

YS firm on socialist policies



Brighton conference shows the way for Labour.

IN its eagerness to hound the Labour youth movement the national Tory press has given numerous false reports of the fourth annual conference of the Young Socialists held at Brighton this year.

Keep Left intends to nail these lies and give a correct outline of this conference at which the most important steps towards a real socialist policy were taken.

Over 300 delegates from branches all over Britain discussed and moved resolutions on important issues such as: nationalization, conscription, immigration, housing, unemployment, United Nations, education and the police in a two-and-a-half-day conference that never had a dull moment.

In spite of attempts from the right wing, headed by Reg Underhill, national youth organiser, to split the left by dragging such 'lefts' as Ian Mikardo, Anthony Greenwood and Wedgewood Benn onto the platform, the Young Socialists showed the working class of this country that youth will stand by them, whatever the Labour leaders may do.

Keep Left congratulates the Young Socialists on the firm stand they took in passing a resolution supporting the power workers' fight for better conditions.

Such actions will give fresh hope to these workers who have just been so shamelessly betrayed by Wilson and his crew.

Under the expert chairmanship of John Robertson this conference showed that the Young Socialists have taken the question of a Labour government very seriously indeed.

The resolutions passed are no reflection of a sham fight. They are firm policies which the right would do well to take note of.

'Tribune', that tired weekly effort of an even more tired selection of so-called 'lefts' attempts to whip up a big scare about 'how long have the Young Socialists to live?'

These are the speculations of little men scared by a strong militant spectacle.

On Easter Sunday and Monday the public saw the ridiculous position of a Tory press coming out in support of 'Signposts for the Sixties' in a desperate attempt to discredit Labour's youth organisation, who rejected it by 159 votes to 141.

However, in spite of all attempts to make them drop their firm socialist stand, the Young Socialists showed more than ever their solidarity in the working class fight to kick out the Tories.

Keep Left

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for
socialist youth

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The fight for policy is a fight against all witch-hunts

THE political confrontation at the Keep Left meeting, held at the Bedford Hotel, Brighton, on the Sunday evening of the Young Socialists Conference proved too much for most supporters of 'Young Guard' and their right-wing buddies.

These two tendencies, especially those around that paper, began jumping up and down, screaming and shouting hysterically when John Robertson, a YS National Committee member, about to be expelled from the Labour Party, told them the truth.

As he objectively unravelled the sordid story of the 'Young Guard' supporters' gradual capitulation to the right wing they continually interrupted.

CONTROL

But, as in the conference, Robertson's political understanding and self-control knocked the fantastic amount of hot air, emitted by many emotion-strung state capitalists, into the rafters.

Said Robertson: 'Most of you will be aware of my statement which said the reason I had advised people not to vote for me in the ballot for the National Committee was because, in all probability, I will be expelled from the Labour Party in a month's time for allegedly selling Keep Left.'

He said he had continually been opposed to the ban on Keep Left and thought that anyone who fought for socialist policies would have fought against the expulsion of Roger Protz, editor of the paper.

'There is no distinction between the fight against the witch-hunt and the fight for socialist policies,' he commented.

'But I have not at any time sold the paper since its proscription. The charges against me are completely wrong. I deny every allegation that the right wing have made.'

'I will fight continuously against these people. This political act by the right wing is an attempt to destroy the leadership of the Young Socialists, an attempt in the witch-hunt against the Young Socialists Conference decisions and ideas.'

'In this light we have to weigh up the conference and look

where people, like some of the so-called lefts, stand.' (See page 8 for another section of Robertson's speech dealing with 'Young Guard' and the so-called lefts.)

In his own Federation a 'Young Guard' supporter had said that the unemployed cannot fight their predicament, because they are not members of the working class!

ALLIES

'This is the theorising of these so-called lefts. Their alleged analysis of the ballot for the National Committee in certain areas used terminology like "left unilateralist", which shows how vague their politics are.'

'They have no decisive political line and are now big political allies of the right wing.'

Several people rushed to the platform and shouted hysterical, emotional speeches while others made 'fighting' speeches which further indicted the actions of

'Young Guard' supporters.

Answering points Robertson said: 'I make no apologies to the political nonentities who are not prepared to build a leadership.'

Uproar followed again from the rear of the hall, where the 'Young Guard' supporters were huddled, when Robertson said: 'I made a political characterisation and I stick by it. You are political scabs. You desert the fight to build a mass YS as soon as the right cracks the whip.'

Roger Protz traced the crisis of the Tory government over the past few years and spoke of the possibility of a Labour government after the next election.

For four years the Young Socialists have laid down socialist policies at conference.

A strong youth movement would have to spearhead the fight for these policies in the Labour Party.



A section of the audience at the Keep Left meeting in the Bedford Hotel, Brighton.

No future for youth in drab coal communities

IN the South Yorkshire coalfields, historically a large section of militancy in the working class, young and old miners alike are making demands of a future Labour government.

In this area the Labour Party has worked hand in hand with the trade union leadership in trying to smash the working class.

For, as they say, 'What do you need to strike for when you run the industry and Lord Robens, a Labour man, is at the top?'

Examine this in the light of a Labour government and we can see the same appalling excuses made by Wilson and Co., when they impose wage freezes and condemn strikers. At the moment as the 'statesmen of Labour' they see themselves as running capitalism, not destroying it.

Two-faced

But in many sections the miners have seen through the two faces of the trade union leadership. Several pits, such as Denaby and Darfield Main, are constantly in battle both with the National Coal Board and the National Union of Miners whose constant plea is 'go back to work, we'll settle it with the gaffers'.

Youth are often at the front of the working class struggle though many are denied jobs because of mechanisation. Even the youth who do manage to get jobs feel viciously the sting of capitalism.

Many young miners are denied face training and many are thrown into dead-end jobs. One of the bosses said: 'They only come to work to cause trouble. They don't have the responsibilities of a family and kids.'

Safe position

Strangely enough the same tale is told by the trade union leadership who are harassed by the youth's demands as they know it will endanger their safe position.

Thus the working class struggle assumes a different form in these areas. It becomes a struggle for survival.

Lord Robens moves in closing pit after pit. In the last six years the labour force has dropped by 150,000 to the

present level of 500,000—what do these figures mean?

Misery, frustration and humiliation for thousands of miners, old and young, their wives and families. The disruption of whole communities as miners from Scotland and the north move south in order to find work. Working-class murder and suffering as accidents, dust and the incidence of lung and chest diseases increase with mechanisation.

The former owners, and the NCB today, built the villages around the pits and in all these villages the closure of the pits means almost the closure of the town.

The NUM, when formed, took a direct syndicalist line. Its policy was one of bringing the economy to its knees by striking.

Fat maggots

Today syndicalism, not consciously, but in a frustrated form, takes place in South Yorkshire. The workers in a conscious struggle for power do not see the Labour Party as a political working class party, they see instead a load of fat maggots on the body of the working class.

In many eyes the Labour Party has sunk to the depths of degradation almost equal to that of the Tory Party.

'They're all the same,' and 'Labour never does nowt for us,' are common phrases used by the working class.

The Communist Party is as bad with its bankrupt Stalinist policies of winning positions instead of fighting for the needs of the class through struggle.

