

# AFTER MALVERN

## -WHAT NEXT?

by The Editor

**D**ON'T let the right wing get away with it. The Malvern conference is a farce. If policy questions cannot be discussed, then what is the purpose of holding a conference at all?

Just look at the treatment which is now being meted out to what remains of the Young Socialists by Wilson and Co.

Each day they swing further to the right. They introduce more and more measures for gagging their opponents in the Labour Party.

The history of the Young Socialists in the Labour Party consists of one long spate of witch-hunting and expulsions. How long is this sorry state of affairs to continue?

It is up to all Young Socialists to make up their minds now. Those who say 'shut your mouths and stay in the Labour Party at all costs' are in fact the tools of the right wing.

### Crawl Behind

To these ageing gentlemen grouped around the so-called 'Militant' paper, the time will never come to fight Wilson and Co. They crawl behind Transport House and weaken the Young Socialists at a time when they need all their strength to fight the right wing.

The choice is clear for the Young Socialists. You cannot build a mass youth organisation inside the Labour Party, since you are unable to discuss the policies to carry it out.

The overwhelming majority of Young Socialists have now founded their own youth organisation. Its policy statement (see page 4 and 5) is open for discussion and amendments from all branches of the Young Socialists.

Here is the opportunity you want. Stop floundering about in what has now become a sham fight with the right wing.

Join with us in making the Morecambe 1966 conference a real socialist conference for Labour's youth.

**Keep LEFT**

Official paper of the Young Socialists

Vol. 14, No. 10 4d.

## U.S. students challenge Johnson's war policy

Keep Left Reporter

**T**HE war in Vietnam has blown the lid off America, exposing a seething mass of opposition to U.S. imperialism's aggression in South-east Asia.

Early in October, from San Francisco to New York, 80,000 demonstrated in 75 cities—in New York alone, 30,000 people marched in what was estimated to be the largest anti-war demonstration ever held in America (see photograph).

Favourite slogan for the young students taking part was:

*Hey! Hey! L.B.J.—How many kids did you kill today?*

The capitalist press, concerned to play down the demonstrations, maintained that there were only 8,000 on the march and that they were attacked by right-wing groups who were supposed to represent 'the voice of the people'.

Most of the news space was given, not to a description of the demonstrators' views, but of the reactionary slogans shouted by the members of the Young Americans for Freedom, and the neo-Nazi National Renaissance Party.

That the American government is seriously worried about such a

(Cont. on page 8)



Photo by Robert Joyce. Reproduced by permission of National Guardian, New York

## What the YS say about the 1966 annual conference

Keep Left presents here and on page 3 the views of Young Socialists who recently attended schools to discuss the draft of the political resolution for the Young Socialists Conference in Morecambe 1966. We urge our readers to pay special attention to these articles, so that they may play an active part in the discussions and campaigns leading up to the conference.

THE IMPORTANCE of this draft resolution lies in its attempt to set out clearly in one document the policies and demands for which the revolutionary party now being built, must fight in the coming period if the working class is not to suffer an even worse defeat than it did in the 1920s and 1930s.

Although in my experience many of the youth coming into the Young Socialists at the present time readily take a revolutionary standpoint, having realised, in many cases quite unconsciously, the bankruptcy of reformism, nevertheless bring with them many idealistic conceptions, as the document points out.

The resolution realises that it is insufficient to talk to youth and tell them their minds have been conditioned to a certain way of thinking.

That is why the resolution makes certain demands which youth will fight for, and only by fighting for them will they realise that the question is not one of forcing the employing class to make certain concessions.

Now, the question posed will rather be one of power.

Who controls? The bosses, with increasing mass misery on a world scale, with the threat of nuclear annihilation, or the workers, who can build a society in which mankind

struggles not within itself, but against nature so that it can be tamed and made to work for man, so that at last, poverty, starvation, disease and war can be abolished for all time.

The document tries to set this perspective for the work by incorporating the experience and lessons learned as the result of past class struggles. It also warns the working class of the disastrous results of following the reformist leaderships, which still represent a danger even though their own actions have proved their bankruptcy.

It may be questioned whether the document is too long, too unwieldy; I don't think so.

Where I think the document does tend to fall down is in a lack of a detailed analysis of the crisis world imperialism is moving into.

Neither does it point out that the failure of the British bourgeoisie to re-invest in modernising industry when vast profits were being made in the past, mainly at the expense of the colonial workers, means that Britain has now become the weak link in the world imperialist chain, as Russia was in the First World War.

This means, of course, that the revolutionary initiative of the world working class will be taken in Britain in particular, and the

(Cont. page 3, col. 5)





A policeman uses a dog on demonstrators in Rhodesia—land of white supremacy

## SOUTHERN RHODESIA

# Scrap the 1961 Constitution

By  
CHRIS  
PORTER

**H**OW much further is Wilson going to crawl before he meets Smith half-way, quarter-way, or all-the-way?

This is the question that arises from the present deadlock over Rhodesia. The deadlock rests entirely with Wilson and his Commonwealth Relations Secretary.

It is the price that the Labour government must pay for its betrayal of the 4,000,000 Africans in S. Rhodesia—land of white supremacy.

When Smith came to Britain we were assured by Wilson and his friends that there would be a negotiated settlement. There was none.

Then Wilson decided to return the favour and visited Rhodesia.

Again, we were told that the main thing was to keep talking.

So just when the talks were breaking down, Wilson agreed to a rotten compromise in order to postpone the showdown with Smith. He suggested a Royal Commission and Smith disdainfully agreed.

The purpose of the Royal Commission, according to Wilson, was to recommend amendments to the reactionary 1961 Constitution to provide a basis for independence and majority rule. The Com-

mission, of course, was to consist entirely of white men.

But Smith changed this position as well and got Wilson to agree that instead of revising the 1961 Constitution the Commission should secure an agreed draft independence arrangement, based on the 1961 Constitution, 'with such amendments as we might consider necessary'.

Smith was careful not to mention anything about majority rule. (The 1961 Constitution granted only 15 out of 65 seats to Africans.)

### 'Helpful'

Wilson described Smith's arm-twisting tactics as a 'helpful, ingenious combination of our own proposals'. How helpful they were was seen immediately Wilson left Salisbury.

'Boss' Lilford, vice-president of the Rhodesian Front (the white settlers' party) on the day after Wilson left, contemptuously dismissed the Wilson mission:

'We want only the 1961 Constitution. It has been clearly stated frequently that it cannot be diluted any more.'

So who was Wilson trying to deceive if it wasn't the African people?

The Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking for another section of the ruling class came out strongly in favour of using armed force in Rhodesia to stop UDI.

Dr. Ramsey's support for force, however, is not meant to liberate the Africans but rather to impose an African-dominated government which will protect British interests in Rhodesia.

The third act in this cliff-hanging drama began when Smith accused Wilson of stalling, imposed import controls and declared a State of Emergency.

### Despondency

The emergency has effectively put an end to the farce of a Royal Commission because it prevents the Commission from doing its work. This has caused despondency in Whitehall. Mr. Wilson, who did his utmost to persuade the Nationalist leaders—so far without success—to work the 1961 Constitution on condition that something would come out of the Commission, has been exposed further.

Smith has no need to declare UDI—he has got all he wants.

To entrust Wilson with the future of Southern Rhodesia is not only futile—it is treachery.

British labour must demand the arming of the Africans and an end to the 1961 Constitution.

# U.S. opposition to Vietnam war grows as bombing continues

BY A KEEP LEFT  
CORRESPONDENT

*'We were sweeping the jungle and all of a sudden the Cong opened up on us. People were falling and Cong were clipping 81 mortars on us. The lieutenant had us move out towards the firing. We killed eight Cong and about 30 got away.'*

*'Anyway we were searching the dead Cong when a wife of the one I was checking ran out of a cave and picked up a sub-machine gun and started firing at us.'*

*'I shot her and my rifle is automatic, so before I knew it I had shot about six rounds. Four of them hit her and the others went in the cave and must have bounced off the rock wall and hit the baby.'*

*'Mom, for the first time I felt really sick to my stomach. The baby was about two months old. . . .'*

*'I swear to God this place is worse than hell. Why must I kill women and kids? Who knows who's right? They think they are and we think we are. Both sides are losing men. I wish to God this was over.'*

GI's letter home

**T**HE war in Vietnam continues unabated. The Americans now have 140,000 troops in the country and will send another 50,000 during the next few weeks. Day by day more and more huge B.52 bombers indiscriminately drop high explosives in an attempt to kill thousands of Vietnamese people and beat the Vietcong into submission.

