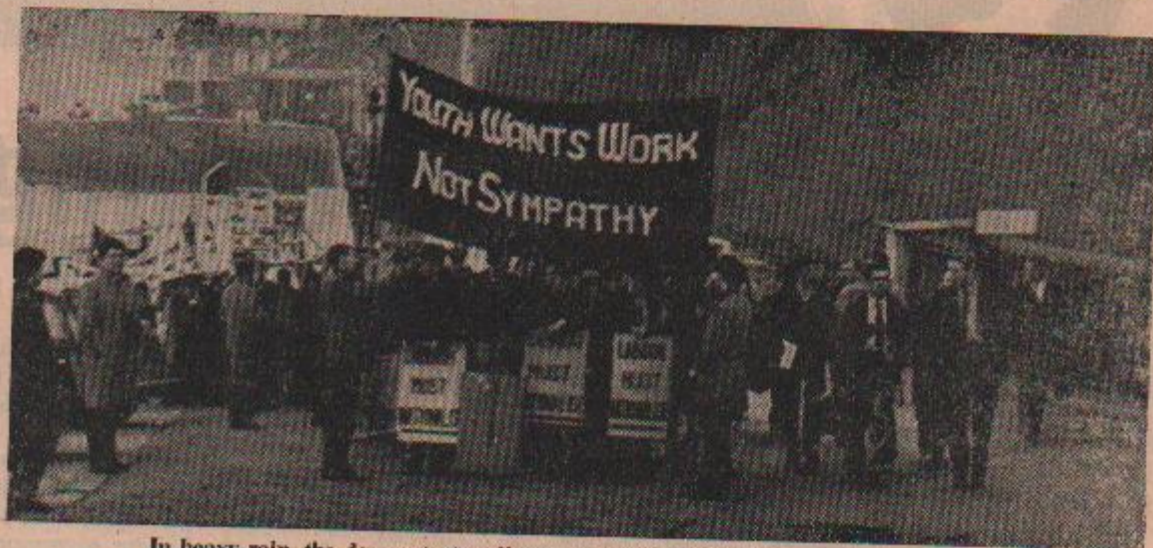


900 march in the rain at Scarborough

Keep Left
The Paper for Socialist Youth

YS back railmen's fight



In heavy rain, the demonstrators line up for their march through Scarborough

THE Young Socialists' Conference at Scarborough carried, with only one hand against, an emergency resolution which pledged full political and financial support to railway workers in their struggle against the Beeching Report. This report, which seeks to run British Railways solely in the interests of big business, could cost the jobs of some 160,000 workers if put into operation.

E. Whelan of Pudsey YS, moving the emergency motion at conference, said the labour movement must rally behind the railwaymen if they decided to take strike action. Their struggle, he said, must be linked to the demand for nationalization of the whole transport system under workers' control, with all the old shareholders and ex-owners cleared off the boards.

STRIKE HQs

C. McCafferty, Craigton, in a fighting speech which won loud applause, called for political as well as moral support for the railwaymen. Labour Party rooms should be used as strike headquarters and party members should join the railwaymen on the picket lines, he declared.

To a burst of cheering, he demanded that the president of the Transport Salaried Staffs Association—Ray Gunter MP—stop calling shop stewards 'evil men' and start to fight against the redundancies threatened for his members.

Since the conference, the leaders of the National Union of Railwaymen have called a three-

day protest strike against the Beeching Report for May 14-16.

By restricting the struggle to three days, Sidney Greene and company hope that all the anger of their members will be spent and they can then settle down to a cosy round of redundancy negotiations with the government.

Keep Left considers that the three-day strike will not deter the Tories from their plans to make the railways pay at the expense of the community and the workers. It calls upon the whole labour movement to press for an all-out campaign, along the lines of the YS conference resolution, waged both politically and industrially to defeat the Tories.

May 14 must not be the end of the fight but only the beginning. On that date every Young Socialist must declare his active support for the railway workers in what is now a general fight against the growing attacks of the employers.

Conference condemns the expulsions

THE witch-hunt against the Young Socialists was condemned at Scarborough. In a special private session of the conference on Easter Monday a resolution protesting at the unwarranted expulsions of Liz Thompson, Mike Ginsberg and Dave Davis and demanding their immediate reinstatement into the Labour Party was carried by 168 votes to 134.

In the debate, platform speakers and right-wing delegates repeatedly attempted to sway the conference by veiled hints about the 'subversive activities' of the three.

But most of the delegates knew that these so-called subversive activities centred around the three members' fight to build up their regions and branches on the basis

of an anti-Tory unemployment campaign. Despite the intervention this year of a highly-organised right-wing faction, the motion was carried with loud cheering and applause.

A composite motion dealing with the 'inquiry' into Keep Left was not taken as the delegate from the Chingford branch who was to move it was absent from the conference. Nevertheless, the delegates referred back the section of the Chief Youth Officer's report dealing with the proscription of the movement's opposition to the ban.

With this decisive defeat of the Transport House attacks, the youth movement can now campaign with greater freedom for the important policies decided at Scarborough.

THAT very respectable seaside resort, Scarborough, was shaken by a tremendous demonstration of 900 Young Socialists and unemployed youth on Saturday, April 13.

From all parts of the country, they had come by coach to the scene of the third national conference of the Young Socialists to express their solidarity with the delegates and ask them to take action on the question of youth unemployment.

This was another inspiring example of the determination of Labour's youth movement to take the lead in the struggle to defeat the Tory government and end the miseries of its system.

Once again

Although many of those who travelled to Scarborough had already put in a great deal of exhausting work on the January 12 demonstration and March 26 lobby, they were once again prepared to go to great lengths to bring as many workers as possible to the conference and show them the militant youth movement in action.

Once again they had toured the Labour Exchanges and the youth clubs to bring these young people on the trip; once again they had toured factories and building sites to raise money for the coaches.

Many delegates to the conference were impressed by this great show of strength and the new but

already firm loyalty of the unemployed youth, who spoke of 'their' conference and 'their' Young Socialist movement.

Here was a fine example of unity in action, employed and unemployed. Straight from the coaches, the visitors hurried to the Spa Theatre, eager to get in and listen to the key debates.

Refused

There were angry scenes outside the Spa when the manager and his commissionaires refused to let them in. Despite demands from a number of delegates, who came out to take the visitors' side, Labour Party officials seemed loathe to let them in, repeatedly telling the delegates that there were no visitors outside!

The anger increased when it was learned that the police had been called and delegates demanded that the visitors be immediately allowed in and occupy empty seats in the gallery and the back of the hall.

But by this time most of the visitors had tired of badgering for permission to enter their conference and had walked away in disgust.

Impressive

When the afternoon session ended they were back again in an impressive body along the promenade, carrying banners of YS branches from all the main areas of Britain.

The famous banner from January 12 was once again at the front of the demonstration: 'Youth Wants Work Not Sympathy'.

Behind came a host of posters and banners demanding socialist policies to combat the Tories and unemployment.

By now it was raining heavily and many of the unemployed, without coats, were soon drenched. But undeterred, they set off through the town, holding aloft their demands to the Labour Party to nationalize the employers' property.

Meeting

The long column wound its way to the far side of the town and into the spacious Floral Hall where a meeting had been organised by the three expelled National Committee members, Liz Thompson, Mike Ginsberg and Dave Davis.

Opening the meeting, Mike Ginsberg welcomed both conference delegates and the visitors, whom he congratulated on yet another fine demonstration of the

strength and determination of the youth movement.

Dave Davis stressed the fact that the only way to stop the attacks on the youth movement by Transport House was to fight in every area to build up their branches on the policies of the YS and win support from the trade union movement.

Guest speaker Roger Protz, the editor of Keep Left, sketched in the background to the proscription of the paper and showed that this was part of a general trend in Britain to hound all those who fought for socialist policies. Unless these attacks were stopped, he said, the Tories would introduce the most vicious laws to curb the strength of the labour movement.

Called

Liz Thompson delegates present then be run for to fight next f all. Each branch expulsions and nomy could fix its by the Labour plans in co-operation attacks on the aer branches. it would be it way, coal, steel and youth movement roduction would be tions facing young ith each other.

She outlined with each other. on Merseyside whetep towards this to go to and who rajor industries around by Labour ized by the officials and the police. She compared the work done there by the YS with the cynical attitude of a group of right-wingers from Birmingham who had produced a glossy and expensive pamphlet attacking the left inside the YS.

