

Spend your summer holidays with the Young Socialists—

fill in the form on page 12



JUNE 1967

Vol. 16, No. 6

Price Fourpence

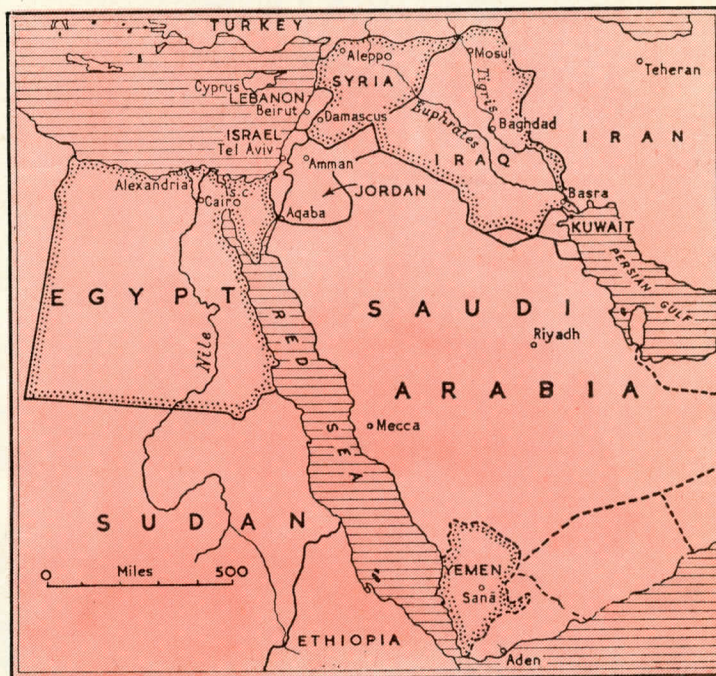
Keep

LEFT

Official paper of the
Young Socialists

WORLD NEWS

Arab, Israeli workers—unite against imperialism



IN COUNTRY after country, crises flare up which reveal the grave weakness of the capitalist system today. The latest flash-point is now the Middle East, which has been for over a century a key area for the imperialist powers.

Not only a vital line of communication from Europe to Asia and the Far East, but a region of immense mineral wealth in the form of oil, the countries grouped around the state of Israel have always been subject to foreign domination and exploitation.

After the last war, liberation movements developed in all the Arab countries, which had suffered for years under either British or French colonial rule.

Both British and French capitalism were severely weakened by the war and forced to concede political independence to most Arab states, at the same time ensuring that these countries continued to be ruled by the most reactionary feudal kings and sheiks.

Arabs expelled from Israel

Fully aware that popular revolts might break out against the rule of the newly-installed Arab dictators, imperialism, assisted by Stalin and the United Nations, set up the state of Israel, expelling from the area many thousands of Arabs.

Many socialists supported the creation of the state of Israel in the belief that it would provide a home for the Jewish people, for so long persecuted by right-wing and fascist movements.

Imperialist plans were not based on such genuine sympathies for the plight of oppressed minorities.

During the war, the British government had refused pleas to bomb the gas chambers at Auschwitz on the grounds that no military advantage could be gained from the destruction of the Nazi's death camp. So much for imperialism's sympathy for the Jews!

Quite the opposite. They cynically used the horrors of the Nazi terror against the Jews to push through their plans for setting up a pro-imperialist state in the heart of the Middle East, based on an army and politicians loyal to the defence of imperialist interests in that area.

Jewish business interests in the United States gave financial backing to the new state and imperialist governments saw to it that Israel's army was the best equipped in the Middle East.

Arab workers and peasants, in no sense hostile to Jewish workers, sensed Israel as a threat to their own independence and the continuation of their struggle to win a better life.

Even the most reactionary Arab governments, such as that of Jordan, were forced by the working people

BY
ROBERT WHITE

to declare themselves opposed to the Israeli government's imperialist policies.

In 1956, their fears were confirmed. The Egyptian government nationalized the Suez Canal, which runs through Egyptian territory.

Immediately the governments of France (many of whose capitalists had shares in the canal) Britain and Israel prepared an invasion of Egypt to seize the canal and place it under imperialist control once more.

As we know, the attempt ended in a fiasco, with the Egyptian government still firmly in control of the canal.

Israel now switched to the use of an inlet off the Red Sea, the gulf of Aqaba, and in this way eased the pressure on its supply routes.

The Young Socialists are far from painting up Nasser's regime as a socialist one, as many so-called Marxists are fond of doing. His government allows no working-class or peasant rights, and is in fact ruled by a military clique which has no intention of surrendering any of its power to the working people.

Nasser's socialist label

Naturally, Nasser chooses to call this regime 'socialist' because he seeks the workers' support in any clash with the imperialists.

Equally important to Nasser, the socialist label secures him military and economic aid from the Kremlin.

Even so, as against the threat of imperialism to begin a war on the Arab people through their Israeli supporters, the Young Socialists stand full square for the defence of the Arab peoples against any imperialist attacks. In Egypt, as in Aden, we call for the victory of the semi-colonial peoples over the British imperialists and their allies.

For the rulers of the Soviet Union, the just struggle of the Arabs is seen simply as an opportunity to put pressure on the US government to negotiate over Vietnam.

The Soviet leaders were, without doubt, shocked when Nasser responded so eagerly to their promptings and actually began to take military steps against

Israel. That was not what Kossygin and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko had intended.

Nasser himself is pushed forward from words to deed by the tremendous anti-imperialist feelings of the Arab peoples. For all the Arab leaders, to oppose action against Israel would be to risk political suicide.

The Soviet bureaucracy steps into the middle of this conflict, not to assist the Arabs to victory, but to harness their struggle to its own game of power politics with the US imperialists.

It would dearly like to wash its hands of the Vietnamese revolution and come to terms with Johnson for a united front against China.

But to leave the Vietcong and North Vietnam high and dry would expose the Kremlin's reactionary role for all to see.

Horse-trading

A deal in which both sides appear to give and take would provide some cover for the sell-outs being prepared in the Kremlin.

What better than horse-trading in the Middle East?

Perhaps Soviet restraint on Nasser in return for American cessation of bombing in Vietnam and a ban on arms to Israel in return for a similar Soviet clamp-down in Vietnam?

We can be sure that these are the deals and the proposals that are being discussed in the world's diplomatic centres and over the 'hot lines', as both the Stalinist bureaucracy and US imperialism struggle together to hold back the world-wide revolt against imperialist domination and exploitation.

Our demand that the Arab peoples should defend themselves against imperialist attacks is a class one. In no way do we endorse the anti-semitic propaganda of the fascists, who see in a war against Israel the chance to continue the work of the Nazis in exterminating the Jews.

In Israel itself, unemployment is rocketing up to around 10 per cent. Mass demonstrations against the government's policies, which are almost identical to those of Wilson in Britain, take place in all the main towns.

The Jewish working class has as much to gain from the overthrow of the reactionary Israeli government as the Arab working class.

We must not be affected by all the anti-Arab propaganda that is being poured out over the radio, TV and in the press, just as it was in the weeks before Suez. Our fight is against the imperialist governments of the US, Britain and France and their stooges in Israel, in defence of the complete independence of the Arab peoples.

Hands off the Arab people!

Arab and Israeli workers, Unite against imperialism!

HONG KONG IN REVOLT

by Pat Leonard



British-trained riot police used against Chinese workers

THE vast continent of China resembles a revolutionary dynamo. During the recent months millions of Red Guards have taken to the streets in massive demonstrations throughout the length and breadth of China.

Now they turn their attention to one of British capitalism's oldest colonies, Hong Kong. In recent days, the treatment meted out by the British colonialists against the oppressed Chinese has incensed the Red Guards, who promptly replied by calling demonstrations and strikes in Hong Kong in a vigorous protest against the rule of British imperialism.

Oppressed colony

Let us make no mistakes about these events. Hong Kong is an oppressed colony and should by rights be part of China. It is a city where sweat shops flourish, making large quantities of cheap goods for markets in the advanced capitalist countries of the West. Wages are low and

Chinese workers work long hours for them.

As far as the recent clashes are concerned, the Young Socialists are entirely on the side of the Hong Kong workers and Red Guards in demanding the withdrawal of British imperialism from Hong Kong.

No right

British rulers have no right to be there and when the Labour government supports the governor it is simply, once more stepping into line with capitalism in complete opposition to the working class.

The history of British rule in Hong Kong and China makes interesting and instructive reading. Whilst the ruling class throws up its hands in horror at the so-called outrages committed by Chinese workers it should be remembered that the ancestors of British capitalism made their wealth from drug peddling—the sale of opium for vast sums of money.

This is the background to the present situation in Hong Kong.

There is, of course, another side to the recent clashes. Mao Tse Tung rules China as leader of the bureaucracy and he has

praised Stalin in his main speeches.

In the past the Chinese bureaucracy has used Hong Kong as an agency through which to maintain contact and trading relations with the West. It was good for business to have such a cosmopolitan area close to hand. During the days of such trading relations Mao kept quiet about the abominable conditions of Chinese workers in the city. To this extent he must share the responsibility for these conditions.

If he is now forced to take action, it is largely because the Red Guard movement represents a big swing to the left in China, which is just as hostile to the forces of bureaucracy as it is to the forces of colonialism.

Background

A great deal of the background to the recent events in Hong Kong has been provided by the upsurge in China, symbolized by the Red Guard movement.

Keep Left has been the only youth paper that has given critical support to the Red Guards. We support them now in the case of Hong Kong.

Science of warfare in S. E. Asia

THE VICIOUS DRIVE of the United States, supported by the employers all over the world, against the workers and peasants of Vietnam has now reached a new stage.

On Friday, May 19, American aircraft bombed the thickly-populated centre of Hanoi, the North Vietnamese capital, flattening houses and buildings, whilst at the same time 13 battalions invaded the 'demilitarized zone', a supposedly neutral strip along the border of North and South Vietnam.

Heavy casualties

Increasingly heavy casualties of the American forces have forced Johnson to extend the war and to crush the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese.

But the National Liberation Front has shown that it is not going to be terrorized into sub-

mission, as a recent report from American novelist Mary McCarthy makes clear.

In this report she gives details of American activities in Vietnam, particularly of the Central Intelligence Agency. She shows the corruption of the South Vietnamese officials:

'It was monotonous to hear everywhere the same stories of thieving at the expense of the poor; only yesterday an unusually frank OCO (Office of Civilian Operations) man had been telling about what happened with a distribution of clothing donated through AID—the best clothes had been pilfered by the authorities.'