Each of these B.52 raids, which American Air Force chiefs cynically refer to as 'experiments', costs a million dollars. The profits roll into the coffers of U.S. big business which produces the war material whether the planes are bombing North Vietnam or South Vietnam villages, 'by mistake', as recently happened.

For all this, the U.S. troops are not winning. An American Pentagon official admitted re-

cently 'There is not one square mile of Vietnam which is truly pacified.'

### FEEL THE SAME

Meanwhile, the opposition inside the United States to the war is growing. Many workers and students feel the same as the young soldier who wrote the letter quoted above.

A Quaker, Norman Morrison, burned himself to death before a horrified crowd of office

workers outside the Pentagon building for his beliefs.

Enormous demonstrations were held recently in New York, Chicago, and 75 other American cities. Young people carried banners saying: 'Americans get out of Vietnam' and 'I won't fight in Vietnam'.

### ALLIANCE

This movement would have been immeasurably strengthened had the British Labour government condemned American aggression. U.S. troops would have been encouraged to rebel against their officers and the Vietcong by now would have won.

By their defence of U.S. government policy in Vietnam, and now by their actions in Rhodesia, the Labour government has demonstrated once again its alliance with big business throughout the world.

Miners throughout the Scottish coalfield voted by a large majority to oppose the British government's policy of supporting American aggression in Vietnam.

One in every three miners took part in the ballot showing quite significantly the feelings of the

Scottish miners to the Labour government's crawling attitude to the Johnson government.

Recently all the main bankers in the world met to decide what to do about the difficulties capitalism faces. They decided they could do nothing for the 200 million people who live in the colonial countries in Africa, South America and Asia.

These people are written off by capitalism to death, disease and starvation.

### SMASH DOWN

In Britain the same capitalism prepares to smash down the workers' organisations, assisted by the Labour chiefs.

We support the Vietcong because they aim a real blow at imperialism. The Young Socialists in Britain must build up their organisation and sweep out the treacherous Labour leaders.

This is the real preparation for the international fight against capitalism and will give strength to those American workers and students, and the Vietcong who are fighting American capitalism and what it means.

## Two questions

WE HAVE to ask two main questions on the draft resolution and our work in relation to it.

How is the resolution to be used in raising the YS towards the status of a mass movement?

How is it to be made a real part of the political life of YS branches?

The resolution is a programme for the mobilisation of working-class youth—The Young Socialists fight on behalf of all young people in Britain against the constant attacks made on their conditions of work and education, by the employers and their agents—and the demands for youth are an integral part of our work, in no sense extraneous.

These demands of youth on conditions of work, education, entertainment and housing expose the inability of a decadent imperialism, facing a massive historic crisis, to offer any future or any concession whatsoever.

Thus the youth are brought to a conscious understanding of the capitalist wages system.

The mobilisation of youth must and can be the revolutionary mobilisation of youth. These demands can have very great attractive power in drawing youth to an awareness of the revolutionary role of the working class.

Marxism is the only possible basis for building a revolutionary youth movement, Marxism is the strategy of the working class for taking power.

The working class requires the highest form of consciousness, scientific understanding of the world as a whole, of the development of society through the conflicts of classes, and of its own revolutionary role in order to be able to take power. The working class cannot take power on the basis of militancy, or on the basis simply of its past experiences as the most oppressed social class.

★

There cannot be any development of Marxism in the YS without a struggle with the youth. There is no automatic development. In the YS we have to combat and overcome the idealism of the youth or surrender leadership.

Without being able to give political strength to the youth who come into the YS, however great their initial 'enthusiasm' for the 'ideas' of revolutionary socialism, they will end up by feeling that they have greater strength than the YS.

That is, they will feel that their present level of consciousness, their 'gang' relations and their spontaneous individualistic revolt against the establishment are sufficient strength.

We cannot succeed in this without taking Marxism directly to the youth, not avoiding question of theory, but combining revolutionary theory with the political activity of the YS.

We have to combine the preparations for the Morecambe conference of the YS with the campaigns against the trade union laws proposed by Wilson, because this is the context of our work and the setting for the conference.

The resolution has to be made the centre of a series of education classes in all YS branches, and the discussion which results should provide a basis for branch resolutions to the conference.

The document will require a certain re-working before it can be taken into the branches of the Young Socialists, in abbreviation at some points, but more in clarification and organisation of material in others.

In section 6, where the crisis of automation as it affects the USA is described, it would be possible to include a short section outlining the specific nature of the crisis facing capitalism in Britain.

**Tony Guard,**  
Cardiff.

## Important policies

I THINK the most important part of the resolution is the policies because it is the policies which attract the youth.

Such policies as elected committees of young workers and tenants in conjunction with local trades councils to investigate cases of police brutality against youth, and the taking control of trade unions by the workers, are particularly attractive.

These could be a big step in a revolutionary movement with the leadership of youth and the development of Marxist theory. These youth will have the real weapon with which to fight the capitalist bosses. This is why it is important to have a leadership of youth developed through the Young Socialists.

But you cannot and will not get youth to stay in a revolutionary party unless you yourself understand what you are teaching.

That is why this resolution must also be discussed at Young Socialist meetings to find out what other youth think of it.

Another point is the government control of wages and state action against strikes. This is of great interest to me, because

mands. The struggle for the attainment of these demands poses before the youth and adult workers the question of taking power.

The youth resolution prepares the YS to take a leading role in this struggle, a struggle which will unite the youth and the adult workers in the building of the revolutionary party for the overthrow of the capitalist state.

Only through the building of this leadership in Britain can we give support to the struggles of workers throughout the world.

**Ray Barkley,**  
Liverpool.

## Revolutionary party

THIS DOCUMENT explains how to fight for all the demands and how to change capitalism. To build up a revolution, we must have a party, a party which can free the working class as a whole from capitalism.

Youth all over the world are affected by capitalism, and cannot get any good jobs. In America young Negro workers struggle against the state police in a fight to get better living conditions

youth, apprentices, industrial youth and unemployed youth to fight for our policies, to consciously build the alternative revolutionary party. We must rid youth of all the idealistic views they have acquired from schools and so forth, where they are only trained to become hard workers for capitalism.

This programme poses power for the working class, but if we hope to take the power, we must consciously understand Marxism and dialectical materialism where, through the constant struggle of opposites, we change the present situation.

Marxism is the history of the working class past and present. We must constantly analyse all the developments and the mistakes to draw the lessons from them to build up a body of experience which is vital in the building of the Party.

The document proves the role of the Labour government as lackeys of the Tory bosses.

The working class will become militant with the widening crisis of capitalism, but militancy is not sufficient. We must give them a leadership that can take them to victory, to destroy the state

## International unity

THE STRUGGLE against capitalism today takes places on a world scale. Workers in Vietnam, America, Greece and France are struggling against their enemy, capitalism.

The demands of youth organising youth to campaign in the class struggle are less hours, more pay, more holiday pay and so many others. The YS fights for these demands in conjunction with tenants' associations and trade unions.

This programme of the youth is a programme of power which will unite all workers to overthrow capitalism.

We also fight in solidarity with the young workers and students of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to defend the gains of the October Revolution, and at the same time defeat the bureaucracies which collaborate with the imperialists.

Marxism teaches that there is no future for the working class under capitalism. The only future is to unite and organise to take power. Only Marxism can meet the powerful challenge of automation. Under the banner of Marxism, the Young Socialists are assured of victory.

Young Socialists must build strong sections among organised youth in the trade unions. The moment that legislation against the unions enters the statute book, all struggles on the question of wages and working conditions will become political struggles against the state. A resolute political struggle against the Stalinists is a pre-requisite of any genuine revolutionary work in the trade unions.

**Mike Singh,**  
Bradford.

## Understand Marxism

I THINK the document is the most powerful I have read. But it is useless unless it is taken into Young Socialist branches and explained.

It is important that each member develops their own understanding of Marxism as a science, and puts it into practice by going out to youth and older workers, giving them the political leadership they urgently need. In doing so, the fake lefts and Stalinists, who hold back the working class, will be exposed.

The recruitment of members into YS branches must be done on a mass scale, rallying the older workers round us, not only nationally, but internationally. The working class is then a solid revolutionary force.

Only through Marxism will they overthrow capitalism.