Contempt

'Where do they get the money from to produce this?' she asked. 'They tell us about the wonderful parties they hold but there is not one mention here of a fight against unemployment. These people should be treated with contempt.'

After a generous collection and discussion from the floor the meeting ended. The visitors prepared for another long trip back to their regions, inspired for the next round of the struggle for a mass youth movement.

IN NEXT MONTH'S KEEP LEFT:

Borstal—from the inside, by a Young Socialist.

The new tyranny in South Africa.

► This month: RSGs p.2; Planning p.3; Conference p.4



the world this month

The sinister meaning of the RSGs

CONDEMNED by *Tribune*, the *Daily Worker* and Labour's spokesman on foreign affairs: with such company ranged against them there is no doubt that the 'Spies for Peace' have performed a great service for the labour movement in publishing their pamphlet on the Tories' secret Regional Seats of Government.

The revelations in this document take the unilateralist movement out of the realm of 'maybe' into the world of hard fact: that the Tories are consciously preparing for nuclear war.

DICTATORSHIP

In the event of such a war, the Tories, army leaders and big business are ready for a military dictatorship, ruling in safety from the RSGs while millions in Britain—and throughout the world—would be left to die.

'Spies for Peace' have produced an indictment of engineering factories where can be no 'We're told that in the mind now good time and we and the mono-are plenty of unem-ow millions to dole to take our pl-aginable horror

50 after one job in order to safe- profits and their

Unemployed, Murray said: 'W is more to the last job, 50 g just a military take-it before me' This is a time of war. The secret headquarters are there for an equally important reason.

Should there be a showdown in Britain between the labour movement and the employers, these 'seats of government' would be the spearhead of the employers' offensive.

This is not science fiction or some Orwellian nightmare. The Tories, hell-bent on extracting more profit from the workers with which to finance the modern equipment necessary to keep them in the fight for world markets, know full well that they can expect fierce resistance to their plans.

TORY VIOLENCE

Pacifists and 'left' do-gooders hold up their hands at any thought of violence from the working class—closing their eyes to the fact that it is the Tories and their allies who are responsible for violence.

Capitalist bombs ranged against the Soviet Union and all those struggling for freedom—that is violence.

Unemployment, dole queues, speed-up in the factories, victimisation of shop stewards—underneath all this subtle tyranny lies the violence of capitalist society.

The RSGs underline this

By David Lloyd

violent nature of Toryism. They are there as part of the preparations to use force against the labour movement, should the necessity arise.

Once again 1926 hangs over the trade union movement. The Tories knew, early in the twenties, that opposition to their plans to lower wages in order to bolster profits would lead to an intensification of the class struggle.

The Tories and the employers prepared: a strike-breaking movement—similar to Mr. Martell's today—was set up to handle postal and transport services in the event of a general strike.

Students at university were recruited to the noble cause of capitalist domination and criminals were enrolled as 'special constables' to deal with pickets.

And the trade union leaders cringed and begged and pleaded with the Tories and did nothing to mobilise their members for action. The result of 1926 was, despite the heroism and determination of the labour movement, a black and bitter sell-out.

In 1963, the Tories are preparing once again. 'Spies for

Peace' have exposed part of their plans.

Not only must the trade union and labour movement be on its guard; it must prepare for action itself.

The only safeguard against armed violence and nuclear war is the defeat of the Tories, the election of a Labour government and the placing of all industries under the control of the working class.

If Mr. Patrick Gordon-Walker, Mr. Richard Clements, Mr. George Matthews and uncle Fenner Brockway and all wish to condemn 'Spies for Peace', let them go ahead. The masses of the labour movement will pay no heed to these gentlemen.

The Young Socialists have laid down their programme of action against the Tories. Aldermaston this year was predominantly a youth demonstration.

THE FORCE

Here is the force to unseat the Tories and end their plans for nuclear war. Once again the responsibility falls upon the Young Socialist movement to win to our ranks those many thousands of young unilateralists who are more and more disenchanted with the empty demagoguery of Canon Collins, Michael Foot and Frank Cousins.

They are looking for real answers to the causes of war and misery. It is up to us to provide them.

Nasser heads new Arab 'empire'

THE formation of the new United Arab Republic—incorporating Egypt, Syria and Iraq, with the Yemen as a candidate member—is a further attempt to remove the barriers to capitalist expansion in the Middle East represented by the old feudal regimes.

President Nasser of Egypt now rules at the head of a tight military clique which will safeguard the rich mineral resources of this vast area for world imperialism.

The UAR exists with the backing and resources of the imperialist powers, especially America. They will have to give the nationalists considerable political freedom in order to satisfy their egos.

But imperialism has never been fussy about the methods used by their nationalist friends as long as the end product—profit—is not harmed.

All the vague talk about democracy and a possible Legislative Assembly contained in the new UAR agreement is so much eye-wash. There will be no freedom from poverty for the Arab people under this new capitalist set-up.

The need for a supra-national armed force is, says Nasser, to deter both external aggression and internal subversion. With the United States behind him he has little need to worry about external aggression, but the force is certainly needed to protect the regime and its economic under-pinnings from any action which the workers and peasants may take.

That is why communists, socialists and trade unionists are being brutally exterminated in all three countries.

Nasser, urged on by Washington, is determined to bring the feudal lands of Jordan and Saudi Arabia under his control and he is currently stirring up trouble for that miserable little monarch, Hussein. Britain stands staunchly behind the Jordanian ruler in order to preserve her interests there against Yankee penetration of the whole empire.

As old boundaries are torn down and new ones instituted, the conditions of the masses continue to remain at an appalling level. Only action by them to clear out the Nasserites, imperialists and feudal lords can bring about any real progress.



Grimau, the Pope and Mr K

JULIAN GRIMAU, the Spanish communist, died heroically under a hail of bullets in the country which he had fought to free from the brutal, fascist rule of General Franco.

Keep Left salutes the memory of this courageous man and calls upon socialists everywhere to redouble their efforts to bring Franco and his thugs to their knees.

The Spanish dictator Franco is an ardent Catholic. He was hailed by the Roman church during the Civil War as a fine Christian gentleman who—just as the Austrian Catholic church said of Hitler—was building a wall against Bolshevism and defending the cultural heritage of the West against, what they termed, the atheistic barbarism of the East.

Catholicism is tightly bound up with international capitalism and its fight for survival. To those unused to the twists, turns and unity-with-anyone tactics of the Soviet bureaucracy, it might seem curious that Khrushchev should hail with enthusiasm the recent statement of the Pope—Franco's spiritual leader.

Face value

But this is Stalinism in action. Incapable of any scientific, socialist analysis of world imperialism, the Soviet leaders take any statements at their face value: if Kennedy says he will not invade Cuba, then obviously, says Khrushchev, he can be trusted.

Anyone who cares to study the record of imperialism and its religious appendages will know that its rulers will lie and cheat with impunity in order to safeguard its position. How often does Macmillan blandly assure us that he wishes to better the conditions of the British people at the same time as the employers prepare new methods of exploitation?

If the Pope is concerned at the conditions of the working class, he says so in order to win back to his church all those who see no future in it and are looking towards socialism as a solution to their problems.

It is worth noting that as Julian Grimau stood before the firing squad he refused the services of a Catholic priest and declared that he died a staunch communist.

That is sufficient answer to the cringing of Khrushchev before the Papal hierarchy. The name of Grimau is one more to be added to the over-long and bloody record of Stalin and his heirs.

US warmongers in Laos

By JACK DORAN

IT is not surprising that the Soviet Union is fast losing what little influence it had in Laos.

Instead of taking sides with the popular left-wing movement, the Pathet Lao, in its grim war to free the country from the grip of US imperialism, Russian representatives have been discussing with the United States how to achieve a 'neutral' solution.

The Laotian freedom fighters have consequently been looking to China for support, which has come mainly in the form of supplies. From North Vietnam troops have crossed the border to fight alongside the Laotians.

'AGGRESSIVE'

This is described by the US as aggressive communist infiltration.

On the question of aggression, it is the record of the United States that must be examined.

Last year, in order to bulldoze through the Geneva agreement on Laos (the 'neutralist' solution), the US, in conjunction with the other imperialist powers in SEATO, used a naval exercise as a pretext for building up large concentrations of military force.

Another SEATO exercise is planned for June or perhaps earlier. American representatives will give no assurances that their troops will not be sent into Laos.

