

Keep Left

The Paper for Socialist Youth

4^p

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FIGHT THE TORIES

Labour must kick them out now

By ROGER PROTZ East Ham South YS

THE Macmillan H-bomb government is mounting a violent attack against the working class of this country. The 'never had it so good' mask has been dropped; the true face of Toryism is revealed for all to see. Just a few short months after he rewarded the surtax-paying paupers with £80 million of relief, Macmillan's puppet Chancellor demands that the exploited millions should observe a pause in making wage demands.

No such demands are made of the employers, of course, who continue to gamble on the Stock Exchange, make their tax-free profits and live off fat expense accounts, while prices soar and the wages of the vast majority stagnate, while exports slump and Lloyd goes cap-in-hand to the World Bank for a loan—an action which proves that capitalist Britain is bankrupt.

Now all the loose ends can be tied together: the growth of racialism, the move to enter the Common Market, the attack on the trade unions. These are not isolated affairs. They are all a part of the plan to hammer the working class.

EEC not because these thoughts worried him for one moment, but because he was not sure, and still cannot be sure, that the Common Market can solve the immediate problems of British Capitalism.

Hate

At the same time the press, including the so-called Labour supporters, have stepped up their campaign of hate against the trade unions. The attack on the Electrical Trades Union has nothing to do with ballot-rigging. That is just a convenient excuse to smear and witch-hunt the leadership of a militant union with members in many key, hush-hush industries. The Communist leaders of the ETU have made many errors, but they constitute a threat to the employers because they have consistently fought to improve their members' wages and conditions. The TUC's General Council and Labour's National Executive play into the hands of the Tories when they talk of expelling and disaffiliating the ETU. This is just the first round of a long, sustained attack against all militants in the trade union movement.

One thing stands out clearly from the crisis—the attack by (Continued page 2, col. 2)

Divert

As the crisis deepens it is vital for the Tories to divert attention away from themselves and lay the blame for low wages, unemployment and squalid housing conditions upon a section of the working class, and so their agents in the various political parties get to work to spread their vile propaganda against the coloured workers and call for immigration control. This is an attempt to build a smokescreen behind which the real enemies go about their work while the workers squabble amongst themselves.

Forced

In case this is not effective enough the monopoly capitalist backers of the Tory Party have forced Macmillan to start a slow dog-paddle in the direction of the Common Market—to the dismay of those strange comrades, the British Communist Party and the minority capitalists who own large chunks of the Commonwealth. The Common Market is an unholy alliance aimed against the European working class; employers in one country can soak up huge profits in another at the expense of their own employees. The spread of giant monopolies and cartels over national boundaries could easily give rise to the growth of Fascism on a wide scale. Macmillan dallied over entry into



Wow! said B'head YS

By GEOFF PRANDLE

BIRKENHEAD Young Socialists were staggered by the tremendous response to their first big dance. Three hundred young girls and boys turned up to rock and jive in the local co-operative hall to two top Merseyside groups, the Remo Four and the Zeros.

In spite of the few anti-social jonaahs in the branch we went ahead with our plans for the dance and have proved conclusively that the Keep Left policy of building on a social basis is the best policy.

At the dance we had a refresh-

ment stall, which quickly sold out, ran a raffle for cigarettes and a jiving competition that was the highlight of the evening.

The girls and lads who attended were a cross-section of the town, from clerks to shipyard workers, all of whom will face the Tory onslaught in the near future. It is our major task to prepare them for the struggle ahead.

With the help of Keep Left, we hope to build Birkenhead YS into the biggest and most active branch on Merseyside.

WHY I RESIGNED

By Mike Ginsberg

KEEP LEFT has received the following statement from Mike Ginsberg, Blyth YS and a member of the National Committee.

In the August edition of New Advance Reg Underhill said that I resigned from the paper's editorial advisory committee because I thought it was "a waste of time". That is scarcely a fair presentation of my reasons for resigning.

The YS National Conference made specific demands in relation to New Advance—that it be democratically controlled by the Young Socialists through an elected editorial board to meet not less than monthly to decide the contents and policy of the paper within the lines laid down by the National Conference and the National Committee of the Young Socialists, with an editor to superintend the carrying out of the decisions of the editorial board and appointed by the National Committee of the YS.

