

Keep

LEFT

Official paper of the Young Socialists

Vol. 14, No. 11 4d.



On behalf of the Editorial Board the Editor extends to all readers warmest seasonal greetings

1966 - Prepare for a big advance

by Aileen Jennings
(Editor of Keep Left)

1965 was a great year for Keep Left. We distributed 12,000 copies of our paper each month—10,800 were paid for and the rest went overseas to youth organisations, particularly in France, the United States and Ceylon.

We have paid our way. No money is owing to our printers and there is even a balance in hand. No other socialist youth paper in Britain today can claim such an achievement.

'New Advance', the paper of the Labour Party Young Socialists, edited by National Youth Officer, Reg Underhill, in his middle forties, has been charged to the Labour Party National Executive—nobody bothers to pay for it. Our readers pay for their paper.

What is the secret of our success?

Firstly, we fought for the democratically decided conference decisions of Brighton 1964. Secondly, we supported the struggle of the Young Socialists against the betrayal of the right-wing Wilson leadership. Thirdly, we supported the Morecambe Conference (1965) of the YS, which adopted policies calling upon the working class to fight Wilson. Fourthly, our columns were open at all times for Young Socialists to speak, even if they disagreed with Keep Left.

In other words Keep Left has been a real socialist youth paper—a paper where youth can express themselves and at the same time utilise it in the fight against Toryism, the main enemy of youth. Big battles for the youth lie ahead. 1966, Keep Left's 15th year, may well be decisive not only for the youth but for the working class as a whole. The right-wing Labour leaders have not only betrayed the labour movement, Wilson has gone over to open support for the monopoly capitalists against the working class.

WE MUST FIGHT BACK NOW! MORE SALES FOR KEEP LEFT. MORE MEMBERS FOR THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS.

We want a 15,000-a-month payable circulation by June 1966. What is more, we know you can do it. Just think, our Morecambe 1966 Conference will be the greatest ever in the history of Labour's youth. You have the main policy statement before you. It is all out against Wilson, Callaghan and Brown. It stands for unity of all left-wing youth in the fight for socialism. We can win! We will win!

Here is the answer. If the Morecambe 1966 Conference can guarantee us the increase in circulation, we can go up to 12 pages. Just think of it. A 12-page Keep Left packed with all-round news, sport and information about the fight for socialism. Can we do it? Of course we can!

Unity of all Young Socialists against Wilson is our key slogan. Join in and fight Wilson, who is the Tory man in the labour movement. Prepare now for the great advance in 1966.

We invite our readers to start 1966 with

Keep Left Annual Meeting

and

Young Socialist National Speaking Contest

Saturday, January 1

Royal Arsenal Co-op Hall, Rye Lane,
Peckham Rye, London, S.E.15

3 p.m. - Tickets for dance 7s. 6d.

DANCE IN THE EVENING TO

supported by
ETHICAL
YES. NO



Malvern - conference in name only

by DAVE ASHBY

WHAT a farce! If any other word can be used to describe the recent conference of the Labour Party Young Socialists in Malvern then you will look for it in vain in the English dictionary. It was a conference only in name.

For the last 18 months Keep Left has been under constant attack from certain 'lefts' in the Labour Party Young Socialists because it wanted to build a mass socialist youth movement outside the Labour Party.

The argument they pro-

duced in their newspapers was always the same: it can't be done.

The question that these so-called left-wingers have to answer after the Malvern conference—and we shall be looking for their answers in 'Young Guard' and 'The Militant'—is this: how on earth can you build any kind of youth movement inside a Labour Party dominated by Wilson and his cronies?

EVIDENCE

Just let the evidence speak for itself.

Only 500 to 600 young people—and many of them were not so young either—were mustered for this conference. Less than half of them were delegates. Many of the large in-

dustrial areas were unrepresented and the composition of the conference was decidedly middle class.

A sizeable proportion of those present were the openly careerist type who would support the right wing on every issue.

Now compare this with the fortunes of the main body of Young Socialists who broke from the right wing before the election after a vicious witch-hunting campaign by the full-time officials against them.

We held our conference last February in Morecambe. Over 1,000 attended from all the most important industrial areas in Britain. More than 500 of them were delegates with full voting rights. Our conference was representative of working-class youth.

So we would ask 'Young Guard' and 'The Militant' a further question: who is really in the 'political wilderness' as you like to put it? Keep Left or perhaps you, who attack Keep Left?

At our conference there were no gags on discussion. A democratic vote was taken on every issue that came up before the conference. A whole range of policy decisions were taken reaffirming the socialist policies adopted at the Brighton conference in 1964.

We also pledged ourselves to fight against the betrayals of the Labour government and to build the Young Socialists into a mass movement.

During the course of the conference a new National Committee was elected for

(Continued on page 6)

Secretary
National
Committee
of Young
Socialists



World news

RHODESIA

British Labour movement must demand:

- **Arm the Africans**
- **Scrap the 1961 Constitution**
- **Withdraw all imperialist troops from Africa**

WILSON's cynical betrayal of the African workers and peasants of Rhodesia matches his sell-out of 12,000,000 British working people who voted for him last year.

The reason behind the two betrayals is the same: Wilson and his so-called 'Labour' government are the loyal servants of the bankers and employers.

No one should be blinded by Wilson's 'national unity' talk from seeing that British capitalism is as much the cause of the Rhodesian crisis as of the attacks on the trades unions in this country.

The conquest of Rhodesia, named after Cecil Rhodes, founder of the British Empire in South Africa, was the result of brutal wars of oppression and destruction against the Africans.

In the first of these, thousands were slaughtered by machine-gun fire: it 'literally mowed them down like grass before a scythe' said one writer of that time.

These wars allowed big business to make enormous profits out of the Africans. White farmers took over more and more of the land, and in 1931 the land was divided by Act of Parliament, between them and the Africans.

Forty thousand wealthy white settlers took two-thirds of the land while the Africans received only one-third, even though they made up 95 per cent of Rhodesia's population.

Many Africans were forced off the land in this way, to provide a supply of cheap labour for the gold, iron ore and coal mines, which are the country's main industries and for the tobacco and sugar plantations.

Clour-bar law

The white minority has run Rhodesia for British imperialism—and the British Parliament has given them the power to protect their privileges with colour-bar laws in the 1961 Constitution.

Rhodesian whites have denied political, economic and educational rights to the Africans.

Even today only a few thousand of the wealthiest of Rhodesia's 4,000,000 Africans have the vote.

Over the last few years this white minority has seen African governments taking power in nearby countries. Imperialism has handed over the running of these countries to middle-class African nationalist politicians to avoid a head-on clash with the African people.

Although these politicians de-

pend capitalism, the Rhodesian whites do not intend to hand over to anyone else. They are not willing to give up their privileges, which are based on years of vicious exploitation of the Africans.

Dangerous

This is a dangerous situation for the imperialist bosses, who have big investments in Africa. They fear that the Smith 'revolt' could lead to revolutionary events; already there have been demonstrations against Smith and Wilson in many parts of Africa and a general strike in Bulawayo.

They also fear that the overthrow of Smith's government could have the same effect. They know that capitalism means growing poverty and unemployment for the Africans; so imperialism can find no answer to the Rhodesian crisis, it can only paper over the cracks, which means making a deal with Smith.

This is the job Wilson is doing for the Tories, who shelved the problem because they were, and still are, too weak to handle it themselves.