When Prince Souvanouphong, leader of the Pathet Lao, agreed to a temporary cease-fire pending some permanent agreement, the US, instead of welcoming this truce, immediately prepared their powerful Seventh Fleet for intervention. Extra warships were moved in to join those already stationed in the Gulf of Siam.

Inside Laos they are desperately backing General Kong Le's 'neutralist' forces, who are fast losing out against the Pathet Lao. Kong Le suffered an almost complete rout in the battle of the Plain of Jars.

Seeing his lack of success, the US may soon decide to take matters completely into their own hands and make a full-scale military intervention there themselves.

BLED WHITE

The neutralist position means that Laos, while not supporting any military alliance on paper, would continue to be bled white by American capital. We must ask these 'fair-minded' neutralists: do you stand for the absolute rejection of US imperialism or for the continued exploitation of the Laotian people?

Meanwhile, as the politicians confer round the tables in London, Paris and Moscow about the implementation of the Geneva agreement, it is quite on the cards that the Pentagon is now contemplating a repeat performance of the Korean war.

Special KL series

Why we need PLANNING

At a time of rising unemployment, nationalization and socialist planning are high on the agenda for discussion.

But what exactly do we mean by nationalization and planning? What is capitalism—why does unemployment constantly recur under this system?

If we are to get rid of capitalism it is important to understand its inner workings—and how and with what we mean to replace it.

That is the aim of three special articles, the first of which appears here.

The twilight world of London's jobless

By an Unemployed Young Socialist

IN a certain London hostel 40 men are living in a dormitory. More than 30 of us are unemployed.

The owner of the hostel started a scheme under which the men could work for him for about £2-£3 a week. We usually worked far in excess of 40 hours a week.

The jobs were by no means small. I worked out that some of us were producing a clear profit of something like £25.

CLAIM

Eventually we put in a claim for an hourly rate of 5s. 4d. which was finally granted and for this action we were called 'money-grabbing pigs'.

We were told we had only one thing in mind—to make money for ourselves!

Living conditions at the hostel are very bad; we pay £3 for a bed and meals. This comes out of our dole money, which is £3 11s. a week.

There is one toilet between 40 men and 6 hand basins. There is no bath.

NO MONEY

We are turned out for 4 hours every morning and 10 hours on Sunday with no money in our pockets.

The result is that some of the men turn to crime to get money.

The meals are poor and badly cooked. Despite complaints nothing is done to improve them. The lunch-time meal consists of a bowl of very thin soup and 1 sandwich.

This is the best meal of the day, which doesn't say much for

the others.

The man who runs the place refuses to allow the men to express their opinions of it to the press (which is why I can't name it in case I'm thrown out), though he freely does so himself. His opinions aren't exactly the same as ours!

NO REPORTERS

He won't allow reporters to inspect the hostel, either.

He used to supply money to buy coke for a fire, but now we don't get any unless we have visitors. These are usually from the Women's Guild and similar organisations.

These visitors gain the impression that the owner is a 'do-gooder'. They give him money to help run the place but there is little evidence of it being used for our benefit.

Clothes are given to the hostel. A few bits and pieces are passed on to us, but most of the clothes are saved and sold at jumble sales which the owner holds.

It is pretty clear that most of the money goes into his own pocket; bedding is given free to the hostel and he buys the cheap and inferior food wholesale. He lives well—off us and the charities.

OUT OF SIGHT

This is going on in London, the city of the bright lights and lots of money. The Tories try to push us out of sight in dark holes where we can't be seen.

That's why I've joined the YS—to make people see and take action to throw out the Tories and their unemployment.

HAROLD WILSON has said it: the Labour Party stands by nationalization. Now the Young Socialists, as part of the Labour Party, have been given the go-ahead to campaign for an all-out policy of nationalization to be carried out by the next Labour government.

But why do we campaign for nationalization? What do socialists mean when they speak of 'planning'? What is wrong with the present nationalized industries?

These are a few of the questions we shall try to answer in the following series of articles. First of all we shall look at the main features of capitalism.

When a capitalist, the owner of a factory for example, decides to produce goods, he does so only if he is confident of making a profit.

Profit

What do we mean by 'profit'?

Take the case of a steel manufacturer and assume that he has £100,000 to spend on raw materials and for hiring workers.

He will only spend this sum if he expects to get back (let us say) £120,000 from the sale of the steel which will be produced.

This £20,000 represents his profit, or 'surplus value'.

This £20,000 profit is produced by the workers in the factory. A modern steel plant contains machines and equipment worth many millions of pounds, but, by itself, this can produce no value.

Human labour is the sole source of value.

Machinery

Let us assume that, with this £100,000, our capitalist buys machinery and raw materials and employs 1,000 workers. Each worker is paid, on average, £20 per week.

But during the course of the week each worker produces £40 worth of goods. This is where the steel owner gets his £20,000 profit.

In modern technical conditions, if each capitalist is to keep up with his rivals, he must spend millions of pounds on modern machines, tools and equipment.

Compete

In their latest plant at Liverpool, Fords have installed the most up-to-date and expensive equipment so that they will be able to compete effectively with their rivals in Britain, America and Germany.

Only if Ford workers are made to work harder and faster will enough 'surplus' be produced to cover these vast outlays and make production of cars profitable, from Ford's point of view.

As plant and equipment become ever more expensive the difficulties of the modern capitalist, always trying to make as

large a profit as possible, grow more intense.

Capitalists produce for a profit. They also produce their goods for the market quite independently of each other.

Fords, for example, produce as many cars for the market as they believe they will be able to sell at a profit.

Too many

But so do the other motor giants. At present, the Big Five are all getting ready to produce a mini car (Rootes and Vauxhall are to enter this field as rivals to BMC in the next few months) and it is quite clear that within a year far too many cars will be produced for the market.

As a result of this 'over production', prices and profits will fall and workers will be sacked.

Linked

The production of motors is, of course, closely linked with the production of steel, rubber, gears, paint, etc. But the capitalists in each of these sectors can only be interested in profit, not in a general 'plan' to cover all the industries.

At the moment, for example, the coal industry is rapidly stepping up its mechanisation plans at the same time as the railways (once the most important users of coal) are being ruthlessly reduced in size, and the steel industry (another big

user of coal) is working at only 70 per cent of its capacity.

What is the answer to this capitalist muddle and chaos, which is responsible for the high unemployment figures in Britain, the United States (5 million without jobs) and West Germany?

A socialist plan is the only answer. The major industries in the country—steel, motors, chemicals, engineering, etc.—must be taken away from their present private owners, who only run them for profit.

Take away

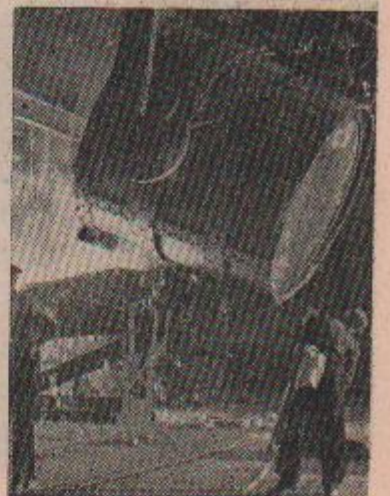
They must then be run for the needs of all. Each branch of the economy could fix its production plans in co-operation with the other branches.

In this way, coal, steel and motor car production would be kept in line with each other.

As a first step towards this plan, these major industries must be nationalized by the Labour Party.

The present private owners must be cleared out and their industries placed under the control of the workers within them, so that they can serve the whole community, not their private owners as they do at present.

Next month: What's wrong with the nationalized industries of today?



Coal miners produce more coal while the steel industry works at only 70 per cent capacity. The result: too much coal and the sack for miners.

The YS prepare for Tory defeat

This Easter the Young Socialists showed that not only are they the most active and vociferous section of the labour movement but that they are one of the few bodies putting forward serious, responsible and socialist policies with which to grapple with the many problems facing the movement.

Every left-wing conference or meeting condemns the Tories and unemployment and conjures up rosy pictures of the socialist future. The Young Socialists at Scarborough had their feet firmly on the ground; it is not enough, they said, to talk of the future—what are we going to do, here and now, about the attacks of the Tories and the employers?

How can the trade union movement fight now to create jobs for the workless and unite all sections of the movement behind a socialist programme of action to defeat the Tory government?