These demands have been flagrantly ignored by the National Executive Committee. Mr. Underhill himself

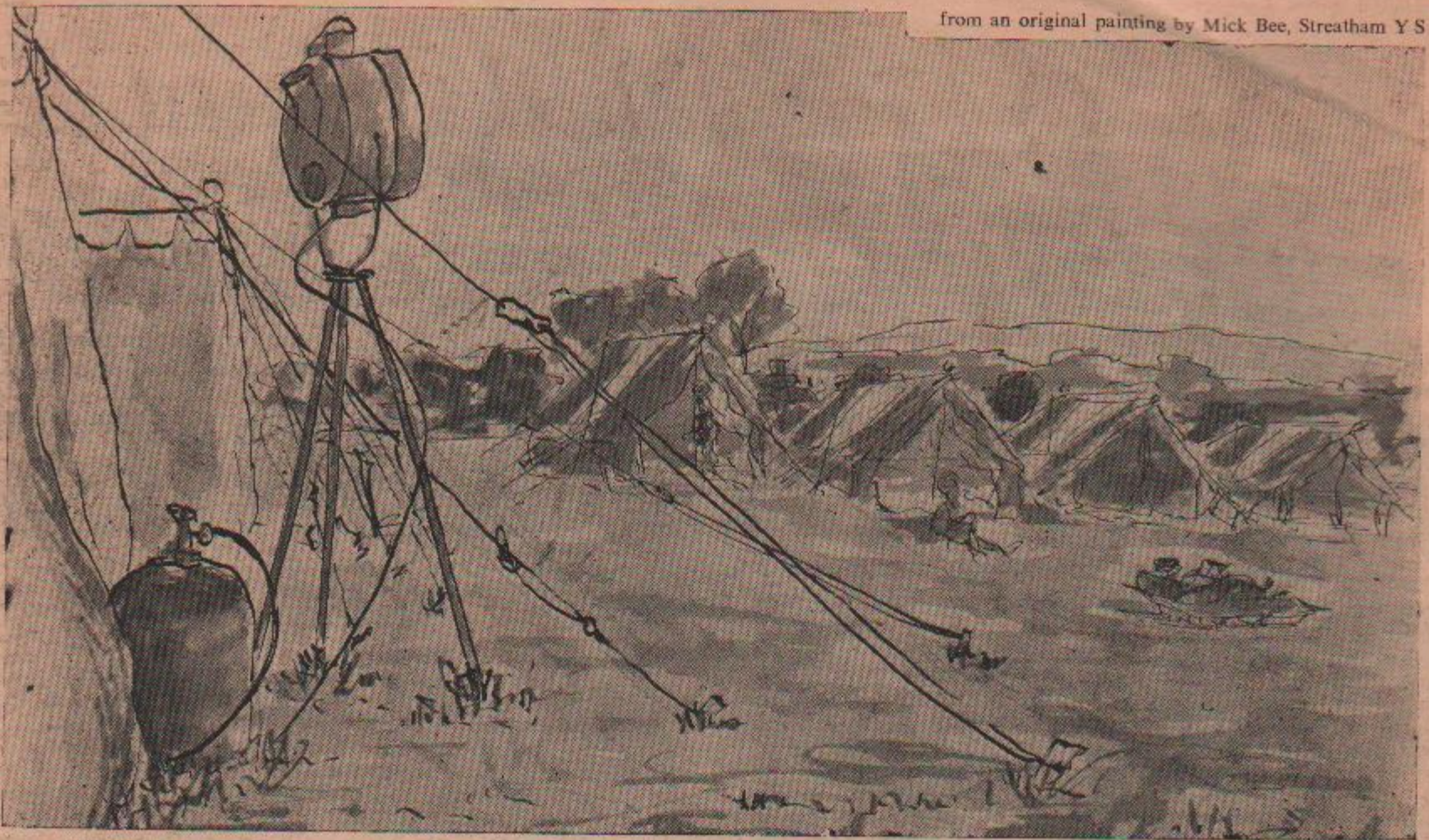
has been appointed editor, following the sacking of the original Young Socialist editor. The National Committee, in accepting this appointment, is itself guilty of ignoring the wishes of the Young Socialists who elected them. The editorial advisory committee is a powerless body that has no say in deciding the policy of New Advance.

I would be delighted to sit on a true editorial board, if elected by the Young Socialists. I would also be far happier if the majority of the National Committee got down to discussing and implementing all the decisions of the YS Conference, instead of spending 75 per cent of its time supporting the NEC's hysterical witch-hunt against the independent YS newspaper Keep Left.

At present the National Committee is failing in its duty to the Young Socialist movement.



from an original painting by Mick Bee, Streatham YS



KEEP LEFT — COUNTRY STYLE

KEEP LEFT held its first camp during August Bank Holiday week. The little tented village was built in a field in the heart of Sussex, surrounded by an electric fence on one side—which might have been put there to keep the cows out or the hundred or so Young Socialists in—and the Downs in the distance on the other side. Keep Left supporters from all over the country attended, including 15 comrades from as far away as Glasgow, who made a perilous journey down the M1 at night in a minibus.