Even before 'UDI' Wilson gave in to nearly all Smith's demands. The purpose of his visit to Rhodesia in October was not to force Smith to accept democracy but to try and force the African leaders to accept Smith.

These leaders, Joshua Nkomo and the Rev. Sithole, were brought to Wilson by Smith's police while other police were turning Alsatian dogs on African demonstrators calling for 'one man, one vote'.

Since 'UDI' Wilson has called on all Rhodesians, white and coloured, to maintain 'law and order', and to support Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor (direct representative of the British government).



Demonstrations by British and African students began in London immediately after declaration of 'UDI'.

But he said that the racist 1961 Constitution of Smith's police state should remain in existence.

So his talk about law and order simply means that African workers should accept white rule.

The sanctions—economic restrictions so-called—have been so mild that even Smith has said they are not as bad as he expected.

Their main purpose is to mislead workers in Britain and Africa into believing that the British government is doing something about Rhodesia.

Capitalist sanctions can never work to the benefit of the working class. South Africa and Portugal are already encouraging Smith, and France, West Germany, Italy and Japan have avoided carrying out sanctions because their businessmen hope to take advantage of the situation to increase their own profits. Obviously British firms will ignore the sanctions rather than let this happen.

The most dangerous idea that has been put forward is that British troops should be sent to Rhodesia.

The British army has been used for generations by imperialism. It has oppressed millions of colonial workers and peasants in India, China, Malaya, Africa and the West Indies. Its job in Rhodesia would be to force continued imperialist domination on the Africans.

Do the Communist Party or the fake 'left' Labourites, who are spreading this idea, really believe that the army, which is carrying out brutalities against the people of Aden, can bring freedom to Rhodesia?

Use of troops

The real use of British troops and the position of the Wilson government has been made abundantly clear by the movement of these troops to Zambia, the country on the northern border of Rhodesia.

Zambia's African nationalist President Kaunda requested British troops because he is under great pressure from the working population of his own and other African countries to take action against Smith.

But the real purpose of British troops in Zambia is to protect the big copper monopolies and the 70,000 whites against any action by the working class.

We must ask the 'Daily Worker' and its friends—do they support Wilson saddling the Zambian people with the same British forces that were last year bombing villages and burning the crops of Aden peasants?

British workers must give full support to African workers. This is our crisis too! If the British ruling class can arrange a 'successful' compromise in Rhodesia, which will allow it to continue robbing the Africans, it will be in a strong position to attack the British trades unions' right to strike.

Instead of asking for capitalist sanctions, workers in this country must take action against British firms with investments in Rhodesia and must demand:

1. Scrap the 1961 Constitution.
2. Sack the Governor.
3. Withdraw all imperialist troops from Africa.
4. Arm the Africans.

US youth advise on tactics against fascists

ADVICE on how youth marching in demonstrations against the war in Vietnam should protect themselves from the fascists, was set out in a leaflet by a young Marxist group called Spartacist and handed out to students at the University of California in November.

The leaflets suggested that marchers should wear sturdy shoes, head protection, heavy jacket, leather gloves, and they should not wear glasses.

Following this there is advice to 'bring a picket sign on a sturdy, not-too-short stick. In case of attack, remove sign and use stick to fend off and poke at the attacker; do not swing like a club'.

There were the usual protests about violence from the pacifists

who said that organised defence was against the policy of the Vietnam Day Committee.

But why should the youth not protect themselves from the fascist and reactionary elements who in October tried to break up demonstrations?

PROTECTION?

The police in the States, after all, afford little protection for those who oppose American imperialism's war in Vietnam. Everyone knows the attitude of the cops to Negro workers in Los Angeles, New York and the south—no one can rely on the servants of the state to give protection.

Whilst opposition to the Vietnam war increases daily in America and sections of the youth fight to develop the protest from being merely an opposition to the war to becoming a political struggle involving the working class, troops in South Vietnam become more and more demoralised as

crushing blows are dealt by the Vietcong.

Two weeks before the U.S. Defence Secretary MacNamara was saying 'we have stopped losing the war', 'flying horsemen' of the First Air Cavalry Division were defeated and 800 soldiers in the South Vietnam army and their American 'advisers' were wiped out.

The figure released by the U.S. government on the number of losses for October and November were equal to three-quarters of the total losses for the previous nine months!

Meanwhile the Johnson government announces its intention of sending more men to South Vietnam to increase the number of troops to 270,000.

Each time that new batches of soldiers arrive in South-East Asia the international protest grows. Young Socialists, workers everywhere must renew their demand—Victory to the Vietcong!

your opinion please . . . Automation

We invite all our readers to send us their opinions on the Labour government, the trade unions, automation, education, economics—write and tell us what you think.

ASK yourself: 'What do you think the world is going to look like in the year 2,000?' Very different from now!

Instead of rows of old houses, old schools, and streets of factories and workshops, where people spend a third of their lives, there might be people travelling from place to place in heli-cars, or around the world in a few hours in automatic planes, enjoying their leisure.

Or you may see everything destroyed in an atomic war. Both ways, the world will be completely changed from what it is now.

Revolutionary changes have taken place. Why do we have these revolutionary ideas of the future? They come from the fantastic leap forward in science and technique which the bosses have brought about.

Both the futures described above could happen. But atomic death is certain if we allow the boss class to go on ruling the world.

1. 'Automation' is the name given to the new machines which can run themselves, doing and making things without people to work on them.

The secret of automation is the 'electronic brain', or computer. This is a machine which can remember, calculate, work out problems, and make decisions about what is the best thing to do in a situation.

One television advert for biscuits shows one of these 'automated' factories—you cannot see anybody working there.

Eat an ice cream, and you are eating automated ice cream—the mixture goes in at one end, and an electronic brain makes sure that the mixture is always right, the temperature is right and so on.

If something goes wrong, the computer will order it to be put right.

Making biscuits and ice cream is fairly simple. But it is now possible to make steel and to cut and raise coal with very few workers on the job.

This is only a start!

Computers could be made to store medical information about all the people in the country; and to diagnose illnesses. They could be used to control, in complete safety, a massive system of air transport for the workers all around the world.

Automation then abolishes work as we know it.

2. What is work?

It means men changing the world and nature, to get the things we need to live.

When the steam engine was invented, it meant that man's muscles were not needed to make machines work: electronic brains mean that we do not need man's labour at all, except to make the computer work.

So, instead of having to slog away at boring work, year in and

year out, we could spend our lives in making the most of our abilities.

At the moment we can only do this in the few hours that we are not eating, sleeping or working.

3. Why then is there a fear of automation?

Because we can see already that if it is the boss who brings in the new machines, the worker's job goes out of the window.

The only reason they want to bring in automation is to make more profit for themselves.

British bosses need to bring it in much more quickly if they are to keep up with America.

Already thousands of jobs are being lost every year in America.

British experts say that there will be 8,000,000 on the dole in the U.S. by 1970.

Many big British firms are building automated factories: Courtaulds are to spend £15,000,000, Shell Petrol and ICI are going to spend about £70,000,000 between them.

Already the Coal Board has brought in a lot of mechanisation, and plans to automate many pits, closing down others. All these schemes will hit hard at the young worker.

Why? Because while young people are leaving school every year in larger numbers, instead of the new industries making more jobs for them, there will be fewer new jobs.

4. The capitalist class cannot use automation fully for the benefit of the working class and mankind as a whole.

But we are not Robin Hoods—we are not against the bosses simply because they are making themselves rich and threaten to impoverish the workers.

We do not just take from the rich to give to the poor. We are against the bosses because they cannot work.

