage of domestic labour, and English girls in household service can get high rates and good conditions.

The committee which is being formed is making the following demands: A 30 hour week (5 hours per day) £2.10.- per week minimum wage at 4/6d per hour for housework and 4/- for baby-sitting. (These are the accepted standard rates). 2 weeks minimum notice.

At the moment many girls considering the hours they work would receive £25 per week! Most households who employ them could afford it too!

The committee is having a good response from many girls. A public meeting has been arranged and they hope for a good turn out.

RENTS AND RACIALISM

By Julian Silverman

In a survey in which members went round shop window advertising accomodation, telephoned the landlords etc., Hampstead Young Socialists estimated that 40% of landlords who advertised, practised racial discrimination. 30% of the rest also practised it.

This survey is the first step in a campaign in which the Young Socialists intend to fight on all aspects of the problem of rented accomodation.

We have not forgotten that our M.P. is still Henry Brooke, who was responsible for piloting the Tory Rent Act, which caused such misery to people looking for homes.

Housing: Labour Must Act

By Roger Silverman

In their thirteen years of rule, the Tories paid their ransom to the landlords, moneylenders, land speculators and building contractors a thousand times more generous than their greediest dreams. The working class paid the price with a scandalous rocketing of rents in all sectors, a sharp increase in homelessness and denser overcrowding than there is in prison.

The Milner Holland Report that has just come out exposes the real truth about our "property owning democracy". 3,000 case a year were reported (and how many more happened?) of murder threats, thuggery, snakes in the bath, dead rats, itching powder, broken locks, stripped wallpaper, intolerable nocturnal noise, and all other brutal methods of persecution conceivable to the dirty minds of the landlords. These means of driving out the tenants so as to push up the rent were directly incited by the Tory Rent Act. What socialists have said for years, a Tory L.C.C. member admitted in a debate: "Private enterprise cannot build today at rents that the working man can afford".

He was dead right. In London alone, 7,000 men, women and children are homeless, another thousand children live in the care of local authorities for lack of housing accommodation, and nearly 200,000 people are admitted to be in urgent need of new accommodation. Overcrowding reaches such nightmarish proportions that cases are quoted of houses designed as six self-contained flatlets packed with eighty five people.

The scandalous conditions in which millions of working families have to live is a standing condemnation of private landlordism. Of the 4.5 million privately rented homes, 5% have no kitchen sink, 8% have no flush lavatory, and as many as 53% have no hot water.

The Tory Rent Act of 1957 took off rent controls from high-valued properties, and also provided for Government-sanctioned increases for cheaper property. Controls to be lifted as soon as the tenancy finished. 317,000 dwellings were immediately decontrolled through their rateable values and a further 320,000 per year were released from control after changes of tenancy. By 1959 rents had rocketed so high that they were bringing in twice the gross values of controlled property and three times those of decontrolled property. More than half a million landlords collected illegally high rents, by actual Tory standards, and yet no noticeable repairs were made. The landlords had "never had it so good".

BLAME THE LANDLORDS!

This shocking overcrowding and squalor tempts the landlords and bosses to escape the hatred of the exploited tenants, mainly unorganised workers, by turning it on to the natural scapegoats, the immigrants. But what are the facts?

Between 1952 and 1961 (before Commonwealth immigration controls had been introduced) the number of immigrants of all nationalities entering Britain totalled 400,000. In the same period 1,700,000 people left. In fact, if everybody returned to his original homeland, there would be 17 million more Britons here looking for accommodation.

It is British imperialism, that has squeezed these people from their homelands, by starvation, unemployment and disease. They are also workers, with the same problems and the same enemies as ourselves. We must stand united,

and put the blame squarely on to the real criminals, the landlords and the Tories.

LABOUR MUST HOUSE THE PEOPLE!

In the midst of all this chaos, over 30,000 houses stand empty in London and Middlesex alone, and the "under-occupation" that the Tories promised to solve has increased. In the main areas of Greater London, less than 5% of all buidings since 1951 was for housing purposes, and most of that was luxury property at fantastic rents. Lucrative office blocks still spring up, 18 million square feet of office space being under present construction, and planning permission has been granted for a further 23 million, although 6 million square feet already stand vacant. It has been calculated that, allowing for expected population increases, 8,000,000 new housing units will be needed by 1980.

Labour is making an attempt to reform the housing chaos inherited from the Tories. But we are in a national emergency. We have no time for gradual compromises. To talk of a "fair rent" amid capitalist anarchy is utopian nonsense "Fair" to whom? The landlord or the tenant?

The first step Labour must take is to requisition all empty and under-occupied property and stamp out the appalling waste of space.

Rents must be fair to the tenant, and to no-one else. They must be immediately reduced to a price easily payable by the lowest-paid worker until the landlords voluntarily give up their property to councils and co-operatives.

These immediate steps settle the account with the landlords. They do not by themselves solve the housing problem.

GET MILITANT
EVERY MONTH
TAKE OUT
A SUB NOW

White Collar Workers Fight Wage Freeze

By Allan Woods

"An incomes policy could mean just another wage freeze. We were blinded by a guiding light in 1963. It is no longer a light, it is a glimmer. Snuff it out." These words spoken by a delegate at the 1965 annual conference of NALGO, were met by a thunderous ovation from delegates present.

The recent wave of militancy that has carried a whole new stratum of British workers into the class struggle is symptomatic of the historical crisis of British capitalism. Confronted with the invincible might of the industrial unions in a boom period the British bosses have had to put the thumb-screws on—the workers in white collar jobs, the least organised and politically backward sections of the working class. In doing so they have helped to cut their own throats.