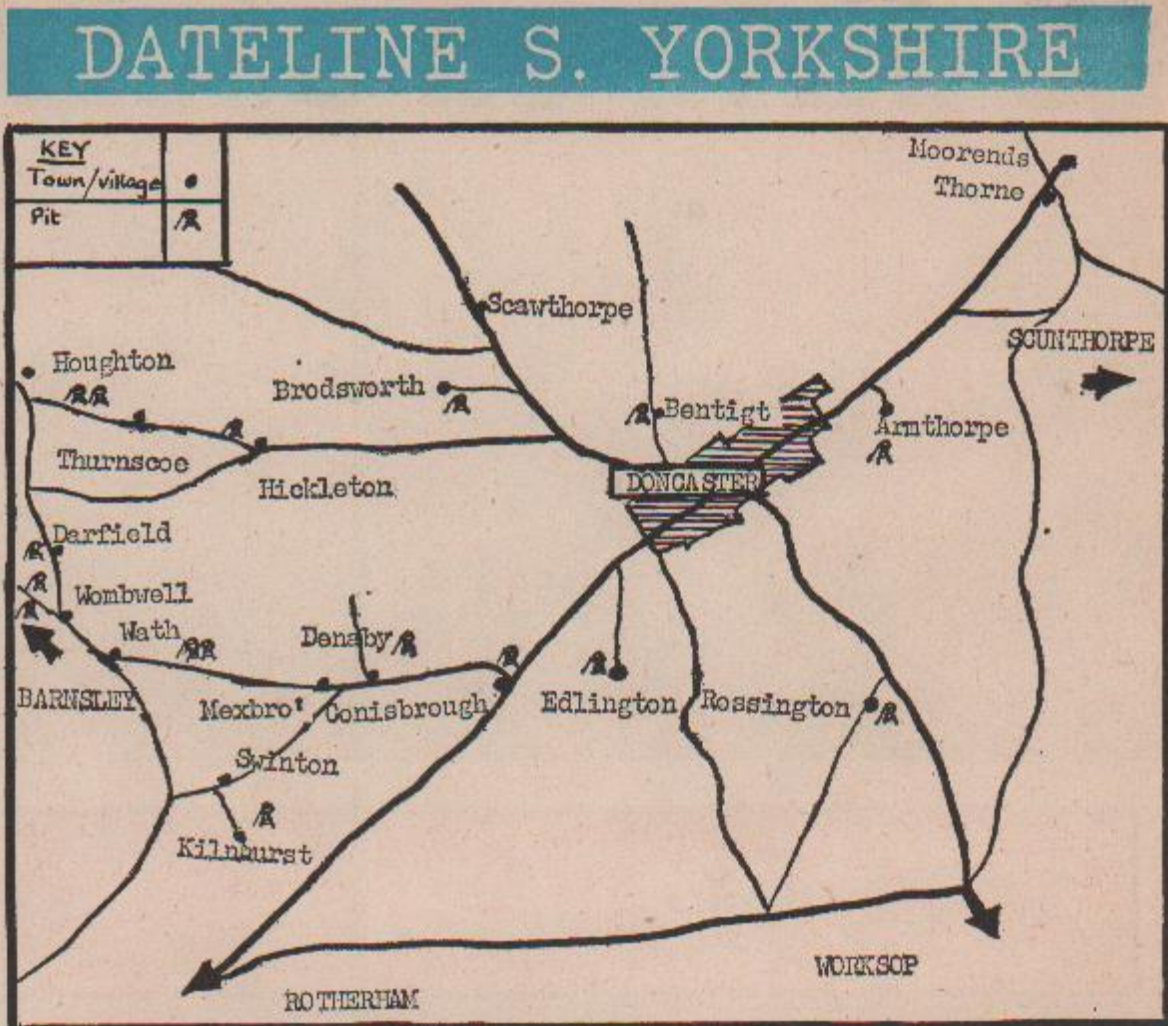
Kicked around

What are the needs of the class in struggle, you may ask. Take a look at some of the villages:

Edlington, with a population of 14,000 the pit entirely dominates the village. The only other employment is in the village shops! It is a sad fact that there are many more boys than girls in Edlington.

As for facilities for youth, the only entertainment seems to be being kicked around by the police. There is no dance hall (except private ones), no picture house, one snooker hall (shortly to be closed down) and a youth club.

The youth club, run by the West Riding Authorities, is a



sight for sore eyes. It is run by a youth 'leader', a middle-aged man whose 'lead' is to collect sixpences and occasionally throw 'undesirables' out.

Occasionally one of the committee will visit the club to see that the 30 or so youth are behaving themselves and give the youth leader, who 'can have anything I want', a pat on the back.

The largest youth organisation is the Young Socialists whose membership is 60-odd. The members were recruited from the street corners and many of them have experience of police brutality.

Party membership

The members recently organised a successful dance of 200 youth at the miners' welfare, almost solely from Edlington.

Wombwell. Three pits encircle this village, Darfield Main, Wombwell Main and Cortonwood. In a population of 19,000 the Labour Party's membership was, at the beginning of the year, 50.

Even more surprising is the fact that the Labour council has been returned unopposed for the last 30 years! The popularity of the Labour Party can be shown by the fact that they hope if the death rate remains constant and no more people go there, enough houses will become vacant for young, newly married couples.

'Replacement rate'

Not a private housing estate exists and on one of the few council estates the streets triumphantly bear the names of the 'replacement rate' council.

The youth's lot is again a poor one. There is no recognised dance hall except for six months of the year. Then the baths is converted into one.

The village had two picture houses, but because profits were not high enough or losses were being made, they were both

turned to bingo dens. Only because two anti-bingo demonstrations were held was one picture house reopened.

There are several youth clubs in the village, if you go to church. There is one run by the Education Authorities with the usual youth 'leader'.

As one youth said, 'You've got to be interested in drama or classical music.' That is the alternative, or otherwise God is the answer!

Public houses

There are numerous public houses which most of the youth go to. As a Judge in Barnsley said while fining a youth for drinking whilst under age: 'The instrumental groups in public houses are a menace because they often attract youth in who are under 18.'

No, judge, the reasons they are attracted is because there is nowhere else to go.

Many cases of police brutality are known in the village. One youth who was drunk was mauled by the police when he said he was Irish.

Held dances

Again the main organisation is the Young Socialists. With a membership of 60 they have doubled the Labour Party in the last three months and succeeded in taking a 36-strong coach down to the London lobby.

They have held dances of 150 youth and are making plans for a series starting this month.

Thorne. A large mining town with no pit! The only colliery was closed down 7 years ago. When it reopens shortly with reorganisation and automation the labour force will have been cut by 50.

The miners at the moment are being taken by pit buses to surrounding collieries, the nearest one being 6 miles away.

Many colliers are working at Edlington and Hickleton—the buses leaving at 4 a.m. and

returning at 3.15 p.m.

For youth the same tale is recounted. There are no dance halls, one picture house (used for Bingo two or three nights a week) and one youth club run by the church. Police have stopped youth from hanging around the shops. All this for a population of 20,000 plus.

These are just a few cases. All the villages carry the same story: no facilities, no jobs, police brutality and the degrading drive of the working class towards beer, bingo or the telly.

Conscious voice

The Young Socialists in this area are the conscious voice of the youth. They demand:

Immediate and future shorter working hours to eradicate the disastrous social effect of modernisation and automation in the pits.

Safety precautions enforced. Human lives, not speed-up, should be the immediate demand.

Workers' control of the pits for better efficiency and consultation with the people who do the work.

Full pay for young miners when trained and better provisions made for jobs for youth.

No more compensation to be paid to the former owners and interest payments cut.

From the increased profit (£44 and £33 million in the last two years) better facilities and generally improved conditions of the working class in the villages.

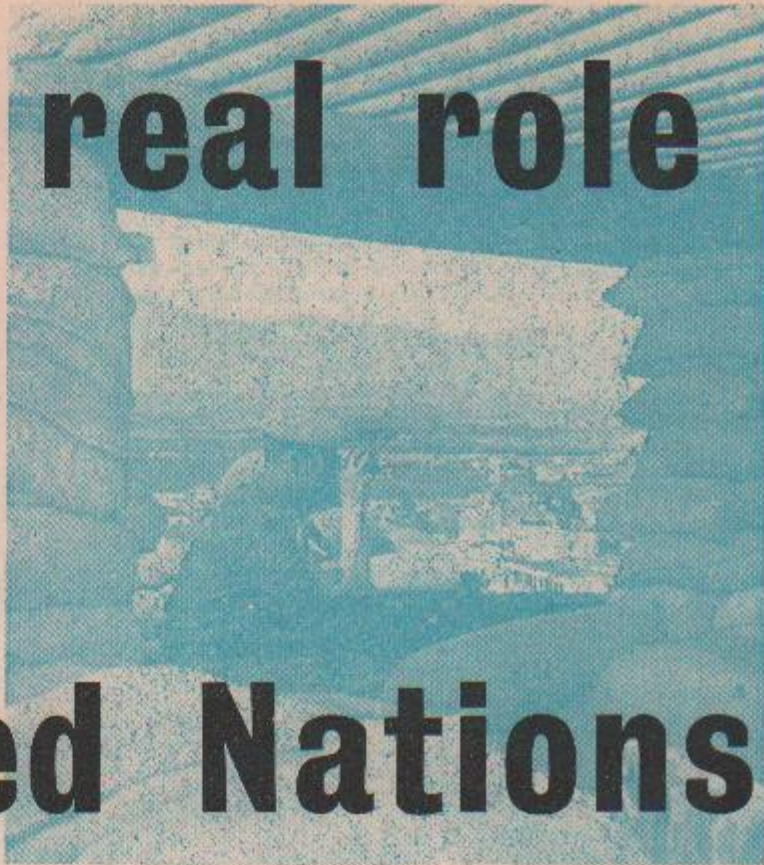
Nationalization of all the cinemas to prevent Bingo or other profiteers taking over.