This must be fought for through the understanding of this document.

**Ray Wilde,**  
London.

## ● Cont. from the bottom of page one

advanced capitalist states in general.

So the document doesn't point out sufficiently the tremendous responsibility resting on the Marxist movement in this country.

The British working class, and particularly the youth, will be the spearhead of the world proletarian revolution.

I think the reason for these shortcomings is that it is assumed that we know all this anyway, but if that is so then it is a wholly incorrect assumption; probably many comrades do not appreciate sufficiently the whole significance of the world crisis of imperialism, and no opportunities should be missed to push this point home; it certainly has a very real relevance to the contents of the draft resolution.

**Michael Piggott,**  
London.

# What the Young Socialists say

## about the 6th Annual Conference in Morecambe, 1966

I have just started a union where I work.

Most of the youth and adult workers who have been there at least a year would not have anything to do with the union because they were let down before.

Members of a union can vassal outside the factory, and everybody filled in membership forms. The boss called a meeting in the factory and told the workers that if anyone joined the union, they would be sacked.

Not one single person said they wanted to join, and the union did nothing.

This is why the working class needs a leadership. If not, the same thing will happen again.

**J. Y. Crumb,**  
Cardiff.

## Transitional demands

THE YOUTH resolution poses before the YS, the building of a revolutionary youth movement which will spearhead the coming struggles of the working class against the state.

The youth constantly come into conflict with the organised state machine through the police, bureaucrats, magistrates and borstal.

Also they have not been involved in the reformist policies of the trade union leaderships and the right-wing leadership of the Labour Party. Because of this the youth are more ready to fight openly against the state than the adult workers.

When the proposed legislation against strikers is put on the statute books the adult workers will be faced with a struggle against the state, even over the question of wage increases.

With the developing crisis of world capitalism, the demands set forward in the resolution take on the meaning of transitional de-

and work.

The Young Socialists say fight for these demands by class struggle methods.

The Tories try to exclude from politics young people who fight for socialism with the young workers and students from all over the world to defend the October Revolution.

Marxism teaches us that there is no future for the working class outside the struggle against capitalism. Idealism and the mechanical thinking which sometimes go with this struggle weakens the working class and leaves it unprepared for the attacks of the employers.

The Young Socialists must fight for their policies against the right-wing leadership and recruit young people in every area.

They should get the young and old to unite and make a mass revolutionary party, and abolish all business secrets by opening the books of the capitalists. In this way we will get the older workers to join our movement as they will see just what the capitalists are doing.

**Violet Adam,**  
Glasgow.

## Daily fight

THE RESOLUTION shows how in the never-ending class struggle it is the youth from every country who are waging a daily fight against this corrupt capitalist system.

As the ruling class splits workers with the Immigration Act, we call on all working-class youth to unite under the banner of the Fourth International.

The demands of more leisure time for youth, etc., will give youth the time to enjoy their lives to the full and not to sweat them away under capitalism.

We must turn all sections of

machine and its agents in the Labour Party.

I think that to achieve socialism is not inevitable, but if we go back into the working class without demands, armed with a class consciousness, with the theory of Marxism as a guide to action, we will be able to give the lead to the working class to build the mass revolutionary party.

The need for the party is of great importance with all the coming legislation.

But if we are unable to carry the policies out in concrete terms we cannot build such a leadership.

We must mobilise youth in the unions to draw adult workers to the movement. Without the adult workers uniting with the youth we cannot achieve socialism in Britain or give a lead to any other country.

To build the revolutionary party in Britain gives a lead to all other countries which are run by a few monopoly capitalists. The aim of the Fourth International is to build communist parties in every country.

The concrete way to build now is to go into our areas to fight consistently for our policies and the demands outlined in the document; to constantly recruit with the aid of social programmes joined with political education.

All this preparatory work now with the youth is for the 6th annual conference of the YS. We must fight to clarify the meaning of socialism which I think has been done in this document.

The task has been set out for us. We must accept it as the only means of mobilising the working class against imperialism to a victory for the working class

**Jean Annan,**  
Glasgow.





# Young Socialists will fight anti-trade union legislation

**I**N the year of 1906, the Labour Party was founded. Prior to this the trade unions had no representation in Parliament. The struggles of the working class at the turn of the century had convinced the unions that they must have their own political party fighting in Parliament on behalf of their policies against the Tories and Liberals. The trade unions were responsible for the formation of the Labour Party. Since 1906 it has been the mainstay of their support.

Now look at what happened at the last Labour Party Conference (October 1965). This party, which was brought into existence by the unions, voted that the capitalist state should legislate against the unions. In other words, the right wing of the Labour Party has decided to cut off the hand that feeds it.

The reason for the extraordinary decision can only be explained if we understand the retreat of the present Labour government before the Tory opposition. On the old age pensions increases last year, they capitulated to the international bankers.

Not a single measure of any importance has been taken against the owners of property in Britain. The Labour government beat a hasty retreat before every onslaught launched by the Tory party.

In the end they must, and do, wind up by attacking the Labour Party itself, which is the trade unions.

The Tories hate the trade unions. Every member of the Labour Party knows this. If the last Tory government was unable to weaken the unions when it was in power it is because these organisations are now at the peak of their strength.

Can this state of affairs be maintained? Keep Left says No! If a Labour government can be persuaded by the Tories to attack the trade unions, then the working-class movement must inevitably be divided and split against itself by its enemies, the right wing of the Labour Party.

Wilson and Co. have capitulated continuously to the Tories, and that is why every socialist must oppose any proposed legislation against the unions. To tie the trade unions to the capitalist state, which is what legislation would do, is to destroy the whole purpose of trade unionism.

The trade unions exist in order to fight for the wages and working conditions of their members. If this is to be handed over to the capitalist state, which is the executive body of those who own property, then the unions might as well pack up and go out of business.

We say that the time has come to make a stand. This is the reason why we support all efforts and struggles which are carried out against any proposed legislation on the trade unions.

We stand for the complete independence of the trade union movement from the capitalist state. We are opposed to all legislation against the trade unions and Young Socialists will fight tooth and nail to prevent it. Are the Labour left MPs around 'Tribune' prepared to do the same, or are they going to abstain and vote for Wilson when the time comes. This is the question of the hour.

We say that all Labour left MPs worthy of the name must vote against Wilson who will have the support of the Tory Party. We fully support the efforts of every organisation in the labour movement which is fighting against this most reactionary legislation.

# 1966 CONFERENCE Full political programme

**T**HE National Committee of the Young Socialists at its October meeting began the preparations for the annual conference of the YS in Morecambe on April 2 and 3, 1966.

In a few weeks' time, all branches of the Young Socialists will receive copies of the political resolution to be placed before the conference.

This will give a lengthy period for full discussion of all the political problems facing the movement.

In advance of the circulation of the resolution, we give below a brief summary of its main points.

On another page, Keep Left publishes comments on the first draft of the resolution by Young Socialist members from different areas, who attended special schools to consider the draft.

**1.** The Young Socialists, fighting on behalf of young workers' demands everywhere, does so recognising that only the struggle for a socialist society can answer the needs of youth and of all mankind.

**2.** Not only British youth, but young workers all over the world are in the forefront of the



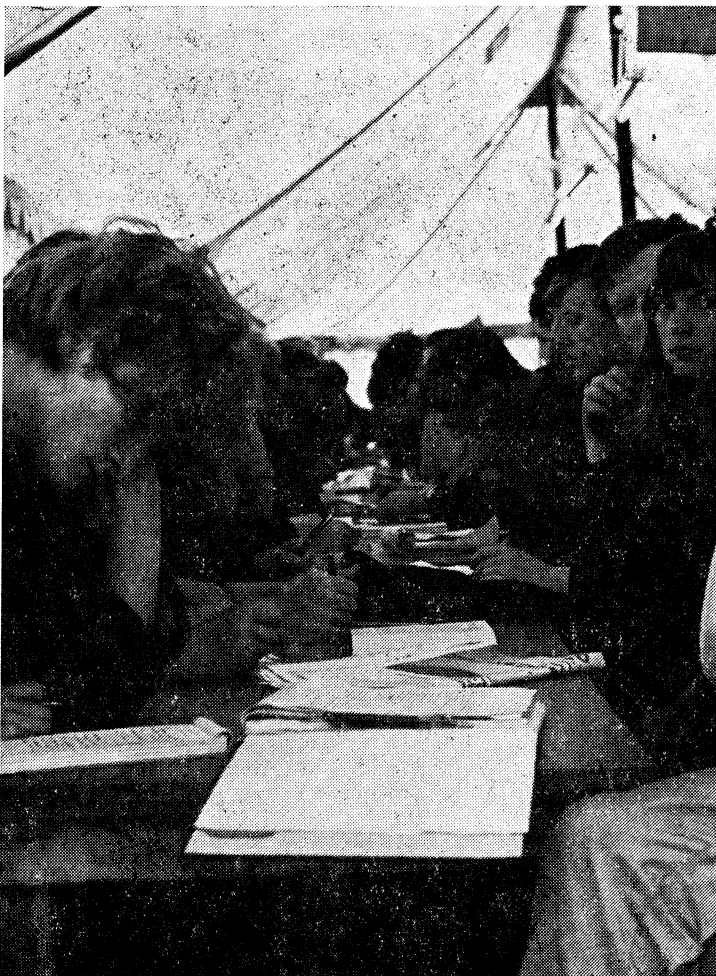
Well organised social activity plays an important part in attracting youth to the Young Socialists

battle to overthrow capitalism. Our struggle is part of an international struggle, from Los Angeles to Athens, from Aden to Vietnam.