But since bribes have to be paid in order to qualify for such distributions, this pilfering will make little difference to the standard of living of those who cannot afford clothes, as they cannot pay the bribes either.

But it is on the information given on the CIA and the 'strategic hamlets' that the report is most interesting. South Vietnamese are taken over to the

by
Nick Peck

Michigan State University where they are trained in Political Science and where the South Vietnamese police force was trained.

When they are considered adept enough they are returned to Vietnam and set to work in the 'strategic hamlets'.

These 'hamlets' are stockades, patrolled by guards and surrounded by barbed wire. Discipline is strictly enforced with frequent public executions to serve as a warning.

Crops poisoned

On this Mary McCarthy comments:

'Persons consenting to be resettled in a strategic hamlet had their houses burned and their crops sprayed with poisonous chemicals. . . The US government paid compensation of course.

'Those who did not agree to re-location were removed forcibly and the villages burned and sprayed anyway. Some reluctant peasants and village elders were executed, as examples, by the Vietnamese Army . . .; the settlers (!) were ordered to pay special taxes; often the compensation money was not paid over.

'They were ordered to get relations in the red zones to join them within three months; if they failed to recruit them they were punished.'

Small wonder that many of these hamlets quickly join the Vietcong.

These conditions in the American-held territories and the steady intensification of the war make nonsense of the claim that the American troops are there to defend 'democracy'.

What is involved is a warning to the workers and peasants of Asia and a preparation to win back the greatest victory—China.

The Young Socialists, as internationalists, give full support to the struggles of the National Liberation Front and ally our-

selves with them in a common fight against imperialism.

The present extension of the war comes just after demonstrations of over 100,000 in San Francisco and Washington and after the War Crimes Tribunal of Lord Russell found the US government guilty of war crimes in Vietnam, thus exposing the complete bankruptcy of such movements, which have no revolutionary perspective.

YS task

The Russell Tribunal in Sweden and peace marches of thousands cannot defeat imperialism.

The task of the Young Socialists and their supporters all over the world is to mobilize the working class against imperialism, to strike a blow against imperialism in the advanced capitalist countries.

That is why our programme is to organize for the International Assembly of Socialist Youth where we shall discuss Vietnam as part of the world problem of defeating capitalism.

Continuing our series on Marxist theory

BY THE BEGINNING of this century, great changes were occurring in the structure and functioning of capitalism which made it necessary for the leaders of the Marxist movement to make a new analysis of the stage which capitalism had reached on a world scale.

Marx and Engels always paid great tribute to the achievements of the capitalist system of production in its early days. They pointed out that compared to the older slave and feudal systems, it had raised the production of material goods to a completely new height.

Starting with Britain, where modern capitalism first gained dominance, it had, by the end of the 19th century, been responsible for the industrialization of much of Europe; the population of the world expanded enormously; and great developments had occurred in techniques and methods of production.

These gains had only been made at great expense in terms of human suffering and exploitation on the part of the newly-created working class which had to endure the horrific conditions in the Industrial Revolution.

The 20th century, however, saw an end to this phase in capitalism's history. By this date capitalism had established itself as a world system.

It had spread its power and influence onto a world scale, driving out all pre-capitalist modes of production and bringing the whole of Asia, Latin America and Africa under its sway.

This new stage was summed up by Lenin in his famous work, 'Imperialism', written in the middle of the First World War. In it Lenin set out the main features of the system in its imperialist stage.

They can be most easily listed as follows:

1 The dominance of monopoly in all the leading capitalist states. In the 19th century capitalism had been characterized by a high degree of competition between many relatively small firms in each industry.

But the struggle between capitalists for markets, profits and raw materials produced a situation at the end of the century which was the opposite of this position.

Now a few firms in each industry dominated production, often sharing out the markets between themselves and restricting production in the interests of profit.

A glance at capitalism in this country (or even more so in the United States) shows how true this is of present-day capitalism where in nearly all major industries—steel, motors, chemi-

als, engineering distribution, etc.—a handful of giants control everything.

2 Under this monopoly capitalist set-up the banks played an increasingly decisive role. No longer were they simply financial intermediaries to provide funds, etc.

Now they became major controllers of industry themselves. Bank and industrial capital tended to merge ever more closely together, especially on the Continent of Europe.

3 The dominance of European and United States capital over the rest of the world was secured in the main through the export of capital.

Even in its infant days capitalism had always engaged in the buying and selling of goods on a world scale. What was new in the imperialist phase of capitalist development was that firms and banks from Europe and North America began to establish capitalist enterprises abroad and invest massive funds in African, Asian, and South American countries which they controlled either politically or economically.

These developments were not accidental.

By investing in these areas the capitalists obtained rich sources of raw materials and cheap foodstuffs as well as markets for their surplus goods.

More important than this, they were able, by taking advantage of low wages and lack of trade union and political organizations in these countries, to boost their profits to obtain 'super profits'.

4 Capitalism had now reached a stage where the entire world was divided between the leading industrial giants concentrated in the leading capitalist or metropolitan countries.

5 In this stage capitalism was no longer able to develop the forces of production in a systematic and progressive manner.

Millions of workers and peasants in the poorer countries were forced to live in conditions of poverty and near starvation while wealth was more and more concentrated in the hands of a few capitalists in the metropolitan countries.

Increasingly all the gains of science and technology were turned against themselves.

Modern science was used as a means of waging war between the leading capitalists for the markets of the world; technological change brought not improvements in living standards but created unemployment and poverty on a massive scale.

What were the political lessons which followed from this analysis which Lenin and others made?

Lenin insisted that it was no longer possible, under imperialism, to win consistent reforms for the working class.

Capitalism had now come to the end of the road. It could no longer afford to grant the working class steady improvements in its wages and living standards, concessions which could be obtained peacefully through parliament.

Imperialism represented the capitalist system in permanent crisis.

War, hunger, poverty, racialism and revolution were now normal features in economic and political life which would be brought to an end only when the capitalist system was overthrown.

In particular, it was essential to conduct a ruthless struggle against those tendencies in the working class who tried to deceive the working class that benefits were possible under the imperialist system, who tried to tell the working class that revolution and the violent overthrow of the system were not necessary.

Leading figure advancing these ideas was Karl Kautsky in Germany.

Of course many changes have occurred since Lenin wrote his work 50 years ago.

The working class in Russia and later in Eastern Europe and China have broken free of the capitalist system.

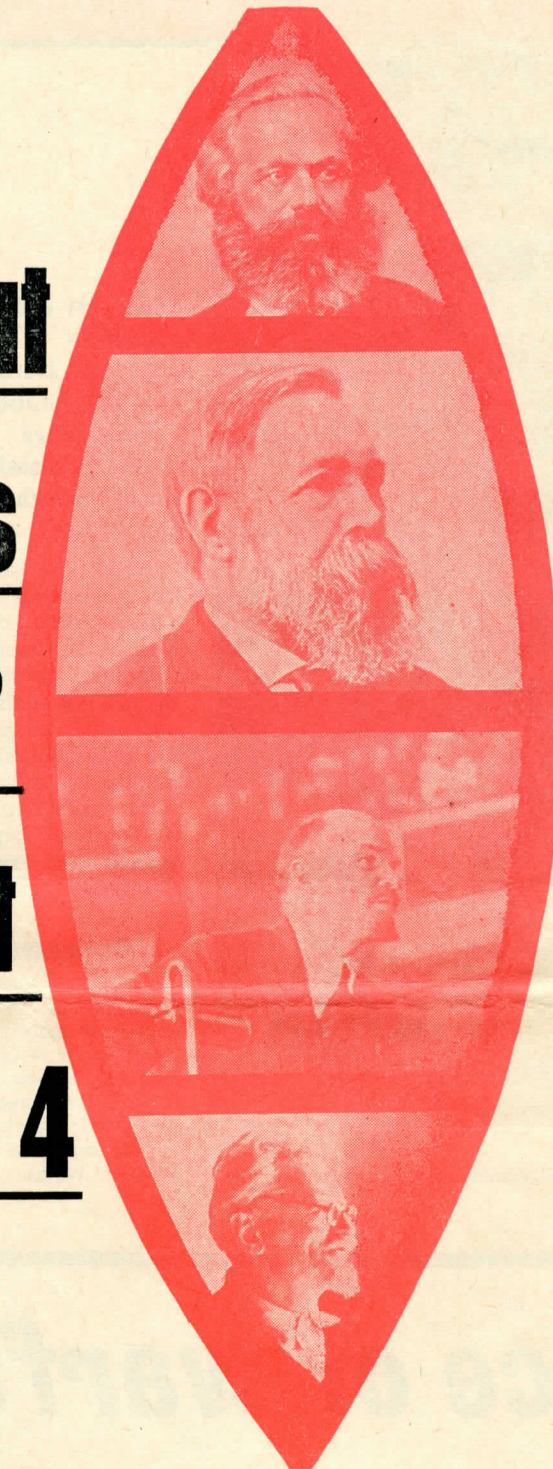
But the main outlines of what the Marxists wrote about capitalism at the beginning of this century have been abundantly borne out by events.

Since this time two wars have engulfed the whole world, there have been a series of ruthless wars waged against the workers and peasants in the colonial countries, the latest example being Vietnam; capitalism suffered from an enormous world crisis in the inter-war period in which millions were thrown out of work; great developments in science such as automation are used to create unemployment and increase poverty or, as in the case of the splitting of the atom, used to threaten the world with war.

Capitalism has not survived this 50 years of crisis because of its own strength; it has only been saved through the betrayals of the Stalinist and social-democratic leaderships who have refused to provide the working class with the ideas and leadership which can take it to power so that the resources of the world can be re-organized on socialist lines for the benefit of the whole of humanity.

To provide this leadership is the task of the Young Socialists.

what is marxism? part 4



Taking the lid off the CIA

Keep Left Reporter

THE LID was lifted off a particularly dirty scandal last month when Michael Josselman, executive secretary of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, admitted that the American Central Intelligence Agency had been financing a range of 'cultural' magazines and infiltrating labour and youth organizations for at least 14 years.

In fact this has probably been going on for much longer.