A thorough investigation and reorganisation to be made in the police force.

A drive to embrace all sections of working class politically in the unions, for complete democracy not bureaucratic control.

For the Labour Party to find the needs of the class through building a large organisation, in preparation for the general election.

The real role of the United Nations



CAN the international working class advance towards world government and secure peace through the United Nations Organisation?

At their conference this year Young Socialists gave an emphatic NO to this question.

A glance at the conditions laid down by the United Nations before the capitalists are advised to invest their money in an underdeveloped country shows on which side this organisation is really fighting.

These are just a few examples:

- Security of life and property.
- Availability of opportunities for earning profits.
- Payment of fair compensation in the event of nationalization of foreign enterprises.
- Absence of vexatious control.
- Absence of competition of state-owned enterprises and private capital.
- A general spirit of friendliness to the foreign capitalist.

Above all the United Nations demands is the one which says there must be 'political stability' in the country. What all this meant in practice was clearly seen in the Congo.

The 'political stability' required in the Congo was of the kind which would guarantee the Belgians their possessions, especially their interests in copper and diamonds.

The Belgians saw a danger in the central elected government led by Patrice Lumumba.

Their aim throughout the whole bloodthirsty business was to replace Lumumba's revolutionary government by a federal one.

They hoped that through this it would be easier to create conditions of disunity whenever their properties were threatened.

Disturbances were provoked in the army and shortly afterwards the United Nations was called in.

The pace of events was rapid and complicated. An obscure

army officer called Mobutu arrested Lumumba, who had the support of the parliament.

Mobutu was, in fact, hand-in-glove with the Belgian-Kasavubu clique which, upon Lumumba's arrest, received a donation of £1½ million from the United Nations. Mobutu is reputed to have received liberal sums of money from the Belgians for this service.

Lumumba was considered too popular to be kept in 'preventive custody' for long. Kasavubu wanted to deliver him into the hands of the pro-Belgian Tshombe of Katanga province.

According to Tshombe Kasavubu is supposed to have said: 'We will send you Lumumba and you finish him off.'

He was transported to Katanga in a United Nations plane and with the organisation's escort but even before he arrived, says Tshombe, he was dying from wounds inflicted during that flight.

Today we are in danger of much the same situation developing in Cyprus.

Whatever the strategic value of Cyprus to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, a solution by the people of Cyprus themselves would, according to the Tories, result in an access of strength to the native Communist Party.

But partition would leave behind it a legacy of bitterness for generations of Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

The harm done to the cause of working class unity would hold back socialism for decades.

Unity between Greek and Turkish Cypriot workers can only be forged in the struggle for socialism and that necessitates the withdrawal of all troops, including those of the United Nations.

'Peace-keeping' activities of the United Nations succeed only in keeping the international working class divided and impoverished.

Workers have no control over the powerful men who sit in the United Nations.

Only when the international working class creates its own movement to disarm capitalism will it be possible to secure peace and world government.

'Socialism', wrote Lenin, 'requires for its basis a world economy on a common plan controlled by the working class of all nations.'

It is no accident that those Young Socialists who have consistently fought to build such a movement in Britain by mobilising youth around the Young Socialist policies and the unemployment campaign are the very ones condemned by the right wing for withholding support from the United Nations.

The right wing has clearly learnt a lesson: don't attack the unemployment campaign but try to split the left and get its most active members expelled on the question of the United Nations.

Lumumba was transported to Katanga in a United Nations plane



Big shock for Mersey shipyard apprentices

WORKERS in the shipyard of Cammell Laird's at Birkenhead were told last year, in a glossy leaflet put out by the firm, how the securing of a contract to build nuclear-powered Polaris submarines would mean a happy future for the yard, and at the same time ease the high unemployment rate in the Birkenhead area.

'Now,' said Mr. Johnson, managing director of Cammell Laird, 'we must all put our shoulders to the wheel for the sake of our yard. Workers and management must co-operate.'

But early this month any illusions which workers might have had that Mr. Johnson would put his 'shoulder to the wheel', were smashed when out of the blue he announced a system of half-time working for 48 electrical apprentices.

ALTERNATE WORKING

Under this scheme 23 apprentices would work for Laird's during one month and the remaining apprentices would work there the second month.

The other four weeks they would spend either on the dole or working part-time elsewhere.

The 'sparks' are the first to be affected, but members of the Boilermakers' Society fear that their apprentices will be next and that some iron trades might dispense with apprentices altogether.

The local labour movement at present seems to think the only way to solve the problem is in the local government employment committee.

A spokesman for this committee told the press: 'It is not the fault of the firm. They have our sympathy. There is no sense in having apprentices hanging round doing nothing. When they are off they can get on with their studies and also draw their dole to which they are entitled.' (!)

SYMPATHY

So the employer gets all the sympathy, while the sacked apprentices can spend half the year queuing at the dole for a miserable few bob. This is no way to fight the problem. It will only encourage Laird's to pay off more apprentices in the future and to treat them as they wish.

But this is only half the picture. It spotlights the real light of all apprentices.

A spokesman for the Electrical Trades Union told a Keep Left reporter that his union had been amazed to find that the adventures which apprentices

sign give them no protection whatsoever.

In fact, they are documents solely drawn up for the benefit of the boss.

Apprentices cannot strike to improve their conditions or in sympathy with their older workmates. They are subject to all the petty restrictions and prejudices of foremen and managers, while in return they are paid miserable wages.

Behind this move at Laird's is a longstanding desire of the big shipbuilding firms to completely reorganise labour in the yards.

REORGANISATION

Cammell Laird themselves announced this month that following the modernisation of the shipyard at Birkenhead they are now carrying out a complete reorganisation of their administrative structure.

There can be no doubt that they intend to take this opportunity to carry through changes in their training scheme at the yards.

In the March issue of 'Shipping and Transport' a major article is devoted to this very problem.

Mr. M. A. Sinclair Scott, Chairman of Scotts Shipbuilding and Engineering Co. Ltd., makes a call for the urgent reorganisation of shipyard labour.

He says: 'Modern techniques in shipbuilding have altered completely the way in which ships are built and have resulted in a great degree of mechanisation which involves less reliance upon the craftsmanship of the individual.'

'FLEXIBLE'

'We still require skilled men—we still require craftsmen—but shipbuilding in the second half of this century demands that their training should be flexible so that they can do more than confine their skill and experience to one particular type of work.'

In other words the employers want to do away with apprentices as they exist at the moment and prepare the way in the industry for one pool of semi-skilled labour able to be moved from job to job at will.

It is time the whole trade union movement did something about the problems of apprentices.

Immediately at Cammell Laird, instead of sympathising with the employers, they must demand work or full pay to the apprentices laid off.

This case also raises the urgency of the demand for training centres for youth under trade union control.

This is something the next Labour government must do something about.

FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

THE Young Socialists conference held in the Corn Exchange, Brighton, at Easter, was the most serious and objective gathering of Labour's youth in its four-year history.

From the beginning to end, the majority of delegates continued pressing for and succeeded in laying down a positive socialist policy.

They must now fight for the implementation of this policy by the Labour Party

and a Labour government if elected at the coming general election.

It would be wrong to think that this was an austere occasion.

Discussions were lively, and so too were the attempts, especially in the secret session, by right-wingers and state capitalist supporters of 'Young Guard' to disrupt and confuse conference.

The best example of this was over the issue of the expulsion from the Party of the conference chairman, John Robertson. But Robertson made it quite

clear what sort of conference it would be.

'The policies, ideas and discussion at last year's conference show quite clearly that the YS were very much attuned to the problems facing youth throughout Britain. Over the past year the National Committee have attempted to continue the struggle and fight for these ideas and decisions.

'The highlight of the year was February 11 in London. This demonstrated that the YS is a responsible political movement.