In the past few months, almost every section of the white collar workers have fought against any attempt to hold down their wages, as those of their industrial brothers continue to rise. NALGO affiliates to the TUC, for the first time. Clerical and administrative workers pronounce in favour of strike action. B.E.A. air pilots threaten to strike for higher pay. The diamond cutters challenge their bosses in court.

A high spot in the white collar struggle for union rights and better conditions was the recent action of the draughtsmen.

Last year well over 2,000 draughtsmen left the country in disgust at wages and conditions here. Their union

DATA had been negotiating with the Engineering Employers Federation for some time. Their efforts were met with a paltry offer which would have cost the employers a mere £1 million in the coming year. The offer was flatly refused by the union. The significance of this cannot be under-estimated. In the first place the employers were hiding beneath the shirt-tails of the Labour Government. The offer they said was in line with the Government's incomes policy recommendations. But in fact had the offer been accepted many draughtsmen would have received considerably less than the 3 to 3½% increase offered. The union thus refused to accept an increase which would benefit some of the members but not others.

This conscious solidarity was also in evidence in the Union's stand on negotiating rights. The bosses refused to recognise any national, local or domestic claims "of a general character" until after a date to be fixed in 1968!

DATA demanded an increase of £2 per week on the minimum rate. On the 22nd of April 2,000 shipyard draughtsmen came out on a 24 hour strike. The strike was solid, not only on the Clyde, but in shipyards in the West, North West and South West of England.

The employers slammed down the mailed fist. Draughtsmen were suspended all over the country for their strike action. But the militancy showed no signs of abating. On the 28th of April a further strike of draughtsmen was met with a threat of a

national lock-out—the first example of such action since 1921. Draughtmen working for Harland and Wolff won a 5 weeks strike for the reacceptance of a man who had been victimised.

In the factories and shipyards where they worked the industrial workers gave sympathy and support to the struggle of their white collar brothers. The struggle for the increases still goes on and should receive the support of all workers.

DOMINICA:

Cont. from page 1.

thing... to hold another. They will be taught the lesson learned by the European capitalists in the post-war period, the lesson learned by Napoleon in his invasion of Spain "you can do anything with bayonets, but you can't sit on them."

The nauseating hypocrisy of Johnson the American President was indicated on T.V. when he said in effect that the Dominican people can choose their own Government, as long as they don't choose a Communist one! Like Henry Ford in a different period who said "You can choose any colour Ford you like as long as its black".

Where is the "sacred" right of self-determination, of free choice with "elections" rigged South American style, under the heel of the American Army?

The Liberal reformer Bosch declared "Maybe they (the marines) did not want to back them (the counter-revolutionary junta) but that is the way it has turned out... I have lost my homeland. My country is occupied." He pointed out that the numbers supporting the small Communist Party forces did not amount to more than 800 in all.

But it is the logic of the revolution that the Americans fear. The people want bread and freedom. The occupation by American troops will bring on the very result that it was intended to prevent. The people will begin a struggle against foreign occupation, and against the quisling ruling class, ruling as puppets under their protection.

The consequences in Latin America will be even more disastrous for the American capitalists. The wave of hatred against American Imperialism in Santo Domingo will spread throughout the island, and throughout the Continent. Lastly the American people will begin to wonder why their sons in uniform are committed everywhere against the people. The soldiers themselves will become demoralised by endless occupation of foreign countries. In his fear of "being buried" Johnson and the clique of American capitalists will bury themselves. The American workers have still to say their last word.

Withdraw all foreign troops of occupation! Let the peoples themselves decide without the intervention of foreign bayonets!

Youth Programme

PART I

YOUTH AGAINST CAPITALISM

Everyone is conscious of the "youth problem". It could hardly be otherwise! However, between the capitalists and the socialists there is an unbridgeable gap in their attitude towards this problem. For the capitalists it is a "problem" of disciplining youth and holding back its revolt—a revolt manifested in a thousand ways.—Youth represents, for the capitalists, a potential danger on the one hand, and on the other hand a source of cheap labour and a market for shoddy goods. For the representatives of the working-class it is not a "problem of youth" in general, but rather the problem of youth under capitalism. Youth's energies and fresh enthusiasm represents for the socialists an indispensable condition for the progress of society and its reconstruction on Socialist lines. The events in all revolutions, especially those in Algeria and Cuba, reveal the correctness of this.

Capitalism, which has condemned generations of youth to unemployment, misery and wars, seeks through a thousand channels to suppress, misdirect and pervert precisely those qualities in youth which can be a great factor in the progress of mankind. For the capitalists, and their political representatives, the greatest danger is that youth should become conscious of its position and the need to fight for its emancipation. To prevent this development capitalism has devised a highly specialised appeal to youth. Boy's Clubs, church institutions, schools, cinema, radio, T.V. are all part of the organisation for the training of youth as "good citizens" and of steering them away from the Labour Movement.

That sections of University youth support Toryism and are even prepared to strike-break is not only to be explained by the fact that many of them come from the families of the capitalists or petty capitalists, but also by the nature of the "education" they receive. The schools and universities are in reality the greatest ideological weapons in the hands of the capitalist class. Here, and in the vast propaganda machine, the youth are taught the "sacred rights" of private property, the "eternal truth" of master and servant, the "glorious history" of Monarchs, peers and Empires.

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