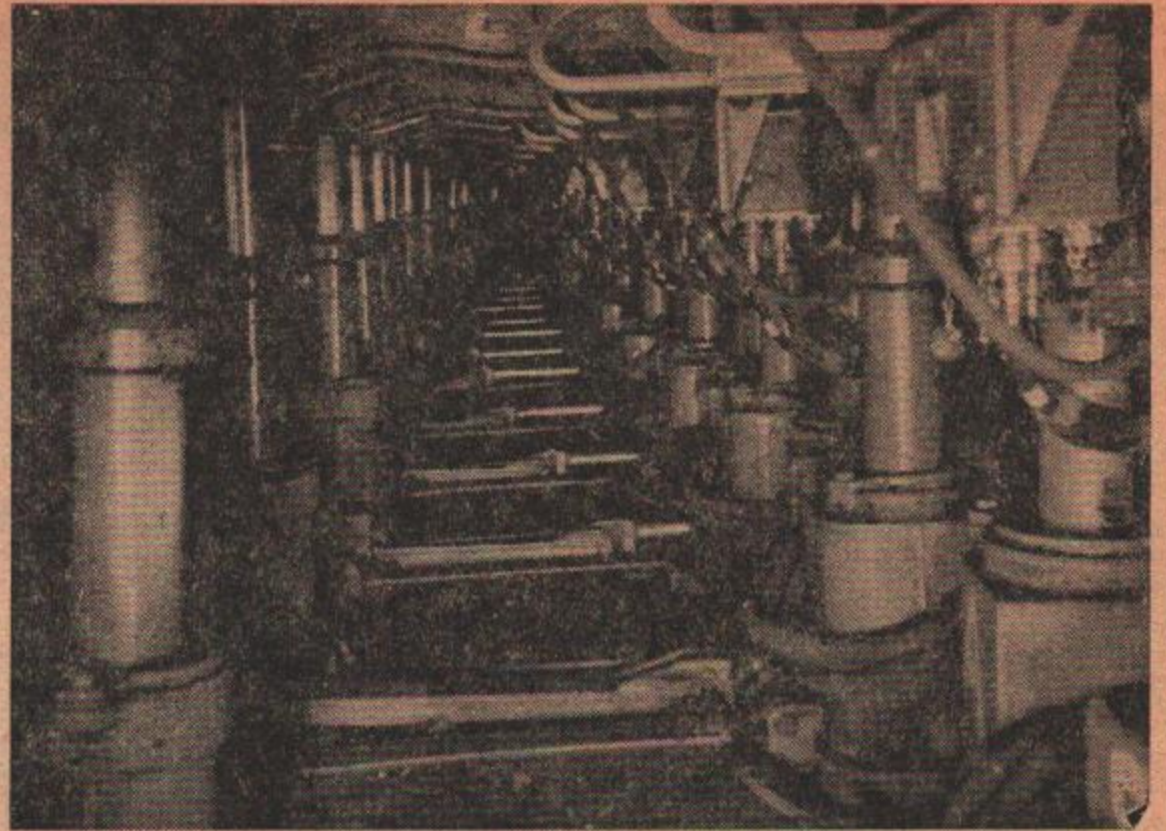
Why? Let one of the capitalist 'experts', a professor from a university, tell us why:

'At present it takes a girl 26 seconds (at the cost of about 1d.) to assemble a free-wheel gear on a bicycle. This could be done in less than one-sixth the time. A single machine could produce a million free-wheel gears a year—enough for all the new bicycles in the country. But such speed raises its own problems. It would be very inconvenient to reorganise the industry around one machine.'

In other words, we can get machines to make everything we want and very quickly but the bosses are not going to do it, because it is 'very inconvenient'.

Of course, it is 'very inconvenient'! These new machines do the bosses out of business! We do not need a lot of bosses all owning their separate factories any more.

The working class needs only



No man in sight on this coal face, which is operated completely by this self-advancing pneumatic equipment.

great automated plants, each one perhaps making all the world's supply of something. No more need for competition, sackings and unemployment.

5. If the bosses are not going to bring in automation, who can?

The only class of people which can take over from the present bosses is the workers. And we must be prepared for a violent struggle to do it.

When the rulers of British industry first started to build factories over 100 years ago, thousands of the old craftsmen lost their livelihood.

The new bosses of business, who only took over the country from the old aristocrats and landed 'gents' by defeating them in battle and chopping off the King's head in 1649, did not try to give these workers new jobs.

They started the police force to stop them trying to overthrow

the government and attempted to starve them by refusing to allow dole unless they went into grim workhouses, which were like prisons.

Today the ruling class attacks the youth and the older workers in the same way.

Soon the Labour government wants to pass laws to make the trade union leaders act as policemen in places of work to keep workers in order and to stop unofficial strikes with fines and threats of jail.

So the Young Socialists fight for the workers to control industry under their own government. The bosses of Britain today got where they are by a revolution against the old rulers.

Working people of the world can bring progress to mankind now only by the same methods, and take the power from today's rulers.

John Morton, Coventry.

What is the future

GIRLS are taking an equal part with boys in building a socialist youth movement. The same economic and social pressures which induce a passive resentment in many women, provide the experience which give girls in the Young Socialists a consciousness of exploitation, keener, in many cases, than the boys'.

Working-class boys should have no illusions about seeking individual fulfilment under the present system. Even under present conditions of fairly full employment, the boy is not really free to choose the work he would like to do.

Childhood ambitions forgotten, lads are forced to give the best hours of their youth to drudgery, serving no purpose except to line another's pocket.

Girls have even less control over their destiny than men. The biological purpose of their sex, giving birth to children, is the pretext under the present system for economic subjugation.

Unable to maintain continued employment and generally dependent on either husband or father, employers see no reason to pay women and girls a full wage.

For the same reason apprenticeships and skilled jobs are not open to them and trade union organisation is often difficult.

of a working class girl?

By Ann Rothman

This renders them defenceless.

Thus, women and girls take on the most meaningless, degrading and non-productive positions. Although machinery has eliminated the only possible inferiority—lack of physical strength—women form a main bulk of industrial cheap labour.

The future of a working man is unlikely to fulfil childhood ambitions, but it does at least contain an element of chance. It is set in the open world of production.

MARRIAGE

A woman's future, however, is closed.

Apart from the very few qualified women, the only way to economic security is marriage. The only way to fulfil her biological role and have a baby,

without facing 'enforced ruin and tragedy, is in marriage and the church does everything in its power to keep women within the narrow confines of 'home' and 'family'.

Most women can predict their future with absolute certainty—having children accompanied by housework—and isolation from social activity.

Positive action seems to many women an attribute of masculinity. Economically, and therefore, in most ways dependent on others from birth, a woman's destiny seems out of her hands.

Men often find some sort of false fulfilment by taking part in large-scale social production, relative economic independence and freedom of movement—and especially in the acquirement of skill and experience.

Working-class girls are gener-

ally doomed to a passive, routine existence, with few demands on personal development, skill and intelligence.

All too often, the main decisions of her life are over before it is scarcely begun, and the challenges to capacity, which alone matures a man into a full adult, are no longer required of her.

For working-class girls, there is only one way out of this stagnation—revolutionary struggle.

BREAK

By active participation in the battle for socialism, women cease to be passive appendages, objects to be used by others; they break out of narrow confinement to take a decisive part in the major events of our time.