The CIA is the American anti-Communist espionage agency whose activities include subversion against the Iran government which nationalized

the oil industry, the overthrow of the anti-American government in Guyana and the backing of the anti-Castro 'Bay of Pigs' invasion of Cuba.

The Congress for Cultural Freedom—a front for the CIA—was set up in West Berlin, half the money coming from the US army and the other half being provided by the municipality of West Berlin. The moving spirit was CIA director Alan Dulles.

A list of people who have supported the CCF makes interesting reading.

It includes Bertrand Russell, former Labour leader Hugh Gaitskill, current Labour Mini-

sters Richard Crossman, Anthony Crosland and Denis Healey; the British establishment's licensed jester Malcolm Muggeridge; novelist Kingsley Amis; and James Burnham from whom Trotsky broke so decisively when Burnham produced the theory that Russia was a 'state capitalist' country.

This year the CCF's expenditure has been 1½ million dollars—40 per cent being spent on financing journals, 30 per cent on conferences and 10 per cent on individual grants. For the last year the CCF has been financed by the Ford Foundation.

It has now come into the open that one of the magazines financed by the CIA (through a secret channel of Agency funds known as the Hoblitzelle Foundation) was the British magazine 'Encounter'—whose supporters

have in the past repeatedly denied that it received money from this source.

'Encounter' had in fact been receiving an annual subsidy of 30,000 dollars. It is now sponsored by Hugh Cudlipp, of the 'Mirror' Group.

Contributing Editor Stephen Spender has now resigned, as has co-editor Professor Frank Kermode, professor of English at Bristol University.

Both these gentlemen were so other-worldly that they had no idea where the money was coming from!

As the 'Sunday Times' said on May 14:

'Agonized debate is now going on around the question of what a free-thinker should do when he finds that his free thought has been subsidized by a ruthlessly aggressive intelligence agency as part of the international cold war.'

Other magazines

The extent to which so-called 'free', 'uncommitted' intellectuals are in fact financed, knowingly or otherwise, by American imperialism is revealed by the fact that other magazines financed by the CIA include 'Preuves' (France), 'Quadrant' (Australia), 'Quest' (India), 'Epokas' (Greece), 'Cadernos Brasileros' (Brazil), 'Freedom' (Japan), 'Comment' (Philippines), 'Hiwar' (Lebanon), 'Transition' (Uganda) and 'Der Morat' (Germany).

But the CIA is concerned not only with direct subversion and utilizing 'blinkered' intellectuals who never know where their money is coming from.

It is also actively penetrating the labour and youth movements.

One of the leading associates of the Congress for Cultural Freedom was the pro-capitalist trade union leader Sol Levitas, who was also the organizer of the Centre for Labour and Social Studies, which was financed by the CIA and used to infiltrate the unions.

A former leading member of the CIA Thomas Braden—besides claiming that a CIA agent

became editor of 'Encounter' (the present editor is Melvin Lasky, formerly on the staff of US General Lucius D. Clay) also claimed that the CIA had recruited agents among student groups.

It is known that the American-sponsored International Student Conference was formed in 1950 in order to combat the International Union of Students, to which student bodies in Eastern Europe are affiliated.

90p.c. subsidized

This was supported by the anti-Communist wing of the British National Union of Students.

It is now established, however, that over 90 per cent of ISC funds came from American foundations such as the San Jacinto Fund and the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs (which paid 1,826,000 dollars to ISC in the years 1962-1964).

It has been alleged that both of these are front organizations for the CIA.

Another body which has been over 96 per cent financed by the CIA for over ten years is the World Assembly of Youth.

There is little doubt that American imperialism is prepared to spend millions of dollars each year in fighting Marxist ideas.

Of the older generation of intellectuals, such as those associated with 'Encounter', many are now discredited and others carry little weight amongst the youth.

The CIA, therefore, has become extremely interested in the youth, particularly young intellectuals in the universities.

Marxism must therefore be fought for consciously amongst these young people.

The Communist Party, which is unable to examine its own history and which is rapidly abandoning Marxism ideologically, is quite unable to do this.

This remains the task of the Young Socialists together with their allies in the University Marxist Societies and the Socialist Labour League.

Lucas apprentices oppose special scheme

TWO DAYS before the Whit-sun holiday about 30 apprentices on the late shift walked out of the Joseph Lucas CAY training school at Fazakerley, Liverpool. They were incensed because a lad who had reached the age of 21 had not been paid the skilled rate.

As a result of their action the management paid the lad, but the apprentices on both shifts are demanding a general betterment of their conditions.

These young workers are taken on under a special scheme under which the management is now trying to pay only a semi-skilled basic rate to 21-year-olds who have not done five years training, or whom the management arbitrarily declares have not reached the required skill.

Thus a lad of 21, having already been on low rates during a period of training, can be paid the meagre wage of a few shillings over £10.

In recent weeks Lucas apprentices have ended some of the petty restrictions in the school—such as the prohibition of beards and side-boards. This was

done by the efforts of one or two militant lads who also fought for the recent lobby of 'left' MPs on February 21 and took a contingent of apprentices down to London.

Following their walk-out the apprentices decided to hold a mass meeting to work out policy. This well-attended meeting was held on Sunday, June 4.

There was a lively discussion over conditions. The main grievances were over wages but there were also big complaints about being used as cheap labour on production work in the training school and also used as cheap labour when setting without supervision in the shops.

The meeting decided unanimously that:

- No production work should be performed in the school without the permission of Joseph Lucas shop stewards' convenor.

- Three months before his 21st birthday the apprentice should be interviewed in the presence

of the convenor in regard to his progress and his future.

- No apprentice must get less than £15 15s at 21.

It was further agreed that the committee of four, which the apprentices had elected as their

representatives, should attend the factory joint shop stewards' committee meetings.

The meeting also decided that the shop stewards should be asked to take up the demands immediately. Failing a satisfac-

tory reply by the end of the week a meeting of all setters in the factory should be called to decide how to back the apprentices' refusal to be used as cheap labour which undermines the setters' conditions.

A new pamphlet

essential reading for Young Socialists

YOUNG PEOPLE STUDY POLITICS!

(Speech at 5th Anniversary celebration of the Communist Young Workers' Home, April 29, 1924. Translated by Brian Pearce from 'Collected Works', Vol. XXI, pp. 347-353, Moscow State Publishing House, 1927)

by Leon Trotsky

IN THE SAME PAMPHLET

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND METHODS OF ANTI-RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

From J. Davis (ed): 'Labour Speaks for Itself on Religion, 1925'—the original Russian text has not been located

SPEECH AT A MEETING TO CELEBRATE THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVIET GEORGIA

February 25, 1926

(Translated from 'Collected Works', Vol. XXI, pp. 405-409, Moscow State Publishing House, 1927, by Brian Pearce)

A FOURTH INTERNATIONAL PAMPHLET

Available from: 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4



The future of the Young Communist League

WHAT is wrong with the Young Communist League? This is the question which is now being asked by a large number of those delegates and members who attended its recent Biennial Conference at Skegness.

The League is torn with internal strife. Its membership figures are stagnant. Its fund-raising is pitiable, with finance in a hopeless shambles. Now it is proposed to change its paper, 'Challenge', to a magazine format as well as doubling the price from 6d. to 1s.

The Young Socialists have always insisted upon political solidarity with those sincere young people who join the Young Communist League in the hope of fighting for a Communist future. We do not gloat over the difficulties of their organization. We merely want to point out what, in our opinion, are the reasons for this state of affairs.

The history of the Young Communist League is closely linked to the whole Stalinist past of the Communist Party in Britain. It justified the Moscow Trials and the murder of Lenin's revolutionary companions. It has never corrected a single mistake in a way that would enable the membership to draw political lessons.

No matter how much work is carried out by the membership, they cannot accomplish anything on such a rotten political foundation.

The old Stalinist leadership dominates the League today. It rigs conference procedure, fixes agendas, sorts out and expels its political opponents, treats political ideals with contempt, and then, to cap it all, masquerades as friend of the Young Christians and Liberals.

Small wonder that the conference at Skegness was a farce so far as elementary democratic rights for the membership was concerned. They are dealing not with a youth leadership, but with part of the Party bureaucracy, which is carefully schooled by the old Stalinist die-hards.

This segment is incapable of building a mass youth movement. As soon as the YCL reaches a certain stage of its development, then the trouble begins and the expulsion orders go out.

If the conference has proved anything, it is that a genuine political discussion of the problems facing young people is vitally necessary. We suggest that this discussion should range over such subjects as Trotskyism; the Moscow Trials; the differences between the Soviet leadership and Mao Tse Tung; how to effectively support the National Liberation Front in Vietnam; what are the best ways for establishing the widest possible unity between young people in the struggle against the Wilson government and for socialism; how can we prevent the return of a Tory government? None of these matters can be discussed inside the YCL.

The Young Socialists are only too willing to talk to any member, or members of the YCL who want such a serious discussion. We are not asking them to leave their own organization. We are simply emphasizing the need for us to get together and sort out the political mess in the YCL today.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Organisation..... Name.....

Address

No. of copies of KEEP LEFT required regularly

(Bulk orders: 4d. per copy, post free. Annual subscription: 6s. 6d.)

Send to: A. Jennings, 186a Clapham High Street, S.W.4

Message from Ceylon to the Young Socialists

By Sidney Jayasinghe, President of the Ceylon Student and Youth Fighting



Young people at a union rally in Colombo, Ceylon.

TODAY, all over the world, young workers and students are in the forefront of the struggles against imperialism.

These struggles which they wage in order to free themselves from misery and oppression and to protect themselves from unemployment and war constitute a part of the battle for socialism.

The fight of Ceylonese youth and students is but an integral part of this.

In Vietnam countless numbers of working class and peasant youth are marching forward against American imperialism. Napalm, gas and B-57 bombers have failed to destroy their morale.

In the very heart of imperialism, in the United States of America, there is an unprecedented growth of militancy amongst the youth.

In Selma, Harlem and Los Angeles hundreds and thousands of Negro youth, despite the cowardice of their accepted leaders, are facing the bullets, fire hoses, whips and tear gas of American imperialism. Forty per cent of them cannot find employment.

The flames of hatred that are generated in the youth are such that in Los Angeles alone they had to engage 1,000 police and 15,000 troops for four days to restrain them.

In Spain demonstrations of workers and students in Madrid and Barcelona against the dictatorship of Franco are shaking the streets.