Relaxing

The main object of the camp, of course, was political, but there was plenty of time for social activities. The sea was only a few miles away, with a large fairground in the nearest resort (it had the wickedest switch-back we have been on!), the local village offered a wide range of liquid refreshment and campers fought a long and vigorous battle with an army of earwigs, no doubt specially imported by the Young Tories.

Discussing

Most of the discussion centred around Clause Four, the H-bomb and the building of a mass youth movement. Speakers included Frank Girling, a sociologist at Sheffield University, Fred White, secretary of Aston Labour Party, Birmingham, a leading economist and Dennis Gilligan of Barking YS.

Everyone was determined to get as much as possible out of the classes. Questions were thrashed out in small discussion groups. By the end of the week we were all

determined on one thing—to go back to our own areas and make a real effort to build a strong youth movement to fight the Tories.

It was pointed out that the building of a future socialist society would rest squarely on the shoulders of young people. The present Young Socialist movement must establish itself as the leadership in the same way the Japanese

— By Aileen Shaw & Linda Brown —

youth movement did in its fight against nuclear weapons and a treaty with American capitalism. The large numbers of young people on the Aldermaston marches, on the Lumumba and other demonstrations, the apprentices and the Sunpak girl-strikers show that our generation is not apathetic and uninterested in politics.

The question of socialism was

again the key-point of a discussion on reformism and the inability of the Labour Party in its present form to bring about a socialist society. The Party has been in existence now for over half a century and although it is true that many reforms have been made, the conditions of the worker better, occasional reforms are not the weapon with which

to fight the Tories. In the age of nuclear weapons, industrial action and a mass youth movement are far more vital to the Labour Party than a handbook on how to be a good chairman.

The camp was unanimous in its determination that Clause Four and unilateralism should remain party policy. These two issues are the most important today, as private property and defence

weapons are the two things upon which the capitalist system maintains itself.

If nationalization were to be eliminated from the constitution the movement would be weakened. Young people want to live in a stable world without the threat of the H-bomb. The YS movement, because of its Left wing programme, will attract large numbers of youth. It will grow in strength and political maturity, despite attempts to hold it back.

The camp came to an end with an enjoyable social evening, in which everyone joined—earwigs included! We hope that next year many more Young Socialists will come along and take part in the discussions and find proof—if they need it—that Keep Left supporters are neither disrupters nor kill-joys, but determined Young Socialists out to build a strong opposition to the Tories.

● Fight the Tories

—from page 1

the Tories is an attack by the dominating class on the working class. The class question is one that is ignored or hurriedly pushed aside by Labour leaders. New Advance, in its August issue, does well to condemn 'The failure of Toryism', but it is not good enough to use quotes from the capitalist press in the condemnation or to pose a solution to the crisis by talking vaguely of the need for clear-sighted planning. 'Clear-sighted' and 'socialist' are not necessarily the same thing in the eyes of Transport House, particularly if we take the policy document, Signposts for the Sixties, as an example.

By supporting what is called 'a mixed economy'—public industries

run alongside private ones, with the former bled by the latter—and by suggesting a few reforms here and there, the document merely picks a few mouldy peas out of the rotten capitalist pod, instead of firmly stating that it will throw away the whole pod.

Young Socialists have no such inhibitions. In clear and decisive terms, they put forward a strong socialist policy at their first national conference at Easter, a policy that called for nationalization of engineering, aircraft, shipbuilding, chemicals, banks, insurance companies and the land. Here is the answer to 'The failure of Toryism', here is a programme that would command the support of the working class in this country and sweep the party into power.

The working class must close its ranks against the vicious attack by the Tories. Young Socialists have

a vital role to play. Throughout the country they must launch a campaign, based on the decisions of the Easter conference, to win thousands of young people to our ranks. In the coming months, through canvasses, leaflets, rallies and socials, we must work unceasingly to build a great youth movement dedicated to fighting for socialism.

A long and bitter struggle lies ahead. There must be no chinks in our armour. Racialist and anti-trade union tendencies must be explained and rigorously purged.

The answer to the Tory offensive lies in a united front of the workers and most of all in the youth of this country. Young Socialists have a simple but effective slogan to rally youth to our side.

That slogan is—FIGHT THE TORIES!

FASCISM—could it rise in Britain?

By JACK SHARP

TO most people fascism is the creed of a few cranks—something which the Germans are supposed to be susceptible to or, at best, something that would never be 'allowed' in Britain. As socialists we do not accept these shallow assessments but realise that fascism, like imperialism, develops under certain conditions out of capitalism.