The answers to such pressing questions were put in a number of highly relevant and important debates which formulated policies which can and will win maximum support from the trade unions and the Labour Party—and that great body of people daily affected by the miseries of Tory society who are looking for solutions to their problems.

At Scarborough, Labour's youth movement had to prepare a programme which could win

the support of the many thousands of young people whose lives under the Tories are meaningless, who tramp the streets for jobs, without money or hope, whose apathy and demoralization leave them prey to the vile and dangerous ideas of the fascist gangs.

Irrespective of any measures which Transport House might take, it was clear before the conference that the YS could not survive and take its place at the head of the struggle for socialism unless it could find a way to these young people.

A socialist policy to build the YS—that was the key to the future. At Scarborough the plans for that future were made.

Of all the important issues on the agenda, it was unemployment which took pride of place. Both the composite resolution on nationalization and the one more specifically on unemployment contained a clear, socialist approach to the problem. Nationalization of all the basic industries under workers' control is the only permanent solution to unemployment, they said, but this policy must be linked to a series of transitional demands with which the labour and trade union movement can take action now to find jobs for thousands on the dole and help to establish the essential unity of employed and unemployed workers.

Both these resolutions concluded with a call to take these demands to the youth of the country and build a mass movement which will revitalize the Labour Party.

Such a movement can only be built if the Young Socialists have freedom to campaign nationally for their policies without fear of bans, expulsions or disbandment. It was with this in mind—and not a desire to reopen old wounds—that the private session of the conference went on record against the past year's attacks on the movement by the leaders of the Labour Party.

The expulsion of the three National Committee members was condemned and the delegates called for their immediate reinstatement into the Party. The Standing Orders' Committee, backed by an array of Transport House officials, refused any discussion on the proscription of Keep Left for legal reasons.

This stonewalling proved useless; the conference was determined to have its say, however guardedly, on the proscription of Keep Left and it significantly referred back the section of the Chief Youth Officer's report which dealt with it.

The debate on party unity and 'Signposts for the Sixties' was not so satisfactory. Of course every delegate—and every member of the YS—realises the need to have the maximum unity against the Tories in the forthcoming election, but there is a tendency, seen also at the Labour

Party conference at Brighton last year, to accept unity at any price. There is little point in having a united party if it has no policy to win the election with. Last year's YS conference declared that unity could only be based on a firm socialist programme of action against the Tories. At Scarborough there was an inclination to avoid this reality and simply look beyond to the sight of electoral victory.

On a recount, 'Signposts for the Sixties' was defeated by two votes. This is scarcely a resounding defeat, but the last word has yet to be said on this document by the rank and file of the movement.

The one major flaw of the conference was the debate on foreign policy and defence, which resolved itself into a squabble between the two factions who run that strictly non-factional paper, *Young Guard*. While thousands of young Aldermaston marchers were searching for answers to the threat of nuclear war and destruction all the adherents of this paper could offer was confusion.

It was a deceitful debate; those who believe that the Soviet Union is 'state capitalist' offered no proof for this cynical theory and relied instead on whipping up hysteria with attacks on all 'bosses and bureaucrats', with the Soviet masses, as usual, conveniently forgotten. The amendment to the Hackney motion, which sought to shed some light on the subject, was so vague and roundabout in its approach that it only served to further confuse the issue.

Perhaps the most important trend at the conference was the refusal of the delegates to be side-tracked by the platform. There were a series of provocations; but fortunately common sense prevailed and the traps were avoided.

So the conference stayed firmly left and firmly socialist. It would be easy to speculate about the future of the movement and its left-wing majority on the National Committee. But action is needed, not speculation. The only way to ensure the future of the YS is to go into every area and fight with the movement's policies to recruit thousands of new members and build a solid core of support in the trade unions and local parties.

Scarborough issued a rallying call to the entire labour movement; it produced policies which can arm that movement for the decisive defeat of the Tories.

The task now is not to sit and speculate and hand the initiative to Transport House but to straight away go to work to bring to the working-class youth of Britain an organisation which has hope and enthusiasm about the great socialist future—and the policies to build it with.

The Debates

THE third national conference of the Young Socialists was held at the Spa Theatre, Scarborough on April 13, 14 and 15, 1963.

Opening conference, the chairman Janet Dugdale, said, 'This conference will either make or break the Young Socialist movement. If this conference is a success it could mark the beginning of a successful future.'

A delegate demanded the right of a member of the East Islington branch—which had been disbanded by the local Labour Party—to take his rightful place as delegate. Mr. Reg Underhill, the assistant national agent and chief youth officer, said this dispute was a matter for the NEC and the East Islington party and conference could not accept anyone from East Islington as a delegate.

It was pointed out that East Islington had been represented at the London Region YS conference and a motion that the delegate be accepted was carried overwhelmingly. Mr. Underhill said that conference would be accepting an 'unauthorised delegate' and a motion for next business was carried.

There was a similar vote for next business after a lengthy discussion on the qualifications of Dave Ablitt (Nottingham West) to attend as a delegate. Reg Underhill explained that the Nottingham

West Labour Party had suspended the YS branch and, in any case, the branch had withdrawn its support for Mr. Ablitt and elected another delegate in his place. He said conference had no authority to intervene in the affairs of a local Labour Party.

Next business was carried by 188 votes to 122. Mr. Ablitt was allowed to attend conference as a 'non-participating' member of the National Committee.

The first debate was on 'Signposts for the Sixties' and party unity. Composite resolution No. 7 pledged full support for 'Signposts' which proposed sound socialist planning.

It was moved by **Derek Manley** (Gravesend). He said the document was relevant to the problems of the day. It could change society and return to government by the government and not private interests.

Composite 12, moved by Cheltenham, called for a united effort by all sections of the labour movement to unseat the government, welcomed the election of Harold Wilson and urged all Young Socialists to fight for the return of a Labour government.

David Daniel from Dewsbury moved an amendment which sought conference to declare itself 'wholly opposed to irresponsible elements within the movement

who would destroy this united effort'.

Composite 7 was carried, 166 votes to 158. A recount was called for and this time the motion was lost, 158 to 160. Composite 12 was carried overwhelmingly, the amendment being lost overwhelmingly.

☆

On Saturday afternoon conference debated Transport. Composite 14, moved by Stockport and seconded by Hemel Hempstead, demanded an extension of public ownership of the transport facilities, better services, re-nationalization of all sections de-nationalized and full compensation and no sackings of transport workers and workshop employees.

An emergency motion moved by **Whelan** of Pudsey called for the defeat of the Beeching Plan and maximum support for the railwaymen during their strike.

McCafferty (Craigton) said moral support was not sufficient. Practical support was needed. Labour Party rooms should be used as strike headquarters and Labour Party members should join railwaymen on the picket lines. The rail unions should implement a ban on overtime.

Jim Davie, for the 'National Committee' said he did not speak



Roland Boyes, Peterlee YS: 'At last year's conference George Brown said the class struggle is over. He should come and spend some time among the unemployed on Tyneside!'

NALSO conference shows what 'autonomy' means!

By a Delegate

THE annual conference of the National Association of Labour Student Organisations began on April Fools' Day, when some 70 delegates from various university labour clubs and socialist societies arrived at Keele University in Staffordshire.

We got off to a good start; as one speaker called for the nationalization of newsprint, the chairman of Newcastle-under-Lyme Labour Party, who had just given the fraternal address, was seen to mouth anxiously at the chairman: 'Is he a communist?'

MAIN BODY

The composition of the conference consisted of a strong right-wing delegation from Oxford, a fair number of 'Young Guards', mainly from Nottingham, and a main body of unilateralists with political leanings to *Tribune* and the *New Left Review*.

Despite the fact that there were only a few supporters of Keep Left present, the paper and its activities became prominent in discussion.

ATTACK

Reg Underhill, Labour Party chief youth officer, set the tone for the debate on the Young Socialists. Questioned about the expulsions of the three NC members, he launched into an attack on Liz Thompson and company, dragging in Keep Left and, of course, the Socialist Labour League.

We were told about mysterious 'Trotskyists' whose only

function was to split and who were out to destroy the YS in order to gain their own evil ends.

Despite this a motion protesting at the way in which the three were expelled and expressing solidarity with those members of the NC who resigned and walked off, was carried.

'WICKED'

A motion calling for the ban on Keep Left to be lifted was defeated after delegates explained what a wicked paper it was, great play being made with the 'workers' bomb' issue. A delegate pointed out that most of those criticising Keep Left on this issue themselves believed in the capitalist bomb!