Armoured trucks are employed to disperse demonstrations of thousands in Greece—recently 200 were injured. Comrade Petroulas sacrificed his life and three hundred thousand attended his funeral.

In Aden working-class youth are battling in the streets against the troops sent by the British Labour government.

Thousands of Indian youth, who have been pushed onto the streets by famine and hunger, fight the capitalist state with clubs and stones.

Youth in the Soviet Union, who are not able to express their independent opinions, are being oppressed by bureaucratic rule.

In the struggle against bureaucracy in 1956 Hungarian students and workers came out in unity. Today hundreds of thousands of young people in China are engaged in a battle against bureaucracy.

From Peking to Los Angeles youth are on the offensive against capitalism and bureaucracy.

Now the time has come when all these struggles should be coordinated in order to smash up the world system of capitalism.

In Ceylon the bourgeoisie are attempting to pass on to the

shoulders of the youth the brunt of their suffering. Every year about 300,000 join the ever-increasing ranks of unemployed youth.

The thousands of unemployed youth in the agricultural estates (plantations) have become a mass of poverty. The scarcity of jobs is affecting both the literate and the illiterate.

Those who do manage to secure jobs are doing so by sacrificing their self-respect. The handful of youth who have to work under abysmally poor conditions without any security of service.

Hatred for the capitalist system is maturing in the impoverished sections of the youth. This hatred is gathering ever the youth are gathered together.

What took place in Peradeniya University was the first clash between the capitalist state and the youth.

The bourgeois state is now carrying out this militancy of the youth, which is a threat to its rule by training them in the army.

Through the reactionary Youth Councils the bourgeois state is trying to guide the lives of the youth. What the bourgeois state has to do is to channel this militancy along the path of the capitalist system, as happened in Indonesia.

Socialist youth can answer this challenge by organizing the working class, which alone has the strength to build a socialist society.

Whether it is in Ceylon or another country, the path of the youth and the accomplishment of their aims lies in the hands of the youth. The Stalinist, Social Democratic and Revisionist leadership where they attempt to bar the way for the revolutionary working-class leadership.

Today the Ceylon Youth and Students Struggle is in order to unify and direct the working class militants in the Universities, factories, plantations. They have now been abandoned by those revisionists who have desperately to mislead them.

We call upon the youth comrades who have hope towards these revisionists to recognize that the only way against such leaders can be a revolutionary leadership.

We have realized that this is not a fight of the Ceylonese youth. It is only by the construction of the International Youth Movement which co-ordinates the part of the world that the Ceylonese youth are fighting against capitalism.

Message from Ceylon to the Young Socialists

By Sidney Jayasinghe, President of the Ceylon Student and Youth Fighting Front



Young people at a union rally in Colombo, Ceylon.

TODAY, all over the world, young workers and students are in the forefront of the struggles against imperialism.

These struggles which they wage in order to free themselves from misery and oppression and to protect themselves from unemployment and war constitute a part of the battle for socialism.

The fight of Ceylonese youth and students is but an integral part of this.

In Vietnam countless numbers of working class and peasant youth are marching forward against American imperialism. Napalm, gas and B-57 bombers have failed to destroy their morale.

In the very heart of imperialism, in the United States of America, there is an unprecedented growth of militancy amongst the youth.

In Selma, Harlem and Los Angeles hundreds and thousands of Negro youth, despite the cowardice of their accepted leaders, are facing the bullets, fire hoses, whips and tear gas of American imperialism. Forty per cent of them cannot find employment.

The flames of hatred that are generated in the youth are such that in Los Angeles alone they had to engage 1,000 police and 15,000 troops for four days to restrain them.

In Spain demonstrations of workers and students in Madrid and Barcelona against the dictatorship of Franco are shaking the streets.

Armoured trucks are employed to disperse demonstrations of thousands in Greece—recently 200 were injured. Comrade Petroulas sacrificed his life and three hundred thousand attended his funeral.

In Aden working-class youth are battling in the streets against the troops sent by the British Labour government.

Thousands of Indian youth, who have been pushed onto the streets by famine and hunger, fight the capitalist state with clubs and stones.

Youth in the Soviet Union, who are not able to express their independent opinions, are being oppressed by bureaucratic rule.

In the struggle against bureaucracy in 1956 Hungarian students and workers came out in unity. Today hundreds of thousands of young people in China are engaged in a battle against bureaucracy.

From Peking to Los Angeles youth are on the offensive against capitalism and bureaucracy.

Now the time has come when all these struggles should be co-ordinated in order to smash up the world system of capitalism.

In Ceylon the bourgeoisie are attempting to pass on to the

shoulders of the youth the brunt of their serious economic crisis. Every year about 300,000 join the ever-increasing army of unemployed youth.

The thousands of unemployed youth in the towns, villages and agricultural estates (plantations) have become 'unwanted'. The scarcity of jobs is affecting both the literate and the illiterate.

Those who do manage to secure jobs are doing so only by sacrificing their self-respect. The handful of apprentices and trainees have to work under abysmally poor conditions and for low wages, without any security of service.

Hatred for the capitalist system is maturing daily amongst the pauperized sections of the youth. This hatred manifests itself wherever the youth are gathered together.

What took place in Peradeniya University on December 11, 1965, was the first clash between the capitalist state and the new generation of youth.

The bourgeois state is now carrying out manoeuvres to channel this militancy of the youth, which is a threat to their very existence, by training them in the army.

Through the reactionary Youth Councils Act they are plotting to guide the lives of the youth. What the bourgeoisie are expecting to do is to channel this militancy along the road to reaction, as happened in Indonesia.

Socialist youth can answer this challenge by joining hands with the working class, which alone has the strength to construct a socialist society.

Whether it is in Ceylon or another country, the main obstacle in the path of the youth and the accomplishment of this task, is the Stalinist, Social Democratic and Revisionist leaderships. Everywhere they attempt to bar the way for the construction of a revolutionary working-class leadership.

Today the Ceylon Youth and Students Struggle Front comes forward in order to unify and direct the working class struggle. Young militants in the Universities, factories, plantations and villages, have now been abandoned by those revisors of Marxism who tried desperately to mislead them.

We call upon the youth comrades who are still looking in hope towards these revisionists to recognize that only by struggling against such leaders can a revolutionary leadership be built.

We have realized that this is not a fight confined purely to our Ceylonese youth. It is only by the construction of a Revolutionary International Youth Movement which co-ordinates struggles in every part of the world that the Ceylonese youth will triumph over capitalism.

BUILD the Young Socialists this summer—this must become the programme of every branch in the months ahead.

The attraction of YS policies has been proved over and over again in the past year and we can be confident that young people will come into politics for the first time and join the YS in the course of our national campaign.

Indeed the International Assembly of Socialist Youth, to be held this summer from July 29 to August 5, provides us with a splendid opportunity to go out onto the streets with loudspeaker vans and posters to recruit.

Ours is the only movement which fights in a positive way against imperialism; which calls for the victory of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam and the defence of the Arab revolution in the Middle East.

Our record shows that the main questions for the youth today are international ones. When the YS took part in the demonstration in Belgium on October 15 last year the response to our campaign was such that we were able to take over 500 young people.

The YS have established themselves as the only movement fighting against the Tory policies of the Labour government; posing the question of making the 'left' MPs in Parliament fight to remove the Wilson leadership.

have been attended members of the Y have voted consist programme which the basis for our build a mass soc movement in Britain

We firmly be young people today fight against in events all over from China, South Europe and Ame this to be true.

Not for them washy programme reforms from capita by the social dem the Communist P is why we have dence that the Yc ists will see a bi youth into our m the future.

The Labour has nothing to youth — only a v ever increasing possible unemploy

Capitalism itse wars in which th young people die keep safe for the profits and prop the youth can never

This is why we mass movement against imperialism.

One thing we m get—young people joy themselves. Th mer programmes have the broades education in socia but also a wide var ings to the coast, shows, summer ca and swimming.

Young people ca

BUILD SOCIALISTS

Throughout 1966 we held demonstrations against the Prices and Incomes Bill and anti-trade union legislation. Many adult trade unionists, as well as young factory workers and students, joined with us.

Our Morecambe Conferences

together in th Socialists!

In the next few can see which Fed of the whole coun the most young the YS through programme and campaign.

To all YS Federation Sec

MAKE SU THE NATIONAL RECRUITING

results to be announced

START THE

from to the socialists

Student and Youth Fighting Front



Colombo, Ceylon.

of the youth the brunt of their serious economic crisis. About 300,000 join the ever-increasing army of unemployed

thousands of unemployed youth in the towns, villages and rural estates (plantations) have become 'unwanted'. The lack of jobs is affecting both the literate and the illiterate.

Those who do manage to secure jobs are doing so only by losing their self-respect. The handful of apprentices and trainees work under abysmally poor conditions and for low wages, with no security of service.

The hatred for the capitalist system is maturing daily amongst the educated sections of the youth. This hatred manifests itself wherever young people are gathered together.

A clash took place in Peradeniya University on December 11, 1965, between the capitalist state and the new generation of youth.

The bourgeois state is now carrying out manoeuvres to channel the militancy of the youth, which is a threat to their very existence, into the army.

Through the reactionary Youth Councils Act they are plotting to channel this militancy along the road to reaction, as happened in Indonesia.

Revolutionary youth can answer this challenge by joining hands with the working class, which alone has the strength to construct a new society.

Whether it is in Ceylon or another country, the main obstacle to the path of the youth and the accomplishment of this task, is the revisionist, Social Democratic and Revisionist leaderships. Everywhere they attempt to bar the way for the construction of a revolutionary working-class leadership.

The Ceylon Youth and Students Struggle Front comes forward in order to unify and direct the working class struggle. Young people in the Universities, factories, plantations and villages, have been abandoned by those revisors of Marxism who tried to mislead them.

We call upon the youth comrades who are still looking inwards towards these revisionists to recognize that only by struggling with such leaders can a revolutionary leadership be built.

We have realized that this is not a fight confined purely to our own youth. It is only by the construction of a Revolutionary International Youth Movement which co-ordinates struggles in every part of the world that the Ceylonese youth will triumph over imperialism.

BUILD the Young Socialists this summer—this must become the programme of every branch in the months ahead.

The attraction of YS policies has been proved over and over again in the past year and we can be confident that young people will come into politics for the first time and join the YS in the course of our national campaign.