If we look around we will see at least some of the features of a modern capitalist country which could result in the victory of Fascism. The Tory government, serving their masters in the board rooms of the great monopolies, are finding it increasingly difficult to compete with other advanced industrial countries. We are told night and day that our period of uninterrupted prosperity with a telly for everyone and a car for about half of us has got to come to an end, or at least must suffer a brief 'pause' while the Tories steer capitalism through some choppy water.

Even the middle classes, teachers and civil servants, are feeling the pinch. This section of the community, because they have no strength of their own, depend on the good graces of the ruling class in times of relative prosperity and, if the balance sheet of capitalism will run to it, the government usually looks after them in order to retain their loyalty. However, when spurned by their masters, the middle class will look to the organized working class for support and, with a firm leadership who can show them how to fight the employers, they can become an important ally of the workers in their struggle for socialism. Is this powerful lead coming from

the trade unions and Labour leaders? No—they are busy helping the Tories weaken the Labour movement by driving out militants, the people who can and must be the potential leadership of the working class if it is to win its battle with the ruling class.

Let-down

When faced with a let-down from the working class, the middle class may easily turn to other forces for leadership. They will then follow anyone who tells them that Britain must be made 'great' again, and before long Oswald Mosley will be recruiting fast to his Union movement.

Alongside this development is the growth of racialism in the working class movement. For years the British workers have been told that they are superior to their brothers in the colonies. Mass unemployment due to the frequent failures of one-crop economies in places like the West Indies has resulted in an exodus to Britain where work is at the



The murder of a white boy and the arrest of a young Arab was the superficial reason given for an outbreak of racial violence in Cannon Street, Middlesbrough, recently, which resulted in the smashing up of a number of cafes run by coloured people. But the real cause was capitalism, responsible for the slums and overcrowding. Their agents diverted the attention of the oppressed and frustrated workers by blaming coloured workers for the conditions.

moment more plentiful. Demagogues both inside and outside the Labour movement, looking for easy ways to gain a following, have sorted out these coloured immigrant workers as the cause of the acute housing shortage and the local pools of unemployment in different parts of the country. This was exactly the way in which Hitler was able to whip up hatred against the Jews in Germany.

Weed Out

Once the energies of the working class movement have been successfully diverted away from the struggle against the employers and their policies it becomes easy for the government to make an all-out attack on the trade unions—using the excuse of 'weeding out trouble-makers who are ruining the economy with unofficial strikes'.

It becomes a matter of life and death for the Labour movement not only to purge itself of all those alien ideas such as racialism which will weaken its effectiveness in the face of Tory attacks, but also to

break with the leadership of those Right wing elements whose job it is to help the employers 'tame' the working class. These soggy liberals who bleat that Britain is too 'democratic' for Fascism ever to take root here conveniently ignore the ugly scenes in Notting Hill and, more recently, Middlesbrough.

Leadership

A new leadership will only come from those young people now entering politics for the first time who are not prepared to support a movement which has no real policy and which does not put forward the promise of a real change in the way things are run. All those thousands of young people in the Young Socialists and the CND can provide that leadership, which was so sadly lacking in Germany when German capitalism was faced with the same problems as British capitalism is faced with today.

We must build this leadership before we can say that Fascism is impossible in Britain.

● Top Spot Letter

CONGRATULATIONS to Keep Left on the excellent and timely article on racialism and fascism which appeared in the last issue. I would like to add a few points in the light of my experience in East London.

The seeds of racist discontent are at present being sown in the Labour Party. Not a word must be spared to defeat a racist resolution. Most important, the youth must close its ranks and stand firm in a united front. In Stepney, in the East End, a fascist youth club is rapidly expanding. The young workers are recruited by means of a juke box and a dance floor. They are skilfully taught how to hate coloured people. On the first evening of the opening of a new YS dance in West Ham, five fascists crawled in, wearing CND badges, brandishing leaflets which to an inexperienced person was 'Left' reading, and saying they were interested in the club as they would be moving out of their club in Stepney into West Ham.

Meanwhile, Stepney YS is engaged in writing to New Advance in order to explain that coloured immigrants have caused an outbreak of TB in Stepney. They do not realise, it seems, that white people can carry TB, that the capitalist system has produced an abundance of filth-ridden bomb sites, vile street markets, alcoholics and dope dens and brothels galore in Stepney streets. Middlesbrough YS might do worse than discuss this question, too. North Kensington YS was recently disbanded because the branch started dances to recruit young workers in an area where fascists roam the streets. And still there are people in our movement who say you cannot build on a social basis!