'We are faced with the

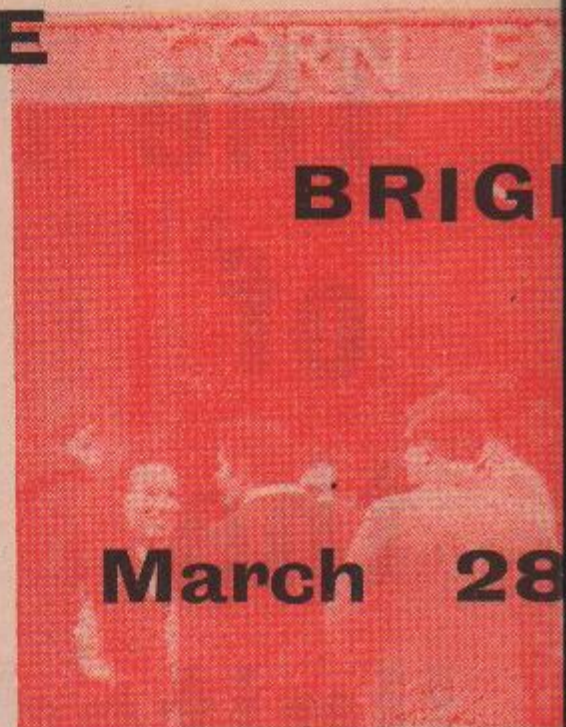
imminent return of a Labour government and the failure of the Tories to solve any problems throws on to the YS a tremendous responsibility. We have shown over the past year that we are capable of shouldering that responsibility and the tasks we are faced with,' he said.

Young Socialists have been criticised that they are only interested in theorising, said Robertson, but that was just a smear.

The conference stood for the biggest possible majority for a Labour government.

He called for support for the power workers.

'Their struggle and the decisions we take are linked together against the Tories,' he commented.



The platform from left to right: Roger Page, Sylvia Fox, Sheila Torrance, David Ashby, John Robertson (chairman), Reg Underhill, Janet Dugdale, John Austin and Ian Mikardo.

Signposts for the Sixties

Immediately conference rejected the call by Gravesend and Northfleet for the YS to accept, 'now it has been elaborated on', the Labour Party policy statement, 'Signposts for the Sixties'. They passed unanimously Reigate and Redhill's resolution urging the next Labour government to implement, to the fullest extent, all policies laid down by the Labour Party annual conference.

In this joint debate the Reigate delegate said the passing of 'Signposts' would prove to the world and the press that we will give a great rallying call to a Labour government.

But this brand of 'unity' had no appeal to most delegates. As Michael Petrou, Lambeth Norwood, pointed out: 'Signposts does not even touch on conditions for working class

people. 'It makes some vague references to the scientific revolution, but this will not mean anything without full support for public ownership of industry.'

He also mentioned vague references in the document to public help for industry.

'In my own area, industry has received help from the government to go up to Durham, and 1,100 Projectile workers are being placed in the position of joining the dole queue.

'Firms are being given financial incentives to take industry to unemployment areas where people have lost their will to fight. This move will mean a complete breaking of the working class,' he said.

He called on the Young Socialists to give a real socialist lead to the country in order

to fight such conditions.

For the National Committee, Roger Page, who 'retired' from the NC to take a job as the youngest paid election agent in the country, panicked.

He judged the feeling of opposition to 'Signposts' and followed his frantic right-wing buddies by crying out:

'It is only a few weeks to go to the election and we are rejecting the Party's policy.'

'Signposts,' he admitted, had 'many drawbacks', but 'it lays the foundation to democratic centralism in this country'.

Following that pathetic contribution 159 delegates voted against 'Signposts' and 141 for.



United Nations

The move by South Bedfordshire to back the United Nations in composite resolution 7 was defeated by a 154-135 vote for an amendment from Wandsworth, Streatham.

Composite resolution 8 calling on the conference to censure 'those members of the Young Socialists' National Committee who failed to insist that the next Labour government strengthen the United Nations' was withdrawn by Michael Connolly, Huddersfield, on the advice of Ian Mikardo.

'What is the sense of condemning or justifying them. We have got important policy decisions before us,' said Mikardo.

This attempt by Mikardo to pacify the anxious right-wingers and stop them from prematurely wielding their axe, did not prevent conference voting against his support for composite resolution 7.

The South Bedfordshire delegate maintained that there should be UN forces in certain countries to be able to deal with such situations as Cyprus.

Streatham delegate, John Roberts, moving the amendment said the real role of the United Nations must be recognised. He outlined the methods used by the UN to prepare underdeveloped countries to be exploited and how it 'trains individual middle class people who will be capable of ruling the indigenous population, while the bosses get on making profits'.

Paddy O'Regan, Paddington South, said that the previous year's conference had defeated a move to support the United Nations by 148 votes to 142 yet some delegates wanted to castigate National Committee members for supporting this position.

'There have been calls in

'Tribune' for the expulsion of these NC members. You might as well say expel the 148 delegates who voted for the decision last year,' he commented.



Mikardo: pacified right-wingers

Conscription

One of the most important debates of conference was on conscription. Only a handful—about 15—voted for it. There was tremendous opposition to the 'official' compromise explained by National Committee member Barry Evans.

The National Executive Committee's recommendation, he said, was that the conference give the resolution qualified acceptance—that it should oppose conscription, except in the event of a national emergency.

'This acceptance, put forward by the National Executive Committee, appears to be out of line with the obvious political composition of the National Committee,' he said.

Moving composite resolution 12 the Southend delegate said conscription was 'still a part of the God, Queen and Country idea'.

Fourteen years ago, he reminded conference, the Labour Party had used troops to break a dock strike and now the army was ready to move in on the power workers' strike.

Rodney Allen, Basildon, said that the Greeks and Turks had lived in harmony in Cyprus until the British troops arrived. These forces had split the people of the island.

'The fight against conscription is a fight against imperial-

ism,' he said. Charles Pottins, Willesden, said that to talk of conscription was to talk in terms of the last Labour government who had used troops for three purposes:

To keep troops in Greece after the war and help put in a semi-fascist government;

To send troops to Korea to help the United States crush the workers and peasants of North Korea;

To keep troops throughout the colonies to incite racialism against these people.

Conference cheered when he said: 'There are only two alternatives. Either we fight other workers in other countries, or fight the Tories.'

'We may have to go into the army to bust it,' he shouted above the increasing applause.

In making his position quite clear on conscription Barry Evans said: 'The Young Socialists will be in the forefront in any move against conscription. We will go forward from this conference and say we will not tolerate conscription.'



Anthony Greig, chairman of the party for unity perspective of Labour policy bringing bomb-free world

His new catch party was 'Let's —for socialism'

Conference with earth again policy making.

Housing and Land

Two resolutions, composite 5 and resolution 63 calling for nationalization of land and the repeal of the Rent Act along with other proposals to relieve 'the misery arising from the lack of proper housing facilities for millions of people... the vast overcrowded and insanitary areas of our towns... which arose from the development of industrial capitalism' were passed.

D. Winton, Leeds South, moving the composite resolution, said the big businessmen who threw champagne parties and smoked eight cigars a day had recently found more profitable forms of investment than

houses—large shopping centres, Meccas, restaurants, etc.

'Contrast these with people living in houses with no hot water, no bath and a lavatory in the backyard which freezes over in winter,' he said.

Chris Davidson, Hackney Central, seconding the resolution, said that in London there were thousands who were homeless, but there were many more houses and office blocks unoccupied. 'We can house everyone if we requisition these. Our slogan should be: One family, one home, and an end to landlordism.'

Dave Ashby, for the NC, said that Tory policy on housing was a class policy 'to which we have to have a class answer'.

'If we really start from the fact that working people have these problems, then there is only one practical solution—the nationalization of the building industry.'



Educ

Composite which 'considers education of still tied rigidly economic interest that is, to train and no more' education reform unanimously a amendment view 'the Labour to stress their public schools'.

Resolution Glasgow, Gorbaling for trade union education was

An ex-public Selly Oak, Birmingham, described how 'the can, for £400 their children a teaching system is one teacher pupils—then lauren on to the work'.

'This system abolished,' he said. It was a waste resources and a was 'steeped ideals'.

OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Nationalization

Four resolutions on nationalization and workers' control were carried by conference.

Both **Sheila Torrance**, NC member, **Tottenham YS** and **Robert Hamilton**, **Irvine YS** who moved and seconded the composite resolution talked of the great pressures of speed-up and unemployment being brought to bear on the working class through the implementation of automation.

Torrance said the only answer to the present problems caused by automation would be to use it to great advantage in a nationalized system.

Both mentioned the fact that the employers recognised the Labour Party would begin

nationalizing some industries. This had resulted in the large anti-nationalization campaigns.