Indeed the International Assembly of Socialist Youth, to be held this summer from July 29 to August 5, provides us with a splendid opportunity to go out onto the streets with loudspeaker vans and posters to recruit.

Ours is the only movement which fights in a positive way against imperialism; which calls for the victory of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam and the defence of the Arab revolution in the Middle East.

Our record shows that the main questions for the youth today are international ones. When the YS took part in the demonstration in Belgium on October 15 last year the response to our campaign was such that we were able to take over 500 young people.

The YS have established themselves as the only movement fighting against the Tory policies of the Labour government; posing the question of making the 'left' MPs in Parliament fight to remove the Wilson leadership.

have been attended by 1,000 members of the YS. Delegates have voted consistently for a programme which must form the basis for our campaign to build a mass socialist youth movement in Britain.

We firmly believe that young people today want to fight against imperialism—events all over the world, from China, South-East Asia, Europe and America, prove this to be true.

Not for them the wishy-washy programme of seeking reforms from capitalism offered by the social democrats and the Communist Parties. That is why we have every confidence that the Young Socialists will see a big influx of youth into our movement in the future.

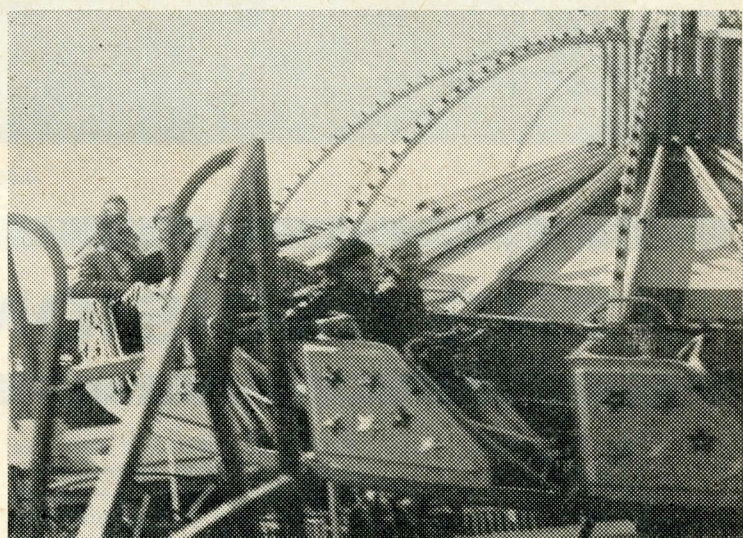
The Labour government has nothing to offer the youth — only a wage freeze, ever increasing prices and possible unemployment.

Capitalism itself creates wars in which thousands of young people die in order to keep safe for the monopolists profits and property which the youth can never own.

This is why we can build a mass movement of fighters against imperialism.

One thing we must not forget—young people like to enjoy themselves. The YS summer programmes not only have the broadest possible education in socialist policies but also a wide variety of outings to the coast, dances, film shows, summer camps, sports and swimming.

Young people can have fun



Southern Region Young Socialists have fun at fair in Margate.

BUILD THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS THIS SUMMER!

BY THE EDITOR

Throughout 1966 we held demonstrations against the Prices and Incomes Bill and anti-trade union legislation. Many adult trade unionists, as well as young factory workers and students, joined with us. Our Morecambe Conferences

together in the Young Socialists!

In the next few months we can see which Federation, out of the whole country, recruits the most young people into the YS through its summer programme and recruitment campaign.

So let's make a big start now with the campaign for the International Assembly. Build new branches, establish new Federations, train new young people to build the YS. At the last Keep Left annual general meeting we voted to increase the circula-

tion of our paper to 20,000. This is the challenge to all YS members, old and new, this summer.

Make sure your branch doubles its order of Keep Left!

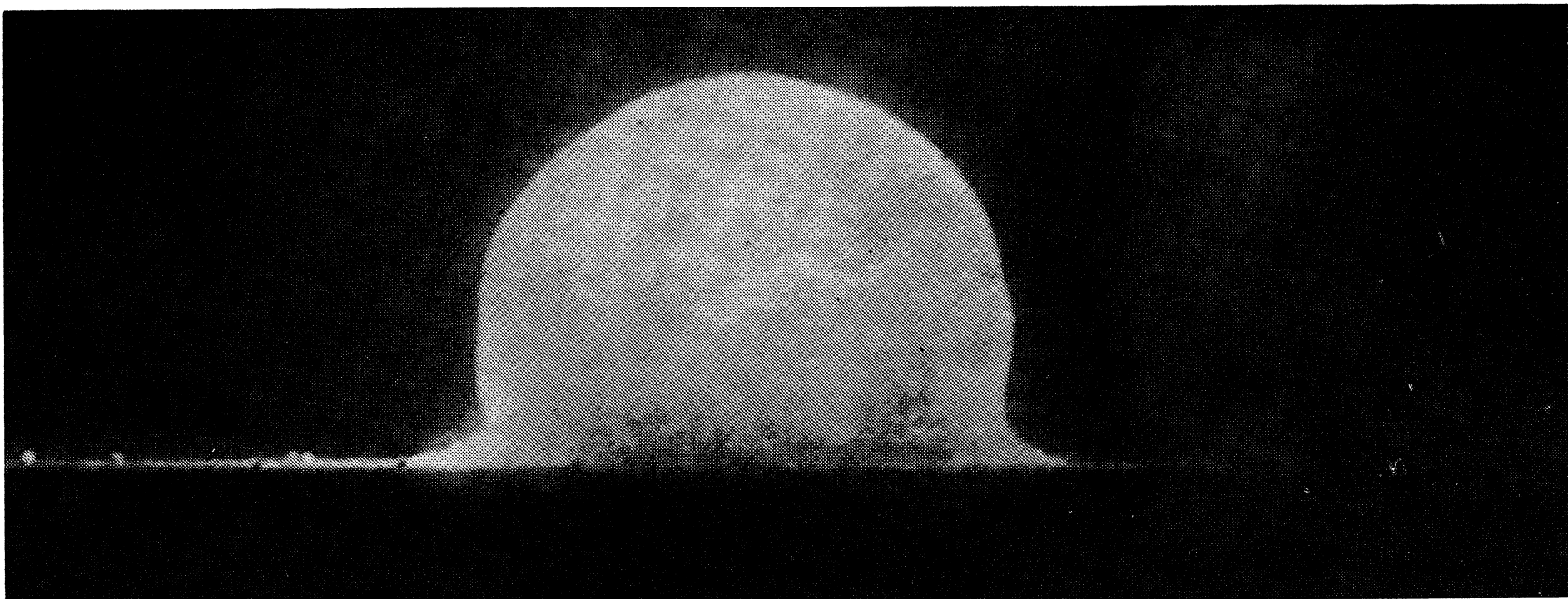
Build a mass Young Socialist movement with Keep Left!

To all YS Federation Secretaries

MAKE SURE YOU ENTER THE NATIONAL YOUNG SOCIALIST RECRUITING COMPETITION

results to be announced at the International Assembly

START THE CAMPAIGN NOW!



0.006 seconds after the first A-Bomb blast.

THE DECISION TO DROP THE BOMB

by L. Giovannitti
and F. Freed

Published by Methuen
at 50s.

THIS book is an attempt to whitewash the slaughter of well over 100,000 innocent people in August 1945 in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to justify the bombings as an attempt to force the Japanese to surrender, even though they had already offered to so.

It is a book that makes very unpleasant reading, not because it describes these terrible events in their lurid detail, but because it ignores them and tells of the sequence of events that led painfully and almost inevitably to their murderous conclusion.

The book shows very clearly

that in the centre of the 'free' imperialist world, scientists and politicians became the victims of a process over which, they, as individuals or groups, had very little control. As the scientists involved in the production of the bomb began to warn the government of the consequences of their discoveries they were pushed aside and ignored.

☆

President Truman himself was the man supposed to take ultimate responsibility, yet we are told that 'many of his decisions . . . in connection with the bomb' were 'passive' and that the final decision to use it was 'basically a decision not to upset existing plans'.

The background to these events was the burning desire of the United States government to win the war against Japan as quickly as possible so as to prevent the Soviet Union from entering it as an ally.

The Potsdam meeting of the Big Three—Truman, Stalin and Churchill—was delayed by the Americans until July 1945 largely to postpone discussion of Soviet entry and to allow the Bomb to be developed.

The American leaders were 'concerned with making defeated Japan into a nation capable of resisting Communist penetration'.

They wanted 'American forces on the Japanese home islands before "the Russians could put in any substantial claim to occupy it"'.

The main point is to justify dropping the Bomb, even though the Japanese were already suing for peace through the Soviet Union, still officially neutral.

What it cannot explain away is the fact that Truman refused to have anything to do with these peace feelers. As Churchill put it: 'He did not think the Japanese had any military honour after Pearl Harbour'.

The authors try to justify this mainly on the grounds that this suing for peace did not represent

the whole of the Japanese government and certain elements would have fought to the finish regardless of what else happened.

But, as they themselves show, the Japanese government was still divided even after the surrender decision was made a month later. There was even a half-hearted coup d'etat by extreme right-wing elements after the surrender was agreed.

☆

Very much at the centre of the calculations of the US leaders was, as the Navy Secretary put it, 'the fact that Japan could be a "counterweight" to the Soviet Union. . . . If so it was important . . . to defeat Japan, but to allow her to retain a viable economy'.

When Leo Szilard, a scientist who had been closely concerned with the production of the Bomb, tried to warn Byrnes, the President's chief advisor, of the consequences of using the Bomb he was told that 'Russia might be

more manageable if impressed by American might and the demonstration of the Bomb might impress Russia with America's military might'.

So 100,000 dead Japanese workers might impress the Russians, and do something to halt the world-wide advances being made by the Red Army.

No reader of this paper will have any sympathy with Japanese militarism. The leader of the Japanese navy, Wachi, said after the bombing of Hiroshima . . . 'my sole pre-occupation was on how to die and therefore I was not in the least disturbed.'

The American government was not concerned to destroy the roots of this militarism, in Japanese imperialism.

They wanted to finish the war with Japan as quickly as possible so they could occupy the country and set up a government that would provide a counterweight to the Russian workers' state and to the advancing Chinese Revolution. The talk of saving lives in the book must be seen very clearly in this context.

FILMS: THE SAND PEBBLES starring Steve McQueen, Candice Bergen, Richard Attenborough.