This problem must be thrashed out in every YS branch. We must build a strong movement to stop the growth of fascism and the disruption of the working class.

LES HIGGS,
West Ham South YS

YCND MARKS TIME

ONE hundred and fifty delegates representing 220 YCND groups met in London at the beginning of July for their annual conference. Stuart Hall opened the conference by urging members to take more interest in the political implications of nuclear disarmament. Later on, however, while speaking on behalf of the EC, he strongly recommended delegates to reject a resolution from Benfleet calling upon YCND to support the Labour and trade union movement. He said CND is a non-political organization, but continued to speak of his great concern at the fact that the Scarborough decision on defence might be reversed this year. The motion was defeated by four votes.

The conference gave no direction to the movement against the H-bomb. Industrial action, civil disobedience and marching were also rejected. It would be true to say that the YCND were aware of the fact that although marching and other symbolic acts can recruit many thousands of people to the movement, these methods can

achieve next to nothing in ridding us of the bomb itself. But that is as far as it went. There was little attempt to solve the problems of how to link the vague fears of workers about the H-bomb with the very real problems they face in the Common Market with all its obvious links with NATO.

YCNDers who talk solely of removing H-bombs (and nothing else) from the shores of Britain

BY
Rodney Allen
AND
Chris Sames

and imply that the Tories can do this job must ask themselves 'whether capitalism can be changed and tamed and consequently will withdraw its troops from the colonies and the Soviet frontier. If not how can we hope for peace?'

Young Socialists who follow the argument of the editorial of Labour's Voice Youth Page and say that we must 'change our

emphasis' on unilateralism and concentrate on Polaris and German bases, not only isolate themselves from the current of feeling among youth, but also line themselves up with the German and American haters. Where is the difference between 'Yanks go home' and 'Nigger go home'?

In the face of all these diversions, Keep Left reaffirms its demand that the YS must stand firm on unilateralism and lead the fight to restore it as the policy of the whole Labour movement. YCND cannot stand aside from this fight. There is evidence of strong feeling in the ranks. That resolution from Benfleet, despite bureaucratic procedure and official recommendations on how to vote, was only lost by four votes.

With the active support of the YCND, Young Socialists can make the victory of the Right wing a very shaky one.

YS must stand firm for their conference decisions. YCND must take their place in our ranks and wage a decisive struggle against the bomb.

Editorial**KEEP LEFT**

THE PAPER FOR SOCIALIST YOUTH
9 Salisbury Court, Spur Road, Edgware, Middlesex

AS the economic crisis deepens, as the Tories mount their offensive against the working class, Young Socialist branches and regional committees throughout the country have received a circular from the Assistant National Agent, Mr. H. R. Underhill. Does he condemn the Conservative government? Does he call upon the Y S movement to rally with the whole Labour movement and fight for the defeat of Macmillan and Co.? No! He chooses this time to attack members of the Young Socialists—those who support Keep Left.

Repetition

Mr. Underhill's letter is merely a repetition of his previous circulars and his contributions in the Y S newspaper *New Advance*, which he now edits, with the added information that the Y S National Committee considers Keep Left to be a 'threat' to the Young Socialist organization. The National Committee, which is dominated by supporters of Mr. Gaitskell, has met twice since the Easter Conference and the decision on Keep Left seems to be the only concrete result of their lengthy discussions.

Mr. Underhill again brings up the old bogey of 'where does the money come from' for Keep Left. We are tired of this silly argument. We have repeatedly stated that our balance sheets can be examined at the paper's Annual General Meeting. It is worth repeating, however, that this paper is financed solely by the loyalty and generosity of our supporters.

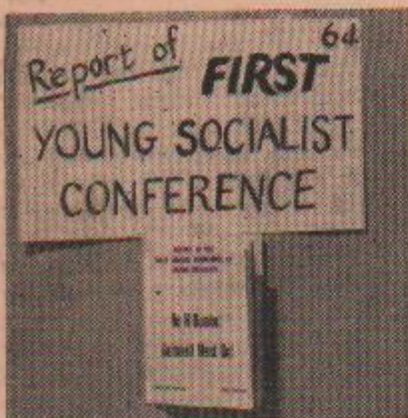
The most serious implication in Mr. Underhill's letter lies in his statement that 'Keep Left advocates views which are opposed to the basic principles of the Labour Party and seeks to create dissension within the Young Socialists.' The policies of Keep Left are quite simply these: The return of a Labour government based upon true socialist policies; unilateral nuclear disarmament by this country; the recall of British troops from overseas colonies and immediate self-determination for the peoples of these countries; freedom of discussion at all levels of the Young Socialist movement and control of the official Y S newspaper.