Hamilton said that in one Scottish factory the employers were handing out anti-nationalization badges.

He said that there must be a fight for power in industry.

'We must also return a Labour government pledged to a policy of complete nationalization of the basic industries such as engineering and steel and place them in control of the workers in these industries.'

Emergency Resolutions

On Monday there were two emergency resolutions on South Africa moved by **Wembley North** and **Gloucester**. Both of the speakers in moving their resolutions condemned British imperialism for the part it plays in helping to keep apartheid in existence.

Both resolutions asked the next Labour government to oppose apartheid.

An opposition speaker from

The secret session opened with a move for a reference back of the standing orders' committee report. The committee had received a resolution on the expulsion of **John Robertson**, one dealing with racialism in Smethwick and condemning the Labour MP there for a statement he made, and a general resolution in opposition to all expulsions.

The resolution on Smethwick was passed. There were then many points of order raised by right-wing and state capitalist

delegates. Things became confused.

Next business was moved but was defeated on a recount by 167-145.

Reg Underhill then overruled chairman **Ashby**, who had taken over from **Robertson** who had stood down.

Underhill claimed that the matter of Robertson was sub-judice—no one knew the facts and an inquiry was still proceeding.

If delegates were going to press the matter he would close the conference.

The suspension of standing orders were moved, but Underhill overruled this.

The original state capitalist resolution was then withdrawn.

The reference back of the resolution on Robertson was put and defeated. Although there was much confusion at this stage, it is obvious those labelled 'left Marxists' or 'True lefters' by the capitalist press, linked up with the right-wing delegates to defeat the reference back.

Unemployment

The lessons of February 11 rang hard and true through conference when delegates unanimously passed composite resolution 10 calling on the Labour government to 'give priority to tackling the question of youth unemployment'.

The resolution called for the nationalization of all major industries, shorter working week, training centres and full unemployment pay for unemployed youth, and full dole money for youth going straight from school to the dole queues.

Mike Farley, **Liverpool Exchange**, said that unemployment 'comes home very hard to us on Merseyside. It is not a matter of whether figures have gone up or down'.

He described the fight that Young Socialist members had been carrying out on Merseyside for the rights and conditions of youth on the dole and how this had been used to take people on the February lobby and into the Young Socialists.

Farley also told of the growing trend of automation being used by capitalism and how men with 20 and 30 years experience in industry were being 'thrown on the scrap-

heap'.

Many other delegates from all over the country rose to give details of experiences of similar fights and plights.

Janet Dugdale, for the NC, said the Tories had blamed everything from the bad weather to the trade unions for the phenomenal increase in youth unemployment.

'They can't explain away youth on the dole week after week or those who have not had a job since they left school.'

'We in the Young Socialists must wage a continuous battle and campaign to get to these young people on the dole and bring them into our ranks because victory for a Labour government is the only way to avoid these young people going into dead-end jobs; a Labour government which will direct industry [!], raise the school-leaving age and the only government which will bring the majority of industries in this country under public ownership.'

Like those other 'lefts' Miss Dugdale can certainly choose the right words at the right moment.



Delegates and the platform raise their hands for a card vote.

Immigration and racialism

Using battling **Bessie Braddock**, the Labour Party tried to split what they knew would be a decisive vote against immigration. Her call, on behalf of the NC, to remit the resolution for consideration by the National Executive Committee was lost. Far from clarifying the position, notes on the Party's attitude to immigration which Bessie referred to confused many delegates.

But composite resolution 4, moved by **Mike Petrou**, **Lambeth Norwood**, completely opposing the Tory Immigration Act and asking the Labour Party and next Labour government to do the same was carried overwhelmingly.

The conference, said Petrou, was showing that Young Socialists did not believe any section of the working class was to blame for unemployment or bad housing—these resulted directly from a capitalist system geared to profit and big business.

In a most constructive speech, Petrou claimed the Labour

Party in their recent statement on immigration had completely 'back-pedalled' on the question leaving the YS conference with a choice of either giving the working class a leadership on the question of immigration and racialism or not.

Bessie Braddock read two



points from the notes on immigration which said that the Party was opposed to the Tory Act and that Wilson had

opposed it when it came up for renewal.

She failed to read the section which said 'The Labour Party accepts the need for control over the number of Commonwealth immigrants entering this country. The vital question is not control itself, but how control should be operated.'

'We must be realistic,' Bessie kept on repeating after saying, with a slip of the tongue, that it was a 'compromise resolution', then correcting herself.

Realistic Bessie does not want immigrants coming to Britain until they have a house and a job (to fit nicely into the Tory system, we presume), or until the Labour government can consult with other governments on the matter.

Petrou dealt very ably with Bessie in his reply when he said:

'I would like to ask the Parliamentary Labour Party, where in this statement do you place the blame for bad housing and unemployment fairly and squarely on the Tory government and the capitalist system in which we live?'

Secret Session

Poplar showed that racialism is a very real danger within the Labour Party itself.

'The white Africans were there first and the coloured people invaded their country,' he said. 'The Negroes there are only one step away from cannibalism.'

He left the platform to a loud chorus of hisses and boos, and the resolutions were passed unanimously.

National Committee report

The rest of the session was more settled and some interesting facts were learned from the National Committee Report when **Dugdale** and **Austin** explained their attitudes to the February lobby—both had agreed to it only after much hedging.

Robertson explained how the lobby decision was taken in the NC meeting only by the use of his casting vote against **Bessie Braddock**.

He made a point, which he was to reiterate at the Keep Left meeting later, when he said that the pious people who sneered at such activity as the lobby were political cowards.

Foreign policy

Composite resolution 15 on Labour Party foreign policy was moved by **Govan YS** who said that the socialist policy pursued at home determined the policy pursued abroad.

This resolution puts forward the only concrete proposals as to what policy a Labour government should support in

Barry Evans explained why he and **John Hinks** had not gone to the gathering of the International Union of Socialist Youth in Oslo. It would have been hypocritical to go on a jaunt costing hundreds of pounds when so many people were on the dole and the lobby was so near, he said.

A composite resolution was passed calling for the National Committee to control 'New Advance', the Transport House produced Young Socialists paper.

An amendment calling for an editorial board with regional readers meetings (like 'Young Guard') was lost.

regard to national liberation movements, NATO and other alliances.'

An Amendment, which opposed the Warsaw Pact, was moved by **Harrow Central**.

P. King, **Croydon South**, moved composite resolution 16 which called for the nationali-

(Continued on page 8)

New books

WHO HELPED HITLER?

By Ivan Maisky
Hutchinson, 25s.

THIS book deals with the years 1932-39, and is an attempt to whitewash some of the activities of the Soviet bureaucracy during that period.

It describes how the author, the Soviet ambassador Maisky, tried to make an alliance with the British government against Hitler.

Maisky claims that it was because the British government refused to ally with the Soviet Union that the war broke out and so it was the British government who actually helped Hitler. This, like so much in the book, is only a half-truth and leaves a great deal unsaid.

☆

Ivan Maisky himself has an interesting history. From 1932-39 he held the important post of ambassador to Britain. However, a closer look at his past helps to show what kind of policies this man really represented.

Not only was he opposed to Lenin and the Bolsheviks before the Russian Revolution—he was a leading counter-revolutionary after 1917—he was, in fact, a minister in the White government, which was backing Kolchak in his blood-thirsty war aimed at crushing the new socialist state.

Maisky only joined the communist party after it was obvious

Former Soviet ambassador exposes Tories and himself



'White' guards at work in the Russian civil war. Maisky was a Minister in the 'White' government

that the revolution had succeeded and attractive posts were being handed out.

He came to Britain as ambassador aiming to establish peaceful relations between the two countries and later to form an alliance against Hitler.

This sounds all well and good until we find that this government was made up of some of the most reactionary of Tories.

Maisky describes how some of the leading Tories, including the Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, and the Foreign Secretary,

Lord Halifax, refused to co-operate even after Hitler's troops had marched into Austria and Czechoslovakia.

This group, known as the Cliveden set, met at the home of Lady Astor.

They refused to ally with the Soviet Union because their hatred of socialism was so great that they were prepared to make concessions to Hitler in the hope that he would conquer and destroy the Soviet Union, rather than Britain.

Maisky does well to point out that the government's policy of appeasing Hitler was based on a fear of socialism rather than a fear of war. But it leaves one wondering why he continued to negotiate with Chamberlain, etc., when they were so obviously reluctant to take any stand against Hitler.