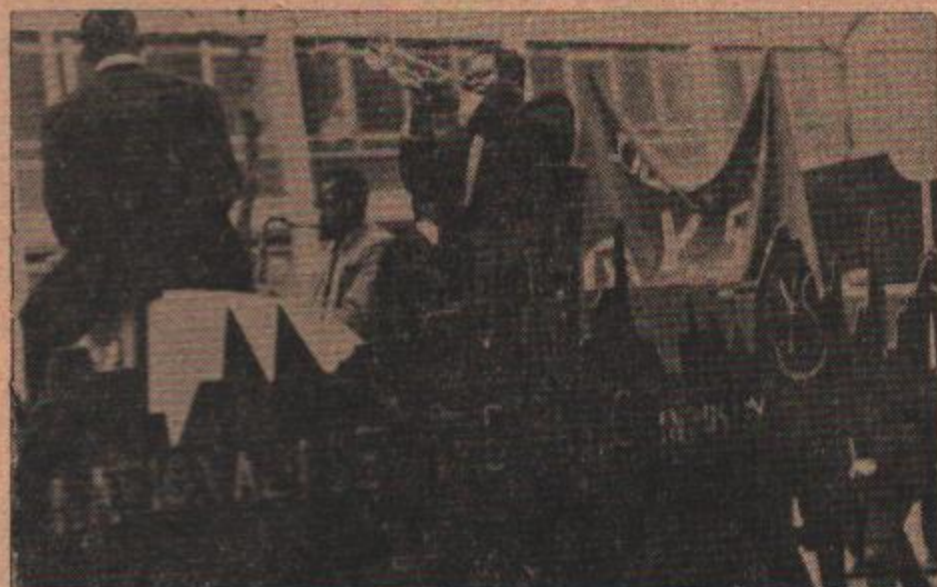
They undertake the only poss-

(Cont. col. 1, page 8)

KEEP LEFT REPORTS



January 1, 1965. Young Socialists vote for their Editorial Board at the annual meeting of Keep Left—the first since the paper was proscribed by the Labour Party.



(Left) Old age pensioners unite with YS to lobby the Houses of Parliament on the question of holding back the pensions increase. February 4
(Above, right) Lorries decorated with slogans and pictures, and a jazz band on May Day.



Dave Ashby



Young people doing the latest dance craze to 'The Bond' at the beat contest held in Surrey in September.



(Above) Young Socialists supported the strike of young shopworkers at Foyle's in June.

(Right) Hundreds of YS members joined the Indian Workers' Association in a march against the imprisonment of Indian Communists and against the war in Vietnam on March 28.



(Left) National Committee members of the YS sit on the platform of the Morecambe Conference, August 20.

S ON 1965



Speaks at the meeting commemorating the assassination of Leon Trotsky, August 20.



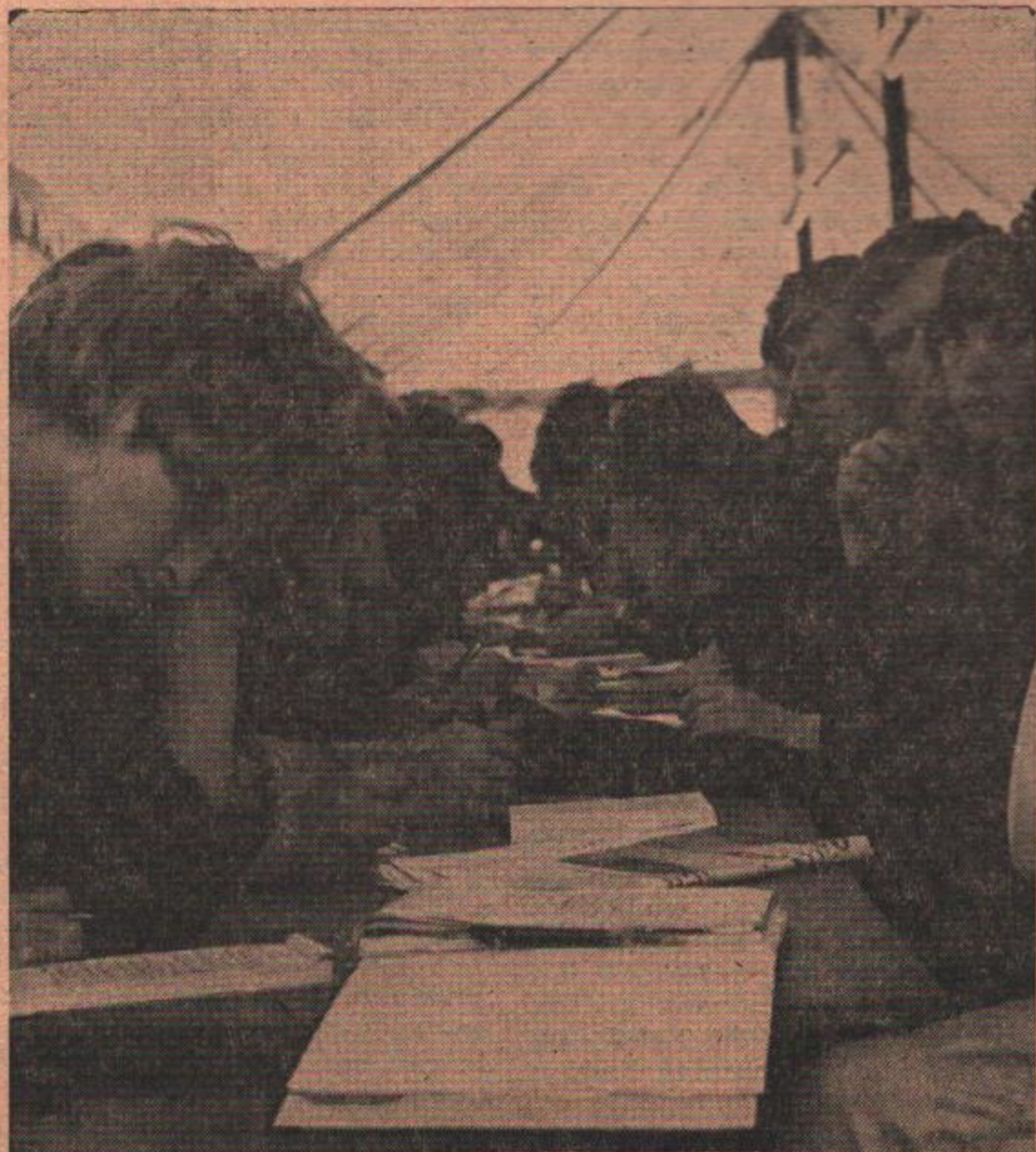
(Above) This significant banner led the YS march on July 18, against American imperialist intervention in Vietnam.



(Above) The highlight of an eventful year—2,000 Young Socialists and trade unionists demonstrated at the annual conference of the Labour Party on September 26. (Below) Customers buy at the successful Christmas Bazaar on November 27.



(Above) London area YS in a tug o' war—part of the summer programme for recruitment to the Young Socialists. (Below) Students at our summer camp.



Adventure hides issue of A-Bomb

WITH star names, Kirk Douglas, Richard Harris, Michael Redgrave and star director, Anthony Mann, glaring from the posters one would have expected more from this 2½-hour film than a rollicking, rough and tumble, sometimes tense, adventure.

The possibilities of the plot were quite good—how to stop the Germans producing heavy water for the world's first atomic bomb at a Norwegian factory: bomb the lot and kill many of the 6,000 inhabitants of the nearby town, or use

troops and local resistance fighters to sabotage the heavy water equipment.