During the debate the chairman, Mike Rustin, compared the 1962 YS conference to a revivalist meeting with people making confessions of their sins. He said that the emotional atmosphere engineered was deplorable.

LIAISON

Quite a useful motion was passed on the Common Market asking the trade unions to establish much greater liaison with continental unions as capital was international and Britain could still go into a similar alignment to the Common Market.

The Young Guard delegates succeeded in getting the conference to send money to the *Union Voice* paper. They arranged another Summer Camp between their supporters in the YS and NALSO. They put forward a successful motion which expressed solidarity with the Ben Bella regime in Algeria

—which had just purged the unions there of militants.

It was neither a lively or important conference. Many universities had not bothered to send delegates and very few had sent their full quota. The atmosphere was one of talking in a vacuum, the besetting sin anyway of student politics. The lack of integration with the rest of the labour movement means that the cold reality of the class struggle seldom enters the cosy enclave of a university socialist society and this was reflected in the conference.

NALSO is indeed autonomous, so much so that we can say what we like and nobody will mind.

But then nobody will take any notice, either.

GREEK QUEEN WAS HITLER SUPPORTER

A sharp attack in the 'New Statesman' of May 3 on Queen Frederika of Greece exposes the sort of woman whom the Tory government are quick to apologise to.

Her state visit to Britain should only be made, the journal says, if she releases all the political prisoners in her jails.

The 'Statesman' maintains that she has been 'intriguing' for an invitation to make a state visit to Britain for some years—to make Greece's despotic regime 'respectable'.

The paper says: 'Frederika, like virtually all other members of the Greek Royal Family, is not a Greek at all, but a German.'

'Like her two brothers (both of them Nazis) she was an enthusiastic supporter of Hitler, belonging to the All-Aryan Bund Deutscher Madchen.'

among numerous points, called for the repeal of the Rent Act, nationalization of the land and the building industry and control of building societies, landlords and property dealers, were carried by large majorities.

☆

Conference opened on Sunday with a debate on Nationalization and Unemployment.

Sheila Torrance, Tottenham, moved composite 10 which condemned the attacks of the employers against major sections of the working class. It called upon the National Committee to carry out a campaign 'to bring down the Tory government and for the return of a Labour government pledged to nationalization, without compensation and under workers' control, of the basic industries, the banks and land as the only means of guaranteeing full employment. It must fight to build a mass youth movement which will revitalise the Labour Party and lead the struggle for a Labour government and socialism'.

In two of the most telling speeches of the conference, John Hinks (Farnworth) and Wally Hobson (South Shields) described the appalling conditions of unemployed youth. They were moving and seconding composite 4 on unemployment.

This called for a ban on overtime, unity between employed and unemployed, the setting up by employers of training facilities in their factories for unemployed youth, a 40-hour week, the right to strike and ending of indentured apprenticeships and full rates for all young workers.

These demands, it said, must be fought for by the YS in every section of the trade union movement, linked to a policy of nationalization.

Composite 10 was carried overwhelmingly. Composite 4 was carried unanimously.

Motions condemning apartheid in South Africa and racial prejudice in Labour Clubs were carried overwhelmingly.

In private session, the conference heavily defeated a number of motions calling for autonomy for the movement from the Labour Party. Once again there was a call for democratic control of 'New Advance'.

The section of the report dealing with Keep Left was referred back.

☆

The private session was extended over to Monday morning where a debate on the three expelled members of the National Committee resulted in a resolution

'If you can't
beat 'em—
freeze 'em'

By a Wakefield Young
Socialist

WE are told we live in a modern affluent society, yet the conditions in some factories make you think more of the 17th century, when people didn't know how to heat buildings!

At a certain despatch depot about 14 miles out of Leeds it is as cold inside as it is outside during the winter. The girls who work there never turn up with less than four jumpers on their backs.

In the despatch department itself there is no heating apart from an electric grill, which is about 4 inches by 6 inches. This has to warm a room measuring 36 feet by 54 feet. Fog and rain come in through the open loading bays.

Upstairs there are two more similarly-sized rooms used for collecting and packing orders. Married women and girls work here with next to no heating. Nothing was done to improve conditions during the winter, which was the worst for a century.

In the boss's office, which is about 16 feet by 12 feet, there are two red-hot radiators and a two-bar electric fire. His office is as warm as toast, but he refuses to improve the workers' heating facilities because—it would cost too much money!

The women and girls are frightened to join a union in case they get the sack. So they continue to work in conditions not fit for human beings.

World of Science

THE alchemists of many nations occupied themselves for centuries with the problem of changing the substance of elements, mainly with the mercenary aim of converting a base metal such as lead into a noble metal like gold.

Their failure to produce the desired results led to their being treated with derision, and the task they set themselves was regarded as being impossible.

The idea widely held was that atoms were made at the time of creation as the indivisible building blocks of the universe. They were considered to be both permanent and unalterable.

In 1919 Rutherford unwittingly brought about the transmutation of nitrogen into oxygen. It had previously been discovered that the naturally occurring element radium continuously emitted charged particles at high velocities.

The heaviest particle emitted was known as an alpha particle and had been shown to be the nucleus of the gas called helium.

Rutherford was trying to measure the distance which these particles could travel in air before they were stopped by collisions with the atoms of nitrogen and oxygen in the air, when he noticed that in some way another particle was sometimes produced which he could not fully explain.

In 1925 Blackett finally came up with the answer. He was using a cloud-chamber to investigate the collisions of alpha particles with nitrogen atoms.

When an alpha particle travels across such a chamber, it leaves a trail of tiny droplets similar to the condensation trails left by aircraft flying in the high region of the atmosphere.

Watching the alpha particles in this way, he found that most of these tiny projectiles bounced off the nitrogen atoms like billiard balls, but that in some cases a collision resulted in two new particles being produced.

One of these he showed to be an oxygen atom, whilst the other proved to be the nucleus of the hydrogen atom. So it was realised that one element could be turned into another.

The experiment was the first in a whole series in which practically every known element was changed into another. At last the alchemist's dream was realised, but only because his search for a purely static solution had been abandoned for a far more dynamic concept of the elements. J.D.

—ADVERTISEMENT—

HUMANIST YOUTH CAMP,
May 31-June 3, at Epping
Forest. Under 20, 30/-, over 20,
35/-. For details write to Mr. G.
England, 43 St. George's Square,
London, S.W.1.

calling for their immediate reinstatement being passed by 168 votes to 134. As the delegate from Chingford was absent, a motion on Keep Left was not taken.

In open session, conference carried resolutions on Health and Welfare and the Drug Industry. An emergency motion from Basildon expressing concern at the rumour that Harold Wilson said a Labour government would honour the Simonstown agreement for the sending of arms to South Africa was carried unanimously.

Conference concluded with the singing of the 'Red Flag'.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE, 1963-64

Northern: W. Hobson

North-west: J. Hinks

North-east: D. Ashby

Southern: J. Austin

London & Middx.: S. Torrance

South-west: C. Waldron

Eastern: J. Dugdale

Wales: S. Fox

Scotland: J. Robertson

East Midlands: B. Evans

West Midlands: R. Page

On the lighter side

'LAND OF HOPE AND TORY'

Sir Edward Elgar might not have approved, but a Leeds Young Socialist brings his most famous work—which is still guaranteed to fill British solar topees brimful with tears in all parts of the globe—up-to-date to meet the needs of the 'affluent' society.

Land of hope and Tory,
Nineteen-sixty-three,
Despite the unemployment
We're setting the people free.
Regional unemployment
Really is a shame
But we've got Lord Hailsham
To prove we're not to blame.
But we've got Lord Hailsham
To prove we're not to blame.

Building land costs rising,
House-hunters get shocks.
Yet one can make a fortune
By building office blocks.
No homes in Central London,
You'll have to move away
And travel in the rush hour
For ages every day.
And travel, etc.

We're closing down the railways
Because they do not pay.
Who needs a Social Service?
You can cycle the Marples way.
When it comes to highways
We're really in the dark.
The streets are all congested,
There's nowhere left to park.
The streets, etc.

Lenny Bruce has sneaked in,
Rockwell came and went.
Soblen couldn't stay here
Though his life was spent.
Enahoro put in prison
By blundering Henry Brooke,
But Bidault dropped in freely
Though he's a murdering crook.
But Bidault, etc.