Every blow struck against imperialism in Vietnam helps the struggle for socialism in Britain.

Every blow struck against the capitalists and their agents in Britain, helps the Vietnamese people against the imperialist oppressors.

**3.** Big business and its Tory representatives are the biggest enemies of youth in Britain. Jobs, education, militarism and war—in every field the youth are exploited and oppressed. The Young Socialists fight this ex-



Marxist education such as that seen above, must be organised

ploitation with a programme of immediate demands:

For all young workers engaged in production we demand:

- A shorter working week with ample opportunity during the week for open-air sport and recreation.
- At least one month's paid holiday a year.
- The right of all youth to learn a trade and raise their technical qualifications.
- The organisation of training courses for the young workers in factories or groups of factories, paid for by the employers and under workers' control.
- Hours of craft training to be taken out of the working week and paid for at regular rates.
- Application of the principle, 'Equal pay for equal work'.
- Forbidding of all work not connected with the apprenticeship.
- Prohibition of night work and arduous, unhealthy tasks; control over the use of young labour.

The resolution includes a detailed programme of demands against youth unemployment, for universal education, the right to vote at 18, better leisure facilities, a fight against racialism, a people's programme through attacks on the banks and building and insurance societies.

**4.** The employers' hatred of working-class youth is carried into practice in the labour movement by the Labour leadership of Wilson and Co. They have now put an end to all political discussion or semblance of independence for youth in the Labour Party.

'We make this call to all Labour Party Young Socialists: join the real Young Socialists in preparing its Sixth Annual Conference in Morecambe, April 1966!

Participate in the full, democratic discussion that will take place at this conference!

Have nothing to do with the middle-of-the-road politics of the centrists which lead to betrayals and defeat!

**5.** The programme for

'Youth parties of a parties which talism.'

That is have been Young C well as from

'Our fight dangerous cracy in the the Soviet s wing Labo capitalist solidarity v and studen ern Europe the October same time which coll perialists.

The Yo their suppo national an League.

**6.** Social of the mation an vide the bas planned ecc turns these unemployment



Young

**7.** The b ship fo tion require ing of a m movement. without the lopment of of Marxism.

The Yo organise Ma massive sca backwardnes labour move capitalist ag

'Reformism Marxism ca challenge of the banner o Socialists are

**8.** Every ration n and social a sands of ne

'Students alongside yo from their str ing their spe fight for socia

**9.** As the attacks after a yea Young Socia higher level socialist polic Now they



# Full political programme for Young Socialist

**T**HE National Committee of the Young Socialists at its October meeting began the preparations for the annual conference of the YS in Morecambe on April 2 and 3, 1966.

In a few weeks' time, all branches of the Young Socialists will receive copies of the political resolution to be placed before the conference.

This will give a lengthy period for full discussion of all the political problems facing the movement.

In advance of the circulation of the resolution, we give below a brief summary of its main points.

On another page, Keep Left publishes comments on the first draft of the resolution by Young Socialist members from different areas, who attended special schools to consider the draft.

**1.** The Young Socialists, fighting on behalf of young workers' demands everywhere, does so recognising that only the struggle for a socialist society can answer the needs of youth and of all mankind.

**2.** Not only British youth, but young workers all over the world are in the forefront of the



Well organised social activity plays an important part in attracting youth to the Young Socialists

battle to overthrow capitalism. Our struggle is part of an *international* struggle, from Los Angeles to Athens, from Aden to Vietnam.

Every blow struck against imperialism in Vietnam helps the struggle for socialism in Britain.

Every blow struck against the capitalists and their agents in Britain, helps the Vietnamese people against the imperialist oppressors.

**3.** Big business and its Tory representatives are the biggest enemies of youth in Britain. Jobs, education, militarism and war—in every field the youth are exploited and oppressed. The Young Socialists fight this ex-

ploitation with a programme of immediate demands:

For all young workers engaged in production we demand:

- A shorter working week with ample opportunity during the week for open-air sport and recreation.
- At least one month's paid holiday a year.
- The right of all youth to learn a trade and raise their technical qualifications.
- The organisation of training courses for the young workers in factories or groups of factories, paid for by the employers and under workers' control.
- Hours of craft training to be taken out of the working week and paid for at regular rates.
- Application of the principle, 'Equal pay for equal work'.
- Forbidding of all work not connected with the apprenticeship.
- Prohibition of night work and arduous, unhealthy tasks; control over the use of young labour.

The resolution includes a detailed programme of demands against youth unemployment, for universal education, the right to vote at 18, better leisure facilities, a fight against racialism, a people's programme through attacks on the banks and building and insurance societies.

**4.** The employers' hatred of working-class youth is carried into practice in the labour movement by the Labour leadership of Wilson and Co. They have now put an end to all political discussion or semblance of independence for youth in the Labour Party.

'We make this call to all Labour Party Young Socialists: join the real Young Socialists in preparing its Sixth Annual Conference in Morecambe, April 1966!

Participate in the full, democratic discussion that will take place at this conference!

Have nothing to do with the middle-of-the-road politics of the centrists which lead to betrayals and defeat!

**5.** The Young Socialist programme must be a programme for reforms.

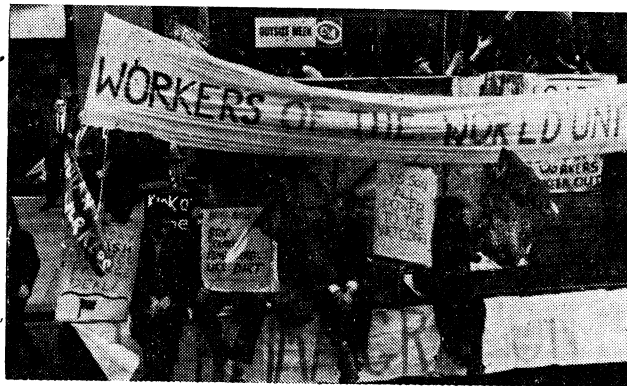
'Youth provide the forces for parties of a new type, revolutionary parties which fight to abolish capitalism.'

That is why young Marxists have been expelled from the Young Communist League as well as from the Labour Party.

'Our fight for socialism is as dangerous to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Communist Parties and the Soviet state as it is to the right-wing Labour leaders and their capitalist masters. We fight in solidarity with the young workers and students of Russia and Eastern Europe to defend the gains of the October Revolution, and at the same time defeat the bureaucracy which collaborates with the imperialists.'

The Young Socialists pledge their support to the Fourth International and the Socialist Labour League.

**6.** Socialism is not just a dream of the future. Modern automation and atomic energy provide the basis for abundance and a planned economy. But capitalism turns these against man, causing unemployment and mass murder.



Young Socialists express solidarity with workers of all countries

**7.** The building of the leadership for the socialist revolution requires above all the building of a mass Young Socialists movement. This cannot be done without the acceptance and development of the scientific theory of Marxism.

The Young Socialists will organise Marxist education on a massive scale to overcome the backwardness of the British labour movement, the creation of capitalist agents in the movement.

'Reformism is bankrupt. Only Marxism can meet the powerful challenge of automation. Under the banner of Marxism, the Young Socialists are assured of victory.'