'WHAT the hell happened?' shouts dying hero Jack Holman (Steve McQueen) in the closing shots of 'The Sand Pebbles'. The trouble is the film is so confusing that we are left asking the same question.

The film is set on the Yangtze river in 1926. China at this time was dominated and exploited by the imperialist powers—chiefly, Britain, Japan and the United States—who occupied the coastal cities and kept gunboats patrolling the rivers.

In alliance with these powers, cruel feudal warlords with pri-

vate armies ruled the local areas, robbing the peasants.

A growing liberation movement in which Communists participated, began a boycott campaign against British and Japanese firms and organizations.

In May 1925 the British-run police force in Shanghai arrested strike pickets at a Japanese-owned mill and shot down Chinese students demonstrating against arrests.

From Canton, where a Chinese Republic was set up, the Kuomintang army began marching northwards to defeat the warlords and take over the cities on the Yangtze. Peasants began seizing land from the warlords and so the British government decided to send troops into China.

In the film we are aboard the USS San Pablo, United States gunboat on the Yangtze. The new engineer, Jack Holman, is a good ship's engineer but a reluctant navy man. He does not have much respect for the officers but gets along by sticking to his engines.

On the San Pablo he is expected to take part in the fighting too—'showing the flag'—and to take it in the same way as the more brutalized crew.

The 'rough diamond' sailor who doesn't quite 'fit-in' is well acted by Steve McQueen.

Indeed certain aspects of the film may commend it to the enthusiastic film goer. There is, for instance, a good attention to detail and a lot of harsh realism

in the battle scenes—more than in most films.

The ship passes wooded hills. We see on the white roof of a building a sign painted 'Kuhn Mines Ltd.' A bar-brothel, where the men spend a lot of the shore-leave, there is the occasional killed British soldier. The uniforms look authentically 1920s period.

However it can only be said that, like the proverbial 'curate's egg', this film is only good 'in parts'.

The producers obviously realized that China is good box office just now, so at the beginning of the film we get bits of 'significant dialogue' about what the Chinese are doing; but nowhere in the film is there anything to show the background

of the Chinese struggle in its true perspective.

The Chinese people are presented as either 'funny Chinamen' or 'wicked Orientals'.

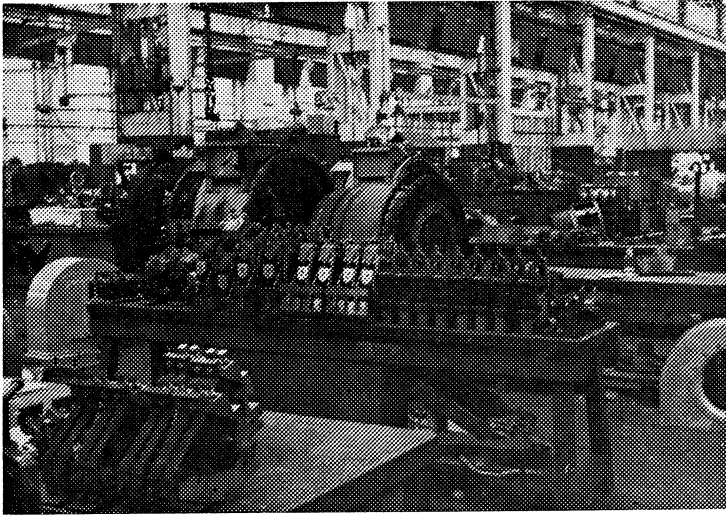
From a very confused jumble the only thing which emerges is that the imperialists are not responsible for anything and that the Chinese blame them for everything.

The conflicts shown on the screen are presented as part of the personality of one man—the captain of the San Pablo.

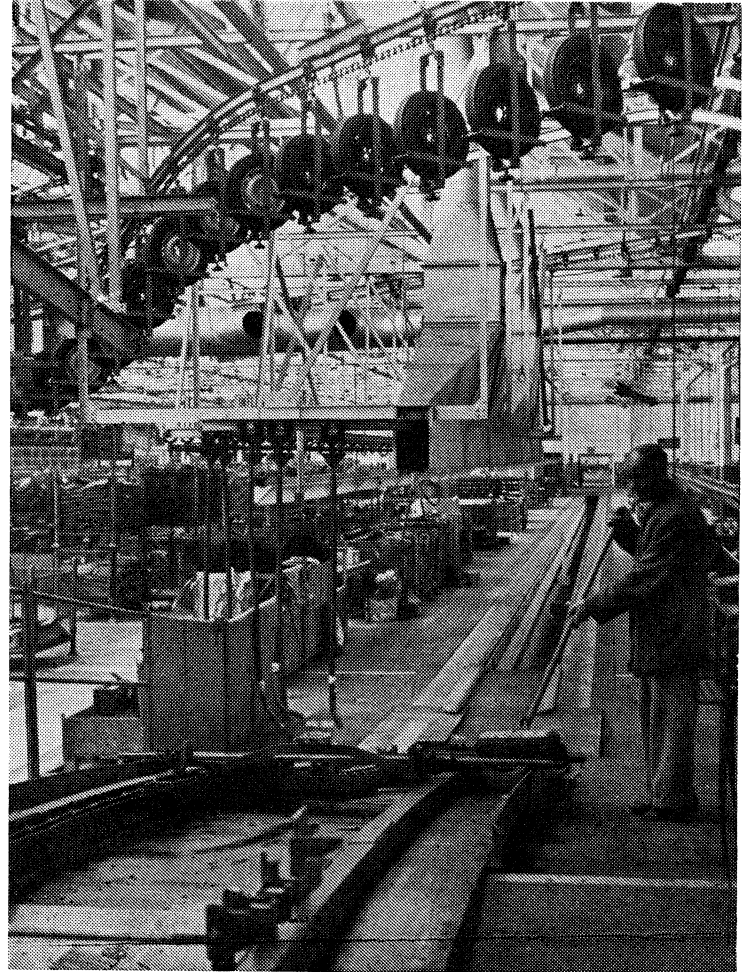
Maybe the novel was different but the film fits in with the imperialist war effort. It sticks to the old cliché—the Americans are the good guys, even though some of them happen to be a little bad and US imperialism is in the clear.

MY JOB

APPRENTICE



ENGINEERING shops in which young apprentices learn their trade but also become a form of cheap and convenient labour for the employer.



Five year indentures for apprentices are employers' slave charter

by a North East apprentice

AS A YOUNG SOCIALIST and as an apprentice I feel very strongly about the position of young workers who are tied to their employers through the indenture agreement in industry today.

The apprentice has always been the underdog, coming under attack both from the employers and the trade union bureaucracy.

To the employer he is a source of cheap labour. To the union bureaucrat he is a threat which must be channelled off into the machinery of trade unionism, namely the Junior Workers' Committees and Youth Councils, where the leadership thinks it can keep an eye on things.

Tom Mann, in recognition of the special place young workers hold in capitalist society, said the following in 1921:

'The future of the world belongs to the youth of the world, and it is from the young and not from the old that the fire of life will warm and enlighten the world. It is your privilege to breath the breath of life into the dry bones of many around you. It is a sacred task. Go forth and achieve.'

The task of the apprentice is to bring the revolutionary spirit of the youth to the fore in the fight ahead in the trade unions to smash the stranglehold of the bureaucracy on the workers.

It is not just the individual bureaucrats that we are against but the ideas which they feed into the movement, trying to

split the young apprentices from the adult trade unionists.

True many adult workers sympathize with the apprentice and many encourage us to fight, but we have to be prepared to take this fight through to the end, to win independence on the shop floor, to free ourselves from the grip of the employers.

As an engineering apprentice I have studied closely the indenture agreement of my apprenticeship which binds all apprentices in one way or another. Our employers have control of our labour for a period of five years in which time they may use us as they think fit—if we let them.

Not wanting to take up too much space I shall give the most important details:

1. *The apprentice will during the period of service . . .*

(a) *Observe and be subject to the conditions of employment in the schedule;*

(b) *Obey the lawful orders of the employer or his representative;*

(c) *Promote to the best of his ability the interests of the employer.*

2. *The apprentice will not during the period of his service . . .*

(a) *Reveal the secrets of his employers' business;*

(b) *Do or suffer to be done any damage or other injury to the property of the employer or his customers;*

(c) *Absent himself, except in the event of sickness, from the service of the employer without his permission or consent;*

(d) *Take part in any labour dispute which may arise between*

the employer and any of his employees or in which the employer or any of his employees may be involved, nor in the continuance thereof refuse to do any work which the employer may lawfully require him to perform.

Anyone can see that this first section is downright dictatorship on the part of the employer. The agreement allows the employer or his foreman to give orders to us without any fear of contradiction. To obey, and obey and obey. . . .

What secrets can we possibly have any chance of revealing since they are all under lock and key in the board room.

The property does not belong to us. We are the working class. We have got to be careful with the bosses' property and his wealth.

We have also got to have his permission to be off work. Our word is not good enough. A doctor's certificate is needed as proof.

What about disputes?

We cannot take part in strikes or any form of dispute, no matter what is at stake. The boss expects us to do 'black' work or rush jobs, anything which he considers is needed in a hurry and which, if left, may strengthen the strikers' position.

3. (a) *If the apprentice shall wilfully disobey the lawful orders of the employer . . . the employer may without notice discharge the apprentice from his service in which event this agreement will forthwith be at an end;*

(b) *If by reason of being unable to obtain materials or in consequence of any accident or*

trade dispute or trade depression or any cause beyond his control, the employer finds it necessary from time to time to close down the works or any particular department thereof in which the apprentice may at the time being be working, or to reduce the volume or alter the character of the work done in such works so that the apprentice cannot continue to be usefully employed, the apprentice will not be entitled to claim work.

The employer has the right to sack the apprentice without giving notice, in any instance that he is disobeyed. He owes us nothing. We may be sent home if a lock-out occurs or in the case of a trade depression when the works close down.

4. (a) *The apprentice will, as and when requested to do so, work at night;*

(b) *The apprentice will, as and when requested to do so, work in excess of hours contained in the ordinary working day or the ordinary working week as the case may be;*

(c) *The apprentice will be entitled to keep as holidays all such days as are customarily kept as holidays in the works. Provided that the employer may, in cases of necessity, of which he will be the judge, require the apprentice to work on any such holiday or on any Sunday.*

The boss has control over our leisure. On his 'request' we are bound to work overtime, on Sundays and other holidays and on the night shift.