But the fact that Germany could have acquired the means of wiping out millions of people, and possibly contaminating billions in the Western hemisphere is almost forgotten.

Sentimental

It is replaced by the question of how to deal with the factory. This sinks into a moral, sentimental morass, governed overall by a morse-coded yeah or nay from the Allies and exiled Norwegian government in London.

And, of course, not limited by a tight budget, director Mann replaces the question by the adventure, bombings, explosions

—all the fireworks of a good capitalist war movie.

Between the adventure one sees a flickering of conflict between the two leading characters Knut (Harris), a leading resistance fighter, and Dr. Rolf Pedersen (Douglas), an Oslo university scientist, drawn into the struggle through knowing the manager of the heavy water factory, who is working with the resistance movement.

The love interest is there too.

After visiting England to deliver the deadly news to the Allies, Knut and Rolf are parachuted back into Norway. They stay for a time with Anna (Ulla Jacobsson), and her uncle (Redgrave).

Anna, also a resistance worker, is Rolf's ex-wife. One sees them coming closer together during the film, but with the emphasis on adventure, all these personal relationships remain shallow.

Even when Anna's uncle is shot by the Nazis, who have detected the morse-coding equipment, one feels no remorse.

The 'nasty Germans', with their 'nasty voices', are only playing

their traditional role.

In fact, a film could not become more stereotyped from this point of view than by casting Anton Diffring as the German officer in command of security at the heavy water factory. Mr. Diffring seems to be seen more in Nazi uniform on films and television than out.

One of the best features of the film is the breath-taking beauty of the snow-laden countryside caught by the cameras when on location in Norway.

Sabotage

After their visit to London, Rolf and Knut return to wait for Allied-trained Norwegian soldiers, and a battalion of Allied paratroopers. The paratroopers' plane crashes killing all, so the Norwegians, nine of them, decide to go ahead with the agreed plan.

They blow up the heavy water plant and escape to Sweden, but the Germans have already duplicated this equipment in Berlin. Production begins again. Rolf and Knut return.

It is decided to bomb the factory. The planes are sent in.

The plant is left intact, but the town is damaged.

The Germans immediately begin to plan the transport of heavy water to Germany. It has to leave the Norwegian town by a water ferry, which the two men decide to blow up with time bombs.

This provides some tense moments as Rolf, on board the ferry, attempts to herd local citizens, especially the children, away from the section of the ferry where the clocks tick round to explosion hour.

The ferry sinks, the camera pans away, and that's it.

Mission accomplished.

One presumes that the Germans begin production again and further attempts at sabotage are made.

This gives the Allies plenty of time, three years to be exact, to perfect their equipment to produce the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

How did Harris, the working-class rugby player filmed in 'The Sporting Life', or Douglas, who starred in the anti-war 'Paths of Glory', come to play in this type of film?

MALVERN

From page 1

1965-66. All these decisions were recorded and sent out to the branches. You can consult them if you wish.

On this basis we are confident of winning thousands of young people in Britain to the struggle for socialism. We shall take a further step in this direction at our next conference also to be held in Morecambe.

Delegates to the Malvern conference were appointed by their constituency parties and not elected by Young Socialist branches.

There was no Standing Orders Committee—the business of the conference was in the sole control of Chief Youth Officer, Reg Underhill, who, you will readily agree, is no left-winger.

CHAIRMAN APPOINTED

The chairman was not elected by the conference. He was appointed by the National Executive Committee on the grounds that he came from the West Midlands (the area that the conference was held in).

Discussion was forbidden on 'general' subjects. No vote was allowed on foreign policy for fear that the conference would reject the Labour government's squalid record in relation to Vietnam, Aden, Malaysia and now Rhodesia.

The conference was deprived of the right to elect its own National Committee. This too is to be 'appointed'. And so one could go on.

All right! An answer, please. How do you propose to recruit socialist youth to this kind of political pantomime. Don't try

and wriggle out of it. Enlighten us.

The fact of the matter is that it is you who are in the 'political wilderness'. You got the pay-off at Malvern for your refusal to break from the Wilson bureaucracy after the witch-hunt in the summer of 1964.

The real difference between Keep Left and you is this. When the Brighton conference adopted a full socialist programme in opposition to Wilson and the right wing, we fought for this programme. You ran away from the fight.

Of course, you found all manner of excuses. 'It was wrong to rock the boat.' 'We had to give Wilson a chance.' 'Perhaps he had something up his sleeve.' 'He was really a left-winger.' 'He would carry out a number of worthwhile reforms.' 'At any rate a Labour government was better than the Tories.'

Under cover of these and other arguments you joined forces with the right wing against Keep Left.

THE LESSON

Now learn the lesson of Malvern. You received no concessions from the right wing. They were openly contemptuous of you. They put Frank Chapple on to the platform specially to do a job on you. And make no mistake about it, this right-wing leader of the Electrical Trades Union gave you a sound hiding.

It was a combination of your own ineptitude and Chapple's reply to the discussion on industrial training for youth that made the seemingly impossible, possible.

In a year of government betrayals the right wing won their resolution on Industrial Training For Youth by a handsome majority. And yet this document makes not the slightest mention of nationalization: it only talks

of making capitalism more efficient. An amendment to this resolution calling for its rejection was voted against.

This is the first Young Socialist conference I can remember going on record in support of the right wing on a policy question. It is a betrayal of everything Young Socialists have ever fought for.

ANALYSIS PLEASE!

Perhaps you can now begin to explain where your whole analysis went wrong. Why do you no longer repeat your theories about pushing the Labour government to the left? If it is because you have changed your minds no one will hold that against you.

The present Labour government is acting wholly in the interests of monopoly capitalism against the working class. This is not merely an argument. It involves a break from the bureaucracy and active campaigns in the labour movement to bring Wilson down on the questions of foreign policy and the proposed anti-trade union laws.