If these policies are alien to the principles of the Labour Party then the vast majority of Young Socialists must have inadvertently joined the wrong political organization.

Confident

Keep Left is confident that all Young Socialists will reject this continued witch-hunt against us by the full-time officials of the party and will support our democratic right to publish our paper and put forward our point of view to the movement at large.

Keep Left is equally confident that all Young Socialists will express their dismay at the fact that Mr. Underhill chooses this time to attempt to split the Y S movement when the Tories, because of their shocking inability to run the country's economy, are waging a bitter attack against the working class.



Leeds K L Jazz Club Shows the Way

Keep Left's popular pamphlet, giving a full report of the first Young Socialist Conference is prominently displayed in the Leeds Keep Left Jazz Club. Has your branch ordered copies yet? Its invaluable reading for every member. 6d. a copy from:

9 Salisbury Court, Spur Road, Edgware, Middlesex.

Keep Left Blackpool Outing

Keep Left has booked a coach to go to Blackpool on Sunday, October 1 so that Young Socialists in the London area can join in the pre-Labour Party Conference demonstrations and see the 'lights' of this famous seaside resort.

There are only a few places left. Write to G. Kennedy at the address at the top of page for full details, enclosing deposit of £1. Full price 27/6

BERLIN— Out with Capitalists and Stalinists!

by Gavin Kennedy
Hendon North Y S

SINCE the end of the second World War the name Berlin has, in the eyes of many, meant crisis. In 1945 this great European city was arrogantly divided into two zones by the Soviet and Allied commanders. It was in these days, when such agreements were foisted upon a war-torn, divided Germany, that the real trouble began. The responsibility for the danger of war today must be equally shared by the Russians and their former imperialist allies.

The two economic systems then went their separate ways. The Russians stripped the factories and workshops of East Germany of their modern equipment and transferred it to Russia. In its place they sent a horde of Stalinist bureaucrats led by Ulbricht, who spent the war years in Moscow preparing for the day when Hitler was defeated. These men were forced upon the German people by the bayonets of Russian soldiers and their rule was then, as it is now, entirely bureaucratic.

Refused

In the allied sector, the capitalist governments of Britain and America set about building up capitalism once again. The post-war Labour government, with Ernest Bevin as Foreign Secretary, refused to nationalize the basic industries in the British zone. The result was that in time most of the old capitalists, headed by Krupp, returned and have now reinstated capitalism as a thriving business in the West. The Labour movement in Britain bears a heavy responsibility for the present Berlin crisis.

Plundered

On the other hand, the Soviet puppets in the Eastern zone were forced to nationalize all the basic industries in order to bring them into line with the nationalized economic resources of the Soviet Union. Capitalism was eliminated. Then began the struggle to build up heavy industry which had already been plundered by the Soviets, produce consumer goods for an impoverished working class and at the same time maintain a bureaucracy which had its own separate shops and private luxury living accommodation in the best residential districts. Small wonder

that East Germany, which is, after all, not nearly so industrialized as the Western sector, should be immersed in crisis for so many years. This is one of the main reasons for the constant flow of refugees to the West—many of them are just looking for better-paid jobs.

The nationalized economy in the East and the capitalist economy in the West cannot be united. Those who talk glibly about German unity right now simply ignore this fact. Either capitalism or socialism must eventually triumph. There can be no lasting compromise.

Struggle

The working class of the Eastern zone are forced to endure their bureaucracy until such time as the working class in West Germany wage a determined struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by socialism. This is the real nature of the present crisis.

The East German working class, whilst hostile to the Stalinist bureaucracy are not in favour of a return to capitalism. The West German working class is continuously being betrayed by such people as the Social Democratic Mayor of Berlin, Willy Brandt, who is nothing more than a specialist in the cold war. He is constantly demanding nuclear weapons and some of the most arrogant war mongers in West





Germany, outside Adenauer, are the leaders of the Social Democrats. At their conference in 1959 they withdrew the name of socialism from their party programme.

The key sector in the struggle for German unity today is in the West, and this can only be achieved under socialism.

Demand

But both East and West Germany suffer from the presence of foreign troops. In the East there are the Russians and in the West there are the British, French and Americans. So long as these oppressors remain, there is great difficulty in organizing a real movement for socialism in the working class. The duty of the British Labour movement is therefore to demand the removal of all troops from East and West Berlin. Every encouragement must be given to the Social Democratic rank and file and, in particular, the German Young Socialists to fight their Right wing and struggle for socialist policies. Such activity would inspire the East German

working class to join hands with their brothers in the West and eventually unify Germany along socialist lines.