I have known cases where apprentices work nights with no supervision.

The employer decides to make

you work harder. He puts you on piecework or some other scheme. He decides the work to be done, where it is done and the workmen you work with.

The pressure on a young worker at the time of signing his indentures is immense. If he does not sign, then in all probability he faces either the dole or some non-skilled job.

It is a disgrace that the trade unions should allow such indenture agreements in the first place. The trade union leaders stand by and watch whilst an apprentice signs five years of his life away to the employer.

True the labour movement has forced an improvement of the conditions since the days when apprentices had to pay for their training. But in a sense we still pay, although not in hard cash. We have to accept low wages and the complete discipline of the employer.

The call must be made from the apprentices to the trade unions to end these slave charters which allow us to be used as cheap labour.

A new agreement on wages has to be drawn up by the trade unions.

Today, with the wage freeze and the policies of the Labour government against the trade union movement, this means fighting the government for new agreements for apprentices.

That is why I urge all young apprentices to join the Young Socialists and fight for their programme of demands for all young workers, to join in the struggle to throw out the Wilson leadership and put in its place a leadership which will fight for socialist policies.

May Day demonstration one

THIS year's May Day procession was the first one which I participated in so I did not really have much idea of what it would be like before I went.

However, from 'The Newsletter' and the Keep Left articles I could see that it was going to be the most ambitious demonstration that the Young Socialists, together with the Socialist Labour League, had ever staged.

When I actually saw the floats I was amazed that they were of such a high standard and was impressed by the amount of work which must have gone into them.

I think that the float which impressed me most was the one on Sacco and Vanzetti.

When the Young Socialists were gathering and eventually moving off on the demonstration I realized that the large numbers of youth present, the high standard and the quality of the floats and the general organization and discipline displayed on the march were

Trotsky, with a quotation from each of them.

John MacLean: 'Workers must go for revolution.'

Lenin: 'Have the will to build a new party.'

Trotsky: 'I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International.'

John MacLean was the first Soviet Consul in Britain. He lived in Glasgow and was imprisoned for his revolutionary activities during the First World War.

He was released in 1917, the year of the Russian Revolution, after mass demonstrations by Glasgow workers outside the Duke Street jail.

We have also made a film of the preparations in Glasgow for May Day and of the May Day demonstration in London.

One of the most impressive features of the Young Socialists' demonstration was the magnificent floats commemorating some of the most important anniversaries in the history of the working class.

Some of these were the publications of Marx's book 'Das Kapital', the Russian Revolution and the formation, by Trotsky and his followers, of the Left Opposition.

Particularly important at the present time was the float calling for the release of all

And the fight for the YS must now centre on the International Assembly this summer.

Only a campaign which is able to draw the full lessons of May Day can succeed in bringing youth to the camp, can succeed in building a mass youth movement.

The Assembly will be, I am sure, an historic step in the building of such a movement. The questions and discussions which are raised in August will show the way forward.

J. Butler,
Erdington YS.

May Day demonstration four

OUR Brightside Young Socialist branch in Sheffield has 20 members in it. Before the campaign for the May Day demonstration it had five.

I think that it is true that our work to get young people from Brightside to take part in this demonstration, together with the actual enjoyment of choosing our own slogans, writing our own

International Assembly

THIS summer the Young Socialists are holding an International Assembly of Socialist Youth from July 29 to August 5, under canvas.

There will be youth from Britain, Révoltes (France), West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the United States and other countries.

At the Youth Assembly young people will discuss the problems of building an international revolutionary youth movement in their different countries.

The ideas which can be exchanged between us and young people from abroad will help all of us to face the problems which we meet in our work of building an international youth movement.

1967 is a year in which European socialist youth have to face a worsening crisis of capitalism—a situation in which they have to bear the brunt of this crisis.

The Liège demonstration of October 15, 1966, showed the attraction of young people to international socialism. The

are fighting against bureaucracy.

We ask all revolutionary youth to support us and participate in the International Assembly of Socialist Youth.

North London Young Socialist.

Youth in the trade unions

SINCE the Labour government came into power in 1964 it has constantly attacked the trade unions, yet at the same time it has been backed up by nearly all the main trade union leaderships, which have, in fact covered up for the betrayal of the working class.

The trade union leaderships make no real attempt to recruit youth and at the meetings there is no concrete political discussion because they realize the threat the youth are to them and that youth can be in the forefront of the struggle of the working class against their leadership.

It is very important for the youth to go into the trade unions with the knowledge and experience of the YS behind them, with an awareness of the struggle against the trade union bureaucracy. Otherwise they can become completely demoralized and confused by the trade union meetings, which are, in many cases, little more than a farce, attended by a handful of people.

In my own trade union branch, which is attended by a number of YS members, it can be seen that when youth go into the trade unions with the experience of the YS they not only give confidence to adult trade unionists who have become demoralized, but they also learn a lot from discussion with these trade unionists.

It is by joining a trade union that young people can join in the struggle against the existing trade union bureaucracy, which is part of the struggle of the working class for power. All Young Socialists, even if they are students with Saturday jobs, should join their union and take part in this necessary struggle.

For youth to go into the trade unions without an awareness of this struggle would mean certain defeat by the right wing and fake lefts and it is only by going in as a member of the YS, with the history of the YS struggle against bureaucracy, and with a consciousness of the successful fight against the right-wing Labour leadership in 1963-1964, that they can fight the existing trade union bureaucracy.

Croydon YS member.

EDITOR'S POSTBAG

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

a tremendous reflection of the ability of both the YS and the SLL to organize the working class efficiently and successfully.

Peter Franzen,
Speke, Liverpool.

May Day demonstration two

THIS year's May Day demonstration in London was extremely important for the building of revolutionary parties, both in this country and abroad.

This was the biggest May Day demonstration ever held by the Trotskyist movement and it showed that the youth and the working class are turning more and more to the Young Socialists as an alternative to Wilson.

The demonstrations of both the Labour Party and the Communist Party were smaller and less colourful than that of the YS. Only the Young Socialists carried slogans on important international questions such as the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, and called for the victory of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam and the defeat of the fascist regime in Greece.

Glasgow Young Socialists made a large banner for May Day which had portraits of John MacLean, Lenin and

political prisoners in Greece.

The Young Socialists must oppose the Labour government's policy of support for the military dictatorship in Greece and call for the Greek working class to build a revolutionary party to take the power.

Irene Wilson,
Maryhill YS, Glasgow.

May Day demonstration three

THE lessons of the May Day campaign must now be clear to all those who took part. The march was not merely an historical pageant of the working class; the youth and adult workers were mobilized to march between the floats and the demonstration became a living force in the fight for an international communist movement.

The floats depicted, in brilliant fashion, the history of both the victory and the betrayal of the international working class. The working class and their revolutionary vanguard, here and overseas, can and must draw the lessons of these struggles as they now move into another period of conflict.

The fight for an international movement is posed now as a fight for the building of a revolutionary youth movement—the YS.

placards, and making our own banners, helped tremendously to build up our branch.

It also helped those of us who are relatively new to the Young Socialist movement to come in touch with young people, hear their point of view and understand the importance of winning the youth to Marxism in the process of fighting for something with a real political meaning.

We took eight people down to London to demonstrate with the YS—five of them are now active members of our branch committee.

We saw on May Day the demonstration organized by the Young Socialists was the most impressive one, the one on which there were more young people and the one which showed the most complete political perspective of the gains and struggles of the working class in the last 100 years.

This impressed and stimulated all of us.

Brightside branch has not been the only one to benefit from this experience in Sheffield. We have now, on the basis of the work for the May Day demonstration, set up the Sheffield Federation of Young Socialists made up of Brightside, Central and Heely branches. In order to strengthen our forces in Sheffield the first task this Federation has set itself has been to help the Heely comrades to develop their branch.

Vicky Short,
Brightside YS, Sheffield.

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Paper of the Workers' League USA
Room 8, 243 E.10. St. NYC 10003, USA

The Labour Party YS

MY EXPERIENCE in the Labour Party YS confirms what the Keep Left has said about this organization for so long: that the revisionist groups would only capitulate to the right-wing leadership, and be unable to prevent the organization's degeneration.

I saw this happen when I was a delegate to the Llandudno conference. The South-West Regional Conference, held recently, followed the same pattern—the decrease in attendance was half of the previous year's numbers.

The National Committee member for the region had resigned mid-way through his term of office because, in his own words: 'I am not interested in politics any more.'

Supporters of 'Militant' hailed the conference as a great advance because resolutions submitted by the branches could be discussed. Resolutions on national policy were not included in this 'gain' and the regional organizer managed to count every political motion as national.

So the two motions seeking implementation of Clause Four, from Keep Left sympathizers, were prevented from being discussed by decision of the regional youth committee, whilst a right-wing delegate called for a barrage to be built across the River Severn!

Incidentally, 'Militant' supporters and other Labour 'lefts' abstained at the Youth Committee meeting over the Clause Four motions on the grounds that it was necessary to accept the rules.

This allowed the bureaucracy to bowl them over. It was also a 'Militant' supporter who supported the 'barrage' motion, which was discussed fully!

The regional organizer challenged the credentials of a Keep Left delegate on the grounds that he was a late substitute. The organizer was supported by the 'Militant' delegate because he too had been refused late substitutes.

The political question of opposing the right wing did not occur to the 'lefts', who sat indifferently when appealed to by a fellow delegate who was a Keep Left supporter.

I learned after the conference that another 'Militant'-run branch had been given an extra delegate directly before the conference.

So 'Militant' had used organizational rules pedantically to oppose Keep Left supporters.

In allying with the right wing to stamp out socialist policies they had won a certain amount of tolerance and reform for themselves.

At the close of the conference a 'Militant' diehard called for support for a May Day event at which Cannon, right-wing leader of the Electrical Trades Union, would be speaking.

This was the only 'campaign' this conference, or tête-a-tête with the right wing and Labour 'lefts', had to offer the working class.

In conclusion, all LPYS who want to seriously oppose Wilson's attacks on the work-

ing class and not indulge in left phrase-mongering must seriously consider joining the Young Socialists as I have.

Labour Party YS member.

Summer activities

OVER the past few months in the Hertfordshire area we have been running several coach outings to various coastal towns in the hope of getting youth to take an interest in the social activities of the YS.

On these trips we make a point of discussing the policies of the YS with the young people who come and by doing so we find that we have got quite a few new comrades along to our meetings.