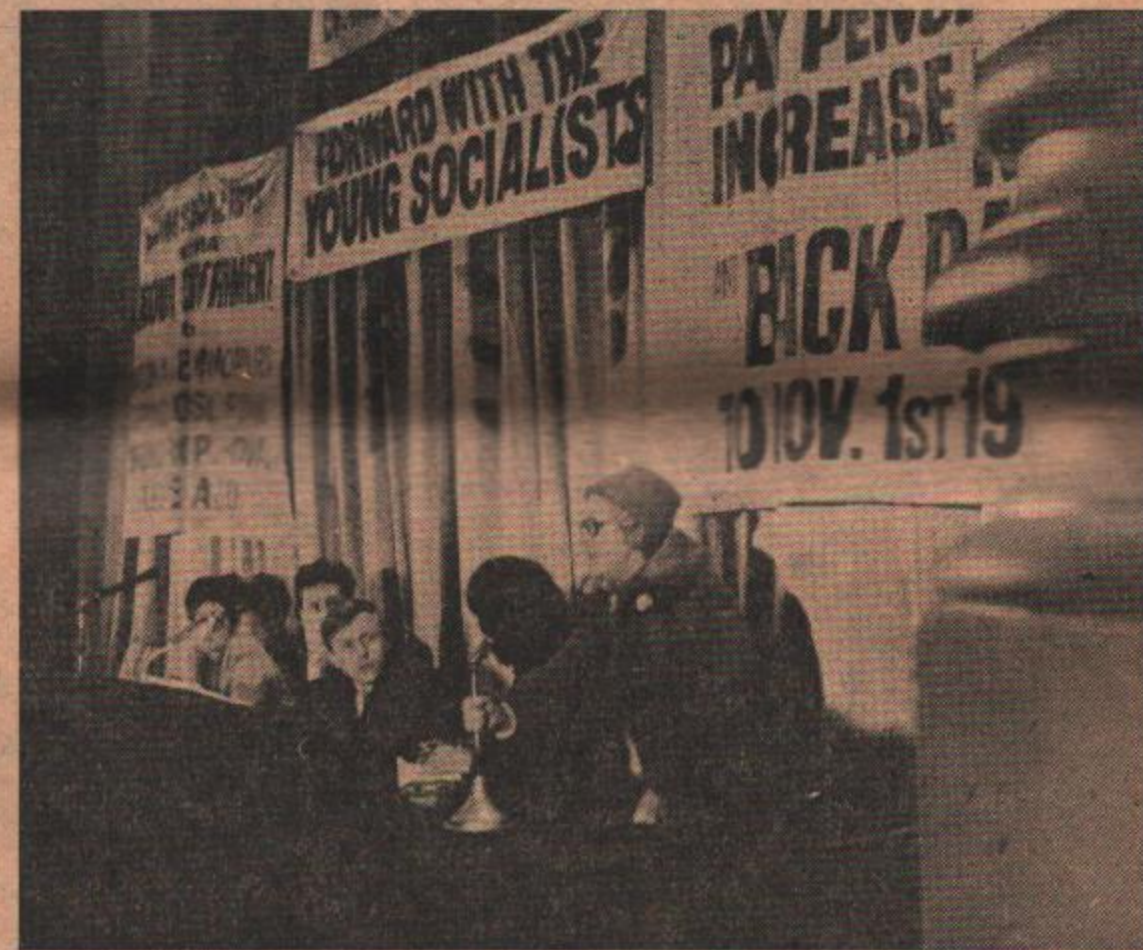
Are workers themselves not going to break from this gang of traitors? Are they not already doing so? And is it not the responsibility of socialists to be in the vanguard of the working class and not at its tail?

If you accept this responsibility only one course is open to you. Break from the rump Young Socialists in the Labour Party and join us in preparing our next conference in Morecambe.

Those who refuse to make that break are conscious and willing tools of the right wing. Those who are prepared to make the break we support 100 per cent.

We are utterly contemptuous of the antics of 'The Militant' group—I do not know of another newspaper in the history of the Labour youth movement that has been so misnamed—when they collaborated with the right wing in the Sunday morning session of the conference.

We support those delegates from 'Young Guard' who tried to force a showdown with the platform.



Morecambe 1965—a democratic conference where many things were discussed from the question of the old age pensioners to Vietnam.

The final argument that all of you were using at the conference for staying in the Labour Party was the need to work in the constituency parties.

ORGANISED STRENGTH

The question is how are you going to do this? By going to them like a dog with its tail between its legs hoping you will be thrown one or two bones to chew? Or with the organised strength of a revolutionary socialist youth movement that can demonstrate in practice its determination to fight the bureaucracy through to the end?

You say the working class looks to the Labour Party. More correctly, it did 14 months ago. But can you seriously claim today that the dockers, the miners, the railwaymen, the car workers and now the bakers are looking to Brown and Gunter? On the contrary are they not compelled to cast around for an alternative leadership?

The Young Socialists plays a special role in the building of this alternative. The thousands of

young workers entering politics today through the Young Socialists are destined to provide the forces for the construction in this country of a revolutionary party that will take the working class to power.

Only middle-class individuals who understand nothing of Marxism and the class struggle today are cynical about such a perspective.

The immediate focus for this perspective is in the preparation of the Morecambe conference of Young Socialists in April 1966. The main resolution has already been drafted. The discussion was begun in the columns of the November issue of Keep Left. Arrangements for the conference will be going out shortly.

We invite all those who want to fight for a socialist Britain against the abject betrayals of the Wilson government to participate in the preparation of this tremendously important conference.

The Malvern conference was a farce. But it was a farce with valuable lessons for those who are prepared to learn.

Docks

THE Devlin Commission report on the docks calls for a concentration of the ownership of the docks into the hands of a few giant employers — monopoly private ownership and control.

It proposes that rank-and-file committees of the portworkers be smashed. Also it wants to restrict which union a docker may join.

As you can see, this report demands modernisation and streamlining of the docks:

1. For the benefit of the big port employers.
2. At the expense of the dockers and the working class.

Wilson is intending to make this report law.

National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers' Union ('Blue Union') dockers from Hull and Liverpool have been leading the struggle against Devlin.

The Merseyside Area Committee of the 'Blue Union' sent Peter Kerrigan to the London docks to gain support for united action against Devlin.

The 'Blue Union' dockers are the dockers that marched behind the National Committee of the Young Socialists' banner on September 26 in Blackpool, for they see that the attacks of the Devlin report are political and that they can only be counteracted with a policy of nationalization without compensation of the docks under the control of workers' committees.

T.D., London.

Drugs

THE increase in drug-taking, especially amongst young people has caused widespread alarm amongst the middle-class moralists.

Over the past year many newspaper articles, television programmes and sociological surveys of various kinds have attempted to analyse the roots of this new phenomena.

The fruits of these expensive investigations have been pathetically barren. There would seem to be no real cause for the fact that a high proportion of young people in the larger towns take pills or narcotics in one form or another.

Admittedly, various nebulous reasons are offered—such as the breakdown of the family today, or the fact that religion no longer has a hold upon the minds of youth.

Yet despite those sterile investigations there is no doubt that drugs, especially pep pills (known under a variety of names) are easily accessible, especially in London, Manchester and Liverpool.

The drugs are often sold quite openly in beat clubs and coffee bars, and the pushers of these drugs, usually young people themselves, enjoy a high rate of profit.

Police make very little attempt to stamp out this trade. An arrest may be made but this is usually for formality's sake and no serious effort is made to probe into the organisation responsible for bringing large quantities of heroin and hashish into the country.

Many pubs have become notorious for the drug-peddling which is carried on, yet despite several raids, the police never quite manage to make a successful arrest.

When you ask a young person who takes drugs why they do so

the usual answer is 'for kicks'. These words are reiterated so many times they seem to lose their meaning and become merely a phrase.

In fact, the expression is a very eloquent one, which emphasises the boredom and routine life which faces young people under capitalism.

Coming from school to a poorly-paid job and long, monotonous hours, young people look forward to the evenings, throughout the dreary day.

In fact, because they are so poorly paid they can usually only afford to go to a beat club one or two nights a week.

Consequently, the desire of most young workers is to cram as much enjoyment and excitement as possible into the evenings when they go to a beat club; to try to forget that the next morning is work and the one after that, and the one after that, with no possible way of escaping the dreary monotony of a worker's life.

This then is the real cause of drug-taking—an escape from the frustration and boredom which is all this rotten, decaying system can offer to its young people.

So when a young worker says he takes drugs for 'kicks', he is expressing, even though perhaps only unconsciously, his own bitter resentment of a system which forces him to retire into the artificial world of make-believe, which narcotics provide.

The Young Socialists is an organisation which understands the problems of young people, because it understands the precise nature of the society which causes these problems.

It is useless for youth today to think they can escape into a fairy-land where life is never dull or boring and there are none of the constant pressures which face them.

The only way that young workers can overcome these problems is not by retreating into the transient refuge provided by drugs. They must fight in the working class to smash this system and in doing so end the innumerable evils which are inherent in the system.