If we fail, then crisis-ridden Berlin may well lead to World War III.

Going to University?

MANY members of the YS and YCND will be starting at universities and colleges this autumn. Unfortunately, in many places, there has been little or no liaison between students and local YS branches. This serious gap in our ranks must be closed. If you are going to university or college, let us know and we can then put you in touch with local Keep Left supporters. Take the first step in building strong links between socialist students and YS. Fill in the form and send it off NOW.

I am going to
university or college

Name.....

Address

Send to: Ken Scarr (Students),
9 Salisbury Court, Spur Road,
Edgware, Middlesex.

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Send to: Ken Scarr, 9 Salisbury Court, Spur Road, Edgware, Middlesex

Some way to spend a Week-end!

By a Keep Left Correspondent

THE National Committee of the Young Socialists met for the second time over the week-end of July 14 and 15. One of the first items to come up for discussion was the official YS paper, New Advance. There was a request that it be left on the agenda until Sunday when Mike Ginsberg, a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee, would be present, but it was decided not to wait for him. Reg Underhill, Assistant National Agent and recently appointed editor of Advance, said that the committee was functioning smoothly. He stated that the NEC had decided to appoint him as editor, but he wasn't prepared to disclose the name of the journalist employed to help produce it. The NC agreed, by five votes to three, to accept the NEC proposals.

Reg Underhill presented a report from the NEC on Keep Left, which requested the NC to formulate proposals on the paper in view of the increasingly disruptive activities of those associated with it. Mr. Underhill stressed his belief that Keep Left involved a separate organization that sent supporters into branches uninvited. He was unable to give any evidence of this separate organization, although he was repeatedly asked for it throughout the stormy session. One delegate pointed out that this request from the NEC was a deliberate attempt by them to get the NC to rubber stamp a ban on the paper. Tony Greenwood sat silent throughout the whole session.

'THREAT'

The following motion was put by Bob Hickman: 'That the NEC be recommended to inform Regional Committees of the Young Socialists that in view of the resolution passed by the National Conference, Keep Left still remains a threat to the Young Socialist organization.' It was carried by six votes to three. In favour: Dugdale, Hickman, Dickenson, Fraiser, Hewitt and Fox. Against: Tallantire, Macdonald and Thompson.

The committee then turned to the resolutions which had not been reached at Conference. Mr. Underhill had been responsible for drawing up recommendations on these resolutions and the NC had

to decide whether to accept or reject the recommendations. On independent newspapers and magazines the following motion was put: 'This committee considers that YS rank and file newspapers are essential for freedom of expression within the movement and would condemn any attempt to impose a ban on YS supporting them.' It was moved that the words 'bona fide' should be inserted before 'rank and file'. This was carried by six votes to four.

The nationalization of farm land was agreed to be acceptable and the committee decided to launch a campaign on nationalization in the YS.

'UNACCEPTABLE'

'Unacceptable' was the Underhill recommendation on the lifting of bans and proscriptions. It was moved that the committee accept and support the resolution and it was further moved that it just be noted. Ginsberg and Thompson voted that it should be supported; Hewitt, Hickman, Macdonald, Fraiser, Fox and Dugdale voted that it should be noted, and Malcolm Tallantire abstained.

'Unacceptable' again from Mr. Underhill on the withdrawal of British troops from overseas bases and colonies. After a long discussion it was moved that the committee support and accept the resolution. This was defeated, six to four.

GLASGOW SLATES N C

From CHIC McCAFFERTY

A SPECIAL conference of Glasgow Young Socialists was held on Sunday, August 20 to hear a report by National Committee member Angus Macdonald on the last NC meeting.

After hearing the report, the conference went over the NC decisions individually and passed unanimously resolutions which deplored the NC's refusal to affiliate to the Movement for Colonial Freedom, deplored the decision not to call for the withdrawal of British troops from foreign bases and colonies, called upon Transport House to circulate the minutes and voting records of the committee, called upon NC members to resign from the useless advisory committee on New Advance and to stop being used as a 'front of respectability' by Transport House officials.

It was agreed, with two votes against, that the NC and Reg Underhill should be asked for a definition of 'bona fide' in relation to YS papers.

The following motion was carried by ten votes to seven: 'This conference calls upon our

NC member to express our disapproval of the actions taken by the Assistant National Agent in circulating branches and federations on the 'disruptive' activities of Keep Left.

'We note that Mr. Underhill calls upon Young Socialists to expose the policies of the paper and to contrast them with the aims of the Labour Party. We call upon Cde Macdonald to remind the NC that the policies of Keep Left... are the same as those passed at the YS National Conference.