**8.** Every YS region and federation must organise political and social activity to bring thousands of new recruits.

'Students will take their place alongside young workers, learning from their struggles, and contributing their special knowledge to the fight for socialism.'

**9.** As the Labour government attacks the working class after a year of betrayals, the Young Socialists continue at a higher level their campaign for socialist policies.

Now they are joined by hun-



Adult workers join Young Socialists in political demonstrations

dreds of thousands of adult workers who fight against legislation against trade unions, against the immigration restrictions, against the Vietnam imperialist war.

Young Socialists organised in industry and the trade unions will develop a new leadership, learning from the lessons of the apprentices' strike and the betrayals of the Stalinists.

Together with adult workers in all industries, the Young Socialists will fight for socialist policies:

- Independence of the trades

- unions from the state.
- Sliding scale of wages to keep pace with the cost of living.
- Abolition of all business sec-



Young Socialists unite with all sections of the working class to fight for socialism.

rets. Open the books of capitalists. Make the capitalists pay.

- Suspend all interest payments to ex-owners of the national industries. Workers' supervision and control of mines, railways and docks.
- Nationalize the banks, the purse strings away from them.
- Freeze fares and Nationalize land. End land speculation and public office building. Nationalize the building and building supplies industry.
- Immediate nationalization of steel.
- Repeal the Immigration Withdraw the government White Paper.
- Scrap Labour's foreign policy. Not an ounce of support to the U.S. war in Vietnam. Support the Vietcong. Support the struggles of all peoples against imperialism.

**10.** The Young Socialists opposed to all imperialist wars.

'The building of the Young Socialists into a mass revolutionary youth movement trained in socialist methods of organisation discipline and educated in Marxist theory strengthens the working class and weakens the ability of imperialists to go to war. By going into action to build the Young Socialists, we demonstrate in practice our opposition to the imperialist mangers.'

**11.** The circulation of Keep Left must be built up. Organising young workers in their struggles.

'The world political situation never been more favourable for building of a mass revolutionary youth movement. It is our responsibility to see to it that we not fail in this task.'

Marxist education such as that seen above, must be organised



## CONFERENCE RESOLUTION

## Programme for Young Socialists

5. The Young Socialist programme must be a programme for reforms.

'Youth provide the forces for parties of a new type, revolutionary parties which fight to abolish capitalism.'

That is why young Marxists have been expelled from the Young Communist League as well as from the Labour Party.

'Our fight for socialism is as dangerous to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Communist Parties and the Soviet state as it is to the right-wing Labour leaders and their capitalist masters. We fight in solidarity with the young workers and students of Russia and Eastern Europe to defend the gains of the October Revolution, and at the same time defeat the bureaucracy which collaborates with the imperialists.'

The Young Socialists pledge their support to the Fourth International and the Socialist Labour League.

6. Socialism is not just a dream of the future. Modern automation and atomic energy provide the basis for abundance and a planned economy. But capitalism turns these against man, causing unemployment and mass murder.

7. The building of the leadership for the socialist revolution requires above all the building of a mass Young Socialists movement. This cannot be done without the acceptance and development of the scientific theory of Marxism.

8. Every YS region and federation must organise political and social activity to bring thousands of new recruits.

9. As the Labour government attacks the working class after a year of betrayals, the Young Socialists continue at a higher level their campaign for socialist policies.

10. The Young Socialists are opposed to all imperialist wars.

11. The circulation of Keep Left must be built up to a mass youth paper, fighting and organising young workers in all their struggles.

12. The Young Socialists will organise Marxist education on a massive scale to overcome the backwardness of the British labour movement, the creation of capitalist agents in the movement.

13. The Young Socialists will organise Marxist education on a massive scale to overcome the backwardness of the British labour movement, the creation of capitalist agents in the movement.

14. The Young Socialists will organise Marxist education on a massive scale to overcome the backwardness of the British labour movement, the creation of capitalist agents in the movement.

15. The Young Socialists will organise Marxist education on a massive scale to overcome the backwardness of the British labour movement, the creation of capitalist agents in the movement.

16. The Young Socialists will organise Marxist education on a massive scale to overcome the backwardness of the British labour movement, the creation of capitalist agents in the movement.



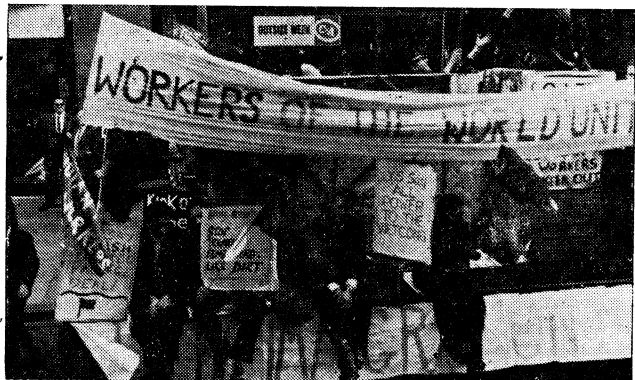
Adult workers join Young Socialists in political demonstrations

dreds of thousands of adult workers who fight against legislation against trade unions, against the immigration restrictions, against the Vietnam imperialist war.

Young Socialists organised in industry and the trade unions will develop a new leadership, learning from the lessons of the apprentices' strike and the betrayals of the Stalinists.

Together with adult workers in all industries, the Young Socialists will fight for socialist policies:

- Independence of the trades



Young Socialists express solidarity with workers of all countries

- unions from the state.
- Sliding scale of wages to keep pace with the cost of living.
- Abolition of all business sec-



Young Socialists unite with all sections of the working class to fight for socialism.

rets. Open the books of the capitalists. Make the capitalists pay.

- Suspend all interest payments to ex-owners of the nationalized industries. Workers' supervision and control of the mines, railways and docks.
- Nationalize the banks. Take the purse strings away from them.
- Freeze fares and rents. Nationalize land. End all land speculation and private office building. Nationalize the building and building supplies industry.
- Immediate nationalization of steel.
- Repeal the Immigration Act. Withdraw the government White Paper.
- Scrap Labour's foreign policy. Not an ounce of support for the U.S. war in Vietnam. Victory to the Vietcong. Support for the struggles of all colonial peoples against imperialism.

10. The Young Socialists are opposed to all imperialist wars.

'The building of the Young Socialists into a mass revolutionary youth movement trained in socialist methods of organisation and discipline and educated in Marxist theory strengthens the working class and weakens the ability of the imperialists to go to war. By going into action to build the Young Socialists, we demonstrate in practice our opposition to the plans and preparations of the warmongers.'

11. The circulation of Keep Left must be built up to a mass youth paper, fighting and organising young workers in all their struggles.

'The world political situation has never been more favourable for the building of a mass revolutionary youth movement. It is our responsibility to see to it that we do not fail in this task.'



The Young Socialists, fighting on behalf of young workers' demands everywhere, does so recognising that only the struggle for a socialist society can answer the needs of youth and of all mankind

## KEEP LEFT ANNUAL MEETING

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

3 p.m., January 1, 1966

Followed by dance with beat group



## WINTER DRAW

Keep Left Supporters Club

1st Prize: £200

2nd Prize A holiday for two  
—in Britain or overseas  
(Travel and hotel bills paid,  
to total value of £75)

3rd Prize KB transistor portable radio, worth 16 gns.

Ten Consolation Prizes:  
cigarettes and whisky

Tickets 6d. each

For sale to members of Keep Left Supporters Club only

Draw takes place on Tuesday, March 22 at 7.30 p.m. at 156 Lambeth Road, London, S.E.1

Promoter: D. Longley

## CHRISTMAS BAZAAR

Royal Arsenal Co-op Hall  
Rye Lane, Peckham Rye  
South-East London

November 27

Open from 11 a.m.-5.30 p.m.  
YS Stall - Mod Stall  
Sideshow - Gifts - Toys  
Food Admission 6d.

Dance to  
Marshall Scott Etc.

Young Socialists are invited to submit goods for this bazaar. Many London branches have already planned nights when they can make articles. Keep Left asks other branches to follow this example and help to make the bazaar a huge success.



**THIS MONTH'S BOOK****THE TWO VIETNAMS**By **Bernard Fall**

Pall Mall, 50s.



# History of Vietnam struggle outlined

**M**ARXISTS believe that events can only be fully understood if they are examined in their development, and we must therefore welcome the publication of Bernard Fall's book which traces the history of the Vietcong.