The future of the world today lies in the hands of the youth. A quick glance around the world shows this. Everywhere around the globe young people are taking up the cudgels against imperialism, whether in Vietnam, Watts, Los Angeles or trade union campaigns in Britain.

If the youth do not grasp the task of building a party to overthrow capitalism they are providing a way for a massive onslaught by capitalism that no amount of drugs can ever free them from. **Young Socialist.**

Rhodesia

THIS month one of the national papers printed an article on Rhodesia which supported Smith and company making a unilateral declaration of independence.

Like the question of South Africa they are splitting the workers in two—black and white. The Young Socialists demand the arming of the African working class and the taking of power from the reactionary white bosses, who control the copper mines and the farms.

But we must build our own Young Socialists movement to build a revolutionary working-class party so that we can help the African workers in their struggle.

Vic Morri, Putney YS.

Housing

IN Islington the rents have been put up by about 3s. 6d. to 38s. a week. This was done by a Labour council, which said that they had to do this so that they could buy more waste land to put up new flats.

But as we know it is really so that they can pay the high interest rates to the moneylenders, who want to make bigger and bigger profits.

The tenants have their own associations on every estate and they are well organised. Some have had big meetings and marches in protest against the raising of the rent, but they say that there is no need to bring politics into the rents question.

But, as I have said, it is a Labour council which is bringing in the increases.

One Alderman, who only pays an increase of 1s. 9d., said that the tenants had no right to protest as he, too, had had his rent increased. But there is a vast difference between 1s. 9d. and 38s.

We in the Young Socialists say: No rent increases! Make the Tory bankers pay!

Michael Bray, East London YS.

Northern Ireland elections

IN the past election for Stormont (the Ulster Parliament) the Northern Ireland Labour Party has just had two of its four MPs defeated and there has been a swing to the Tories in every seat contested.

This is what the Young Socialists have continually said—the traitorous actions of Wilson and all right-wingers has bred apathy, disillusionment and disgust in the working class.

Many Labour Party branches complained of their bad organisation. This is not surprising. How could any workers fight enthusiastically for Wilson's betrayals?

The Northern Ireland election reflects the growing tendency for the British working class to reject its traditional Labour leadership.

Unless the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League build an alternative leadership, the working class will suffer severe defeats.

Every right-wing and reactionary element has been strengthened by the Tories' victory. The Tory arrogance in the press and television has to be seen to be believed.

The largest swing to the Tories was in a straight fight between a Labour MP and one of the most extreme right-wing in the Unionists.

This can only be blamed on the disastrous policies of Wilson and the right wing. Our demands remain the only valid ones. Sack Wilson!

Sack Napier, the General Secretary of the Northern Ireland Labour Party!

Kick out the right wing!
Call a conference of the Labour Party to decide on socialist policies!

Build an alternative leadership!
Derek Wray,
Northern Ireland YS.

Dustmen

RECENTLY an incident took place in Coventry that shows that not only are adult workers entering into a serious fight with the employers, but that when this happens they accept the policies of the Young Socialists.

Some dustmen in Leamington

were out on strike because one of the men had been sacked. They were peacefully picketing outside their depot, stopping workers to explain their case, when a police car arrived.

The leader of the pickets (the man who was sacked) was reported to have been taken to the police station and charged with 'obstruction'.

He was fined £1 and in addition he was not reinstated in his job.

This gives some small indication of the kind of treatment that the working class in this country, and internationally, can expect unless they fight against it by building a movement that will throw out the employing class for ever.

When the Coventry Young Socialists heard this story they visited the dustmen.

The result was that a YS speaker was invited into their trade union branch to speak. A resolution was passed against legislation against the trade unions and in support of the lobby of Parliament on January 26, 1966.

The men involved in the struggle were very keen to discuss with the Young Socialists and attended a public meeting organised by the YS and Socialist Labour League in Birmingham, and have offered to speak of their experiences to local YS branches.

This is an example of the strong support that the working class is prepared to give to the policies of the YS when they see that it is only by such policies that a serious fight can be put up against the coming vicious attacks of the employing class.

B.E.,
Coventry.

New members

WALTON Young Socialists have been meeting now for only a few weeks and we decided to send a letter to Keep Left saying what we thought about the YS.

The first time we heard of the Young Socialists was when a YS member who was canvassing in Walton for a report-back meeting from the Blackpool demonstration (September 26) asked us to go along. We went and decided to join the YS and set up a branch in Walton.

We stayed in the Young Socialists because we have never learned anything like this before.

We have learned what socialist policies are; how Mr. Wilson is betraying the working class and not carrying out Labour policies; how United States troops are slaying villagers in Vietnam; how the Labour government is passing an anti-union law which makes strikers liable to imprisonment or fines.

Three weeks ago we held a big dance to Earl Preston's Realms at the Blair Hall, Walton. It was quite successful but we could have got more people to it if we had started going around putting posters up and giving out leaflets earlier.

However, we intend to learn from this mistake and make our next dance in the Blair Hall on December 17 a bigger success.

Members of Walton YS.

Class struggle

THE class struggle is a continuing process and the working class will be defeated without a revolutionary movement.

The more ready and prepared we are the more weak our main enemies the capitalists are. So we prepare for revolution and to do this we must study:

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



Send us your opinions, branch reports, ideas on how to build the Young Socialists

1. The history of the working class, nationally and internationally.
2. Economic crisis of capitalism.
3. The ideological struggle.

We should not look at our own personal problems but at the class struggle. Therefore by studying these items we should be able to train ourselves as leaders so that we can get closer to the working class.

A Bradford Young Socialist.

Legislation

WE must fight against legislation against the trade unions which is being brought in by the government this month, because the working class is fighting for better conditions, a decent living wage, shorter working week and at least one month's holiday.

This legislation against the trade unions means that every single demand of the working class will be defeated by capitalism. Wages will be controlled by the government, prices will still go up and every single action of the trades unions for the workers will be made illegal.

If anybody goes on unofficial strike they will be made to pay a fine or be put into prison.

This must be halted and the working class must fight back now. It is the Young Socialists' responsibility to give leadership to the working class in factories and mills so that workers will be able to fight back, otherwise the capitalist class will destroy all mankind.

A Bradford Young Socialist.

Theory

THE working class cannot exist without its organisation and this organisation cannot be built until the working class has a theory which can be a weapon for their struggle against capitalism.

Marxism is that theory. It is scientifically based on the world. We can win what is needed for the working class only if we smash capitalism, which controls the money. Therefore a study of the working class is most important and it is the study of Marxism which is the only weapon to fight capitalism.

More and more problems for the working class are created daily by the capitalist class, that is why we have to be able to recognise the present situation by studying Marxism which will help workers to unite to overthrow capitalism.

A Bradford Young Socialist.

N. Ireland elections pose big responsibilities for Young Socialists

By Jackie Vance

MAJOR developments in the class struggle have posed big responsibilities for the Young Socialists in Northern Ireland.

Following the Labour defeats and the swing to the right in the Northern Ireland general election on November 25 it is more than ever clear that only the Young Socialists, and their supporters in the Socialist Labour League, can provide a leadership for the working class.

O'Neill, the Prime Minister and his Unionist Party were returned to power at the election with an overall majority of 20 seats in a house of 52. They have been the ruling party since the Northern Ireland Parliament was established in 1921.

17 candidates

The Northern Ireland Labour Party, which had four MPs previously, desperately needed to increase its representation and had 17 candidates standing.