Of strikes and labour troubles
Fords have had their share.
The workers are responsible
Or so says Mister Hare.
When bosses get together
To smash the workers' hordes
We have to stand behind them
Because we're on their boards.
We have to, etc.

Macleod's the party chairman,
He cares nought for defeats
For since he took over
We've kept on losing seats.
The situation's desperate,
Still we do not fear:
Just wait and see what Maudling
Gives away next year.
Just wait, etc.

But if we keep on losing,
Someone best tell Mac
That if he can't stop it
He's bound to get the sack.
Of course it won't be public,
We won't let Labour sneer.
We'll force him to retire
And let him be a peer.
We'll force, etc.

The country's state is dreadful,
We're really in a mess.
How we're going to cure things
We can only guess.
Well, that's how things stand now,
To seek change is insane.
Don't let Labour spoil things,
Vote we Tories in again.
Don't let Labour spoil things,
Vote we Tories in again.

THE Mafia is an organisation of highly-trained political gangsters. 'Salvatore Giuliano' exposes the brutal methods of Italian capitalism and its hired thugs to enslave the Sicilian workers and peasants under a reign of terror.

Francesco Rosi's film opens near the end of the Second World War. A partisan group of outlaws and bandits are fighting for Sicily's independence from Italy.

Sicily, at that time, was under the military dictatorship of Rome. The leader of the partisans is Salvatore Giuliano, a peasant from Montelepre, who poses as a twentieth-century Robin Hood.

When the war ends, the Mafia uses Giuliano's band of outlaws to smash and terrorize the workers and peasants who are turning to socialist solutions of their problems.

While his legend is built up, Giuliano is kept in hiding by the Mafia, who arrange a massacre of a popular front rally in Toreza.

At the trial after this bloody incident, Giuliano is presumed dead; his henchmen get off scot-free. The state authorities are shown to be in the pay of the Mafia itself and rival police forces.

These rival police hold an 'auction' to sell Giuliano to the highest bidder. His followers hate the police; they suspect that he is aiding them against their fellow peasants and the second in command shoots Giuliano.

He in turn is poisoned in jail while serving a life sentence for the Toreza massacre, the trial of which has been reopened.

Under the hot Sicilian sun, the camera vividly depicts the intolerable conditions that the people suffered in that feudal land under military rule.



'Salvatore Giuliano', with Frank Wolff, Cicero Fernando and Salvo Randone. Directed by Francesco Rosi. Gala Film Distributors.

Hot sun and blood in Sicily

Savage and brutal, it is yet another film which, consciously or not, contains some sharp lessons for the labour movement on the manner in which capitalism maintains its grip during a time of crisis.

★ MAFIA BACKS RIGHT IN ITALIAN ELECTIONS

The screening of 'Salvatore Giuliano' is particularly timely in view of the violence and intimidation being used by the Mafia in

Sicily during the current Italian general election campaign.

Since Easter, when the campaign got into its stride, the Mafia has been responsible for nine murders, shootings and kidnappings in the Palermo Province, West Sicily, alone.

On Friday, April 26, the Mafia fired machine-gun bursts to intimidate a Communist candidate near Palermo airport.

A report from the 'Guardian's' correspondent shows to whom this brutal organisation owes its allegiance.

'Since 1947, when the Christian Democrats [Italian Tories] came to office, the Mafia has employed

its protection system to the full at election time. Only five years ago Dr. Navarra, the late Capo Mafia of Corlonne, issued certificates for hundreds of women stating they were suffering from extreme myopia [short-sightedness]; at the polls his henchmen guided the women in voting.

'The present outrages do not follow usual vendetta patterns. It seems certain, however, that some Sicilian politicians who have Mafia connections and yet who voted in favour of a parliamentary anti-Mafia commission in Rome are going to be highly embarrassed when the commission begins its inquiry next month.'

Jobs: Scots YS attack

In those days shares in shipyards and cotton mills could be bought for 6d. each. This meant, for capitalists, catastrophic loss of capital invested in production which they could only regain through the preparation for, and the later prosecution of, a war. What concerns them now, is not that unemployment figures are steadily rising, but that there is a continuing decline in their rate of profit.

For instance, a decline in the rate of profit of the Ford combine in Britain from 50 per cent in 1951 to 30 per cent in 1961, has led to the sacking of 17 shop stewards and other militants, through which the management geared up production by 9 per cent in two months; the announcement of the impending closure of the Doncaster factory; the fight for the introduction of the three-shift working at their Liverpool factory; and a threat that if they did not get their way for the projected building in Essex then Fords would take their production to Germany.

How can the labour movement prevent Fords treating its workers in this way? How can the Ford workers not only protect their own wages and conditions but strengthen their fight to reduce the working week so that un-

employed workers can be given jobs?

For this, the labour movement needs a government which would acquire ownership of Fords along with the land which their factories occupy, plus the banks which lend money to Fords, plus the firms which supply Fords with bearings, rubber tyres, glass, steel, etc. The government would then have to legislate that the workers in Fords take over control.

We call this nationalization and we are all for it. Foot says, 'nationalization by the state has nothing to do with the workers'.

The latter are, under nationalization, simply exploited more 'clinically' says Foot. (There are, of course, the usual sneering references to the Soviet Union, where workers are exploited 'just the same'.)

The answer, he says, is 'public ownership', something like that advocated by the old guild socialists. Like Foot's shadow 'masses', this is a shadow policy, designed to prevent a real struggle around nationalization taking place.

Foot is trying to perpetrate a fraud, and not very cleverly at that. At a time when the fight with the Tory government raises the need to strip Fords and the steel barons of the power to sack and drive workers at will, then the

sectarian comes in with a form of words to show that this fight must be abandoned.

In his pamphlet Foot lectures the workers on how to fight unemployment. At the close he says, 'yet all this is useless unless somewhere the idea of socialism begins to take root amongst the workers'.

Is this not dandy? First of all the workers are not told by Foot to look anywhere at all for a leadership in the fight against unemployment (an elite of revolutionaries, says Foot, is not good), and now all the demands which Foot proposes to counter unemployment will be useless unless somewhere amongst the workers (where Foot does not know), socialism catches on. But hope and speculation are unreliable weapons with which to fight capitalism.

The forlorn hope might somewhere materialise, so Foot thinks, if only the workers will take his advice to 'do it yourself'. On the factory floor, in the Labour Party and in the unions 'do it yourself', he says.

There follows a list of 'do it yourself' demands. Firstly, work-sharing without loss of pay must be fought for—but: 'Probably at present,' he says, 'in most cases such demands cannot be won, so

Compensation

In the April KL you published an article on nationalization by 'A Young Socialist Economist'.

In this article he states, 'and no compensation payments for ex-shareholders except in cases of real hardship'. What does he mean by this—that the shareholder has no other income or has not saved his money up?

In this case surely he can get a job. After all, there will be full employment and if he is unable to work through illness let him go to the National Assistance Board—though under socialism the NAB will not be needed because we will pay adequate sick pay and old age pensions.

I think YS Economist needs to think his ideas out to their logical conclusion, then he will agree that under no circumstances can compensation be paid. Until he does I think he is wise to hide under a pseudonym.

Stan Graham,
London, S.E.18.

● In the case of 'genuine hardship' we were thinking not of the man who plays the Stock Exchange for a living—who we agree should be put usefully to work—but those who have scraped together their meagre life's savings in order to invest in a few shares.

Let us make it clear once again that none of our contributors enjoy using their pen-names. They are forced to do so because of the terms of the proscription imposed by the Labour Party executive, by which anyone helping in the publication of the paper can be expelled from the party.

Bro Brown again!

May I add a brief postscript to your excellent article on the Hilton Hotel in last month's KL?

Independent Television News recently showed the reception after the official opening of the Hotel. After seeing the flabby, well-fed faces of about half the British ruling class (including Clore and Cotton), plus a few other paupers like Conrad Hilton himself and Nubar Gulbenkian, who should pop up but George Brown, drinking a glass of champagne.

In the background they were playing 'Who Wants to be a Millionaire?'

No comment is, of course, necessary, but is it not also interesting to note that Mr. Brown's—who can call him 'comrade'?—that Mr. Brown's employers, the 'Daily Mirror', published an editorial on April 19 calling for (guess what?) a strong policy of 'wage restraint'!

Brown and the 'Mirror's' editors

should never be allowed to forget the case of the 14-year-old Sunderland girl who was arrested for stealing to help her unemployed father keep his wife and eight children.

H.D.,

Leeds Young Socialist.