BY  
**MICHAEL  
FREEMAN**

Ho Chi Minh, now president of North Vietnam, first became politically active in the Overseas Workers' Association in London, shortly after the outbreak of World War I, when he was a cook at the Carlton Hotel.

He moved to France towards the end of the war and joined the Socialist Party, which was soon to split with the left wing forming the French Communist Party.

## Anti-theoretical

Ho's anti-colonialist attitude made him side with the revolutionary faction, but his anti-theoretical position was made clear at the 1920 Congress when he said:

'I don't know a thing about strategy, tactics and all the other big words you use, but . . . the 3rd International concerns itself a great deal with the colonial question.'

Ho's attitude was, therefore, not a policy of international class struggle, but a policy of freedom for Vietnam, which he saw only in the Communist movement.

By 1927, the Communist movement had been taken over by Stalin, representing the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, and it was about then that Ho went to Moscow for training where he showed himself to be a faithful follower of Stalin—so faithful that he was made largely responsible for the organisation of the Stalinist movement in South-east Asia.

In August 1935, a new 'line' was decreed at the Seventh Congress of the 3rd International: the rise of fascism (Hitler and Franco were firmly in power and Franco was to begin his uprising in less than a year) made the Stalinists fear for their existence. They declared that the unity of 'progressive forces' was required.

This meant that independent revolutionary activity by the workers was out of the question and even wage demands were frowned upon as these would drive away 'progressive' employers.

In the colonies demands for independence were dropped so as not to alienate the 'democracies', Britain and France.

## Capture markets

The Stalinist's counter-revolutionary policy did not, of course, stop the Second World War between rival imperialist countries in which the various countries fought for markets. Towards the end of this war, the American ruling class decided to attempt to capture the minerals and markets of Vietnam.

General Chennault, the then American field commander has stated: 'It was American policy then that French Indo-China would not be returned to the French. The American government was interested in seeing the French forcibly ejected from Indo-China so the problem of post-war separation from their colony would be easier.'

To make sure the French were

'forcibly ejected', the Americans withheld weapons and supplies and allowed the Japanese (who were virtually defeated) to invade.

The workers and peasants, however, had their own ideas as to what independence was and flocked to join the Vietminh, a 'popular front' organisation of Stalinists, Catholics, Buddhists, etc. It was, however, only the Communists who volunteered to enter Japanese-held territory and organise resistance.

Shortly before the end of the war was announced (VJ Day), it was these guerrillas who organised an insurrection, secured the surrender of the Japanese and set up a Provisional Government along popular front lines—the Stalinists were in a minority and, in fact, formally dissolved the Communist Party until 1951 in order to preserve the 'popularity' of the national bourgeoisie.

Behind this front, however, the Stalinists were steadily increasing their power—by manoeuvres, not by the development of independent activity of the workers and peasants.

Murders and purges were carried out on religious leaders, provincial mandarins and, in particular against the Trotskyists—Ta Thu Thau, the Trotskyist leader, was actually murdered in 1946 when returning from a personal visit to a friend, Ho Chi Minh!

## Vietminh 'threat'

The Americans recognised that the Vietminh was a threat to all the investments in South-east Asia and announced that 'no support' could be given to the government or, in other words, it had to be deposed.

The Stalinist's answer to this was to turn to the French and ask for their support, which was granted immediately as the French ruling class stood to lose a great deal.

These diplomatic deals were not to satisfy the workers and peasants, however, and they continued their struggle against the returning French.

There were frequent incidents between the Vietminh and French troops until November 20, 1946, when the first shots were fired in what was to be known as the 'Haiphong Incident', which culminated in the French cruiser 'Suffren' opening fire on the town, butchering some 6,000 civilians.

It is worth mentioning here that Stalinists were in the French government at this time and when the Assemblée (the French Parliament) voted on arms expenditure for war against the Vietminh, they abstained.

Between 1946 and 1954, the Vietminh put up a heroic struggle against the French, distributing land to the peasants in liberated areas, and setting up revolutionary councils.

In 1954, in a brilliantly executed raid on the well-guarded

and fortified airport at Haiphong, they destroyed 38 planes after entering through sewers.

This cut off the French troops from supplies and the advantage was quickly followed up by the crushing victory at Dien Bien Phu. The Vietminh controlled 80 per cent of Vietnam, most of Laos, and large parts of Cambodia.

## Salvage operation

Then, in Geneva, the 'great powers' met to salvage what they could for the imperialists and to establish cordial relations between the Soviet bureaucracy and the West.

Under the terms of the infamous Geneva agreement, large areas were handed back to the imperialists (Vietnam itself was divided, the South, Laos and Cambodia being declared 'neutral', i.e., under imperialist control). Elections were promised—in the South they are still awaited, although there have been 14 changes of government in the past

## At the cinema with **BOB DICKENS**

### THE SPY WITH MY FACE An MGM picture

Directed by John Newland



**I**T would be very easy to dismiss the exploits of the men from U.N.C.L.E. fighting against the agents of 'the evil THRUSH organisation' as being quite entertaining, but shallow and completely incredible.

Reviews of both this film and the television series built around U.N.C.L.E. keep stressing that the whole thing is really comic—a send-up of the James Bond type of story.

But it seems to be that while much of it is quite funny, this film actually preserves all the myths built around characters like Bond.

'The Spy With My Face' is about the attempts made by THRUSH, an organisation whose aim is to dominate the world, to get control of a force which scientists have produced, capable of destroying anything.

Of course, the scientists and U.N.C.L.E. only want to use it if the world is attacked from outer space.



Ho Chi Minh, president of North Vietnam, who has been politically active since shortly after the First World War.

year at the time of writing.

Once again the masses in Vietnam were not to be sold out and they continued the war under the leadership of the Stalinists.

The present stage of the revolution is well known: the Vietcong continues a heroic struggle with negligible help from China and the Soviet Union.

Johnson continues the war in the interests of world imperialism, bombing dams, hospitals, etc., with full support from Wilson. It is noteworthy that Johnson said in 1954 that he was 'against sending American G.I.s into the mud and muck of Indo-China on a blood-letting spree to perpetuate colonialism and white man's exploitation in Asia'.

Although providing much valuable information on the background of the revolution (only outlined briefly here), this book is not written by a Marxist.

Fall's research is aimed at finding a way to preserve capitalism in South-east Asia.

For us, however, it provides many lessons in the struggle against capitalism.

Destruction of the native employing class and gains made from imperialism can alleviate some hardship and starvation but the socialist society can only be won with the aid of the technique and industry of the west under workers' control, and it is the task of the Young Socialists to achieve this.

THRUSH have rather different plans. The scheme they use is to produce a 'double' of U.N.C.L.E.'s chief agent, Napoleon Solo, by plastic surgery.

He is the perfect likeness in every detail except for the fact that his kisses do not measure up to those of the real Solo, which are 'the real McCoy'.

Full-strength Solo is enough to induce one of THRUSH's female agents to kill his 'double' at the end of the film. The fate of the world could here be said to hang on a kiss.

Now this, of course, makes the fate of the world a rather simpler matter than most people would think.

The film is, therefore, an incredible one from the point of view of plot.

It does, however, have quite an impact on the screen.

There are a number of beautiful girls, everyone is extremely well-dressed, the settings are expensive, and all the costly paraphernalia of high-powered espionage are very impressive.

Living is high and exciting for the characters, but they themselves are more like the hollow beings who hold out completely unreal prospects from the world of advertising.

Their distance from reality is shown when the action is presented like a kind of game.

A comic blow-up clown doll owned by Solo's girl has a microphone built in by THRUSH.

His friend, Ilya, is nearly killed by a couple of death-dealing robots which at first look like children's toys.

All this seems to be part of an attempt to treat the violent action of the plot in a careless, un-serious manner. The attempt largely fails because many of the techniques used are borrowed from other and better sources.

There are, however, certain things in the film which are worth some thought. There is the plot.

What are the reasons for the fact that science-fictional ideas seem to be so popular as subjects of films today?

The possibility of destruction, or being 'taken over' seems to fascinate a large number of people.

Also the setting of the film holds out a whole range of objects which many would consider highly desirable. But the actual function of the cinema today is often directed towards keeping people satisfied with a set of completely unreal values, not towards real objectives.



## Trotsky

TROTSKY was right. This is the latest information from inside the Soviet Union.

The right wing of the Labour Party hate the Trotskyists because they know that the policy of Trotsky represented Marxism and that only Marxism can supply leadership to the working class.