☆

Maisky has some revealing things to say about Churchill and Beaverbrook which make you doubt which side of the fence he is really on. They were in favour of an alliance with Russia, but not because they disliked fascism any more than the Cliveden set.

In fact they realised that Hitler was a danger to the British bosses.

Maisky admits this, but then goes on to admire them for being frank. He forgets to mention that when the fascist Mussolini came to power in Italy, Churchill praised him for saving the country from communism.

Lord Beaverbrook's paper, the 'Daily Express', had published many derogatory stories about the Soviet Union and British communists, yet after the war he was decorated with one of the highest orders of the Soviet Union.

☆

This was presumably on Maisky's recommendation, as a reward for backing the alliance with Russia.

But Beaverbrook did this for reasons of his own which were quite against the interests of workers—to safeguard British industries, where workers were exploited, against Hitler.

Maisky says nothing at all about the treachery of the Stalinist bureaucracy before the war. If Stalin, Maisky and their cronies had been real communists they would have allied themselves with workers, who hate war and gain nothing from it.

I.E. Maisky claims that Hitler came

to power because the workers in the Social-Democratic party refused to co-operate with the communists.

This is a downright lie.

When Hitler's movement was growing, the German Communist Party, under orders from Stalin, told its members that the social-democrats, not the nazis, were the main danger.

☆

This split the working class, so they were too busy renouncing each other to ally against Hitler.

In England the Stalinists formed a popular front of everyone who said they were against fascism. What they should have done was to lead the workers in a struggle to bring the Cliveden set and their pro-fascist friends down from power, instead of just trying to form a pact with them.

After seven years of talking to the British ruling class at Lord Mayors' banquets, state openings of Parliament and the numerous upper-class dinners, Maisky tells us that he discovered they did not want an alliance at all.

It took him a long time to discover what every worker knows about the Tories—they can't be trusted.

☆

As a result, the Soviet Union was left in the lurch. However, the Stalinists had learnt nothing. They made a non-aggression pact with—Hitler. But he, too, broke his word when he was ready.

Maisky said that all this was necessary to protect the Soviet Union, but it resulted in war and the slaughter of 15 million Russians.

Since the leading British communist, Andrew Rothstein, translated this book, we can assume that the Communist Party agree with Maisky's excesses.

It is time they learnt that the fight for peace does not depend only on negotiating with capitalists.

☆

President Johnson and Sir Alec Douglas-Home are no more to be trusted than Chamberlain. Fascism itself is capitalism in its most brutal form, and war is the policy of all capitalists.

The fight for peace is in the hands of the workers—they must remove the warmongering capitalists. By failing to point this out the Stalinists, too, were among those who helped Hitler.

V.P.

Behan—let's put the record right

BRENDAN BEHAN, author of 'The Quare Fellow' and 'The Hostage', died a few weeks ago at the age of 41.

His death was greeted by reams of nonsense in such literary journals as the 'Daily Mirror' about Behan the man and hard drinker.

The 'Daily Worker' was content to simply mention his generosity to its fighting fund.

As a small service to Brendan Behan and all those wanting to understand capitalist society and the position of the individual inside it we shall try to put the record straight.

He was the son of a house painter who, like most Irish workers, was often hit by unemployment.

He grew up with his brothers and sister in a working-class suburb of Dublin and learnt some harsh lessons about the domination of the Catholic church and British imperialism over Irish workers.

He became involved with the Irish Republican Army, which bases itself not on the working class but on the middle class and which employs terrorist methods.

Behan spent nine years in gaol as a result of these activities.

When he turned his experiences into plays for Theatre Workshop, publishers, critics, lefts and other hangers-on of capitalism, who never gave a damn about the working class in Ireland or anywhere else, became interested in him.

Behan was boosted as a 'rebel' and an 'anti-hero'.

In 'Borstal Boy' Behan tells of his experiences in an institution which is designed to break any working-class youth.

This book is often amusing but you will find in it no trace of anger against those who run the Borstals or the system which creates them.

Still the myth of Behan the rebel persists, encouraged by the outbursts of drinking and eccentric behaviour and carefully fed by those who stood to gain from it.

The tragedy of this man lies in the fact that his loyalties were with the working class—he turned up at the stewards' headquarters at the Shell Mex lock-out and was liberal in dispensing fivers—but he was unable to discipline and subordinate himself to the working class struggle, which is not a protest movement but a struggle for power.

In spite of his intentions he became a small part of the ammunition of the fake lefts, the advocates of working class culture and ineffective protest movements.

These elements strive to confuse youth and hold them back from taking up the only real means of struggle against capitalism, the working-class movement.

'Poet's-eye-view' of post-Stalin era

A PRECOCIOUS AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Yevtushenko
Collins Hamill, 16s.

ART under capitalism remains in the hands of the privileged and its theoreticians and critics are cut off from the living experience of millions of people, carefully preened and reared in the University archives or ruthlessly tied to the purse-strings of the millionaire press or the fashionable weeklies.

In the Soviet Union, in spite of the stifling monolith of the Stalinist machine over the past few years, young artists and poets are voicing the aspirations of millions of people in Russia and Eastern Europe.

☆

Yevtushenko, the young Russian poet, whose popularity reflects the crisis that has shaken the regime in the Soviet Union since the death of Stalin, now gives us a 'poet's eye view' of the events of 1953 and the struggle of young artists for the rights of protest and integrity.

Yevtushenko has a flair for description of these breath-taking mass poetry reading sessions that took on revolutionary proportions in Poland and Hungary.

It is against the background of the Second World War and its aftermath that he sketches in the intimate pictures such youthful personalities as a poet, Bella Akhmadullina, or the architect Yury Vasilyev, whose 'dream was that one day Beria's house would be put at his complete disposal



Yevtushenko: aspirations of youth

and, out of this monument to corruption and political cynicism, he would create a palace of modern art', as the ageing poet Pasternak.

This autobiography has all the determination of Russian youth who are seeking to realise the great potential of the 1917 revolution and a hatred of the small-minded bureaucrats that stifle the initiative and the imagination of youth to hold on to their privileges—

those who twist show zeal and lie at meetings is not that power is Soviet that matters to them is power

It is this determination that will grip the thousands of youth in Britain who will demand all that should be theirs.

I.E.

Lobby—1

ALL YOUNG Socialists must surely agree with Keep Left that the anti-unemployment lobby was a great success in showing the working class youth that only the Young Socialists and this paper are the ones who are effectively fighting the Tories against unemployment and dead-end jobs.

At the recent East Midlands Young Socialists Conference a local 'Young Guard' supporter claimed the lobby was a flop.

We should not be surprised to hear this kind of ridiculous cynical clap-trap from these people.

They do not want a mass Young Socialist movement, but merely small knitting circles of political commentators.

So, of course, they do not see the point in waging an active struggle against unemployment and dead-end jobs in order to build the youth movement.

Young Socialists should demand that 'Young Guard' supporters give a balance sheet of what preparations and activity they undertook to ensure the lobby was a success in those regions which 'Young Guard' supporters infest.

But whatever the miserable 'Young Guard' riff-riff may blurb out, I feel sure the vast majority of Young Socialist members will thank those on the National Committee, who have consistently waged a vigorous struggle against Tory created unemployment and for their fight to give the Young Socialists an effective leadership.

Thanks are also due to Keep Left for the tremendous work it is doing on behalf of the Young Socialists, the unemployed and the working class youth.

H.S.,
Leicester.

Lobby—2

DESPITE the claims made to the contrary by Mr. Oswald, a Scottish Labour MP in the Tory press, the unemployment lobby of Parliament organised by the Young Socialists has been vital in the fight to build the youth movement.

This has been demonstrated by the developments in the Glasgow area. Before the lobby one branch consisted of only about half a dozen active members. The lobby of parliament provided the chance to make contact with the numerous unemployed youth in the area.

The branch mustered what resources it had and waged a campaign to recruit and build the movement, starting with a dance which advertised the Young Socialists and the lobby.

Members handed out leaflets outside the local employment exchange and discussed with the unemployed youth there. The result of taking a whole busload of young people down to the lobby has been an increase in membership to over 30.

An essential part of this branch's campaign has been a demand for better facilities on the local housing scheme. Regular dances are a part of the branch's activity and through them the branch gains contact with an ever-widening circle of youth.

It has been the experience of the branch that if the Young Socialists find out the problems of the youth and raise them, waging as vigorous a campaign as possible, it rapidly attracts young workers.