Autonomy

In the spring issue of 'International Socialism' an editorial said, 'Keep Left is all set to found a "Young Marxist League", i.e. is itching to be martyred by Transport House to enter the non-party wilderness with a bang.'

At the YS conference some delegates moved resolutions calling for more autonomy for the YS. KL supporters? No—supporters of 'Young Guard', the younger brother of 'International Socialism'!

G.D.,

London, W.10.

Conference

At the YS Conference at Scarborough, a delegate protested most strongly at the way in which a number of unemployed youth were being pushed around by officials outside the conference.

Knowing that a number of unemployed comrades from Yorkshire were outside, I immediately left the building to find out what was going on. Outside were 35-40 young workers who wanted to come in and listen to the conference. Their way was blocked by a man who claimed to be the manager, a commissioner and four policemen.

On trying to re-enter I found that the manager was refusing entrance to anyone, including visitors with credentials, and delegates leaving the hall had to have their cards signed on the back.

After about ten minutes of this, Regional 'Youth' Officer Harold Sims put in an appearance, smiled, and began to chat amiably to the manager. By the time they had made up their minds to let visitors in, most of the young people had left in disgust, fed up with having to hang about and be pushed around as though they were in a dole queue!

At the back of the conference hall there were about 80 empty seats; why weren't these used for visitors? Is this the way the Young Socialists are supposed to take a lead in solving the problems which face working-class youth today—by refusing them admission to the most important YS meeting of the year?

The facts are a real indictment of Transport House 'organisers'.

Conference delegate,
Yorkshire.

**Straight
from the
shoulder**

**readers
have their
say**

The success of a paper can be gauged by the number of letters it receives for publication. Keep Left could now quite easily fill two pages a month with letters, but this would mean cutting out many other features. We are forced, therefore, to reluctantly hold over many of the letters we receive, although we try to print the more controversial ones. Long-winded contributors will have to suffer the editor's blue pencil.

Comrade Pope?

A few Sundays ago who should pop up on ITV's religious programme but the general secretary of the British Communist Party, Mr. John Gollan, talking with a leading Jesuit.

I was amazed to hear Gollan talking about the wide measure of agreement between himself and the Pope. At the same time as the Catholic-backed Franco regime tortured and executed communist leader Grimau, Gollan was explaining the similarities and agreements on policies between Khrushchev and the Pope.

He even considered that there were grounds for co-operation between the Catholics and communists in the trade unions. He should tell that to Byrne of the ETU and Carron of the AEU. He should explain to his members on what basis co-operation is possible with Catholic Action in the unions—the organisation which communist Frank Foulkes said was partly responsible for building up anti-red hysteria in the ETU.

At a time when the working class is feeling the attacks of the Tories and the employers, Gollan chooses to kiss the ring of one of the most reactionary institutions of capitalism.

Stalinism once again shows its true colours. When the working class need leadership, the CP grovels at the feet of the Christian gentlemen who spearhead the attacks of the employers inside the trade union movement.

Young Engineer,
Middlesex.

Gaitskell

It is interesting to note that Mr. Gaitskell's will showed he left £80,000. This shows once again how far removed are the right wing in their style of living from ordinary working people. Even the Tory press were amazed he had left so much.

All the papers stated that Gaitskell, who inherited the meagre sum of £30,000, wisely invested his money during the war with the help of a well-known company director and chartered accountant, Mr. Jack Diamond,

who also happens to be a Labour MP.

Gaitskell sold his shares in South African companies after the Sharpeville massacre. Did he only realise in 1960 that the African people were dominated by a neo-Nazi regime?

When I and some other Young Socialists went around collecting for our unemployment campaign the other day, we were continually being asked why we needed to collect money when Mr. Gaitskell and the Labour Party were obviously so wealthy. Recently a resolution was thrown out by my local Labour Party demanding that all MPs state their incomes and business interests.

The local right-wingers were most alarmed by this resolution and declared it would harm Labour MPs much more than the Tories. No wonder!

West London Reader,
W.11.

Beeching

Dr. Beeching, £500-a-week head of the British Transport Commission has found us, 'the filthy public', guilty of wanting to travel by rail. This foul crime, plus the jobs of thousands of railway workers, must, he thinks, come to an end.

Up to 1970, 160,000 railway workers will be sacked, plus 18,000 from railway workshops. 5,000 miles of track will be abandoned, and 2,128 stations closed.

Vast sections of the country are to be completely cut off, at a time of rising unemployment. Workers, forced by unemployment to travel to other areas to work,

are to be left mouldering and forgotten. A glimpse of the future the Tories have planned.

The anger these closures have aroused, has not been shared by the gallant knights of the TUC or the railway unions. Their most militant proposal is that railwaymen should lose three days' pay before being sent down the road.

'The problem,' general secretary of the NUR, Sidney Greene says, 'is that those made redundant will be in places where there are no jobs.'

Quite right, but that problem would not be there if the NUR decided to fight rail closures in the first place instead of engaging in negotiations over redundancy agreements. Union officials must be made to accept that any agreement can be swept away by the Tories who are determined to make British industry compete against Europe at the expense of the working class.

This attack by the Tories on a nationalised industry must be opposed by the labour movement. Brave words about Clause 4 in parliament will only bring a grin to the faces of the Tories if these closures go through and demoralise the millions of people whose lives depend on the railways. All talk of further nationalization will then mean nothing.

It is not enough to 'huff and puff' about the idea of industrial action. The railwaymen hold a weapon that could end the Beeching Plan and Toryism once and for all. Such action will have the full support of commuters, and would help rally workers around the Labour Party at the general election.

Porter,
South London.

Workers' Bombs?

By IAN VINE, Bristol CND

SOME Young Socialists claim to see a distinction between the use of power politics East and West. The workers' bomb is supposedly preferable to the capitalist bomb.

I believe this distinction is never excusable. A unilateralist by nature supports no one's bombs; a believer in the Russian deterrent is only a unilateralist by expedient.

Such unilateralists claim that Russian unilateralism would be suicide. This case is arguable, but it has been done elsewhere. I am more concerned with the claim that the workers' bomb is democratic, and thus justifiable.

A true workers' bomb cannot exist. Why? Because you can't have several million fingers on its trigger.

In time of crisis, decisions are made quickly, by Kennedy and Khrushchev, and prearranged criteria for using the bomb are pretty meaningless (viz., Cuba). The workers don't come into it.

This brings in basic politics. Experience of the Labour Party reminds us that parties are run by bureaucrats with positions of power, who use these to frustrate rank and file desires.

This is as true with the traditional British left as with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Bureaucrats are afraid of democracy.

The bomb symbolizes their fear. The myth of workers controlling the bomb is a deliberate deception.

Only in realising that institutional power and corruption are inseparable can we hope for



real democracy and peace. As yet leaders are indispensable, but the great ones, such as Russell, lead only by strength of personality and ideas.

Leaders with 'positions' invariably abuse them. Minority decision-making is still inevitable, too, but the workers can still be vigilant against the rise of an autonomous, non-democratic 'machine'.

State machines include police and armed forces, neither of which are subject to real democratic control. Against them the citizen feels impotent.

In these cases he must resort to industrial action and non-violent resistance. These are the just methods to curb entrenched anti-democratic bodies.

And this, too, is the answer to the bomb. We must learn the use of non-violence in international disputes. Only in such a situation can either block safely dispense with its bomb.

The workers must unite to reject bureaucratic tyranny—and their so-called workers' bomb.

Contributions to 'Soapbox' are invited on all topical matters. Length: 350 words; dateline: 15th of month prior to publication.

the Foot way

we must fight for . . .

1. Shorter working week, with loss of pay. (Our emphasis.)

2. Re-training of personnel for other jobs.

3. In the event of redundancy having to be accepted an attempt to keep workers on the payroll until work has been found outside. (Our emphasis again.)

This is a real beauty, since if redundancy is accepted then the employer pays off workers regardless of the propaganda arguments of the unions.

An attempt to keep workers on the payroll can only be achieved by fighting redundancy, not by accepting it.

4. In the event of failure, compensation payment.

Foot's method is the old Fabian one of appearing to be a socialist whilst slipping in ideas which are the means of accepting capitalism. The demands which he lists as being possible are the stock in trade of all the right wing trade union bureaucrats when faced with militant action to fight sackings.

If you add the threats thrown out by some union executives against militant stewards should they attempt to fight for overtime bans and no sackings, then you have a fair parallel with the Young Socialists today.