Amongst our future social activities we have included dances in each of the branches and also a ramble.

From these activities we hope we will gain many more new comrades at our meetings who will come out and work with the Keep Left in the area.

On June 4 we will be holding a day school in Watford and we hope to get along at least 70 comrades from the Federation. We hope that this will be a big success.

B.M.
Borehamwood YS.

Scientific Workers

AS A MEMBER of the Association of Scientific Workers I would like to draw the attention of YS comrades to the fight which is at the moment being waged by 20 AScW members in Swansea.

These young workers, the oldest of whom is 25, are employed as laboratory technicians by Viscose Development Company Limited.

The struggle of these workers is for basic trade union rights, which are an essential pre-requisite in the workers' fight for political power.

Although the union now has 100 per cent membership amongst the non-managerial staff in the laboratories of the company, the management refuses to recognize the union and to grant the members a negotiating procedure agreement.

As a result of this refusal the workers organized a half-day walk-out on May 5 after which the management agreed to meet them to negotiate a procedure agreement, but only for those employees who agreed to sign new conditions of employment, which would have meant a severe worsening of their conditions.

This would, in fact, have meant:

1. An increase in the length of the working week from 37½ hours to 40 hours.

2. A reduction in the rate of pay per hour.

3. The prevention of these workers from continuing their technical studies in Swansea Technical College.

4. An abandoning of any form of bonus scheme as used by other workers in the factory.

In other words, as the union leaflet pointed out, this was not an offer but a down-

right threat to the union members' conditions.

The AScW is a trade union for scientific and technical staff employees and when offering the technicians the chance to be taken off the staff, the company knew that if they had agreed, the workers would not have been eligible for AScW membership and thus isolated from their union, and, the employer hoped, the working class fight.

The employer obviously recognizes the present stage in the class struggle and the threat that the trade union movement makes to his position.

The fact that the company has attempted to cut off the trade union fight at the 'grass roots' shows the extent to which they are afraid of the trade unions.

On May 15 after the employers' offer to the workers, all 20 of the workers concerned went on official strike. This constituted a 100 per cent withdrawal of labour by the non-managerial laboratory staff.

I feel sure that I can declare solidarity with these as with all workers in struggle against capitalism, on behalf of the Young Socialists.

This is just one of many fights being put up by workers, young and old, a fight which can only be won by carrying it beyond the narrow limits of reformism, towards the complete destruction of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

Bob Gosling,
Bristol YS.

South Africa

AS a South African who has been driven from his homeland by police terror and persecution, I was very interested in the letter of 'A South African' in the April issue 1967.

The basic point which the writer wished to make was that apartheid has its roots in economic exploitation. There can be no gain saying this.

In fact it is as well to point out that the years of the most vicious implementation of the crudest racist policies coincide with the years of the most rapid industrial development in South Africa.

However, 'A South African' sows some misconceptions which it is necessary to comment on.

First of all the average weekly wage is not £4 as stated by your correspondent—this figure refers only to manufacturing and construction—but about £7 per month, which includes allowances for lodgings, food, etc.

At about £6 per month the mine worker earned less in 1960 than he did in 1935, whilst the average profit made from him was about £9 per

month. Taxes taken by the state from mining were more than the wages of each worker.

The per capita income for white settlers was £315 per year in 1960; for pass-bearing Africans it was under £32 and for those African, 'A South African' agrees with Vorster should be called 'coloured', it was £43.

The picture of prosperity which 'A South African' paints of these 'coloureds' is therefore grievously mistaken.

It is unfortunate that your correspondent falls into the trap of accepting all the racial classification and nomenclature of the rulers. With it he swallows part of their propaganda, and consequently proceeds to berate an oppressed and exploited section of the people, who may themselves have been fooled and misled by that propaganda.

Every imaginable device has been used to divide the people and the working class, and set them against each other. Nonetheless, 'A South African' should be aware of the demands which have arisen from the masses for an end to racial division.

Just over a year ago the Coloured People's Congress dissolved itself and called upon its membership to join the Pan-Africanist Congress—the largest organization of the pass-bearing masses of Africans.

The way has thus been cleared for the so-called coloureds to become Azanians—people of the land of Azania, as we have re-named our country—and thus organizationally and psychologically they are at one with the rest of the oppressed.

This unity across the artificial barriers created by the European servants of imperialism, who have settled on our land, is not simply a unity 'at the top'.

It flows from the demands of the people and there can be no more effective way to reply to your correspondent's astonishing assertion that the so-called 'coloureds' are 'really the worst oppressors of the African working class'.

(Incidentally, we in the South African liberatory movement emphasize those things which the people have in common, which unite them, not those things which divide them—this latter is Vorster's task.)

'A South African' makes some other mistakes but I should like to pass on to the trade union question upon which he touched briefly.

African trade unions are not banned but every possible obstacle is placed before them, including that of non-recognition. Trade unions of the 'coloureds' are recognized but only a very small part of these people are organized.

In general, trade unionism—the first line of defence of the working class—has been bitterly neglected. This has been due to the treachery of the European settlers' unions

(whose great battles were fought against the Azanian workers) and to the state policy and confusion of the Socialists.

Some good work has been done in this field by the Moscow-orientated South African Communist Party, but in general other parties on the left took the view that trade union work was reformist and therefore to be shelved.

Consequently most 'coloured' trade unions are under the control of the most spineless and even reactionary elements. Opportunities for establishing and developing working-class unity have therefore gone begging.

But the matter becomes increasingly vital. For what happens to the measure of non-racial, national unity which has been achieved will be greatly influenced by the extent to which the urban and rural workers are organized and united.

It is clear that the 'reform'—upwards—of the wages is an immediate and burning problem, and the working class will, therefore, have to fling the reactionaries from their necks, cut themselves adrift from the debilitating hand of white patronage and take up their economic problems with a will.

In the bitter battles to decide who owns the national wealth it is clear that formal and informal, legal and illegal trade unions will be generated.

The close connection between economic and political questions assures us that in these bitter class struggles the Azanian workers and toilers will not limit their aim to economic questions.

The unity of this great revolutionary class will surely then blast the last vestiges amongst the people of 'whiticism'.

C. Marney,
Pan-African Congress
of Azania.

Letter from a YCL member

THE Young Socialists can now be seen as the only revolutionary youth movement in Britain today. It has consistently fought against all forms of reformism and Stalinism to build a socialist Britain.

This fight of the Young Socialists is also going on in other parts of the world and important lessons can be learned from the comrades in other countries.

The revolution which we are striving for will not be able to survive if we do not have the support of the international working class.

The International Assembly of Socialist Youth is, therefore, of the utmost importance in that it will unite the youth from all over the world.

Member of the
Young Communist League.

révoltes

Annual
Subscription
£1 (post
included)

POUR LA CONSTRUCTION DE L'ORGANISATION RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE DE LA JEUNESSE

SPORT

New Parks prove to be a handful and Birmingham show improvement



Keep Left correspondent

SCOTTISH YS DISCUSS MARXISM

SCOTTISH Young Socialists held a highly successful school on Sunday, May 21, in Edinburgh attended by members from all over Scotland.

Main speaker was Geoff Pilling, who introduced the discussion with an explanation of the present world economic crisis and the importance of the programme of the Young Socialists.

Discussion groups examined various aspects of Marxist theory and the policy put forward by the Communist Party of direction of industry for Scotland.

One of the most important questions thrashed out in the discussion was the policy of Scottish nationalism in relation to the policies of the Young Socialists.

Several speakers made the

point that for the Young Socialists it was a question of fighting for the unity of the working class of all countries on a programme of fighting against imperialism.

In the evening after the school a record hop was organized by Edinburgh Young Socialists.

This school was an important step forward in the fight of the Scottish Young Socialists for the International Assembly.

The next event to be organized by the Region is a rally in Glasgow on Sunday, June 11, which will be followed by a film show. All young people and adult trade unionists who wish to join us on that day are warmly invited to attend at the Partick Burgh-Halls.

Glasgow Federation Secretary.

New Parks YS 7
IN AN exciting, if rather one-sided match, the older and faster New Parks team proved to be too much of a handful for Highfields.

With Newman solid in defence, Thomas and Ferrer running hard in midfield and Littlewood, Murden and Gilbert always dangerous near

Highfields 0
the goal, New Parks never looked like being beaten.

But Highfields deserve full credit for never giving in. They gave New Parks goal keeper Rob Ferrer plenty of opportunity to show his ability.

Scorers: Littlewood 3, Murden 2, Gilbert 2.

Birmingham Federation 9
BIRMINGHAM made a big improvement in Leicester on May 21 in a close-season friendly match.

After the first 20 minutes Leicester were 2-1 up from Strent and Littlewood. But the Birmingham forwards soon got the ball moving quickly from defence to attack.

Centre-forward Geoff Smith scored his second and completed a hat-trick with a penalty. Another goal from

Leicester Combined 2
inside-left Morris put Birmingham 4-2 up at half-time.

In the second half Alan Cashmore came to centre-forward for Birmingham and scored 2, the second with a good header from a high cross from the right. Hanford, outside-right, also came into his own with three goals.

Good work for Leicester by Thomas and Newman could not stop Birmingham's dominance at the end of the game.

NEW BRANCH FOR NEWCASTLE AREA

Keep Left reporter

NEWCASTLE Young Socialists decided to build a branch in Gateshead and, after only one week of work in the area, made 25 new members.

Whilst canvassing we found that the young people in our area were completely opposed to Wilson and his anti-working class policies.

We received a good response to the policies of the Young Socialists and there was a great deal of enthusiasm to help build the Gateshead branch.

From our first meeting we elected a committee which has since proved to be highly efficient and capable of leading all the branch activities.

INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY

There will be international sports competitions; football, swimming, dancing, Continental and English film shows, talent competitions, etc.

Cost will be £7 10s. 0d. for the week plus a pooled fare of approximately £1 5s. 0d.

OF SOCIALIST YOUTH

JULY 29TH AUG 5TH '67

Spend an enjoyable and educational week under canvas with Young Socialists from Britain, 'Revoltés' (France), West Germany, Belgium, Italy, U.S.A. and other countries. Agenda will include the fight against the decay of capitalism.

I would like to attend the International Assembly of Socialist Youth.

Name.....

Deposit.....

Address.....

Tear off and send to S. Torrance, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4