Branch meetings have taken the form of a record session, informal discussion, with a break for a short formal meeting.

After this the branch breaks informally into discussion. Formal discussion for any extended period of time is impracticable, not because the youth do not want to learn how to fight, but because they are completely unused to the discipline of a political meeting.

The Young Socialist branch is again preparing to take up a major campaign on the lack of facilities for the youth in the housing estates around Glasgow.

There will be a fight for support from the trade unions and the Labour Party locally. This is the next step on the road to a mass Young Socialist branch.

B.S.,
Scotland.

Fleet Street scared?

LIKE the Young Socialists lobby of Parliament, our Easter conference made them sit up and take notice in Fleet Street.

Providing we remember who hires and fires in that sordid industry, we can learn something from the way in which they talked about the Young Socialists.

The popular papers gave most emphasis to the rejection of official party policy and to the hissing and booing predictably provoked by Bessie Braddock and her little fan club.

They did not report much about the alternative socialist policies outlined in the resolutions and discussions or about the serious concern for working class problems.

Fleet Street tried to give its readers the impression of adolescent anarchism and chaos and kept quiet about the serious policies.

Those people who are always saying that the Young Socialists cannot attract mass support should explain why Fleet Street is frightened of just that.

We should be satisfied anyway that we gained so much attention—it shows we are getting somewhere. When papers like 'The Times' discuss the Young Socialists in their editorials, it means that Top People are worried.

They are really saying to the right-wing labour officials 'keep these people under control for Christ's sake'.

I don't agree with the delegate who made a last pathetic attempt to oppose socialist policies by talking about the 'bad publicity' we were getting in the press.

So long as Tory papers devote space to attacking the Young Socialists it is probably a sign that we are on the right track.

T.C.,
London.

Law and the CP

IN HIS article 'Labour and the Law', your legal correspondent, having dealt fairly well with the need for fundamental reorganisation of law in this country, criticises the Communist Party's programme document 'The British Road to Socialism'.

He asserts that it does not mention one word about the legal system under any kind of government. Has he read this document?

Anyone who takes the trouble to read it can readily see that his assertion is the opposite from the truth.

As a Young Socialist I have read this pamphlet recently and find that in the section on socialist democracy, it deals with such legal matters as: stopping the selection of judges only from a small, privileged section, nomination of magistrates from trade unions, genuine free legal aid and advice, right of appeal to democratic tribunals, ending legal discriminations and class privileges, right to sit on juries irrespective of property and abolition of death penalty and corporal punishment.

J.S.,
Grangemouth.

Building branches

I FEEL that not enough attention is paid by the Young Socialists to the sweat shops which young workers are forced to work in, under terrible conditions for low rates of pay.

The great lesson the Young Socialists learnt from the unemployment campaigns was that you cannot build branches of the youth movement by simply running dances and mouthing a few left phrases.

The work which many of the Young Socialist branches conducted on the doles, taking up the cases of young workers who had their dole stopped for smoking in the youth bureaux or giving cheek to a clerk and those who were blatantly victimised, won many new members for the Young Socialist branches and trained others to fight for socialist policies.

With the development of automation and the modernisation of British industry, the employers no longer need to train as many apprentices for the jobs now done by new techniques. Consequently,



young workers are forced to take manual jobs in very poorly-paid industries.

The Young Socialists should campaign around these sweat shops to fight for better wages and conditions in conjunction with the appropriate trade union.

In this way the Young Socialists will become an even greater fighting force on behalf of working class youth.

I would like to hear if any branches run campaigns like this or are thinking along these lines.

C.R.,
Liverpool.

Mods and Rockers

LATELY the television and the press (including the 'Daily Worker') have been publicising the so-called mods and rockers—the two rival factions into which the young people of Britain are supposed to be divided.

I am slightly puzzled by all this. It may be more evident down south but in Glasgow there is no such division.

Young people are coming in for a lot of attention from all sorts of people from the British Medical Association, to quack sociologists like Mike Sarne.

Their problems, however, are portrayed in a completely distorted manner, filtered through the lens of irrelevances like haircuts, clothes and music.

The basic problems which face young people are unemployment, low wages, bad housing and lack of recreational facilities. But these are seldom brought out.

Instead the attention is focussed on young people's violence and sexual behaviour, although these things spring from economic problems.

All over the country the Young Socialist movement is showing that it can unite young people in an effective fighting force. Could it be that there is an attempt to split the youth and turn their attention to the 'scruffy rockers' and the 'smart mods'?

I hope this letter will start a useful discussion. I would especially like to hear of the experiences of the London members of the Young Socialists.

B.R.,
Glasgow.

Vietnam

THE RICH men ruling the United States are unable to run their system on what they take from the labour of American workers alone. They are driven to make profit out of the misery and suffering of the Vietnamese people as well.

Against their own workers they use the modern weapon of automation in order to drive thousands each day into the millions who live on the hunger-line, and so save money. Against the Vietnamese, modern equipment is used to burn villages and wipe out the male population. Methods of terror are used to suppress a popular uprising.

Surely the duty of a socialist newspaper is to show how the struggles of the international working class and of the Vietcong, supplement each other.

Instead, in the last issue of Keep Left, what we got was a running commentary on the events of the war.

Worse still, it was sometimes difficult to make out on which side Keep Left was fighting.

Why, for example, were we warned against the danger of a 'communist-dominated government in which the other parties would be important hostages'?

What has this got to do with de Gaulle recognising Red China?

The article continues in the semi-hysterical tone of, I am afraid, the capitalist press: 'the number of "incidents" has increased from 300 to 3,500 in one year... government officials dare not enter the villages for fear of losing their lives... civil administration has collapsed... nobody is safe'.

We should worry! As for nobody being safe, the Vietcong is defending the majority of the population against the terror of an American-backed government.

Your article concludes with what you call 'the words of a cynic'—the situation in South Vietnam is 'hopeless but not serious'. What do you mean?

For someone who agrees with the general policies of Keep Left your article was disappointing.

Only by building the Young Socialists and taking Labour the

whole way along the path it originally set out upon can we destroy capitalism and come to the help of colonial workers and peasants fighting for freedom.

G.D.,
Sheffield.

Visiting branches

RECENTLY a circular was issued by Transport House prohibiting Young Socialists (even officers of Federations) from visiting other branches except on invitation.

These were the most desperate measures on the part of full-time officials of the Labour Party to frustrate political discussion and the building of a leadership within the Young Socialists capable of waging a fight for socialist policies.

Reg Underhill and company are only too aware of the considerable embarrassment that the re-election of the left-wing majority to the National Committee of the Young Socialists will cause a Labour government pursuing right-wing policies.

However, this is only one aspect of the work of the right wing inside the Labour Party and trade unions.

As always, repressive measures against the Young Socialists are carried on side by side with collaboration with the employers to discipline the working class as a whole—especially through the various institutions of the capitalist state.

National planning boards like the National Economic Development Council, National Incomes Commission, compulsory arbitration, the intervention of the Ministry of Labour in industrial disputes, government inquiries into trade union law are all ways in which the capitalists, with the help of the Labour leaders, attempt to bring the working class to heel.

Young Socialists should note these developments and make efforts to bring more trade union consciousness into their branches.

Above all young trade unionists should lead the campaign for complete independence of the unions from the state and for democracy within the unions.

H.S.,
Homechurch.

bill reynolds' sporting corner

AT the same time as an eminent member of the Civic Trust, Michael Dower, was giving a lecture on the 'leisure boom' to the Town Planning Institute, the government announced a measly £20,000 grant to the British Olympic Association.

With more leisure time we will want to get out into the fresh air and enjoy it. With roads becoming more choked up we will take to the sports field—if the facilities are available.

This will mean building new playing fields, swimming pools and gymnasiums.

But if the government can only afford to give £20,000 to preserve our sporting prestige in Tokio what chance have we of getting the money for these.

Big business will not pay for new sports fields—they derive no benefit from them. They only finance professional sports and betting sports.

Last year British sport was

given at least £2,399,300 by industry and commerce and the amount of this sponsorship rises annually.

Of this, only £293,000 or 12 per cent helped amateur sport. This included appeals for Olympic and Empire Games and playing fields.

Motoring and motor cycling, backed by a rich industry received an estimated £1,737,000 or 72 per cent.

The betting sports, horse and greyhound racing were given £239,000 or 10 per cent of last year's total.