The official news from the Soviet Union that the history of the Soviet Union is once more to be re-written in order to portray more favourably the role of Trotsky is only one more step in the right direction.

I am sure that the young people in the Soviet Union will join the Young Socialists, who have always defended Trotskyism, in campaigning for his ideas in the world of today.

.L.A., London.

## What next?

WHAT remains of the Young Socialists in the Labour Party received a staggering blow at the Blackpool Labour Party Conference.

The question is what next for those Young Socialists who remain inside the Labour Party?

Here is an opportunity for Keep Left to prove that it is the real democratic paper for youth. Even though there are disagreements with those who remain in the Labour Party, is it not possible for Keep Left to join forces and strengthen the fight for a mass youth movement?

We should welcome all views in our paper and help those who disagree with us to fight in such a way that fundamental unity and agreement on principles can be established.

S.M., London.

## Police

PROBABLY many people who took part in the Blackpool demonstration on September 26 are interested to know what took place over the arrest of the two Young Socialists from Coventry, who were fined £40 between them.

The two lads were walking near to the road, when a policeman came over and demanded that one of them hand over his belt.

This was done, and the studs were taken out of the belt. The policeman then demanded that the lad with the belt, and his friend accompany him to the police station.

When we went to make enquiries at the local police station we were told that we could not see the boys, and the police refused to tell me on what charges they were being held or where exactly they were.

By the end of the day, having visited the station several times we were told that the boys were being arrested and held overnight, on the charge of 'carrying offensive weapons on a political demonstration'.

The offensive weapons consisted of the studded belt previously mentioned, and a small penknife which the other lad was carrying.

On this charge the two lads were kept in jail overnight, tried, and fined £25 and £15 each. We were allowed to see them for only two minutes on the Sunday evening, and when we protested at this treatment by the police, we were also threatened by arrest.

B.E.,  
Coventry.

## Blackpool

THE Blackpool demonstration was a huge success for the Young Socialists.

At least 1,700 were transported in coaches from distant parts of the country into this seaside town.

This alone cost a large sum of money, all of which was raised by the Young Socialists in their localities.

Between 300 and 400 young people from Blackpool and surrounding districts joined the march on route, thus proving that young people are looking for an organisation such as ours.

After Blackpool, we have a lot to do. There are the reactionary decisions of the Labour Party Conference which include legislation against the trade unions. A campaign on this matter must be our next step forward.

Here is an opportunity to unite young and old together in a struggle for workers' democratic rights, which have been fundamental to the trade unions for the last 100 years.

During last year's old age pensions campaign, we brought a large number of older people into action on our lobby in February 1965.

Now is the opportunity to continue this work and mobilise thousands of trade unionists to work alongside the Young Socialists to see that the democratic rights of all workers are maintained.

G.L.,  
Liverpool.

## Pacifist

THE Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament demonstration at Blackpool was the poorest in years. Those who have maintained that organisation on purely pacifist lines must bear the responsibility for the decline in its influence.

It is not possible for a youth movement to remain on this basis today. Youth require a political organisation which fights for and defends Marxism.

Only an organisation such as this can offer to youth everywhere an alternative policy for taking power and establishing socialism. YCND do not offer any of these things and have virtually disappeared.

M.R.,  
Birmingham.

## Birching

SEVERAL months ago there was a huge outcry in the Glasgow press when boys from the city were birched whilst they were in the Isle of Man.

At the time, there was a great deal of righteous indignation on the part of the so-called more 'progressive' sections of the public—the Labour councillors and the church—at such a barbaric practice as birching.

Subsequently, however, there has been a campaign waged throughout the city in favour of bringing back the birch in Glasgow and neighbouring towns; this campaign and a petition have been supported by the Tory councillors, the middle class, small property owners, the reactionary local press and is, in fact, led by a minister of the church.

Letters have flooded into the press from anonymous writers telling of 'atrocities' committed by 'hooligans' on the housing estates and the 'louts' who hang about the streets of the city.

Not since the depression of the thirties, when birching was an accepted form of punishment, has there been the upsurge of gang warfare which appears now on a

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



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

small scale.

During the depression, the slums of Glasgow were the scene of well-known and very violent gang fights, which were the product of the terrible conditions of the working class at that time—the slums, the extremely high rate of unemployment and the general demoralisation caused by the betrayals of the Labour and Communist Party leaderships.

It is not surprising then, that the present crisis which faces British capitalism—the prospect of increased unemployment, of legislation against the trade unions and of a slump in the building trade—should produce rival gangs similar to those of the thirties.

It is also typical of the frightened petty-bourgeoisie that it should lead these frustrated attempts to return to the moral unions and of a slump in the thirties—to discipline the rebellious youth with the birch.

The only war in which the problem of gang warfare can be resolved is through a struggle to destroy the conditions which give rise to it.

This is a challenge to the YS to give leadership to the working-class youth and to show them that only a united working-class movement can take up this struggle.

M.L., B.P.,  
Glasgow.

## Vietnam

ARE we doing enough about the war in Vietnam?

Every day casualties mount. Tens of thousands of young people in the United States are up in arms against the policy of their government.

We ourselves have organised a considerable number of demonstrations throughout the summer in various localities. But what next?

There is a danger that the campaign against this war instead of being stepped up is now being allowed to fizzle out.

Every day, the policy of the Labour government becomes more and more committed to United States imperialism.

We look to Keep Left to keep up the struggle and to encourage all Young Socialists to stay out demonstrating on the streets until the United States army is withdrawn and the slaughter ended.

West London Young Socialist

## Rhodesia

WILSON's policy in Rhodesia is at one with his home policy. It serves big business, the enemy of the working class.

British imperialism and the white minority have suppressed and enslaved the workers in Rhodesia—and they still rule.

Smith's proposal for declaring unilateral independence will weaken the hold of the City of London over the Central African area.

Wilson's proposal for a Royal Commission on Rhodesia has been welcomed by all the capitalist papers, as well as President Johnson.

The reason is clear: the British imperialists want to be in the strongest possible position before settling accounts in Rhodesia.

The right-wing Labour government continues to twist and turn in the service of its masters, the imperialists. The working class can win only by demanding a policy which includes:

1. Arming the Africans in Rhodesia.
2. Breaking with the imperialists.
3. Throwing out the right-wing Labour government in Britain.

L.H.,  
London.

## Legislation

IF any one thing can be said to expose the role of the Labour government more than anything else it is the question of anti-trade union legislation.

The Labour Party was originally formed as a political wing of the trade unions to defend the working class against anti-trade union legislation.

British capitalism now finds itself in a serious crisis and is forced to take away all the concessions it has given to the working class in the past, which were based on the super-exploitation of colonial workers.

The old trade union and Labour Party bureaucracies, whose job it has always been to limit the demands of the workers to what is possible under capitalism, have now been given the job of directly attacking the members of their own organisations.

The vote of the Labour Party Conference for legislation means, in effect, that the Labour leaders are in the process of destroying the Labour Party.

The role they play now is the same as they have always played. Only the economic conditions have changed.

In the face of these attacks on the labour movement by the Wilson government the workers must demand that the Labour leaders be kicked out of the Labour Party.

Any other demand simply leads to demoralisation for the workers. Only the Young Socialists can put forward this demand. All so-called 'lefts' are completely compromised with the Labour leaders.

In the months ahead the Young Socialists must fight to bring a real awareness to the workers who will inevitably fight against legislation.

As a first step in the fight against legislation the Young Socialists must give their full support to the lobby of Parliament called by the Lambeth Trades Council and must fight to make it an even bigger success than the unemployment demonstration in 1963.

C.F.B.,  
Sheffield.

## In the lead

GOVAN Young Socialists are taking a lead in campaigning against the attacks of the Wilson government.

Recently, local newspapers proclaimed 'thug attacks on busmen' as an explanation of why local busmen at several garages were refusing to work late at weekends.

Busmen told Young Socialists that the real situation was that because of the low wages, and unreasonable hours, the labour force in the corporation is dwindling and one-third of the buses in the city are permanently out of action.

Routes have been slashed with the result that conductors working on 83-seat buses are collecting twice as much on a shift as they used to do.

Meanwhile the worsening bus services are causing big frustration when workers have to wait in long queues for transport. Fares are high and as a result busmen are faced with abuse from passengers.

A 'bring back the birch campaign' is meanwhile being waged by the Tory press in order to try to divert attention from the real situation.