The right-wing leadership, boasting loudly about Harold Wilson's government, were predicting at least five gains.

Instead they were very nearly demolished. Two important seats in Belfast—Woodvale and Victoria—were lost, the other two were held with greatly reduced majorities and there was a 7 per cent swing to the Unionist Party.

The reactionary Nationalist Party, with nine seats, was returned as opposition to the Unionists. It relied on the Catholic vote in the rural areas and did not contest any seats in Belfast.

All sorts of excuses about bad weather and apathy have been

offered by the Northern Ireland Labour Party leadership. But it is quite clear—and becoming more apparent to many rank-and-file members—that the real fault lies with the right-wing leadership.

The Labour Party's election policy did not basically differ from that of the Unionists. In fact, they claimed that part of the Unionist policy was originally theirs.

This is particularly true about the question of Partition. Since 1946 the Labour Party has supported the Partition and thereby aligned itself, in the eyes of the Catholic workers, with British imperialism.

Unanimous

There was unanimous agreement between the two parties on the most important fact of all—support for the British Labour government and its actions against the working class.

The Young Socialists, who had given conditional support to the Labour Party and worked for the candidates, had warned that the right-wing policies were leading the party to destruction.

By refusing to accept the expulsion of the Young Socialist leaders and establishing their own premises in Belfast the YS have been actively preparing against the right-wing betrayals.

In a press statement the Young Socialists have said that only the building of the revolutionary party can prepare the working class for the coming attacks.

They are demanding that the Northern Ireland Labour Party dissociates itself from the policies of Wilson! Sacks Napier, the Labour Party secretary! Lifts the ban on Keep Left and the Socialist Labour League! Reinstates the expelled Young Socialists.

Working class girl from page 3

ible solution, not only to the particular problems of girls in Britain, but to the problems of the whole world working class.

Bourgeois ideology sees a whole number of isolated, unsolvable, 'special' problems, of which the 'emancipation of women' is one.

But the degradation of women, like racial discrimination, overpopulation, the arms race, and poverty, are not special or unsolvable.

The 'special' problems of women, like the 'special' problems of coloured workers, are only aspects of the exploitation of the working class.

Only by solving the problems of the working class as a whole can the details of capitalist injustices and evils be wiped out.

Under a socialist society, the helpless viciousness of capitalism would end: chaos, starvation and war would no longer be unavoidable companions to man's existence.

His continued development would be assured. Man's capacities would no longer be hampered by the stupid fetters of an outgrown system and his development would reach heights as inconceivable to us as the electric lighting of a modern city would have been to a medieval serf.

Futile petty drudgery for women would end and new horizons open for her children. No longer locked in mutual enslavement, women and children would find their differing paths of development.

The profession of 'housewife' would end, and cleaning, catering, nursing and schooling be undertaken seriously and properly—no longer lumped together, undertaken amateurishly, piecemeal, by each enslaved young mother.

A child's education would no longer be the restrictions and dangers of each family's home, but the attention to his real needs, from birth.

The tasks of the traditional mother thus becoming a fully socialised responsibility, a woman, would at long last be free to develop her own interests and ideas.

As it is, outside the struggle for socialism, there is no future for the modern girl, other than the one her mother and grandmother endured before her.

The present system offers her nothing. Her future and that of the working class can only be won in political struggle.

Published by D. Longley, 156 Lambeth Road, London, S.E.1. Printed by Plough Press Ltd (TU), r.o. 180 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

Young Socialists march against the Fascists in Southall



PROTESTING against fascist attacks on Young Socialists and the banning of an anti-fascist meeting by the local Labour council, 200 youth marched through Southall, Middlesex, at the end of November shouting 'Clear the Fascists off the Streets'. The march began at the Shackleton Hall, which had been booked for a full month for a meeting, at which national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, Gerry Healy, was to speak. Just two days before the meeting, the Ealing Council, which owns the hall, cancelled the booking on the grounds that the hall might be damaged. (Local fascists had also tried to book the hall, but had been refused on the same grounds.) In cancelling the booking the council refused the YS and SLL the right to speak to the working class against fascism.

Showing their solidarity with the YS, the Southall Indian Workers' Association loaned their hall for the meeting, where Comrade Healy said that it might seem odd that in Southall, one of the most powerful centres of working-class solidarity in the London area, there was a gang of fascists which could intimidate the local council. The working class, he said were only people who could drive the fascists and their 'backward 13th century racist nonsense' off the streets. Referring to the fascist attacks—four YS members were beaten up before the Blackpool September 26 demonstration—he said: 'We shall not tolerate it in Southall or anywhere else. And, if the fascists lay so much as a hand on any immigrant worker, we shall run a sustained campaign in all the factories.' Vice-President of Southall IWA, Mr. A. S. Rai, said the meeting was important and would encourage immigrant workers because they would see people they could rely on uniting to fight fascism.

Three YS regions hold lively weekend schools

BASING the discussion around the resolution for the Sixth Annual Conference of the Young Socialists (as printed in the November issue of Keep Left), the London Regional Committee organised a week-end school on November 20 and 21 at which there were about 100 people.

The discussion was led off by Peter Jeffries—reporter for 'The Newsletter', paper of the Socialist Labour League—who explained some of the basic theories of Marxism: 'How profits are made'; 'Why the bosses want legislation against the trade unions'; 'The crisis of Capitalism'; 'Automation'; and 'Rhodesia'.

Three films were shown in the evening: on Vietnam, South Africa and the demonstrations

organised by the Young Socialists over the past year—including the 5th Annual Conference of Young Socialists held at Morecambe.

Throughout the whole experience of the school a number of young people—many completely new to the Young Socialists—made an important development in their understanding of the YS and the working class.

The reports, given by people who were not used to speaking to large audiences, were of a very high standard. Discussion on them went through to the afternoon.

The school was wound up with a Brains Trust, a panel of people who were asked questions covering the 'Fourth International' to 'Why we should join a trade union'.

☆

ON November 13 and 14 the Northern Ireland Federation of Young Socialists held a week-end school in Bangor, a small seaside resort in County Down.

Thirty Young Socialists listened to Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League speak of the crisis of British imperialism and the role of the Labour government.

Comrade Healy traced the background of the crisis from the violent birth of the capitalist system inside feudalism to the present epoch of wars and revolutions.

As technology improved the capitalists had to look for markets outside their home countries in which to sell the ever-increasing quantity of commodities. They had to have cheap supplies of raw materials and food and,

finally, they enslaved the world for cheap labour. Thus imperialism was developed.

During the two days the nature of imperialism was discussed at great length in lectures and discussion groups.

In the afternoon Bill McElroy, chairman of the Northern Ireland YS, gave a final lecture on the development of imperialism and the present world situation.

☆

FIFTY Young Socialists attended a week-end school in Yorkshire at the end of October on trades unions and legislation against strikes.

The school was introduced by Peter Jeffries, a Central Committee member of the Socialist Labour League, who stated that workers would come into conflict with the Labour government because of the Tory policies carried out by Wilson.

The school split into lively discussion groups where topics such as automation, the need for trade unions, what is socialism? and the importance of an international socialist movement were discussed.

After the reports from the discussion groups, given by relatively new people to the Young Socialists, the whole school heard Cliff Slaughter, a leading member of the Socialist Labour League, sum up the school.

He explained how old trade union slogans like 'a fair day's wage for a fair day's work' were a myth, as profits arose from the actual labour of workers transforming raw materials into commodities such as cars, buildings, machinery, etc.