The three sports that reap thousands of pounds for big business; motor racing, motor-cycling and horse racing get about 17s. 6d. in every pound.

Of the amateur sports athletics and show jumping do best. Most of the international meetings for these sports are held at the White City or Wembley, where they can get maximum advertising coverage.

They also get television coverage, which can mean life or

death to the meeting, as far as the advertisers are concerned.

Football is not listed as it forbids commercial tie-ups with its competitions, but everyone knows that individuals of prosperous companies pour money into clubs for prestige purposes.

What does all this prove? That if sport can help big business, big business will help sport. The more profit they can take out the more they put in.

The present Tory government wants it this way. It is good for big business and doesn't use the taxpayers money to win championships. As we rarely win anything anyway, people are quite satisfied.

Until we can have sport run on truly socialist lines we will get nowhere. Make no mistake, all we need is the money to do things and until we get it—and we can only get the right amount from the government who will not want anything in return—we will carry on in our usual pathetic way.



John Robertson — a statement

This is the section of John Robertson's statement to the Keep Left meeting which deals with the position of the state capitalist publication 'Young Guard' and its supporters.

The history of certain sections of the Young Socialists, particularly those around 'Young Guard' is a history of sellout. 'Young Guard' was created with a specific purpose in mind; to attempt to divert the fight and support for Keep Left against the witch-hunt—for that reason and no other. If we examine the history of 'Young Guard' it was, from the beginning, an amalgam of political tendencies which did not have one political idea in common.

This afternoon [in the secret session on the Sunday of the conference] I described these people as political cowards in the fight for socialist policies. At every step in the fight against the witch-hunt these people have vacillated. "Yes, we support you, but . . ."

"But" was, of course, the back door out for them.

We are now going out to fight on this question. People must make a stand now. Unite with us around the fight for YS conference policies and against the witch-hunt or you are assisting the right wing.

At the conference this afternoon [Sunday] we had a situation where this particular question came up and illustrated exactly the line of these people. An all-out fight was taking place on the question of the witch-hunt [the expulsion of Robertson] when these people confused the issue by introducing a resolution which talked about a struggle against expulsions, bans and proscriptions, in general, abstract terms, whilst ignoring the concrete issue of my own expulsion.

This is the way these people work.

They have no more relationship with policy decisions than the right wing. We will not tolerate any more witch-hunts. We will fight for our decisions of conference. The fight, which must be made to implement these decisions, for political development and political leadership of the working class, is the fight against the witch-hunt.

We make no apologies for that.

If you don't want to fight, get out of our way and stop confusing the issue.

It is possible some comrades will think we have been too sharp, but I don't think so.

This is the only answer.

We have to be sharp on this fight for decisions.

The right wing are extremely sharp.

Big business is extremely sharp.

We cannot afford any vacillations whatsoever.

We fight for policies irrespective of those who vacillate.

We will fight whatever the cost. 9

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Foreign policy debate

'Young moderates' used right-wing vote

CLAIMS have been made since the Young Socialists conference by the 'young moderate' state capitalists that left-wing delegates voted with the right wing in the foreign policy debate.

Keep Left says this is a lie. On the last day of conference composite resolution 15 moved by Govan YS called (in part) for a socialist foreign policy to be implemented by a Labour government in relation to national liberation movements; that the Labour Party should take no part in NATO, SEATO or CENTO as these organisations are purely for the military defence of capital; and withdrawal of all foreign troops.

In their amendment the state capitalists added 'the Warsaw Pact and all other alliances' to NATO, SEATO or CENTO, denouncing the Warsaw Pact as a similar organisation to capitalist military alliances.

They were supported by right-wingers such as Michael Connolly of Huddersfield who said:

'I can see the point of view of people who are against all bombs, but why should people remain with us who believe that the Russian bomb has some God-given qualities about it.'

So, with the help of the right wing, the amendment was carried.

When the amended resolution

COME OFF IT UNDERHILL!

REG UNDERHILL's threat to close conference when delegates insisted on discussing the expulsion of John Robertson during the Sunday afternoon secret session was a bluff, used in an atmosphere of panic.

Who gave Mr. Underhill the right to threaten conference?

On Sunday, March 22, an inquiry was held in Scotland on Robertson.

On Tuesday March 24—just four days before conference—the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party met in London.

But the disciplinary committee did not report to the NEC and the Robertson issue was not raised.

So how could Mr. Underhill be mandated to close the conference in the event of the expulsion being raised?

How could he say the matter was 'sub-judice' when right-wing agents and national committee members had openly told Robertson he was to be expelled?

ROGER PROTZ, who has edited Keep Left since 1961, has now taken on a full-time journalistic position and is unable to continue to edit the paper.

All correspondence and articles for the paper should now be sent to Keep Left, 21 Faunce Street, London, S.E.17.

was put to the vote it was defeated because the right wing abstained. They disagreed with the main terms of the original resolution.

Voting figures were 143-115—a total of 258. Transport House claimed over 300 delegates attended conference.

The amended resolution was defeated, in fact, by the socialist left and not by them combining with the right wing.

Voting on the amendment followed the same pattern by which the state capitalists hoped to gain the London and Middlesex seat on the national committee.

In a pre-conference issue of their paper, 'Young Guard', they anticipated there would be a

second ballot. In the first ballot, they said, Sheila Torrance would get 24 votes, Chris Davidson ('the left-wing unilateralist') and Ben Sawbridge ('less radical but also unilateralist') would share 15 votes each and 'right-winger Glen Barnham would poll 12.

Either Davidson or Sawbridge would be eliminated along with Barnham in the first vote and in the second vote the 'independent left block'—along with right-wing voters—would all swing behind the remaining candidate to defeat Torrance.

In fact Barnham withdrew before the first ballot and despite his additional votes Davidson and Sawbridge were jointly defeated.

YS CONFERENCE —

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zation of the arms industry and a withdrawal from NATO.

He said that many people who had joined CND were led to believe that the capitalist class could be pressurised into disarmament. But nuclear weapons are part of the capitalist class, he said.

Peter Johnson, Rother Valley, moved an amendment supporting true co-operation in the Western alliance. 'The only possible way to prevent war is to maintain the balance of forces,' he said.

In the subsequent discussion much play was made of the 'workers' bomb' by state capitalist and right-wing delegates. They

continued to harp on this theme.

'If we call ourselves socialists, let us oppose all bombs and all bosses,' said David Markham, Carshalton. 'Let us give a democratic socialist lead against all bombs, against all bosses, against NATO and the Warsaw Pact.'

For the NC, W. Hobson recommended acceptance of composite resolutions 15 and 16. He said the national committee did not oppose the Warsaw Pact.

The amendment to 15 was carried but the resolution, as amended, was defeated by 143 votes to 115. 16 was carried and the amendment lost.

(The question of voting on these resolutions is taken up on this page.)

G. D. R.

John Whitehead, Stockport, moved a resolution calling for the recognition by Labour of the German Democratic Republic.

An amendment moved by John Chapman, Solihull, was lost on a show of hands, but the state capitalists demanded a card vote.

This was taken and the amendment was again defeated.

The resolution was passed 139-137.

Chairman Robertson pointed out that there was little time to discuss the important issue of wage restraint, but the state capitalists continued to disrupt the conference.

Ben Sawbridge, Baron's Court, moved the removal of the chairman, but this was heavily defeated.

Incomes policy

On incomes policy, the mover from Birkenhead said: 'The Tories have created the National Incomes Commission and the National Economic Development Council to plan the economy on capitalist lines, to introduce wage restraint and wage freezes and compulsory arbitration of disputes.'

The composite resolution called for opposition to wage restraint of any form and the withdrawal from NIC and NEDC.

Seconder J. Kearney, Croydon N.E., said both bodies were anti-working class.

'Their sole aim is to control the working class and anyone who sits on them is doing a good job for British capitalism,' he said.

Replying for the NC, Anthony Wedgwood Benn said Labour would abolish NIC but that 'we believe that NEDC still has a part to play in an advisory role in Labour's plans. There is nobody who seriously believes you can have an expanding economy without planned distribution of wealth.'

He asked conference to withdraw the resolution, but it was passed overwhelmingly.

Close of Conference

In his closing speech, chairman Robertson said: 'This conference has expressed the opinions and ideas of Young Socialists throughout the country. Let me say, expelled or not, I stand by them

and will fight for them.' Conference closed with the singing of the Red Flag followed by Bessie Braddock's song 'Let's Go With Labour . . . We're the Party That Gets Things Done.'