Young and old workers are together in the fight against the employers. The employers require, however, that the youth are isolated from adults, driven into gangs by the police and bad living conditions as a diversion from the real question of fighting capitalism.

★

At a recent important football match, spectators attacked one of the teams. This, of course, gave the Tory press another chance to scream for the introduction of vicious measures, particularly against young people.

But what takes place on these pitches is not football.

Players are selected not according to their playing ability but for religious and social reasons, by the big business syndicates of managing directors that control the clubs, as a deliberate policy. Players are bought and sold like cattle by the big clubs.

Football fans have no say whatsoever in the running of the game. In towns such as Glasgow football serves to revive religious antagonisms between fellow workers.

Meanwhile, a large shipyard in Govan is reported to have presented its 3,000 employees with an ultimatum: work under our conditions or don't work at all. The yard, threatened with closure due to bankruptcy, is putting pressure on the workers.

Local officials have merely kow-towed to the dictates of capitalism and failed to lead any struggle.

Such people can give no leadership whatever. They join in the hysterical witch-hunt against youth, and in the attempts to split the working class.

The Young Socialists in Govan are campaigning to win the support of the busmen, shipyard workers and all other workers to our movement, to build up a rank and file busworkers' movement, to expose the right-wing officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union, and join with dockers and railwaymen in fighting legislation against the trade unions.

M.B.,  
Govan.



# Lambeth Trades Council takes a stand on union law

**K**EEP LEFT welcomes the stand taken by the Lambeth Trades Council in launching a campaign against the Labour government's anti-trades union legislation proposals.

The Lambeth Trades Council, which is one of the largest in London with over 11,000 affiliated members, carried a resolution at a meeting earlier this month calling for a march and lobby of Parliament on January 26 next year.

The resolution, which was sent from an affiliated Electrical Trades Union branch, called for trade unionists and Labour Party members to campaign for the cessation of payment of affiliation fees to the Labour Party unless the National Executive Committee gives a guarantee that the Labour government will not introduce the threatened union legislation.

## Given lead

In taking such action the Lambeth Trades Council has given a lead to the many other millions of workers who would be affected by trades union legislation.

Their fight now is to extend this campaign to other trades councils. Young Socialists must campaign in their trades union branches for a massive march and lobby in London.

The shop stewards' committee at Bristol Siddeley Engines (Ansty) Ltd., Coventry, have passed a resolution opposing any legislation against the trade union movement.

Delegates to the Lambeth Trades Council agreed to fight for support for the demonstration in their branches and on their jobs.

It was decided to set up a special fund and collections are to be organised in union branches and factories and building sites

in the area.

Detailed plans for the campaign are to be worked out by a special meeting of the Council's executive committee, and other labour organisations in the area

will be invited to help in the campaign.

Keep Left urges all its readers in the Young Socialists to act immediately in building up support for the campaign.

## Importance of Marxism discussed by Midlands YS

**A**n all-Midlands school for Young Socialists was held at a holiday camp near Stratford-on-Avon on October 16-17.

Youth from Nottingham, Leicester, Northampton, Corby, Oxford, Coventry and Birmingham took part in what was perhaps the most important and successful school ever held in the area.

Dave Ashby, national secretary of the YS, spoke on the importance of Marxism in the class struggle.

This theory was the only true revolutionary theory in this period of world capitalism, first elaborated by Marx and Engels and later expanded and developed by Lenin and Trotsky before, during, and after the Russian Revolution of 1917.

The school then split into dis-

### Keep Left Reporter

cussion groups led by younger members of the YS.

Questions posed by Dave Ashby ranged from: 'Will there always be bosses?' or 'What is the role of religion in society today?' to 'Will socialism make everyone equal by reducing them to the same level?'

Discussion in the groups was excellent, with almost everyone taking part, and, while some groups continued, other parties of youth went blackberry picking to make jam for the YS bazaar. Others crowded into the television room or played snooker or billiards.

A dance late in the evening brought a great climax to a tremendous day. The Marshall Scott group attracted not only the

## Northern Ireland YS break from Labour Party

By Our Belfast Correspondent

**N**ORTHERN Ireland Young Socialists have taken a firm stand against the attacks made on the working class by the British Labour government and the witch-hunt against the YS by the Northern Ireland Labour Party.

It was decided unanimously by them to disaffiliate from the Northern Ireland Labour Party.

In a press statement issued last month, the Young Socialists stated that they were taking such action 'in protest at the failure of the Party to dissociate itself from the attacks on the

working class by the British Labour government'.

The role of Wilson and Brown, the statement added, had been made absolutely clear by the decisions of the Blackpool Labour Party Conference to strengthen the Immigration Act, to support U.S. war in Vietnam, and to support legislation against the trade unions.

The right wing in the Northern Ireland party were terrified of an influx of working-class youth demanding socialist policies of nationalization and had begun a witch-hunt.

Among those expelled were Jackie Vance, Young Socialists National Committee member for Northern Ireland, who was also a member of the Labour Party's executive, and Northern Ireland YS chairman, Bill McElroy.

The statement adds: 'The expulsions were the culmination of a long campaign of hate by the right wing against the Young Socialists. This involved slanders, refusal of membership, accusations of violence, and the reproduction of the contents of a scurrilous, anonymous letter.'

But, the statement says:

**'The Young Socialists are the only movement ever to succeed in Ireland in organising working-class youth inside the labour movement.'**

'We are proud of our record of struggle. And in this period of betrayal and sell-outs by the Mac-Donald-Wilson leadership we will not allow the working class to be leaderless.'

### From page 1

snowballing of the movement against the U.S. war policy is obvious.

Attorney-General Nicolas Katzenbach has announced that the Justice Department has begun an investigation of 'many' peace organisations concerned with the ending of the draft (call-up), starting with the Students for a Democratic Society.

What worries the government most is the growing support amongst students for actions against the draft.

In spite of police arrests and witch-hunts in the press, the youth are showing spirited determination and imagination in fighting the U.S. government.

In a leaflet produced by the May 2nd Movement and the Students for a Democratic Society, there is an article entitled 'What to do when drafted'.

Its author, Pieter Romayn Clark explains that he rejected pretending to be a homosexual, or insane—some of the tactics tried by

## U.S. students challenge Johnson's war policy

other students—and decided to go along to the central induction centre for the army.

Here he began giving out leaflets to the young draftees. It was only after he had given out nearly 200 leaflets that the military personnel realised what he was doing and confiscated the leaflets.

### PETITION

Later, in another room, he drew up a petition—on the back of a military envelope—and went round collecting signatures. He was stopped after collecting 21 names.

Without further ado Pieter Romayn Clark was rushed through some tests and told he needed a security clearance, would not be drafted, and would he go home—which he did.

In a footnote, Clark adds: 'You are not required to sign the

loyalty oath. Instead—write your feelings about the war in a section called "comments".'

In order to prevent the burning of draft cards among the youth, a Bill has been passed calling for a five-year prison term or a 5,000 dollar fine, or both, for anyone who knowingly destroys or mutilates a draft card.

Students in California have attempted to stop trains carrying troops destined for Vietnam. A police guard was used to force a passage through for the train—steam was turned on the demonstrators, injuring four.

Although the term 'peace' movement is often used to describe the thousands of students who are demonstrating against the war in Vietnam, the very nature of American capitalism, the strongest in the world, dictates that the struggle is far from peaceful.

The U.S. government uses strong-arm police to deal with those who challenge its policy of suppression.

Berkeley (California) students had first-hand experience of this in the summer when they were viciously manhandled by the police.

### POLARISATION

There is, within this anti-war movement, a polarisation of forces taking place. There are those students who do not want the movement to remain merely one of students, but who realise that in order to challenge the Johnson government and capitalism it is necessary to turn to the working class.

On the other hand, the right-wing section of the movement wants to keep out political slogans, to merely call for the ending of the war in Vietnam, without exposing the role of U.S.

imperialism.

The struggle that faces American students in the anti-war movement today is a fight against those who want to hold back the movement and channel it into respectability.

If the tremendous enthusiasm of the American student youth is to be organised into fighting against capitalism, its lust for profit, its suppression of the working class, and its absolute brutality, then they must take their campaign amongst the Negro workers of Harlem, New York, Chicago and Los Angeles and unite in a common struggle, not for pacifism, but for socialism.

To challenge the Johnson government's aggression in Vietnam is to challenge U.S. imperialism, and the only way to do that successfully is to recognise the power of the working class, headed by a Marxist leadership.

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