Foot provides the arguments, Transport House provides the

witch-hunting. Hard? Yes, but faced with 20,000 unemployed youth on the dole in Scotland and the kind of fakery with which we are dished out here, do we not have the right to speak sharply?

Foot's pamphlet has the aim of trying to turn the Young Socialists away from the fight to put their policies into action. The success of the mass lobby of Parliament on March 26 was due in no small measure to the hard work put in by Young Socialists throughout Britain to win sections of the unemployed youth to unite with the employed.

This youth marched in London armed with the programme which has been, and continues to be, hammered out at our Easter conferences.

Of course, Paul was there with his pamphlet. We don't remember, however, seeing him on the march, or at the youth employment bureaux during the previous weeks, or out helping to collect the £250 needed to pay for the buses and provide the 60 unemployed workers from Glasgow with a good meal in London.

(This is part of a circulated critique of Paul Foot's pamphlet put out by some Glasgow Young Socialists. Keep Left invites further discussion on this topic.)



On the 'broo' in grimy Glasgow

ON both sides of grimy Glasgow factory walls, youth are facing a fight.

On the inside, teenage apprentices struggle against low wages, bad conditions, bonus competition and petty suspensions, while on the other side young school-leavers and other jobless sign on the 'broo'—the dole—with hardly a hope of finding a job from one week to the next.

Apprentices in a Bridgeton engineering factory said to us: 'We're told that if we don't keep good time and work hard, there are plenty of unemployed on the dole to take our places.'

50 after one job

Unemployed, 17-year-old Janet Murray said: 'When I went for my last job, 50 girls had been for it before me.'

This situation means that youth are divided by bosses on the two sides of the factory walls.

A Young Socialist apprentice explained the five-year apprenticeship in the factory and the ridiculously low wages he is paid. 'We are really used as cheap labour,' he said.

The wages range from just over £2 for the first year at 15 and 16 years of age, to £7 in the fifth year at 21. 'By the third year we have learned everything, and do the same job as a man on full rate.'

'Boys are always running into trouble with the management,' said another apprentice.

Worked in the snow

'If a foreman doesn't like you, you get the worst jobs—some of us have been sent out to do work in the snow when we had to wear our coats and scarves underneath our overalls to keep warm, and then pick up ice-cold metal sheets without any gloves.'

After 18 years of age boys are allowed to work overtime, but the bonus is 'nearly impossible to get' and often means only a few pennies extra in their wage packet.

Recently new time-keeping rules have been introduced. The first time someone is late, they are warned by the foreman, the second

Special report by two YS journalists

time by the foreman and personnel manager, and finally, they are given their cards.

The most ludicrous of all factory 'rituals' are the suspensions. Two hours was the penalty for not saying good morning to a personnel manager; three days' suspension is given for playing cards on the premises, and three days' pay was docked off one lad for fetching a biscuit from the canteen one morning.

To fight conditions like these the apprentices did try to join the union—their forms still lie in the drawer of the convenor's locker!

'Blue-eyed boys'

These militant apprentices do have their own committee, but it is full of 'blue-eyed' boys hand-picked by the management.

Whilst waiting for his fifth job since leaving school, 16-year-old John Stewart commented: 'I have been all round Glasgow looking for anything I can get hold of.'

John had worked at a carpet factory and several other jobs which ended with him getting his cards. His last employment was with a butcher. He was sacked after he had been 'jumped' by thieves while taking the day's takings to the bank.

No dancing now

He was receiving £4 6s. at the butcher's shop, but now receives 38s. 6d. dole money. 'I've cut down on my smoking and don't go to dances at all now,' he said.

John Quinn (15), whose 19-year-old brother is on the dole and whose father is being laid off soon, left school to go straight into the youth employment office every day, hoping and waiting for a job.

Inside the employment office, which is in the same district as

several factories working overtime, Janet Murray was told to travel four miles through the busy city to two possible jobs. With so many clamouring for the work, she will probably pay 2s. bus fare for nothing.

Moved from warmth

While waiting for the details of a job the youth have to sit in a room staring at 'No Smoking' notices—no joke when you are dying for a fag. During the hard winter, boys and girls were moved away from the warm pipes, and for any muttered protest or swearing they are sent outside.

James McKinley (17), lost his last job before he had even started. 'They gave me a test in which I had to pick up a large sack of bolts, and when I couldn't they said I was no good.'

At one factory where there had been a fire James had refused, along with other workers, to work a Saturday afternoon. 'We said we were going to the football match, and were told if we did we would have our cards.'

'Everybody left and during that afternoon the factory collapsed!'

Treated shabbily

Such are the conditions on both sides of the wall; similar conditions which show how the youth are treated shabbily by the bosses. This is treatment which deliberately splits the two, making one section antagonistic to the other.

But already in Glasgow youth has begun the fight against unemployment.

Many apprentices have joined the Young Socialists, and one took a leading part in building the YS in North Lanarkshire where he started the campaign against unemployment.

Several unemployed travelled to London on March 26, and later joined the Young Socialists.

Youth must unite. Employed and unemployed must go forward arm in arm in an organised fight against the Tory class and Tory government which cause the suffering and hardship in Glasgow and other areas.

Big impact by YS at Irish Labour conference

By a Belfast Young Socialist

FOR 40 years now the workers of Northern Ireland have been ruled by a 100 per cent Tory government.

Their policies have failed so completely that during these years unemployment has ranged between 6 and 10 per cent, while in England it has been between 1 and 2 per cent. During February of this year the Irish figure stood at 11.2 per cent, which means one in nine workers were jobless.

But that was the overall average. In some places 25 per cent unemployment has been recorded.

Feuding

As a result of this, the Tory government has been able to force down wages to an average of 25 per cent less than the average English pay packet.

This cruel exploitation might never exist if the labour movement united to fight against it. Unfortunately it is here that the trouble begins.

The Tories have held power by splitting the workers along religious lines. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants have been feuding for a long, long time.

As a result, the Protestant majority has always supported the Unionist (Tory) Party, which refuses membership to Catholics.

The Catholics on the other hand have always supported the Nationalist Party which, although it admits Protestants, has no programme of social welfare—or any other programme for that matter.

Swing towards Labour

Now, however, the two 'denominations' are beginning to sink their differences and are supporting the only non-Tory party which will give them all a secure future and a new meaning to justice and fraternity. That party is, of course, the Labour Party.

The swing towards Labour is closely seen in the 1962 elections; in the 14 seats Labour contested they polled 77,000 votes for 4 seats, while the Unionists polled 97,000 votes for the other 10.

But religious sectarianism is still rampant. People get houses in certain areas by religious persuasion and not necessity.

The position has become so confused that at the Ulster Labour Party conference at Easter, Mr. Sam Watt, prospective parliamentary candidate in the next British general election (Ulster sends a few representatives to Westminster) said that religious sectarianism caused unemployment.

This view was forcibly countered by a Young Socialist, Bill McIlroy, who said it was the other way round: unemployment caused the splitting of the workers along religious lines.

He said that if there were enough houses and sufficient jobs, people would not worry about which religious sect they belonged to.

Bill McIlroy likened the Irish problem to the racial problem in England.

First time

His eloquence earned him a showing on television. This was the first time the YS were represented at the conference and McIlroy was well supported by Jackie Vance, chairman of Belfast YS.

The great impact made by the Young Socialists on the conference is a decisive turning point for the movement. There will undoubtedly be a greater respect for their views and policies in the future.

The door for the YS is now open. If we take the opportunity we can take great strides forward in the struggle for a socialist Ireland.

AREN'T OUR POLICEMEN WONDERFUL

Two police detectives, Derek L. Streets and Derek E. Millicheap, were fined at Sheffield on May 2 after pleading guilty to charges of causing grievous bodily harm to three men detained at the city CID headquarters.

The prosecution alleged that they had used a cosh and a rhinoceros whip on three men. The policemen denied the charge.

The defence said that the men had criminal records, were truculent and the officers had been working long hours.

Streets was fined £75 and Millicheap £50, each with £49 costs. The chairman of the magistrates said that because of their good record they would not be sent to prison.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Organisation..... Name.....
 Address.....
 No. of copies of KEEP LEFT required regularly.....
 (Bulk orders. 4d. per copy, post free. Annual subscription: 6s. 6d.)
 Send to: Roger Protz, 29 Torriano Avenue, London, N.W.5.