'This conference, therefore, has no confidence in Mr. Underhill as National Youth Officer¹ and calls for his replacement as editor of New Advance by a Young Socialist appointed by our National Committee, in accordance with the expressed desire of the YS Conference.

'We further call upon the National Committee to organize a nation-wide campaign around the decisions of the YS conference.'

¹We must point out that Mr. Underhill is not, in name, National Youth Officer. That function falls to Mr. Alan Williams.—Editor, K.L.

'Dear Comrade Editor'

FOR vindictiveness your attack on Tony Greenwood (K.L. July-Aug.) must be unequalled even in the pages of Keep Left.

You admit he challenged everything Gaitskell stood for and that he came out strongly for international socialism, then you dismiss him contemptuously as a careerist, playing up to the YS in a bid for leadership. Comrade, surely a man of Greenwood's intelligence could find a quicker way of getting to the top.

No, although differing from him on the means of achieving and consolidating a socialist society, I believe Greenwood to be a sincere and dedicated socialist.

Let the criticisms of the Parliamentary 'Left' be on a constructive political basis and leave smear tactics to the hysterical Right, with whom, emotionally, Keep Left still has much in common.

ANGUS MACDONALD,
Gorbals Y S

Our Skegness reporter comments:

Due to demands on space, I was not able to deal as fully with Tony Greenwood's speech at the YS Rally as I would have liked. Let me first of all say that it was a very fine speech. But I am used to judging people by their actions, not by their words. All the fine words will not make up for lack of endeavour in fighting for one's beliefs. What has Tony Greenwood done for the YS since his 'we won't gag them' speech at Scarborough last year? The facts, alas, speak for themselves. He has done little or nothing. Witness, for example, the report on page 5 of the National Committee meeting when Keep Left was being attacked: 'Tony Greenwood sat silent throughout the whole session.' It is interesting to note that Cde Macdonald speaks of the Parliamentary 'Left' in quotes. Apparently he has no illusions about that august body in general, but just for individual members.—Editor, K.L.

'This branch, whilst not seeking to whitewash the nefarious activities of the Keep Left organization, wishes to place upon record its condemnation of the activities of the political faction centred around the publication *New Advance* and the National Executive Committee.'—Leyton Y S.

Unfair?

T. P. CRAWFORD (Keep Left, July-August) takes me to task for my views on Tribune's record over the past year. I would like to clear up one or two points.

First, on the general situation in the Labour Party after Scarborough. It was quite apparent that the Right wing, although defeated on policy, maintained control of the leading positions and bodies—the machinery and finances. Thus they were able to organise to ignore and reverse the conference decisions.

Secondly, the Right wing attempted over this whole period to confuse and disorganize the Left (slogans of 'unity', 'Let's drop our own interclass struggles and fight the Tories', the Crossman-Padley document).

The job of the Left leadership over the past year should have been to counter-organise against the Right, and to maintain clarity on the political issues involved.

Although at the beginning of 1961, a 'Scarborough Caravan' toured the main towns putting the case for the Scarborough decisions, this was really the only initiative that came from the Left leaders. The rest of the time

they wallowed in the swamp created by the Right wing.

Comrade Crawford himself speaks of an 'ineffective and compromising approach' on one issue; I think it well describes their activity over the past year.

On the Zilliucus issue, while it is all very well to describe it as deplorable, this hardly constitutes a lead to the Left. It reminds me of those socialists who fought fascism in the 30s with bigger headlines in their papers!

The Zilliucus suspension was only the first step against the Left. Now the Right wing gaily talk of disaffiliating a whole union with a quarter of a million members.

I think if we are to profit by the history of the Labour Party over the past year, then we must make a ruthless political estimation of how various groups acted, and if this touches a few raw nerves it's just unfortunate.

DENNIS GILLIGAN,
Barking Y S

Utopian

THE Soviet Union's 20-year plan seems magnificent at first glance; free rents, free public transport, free gas and electricity, free meals at work, free nurseries. However, as the Daily Worker says, 'If the international situation makes an increase in defence expenditure necessary, the programme may be held up.' So the whole programme depends upon the Utopian idea of 'peaceful co-existence'. In fact even Lenin's teachings are distorted when there is need to justify this policy, for the official programme states, 'The Soviet State, in standing on guard for peace and bringing to life the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence, is a mighty obstacle in the path of imperialist aggression.' They do not say in which of the 42 volumes of Lenin's work this principle is to be found.

The programme also says that other countries must achieve their transitions to socialism by peaceful means (which signifies more betrayals of colonial and proletarian revolutions to come), and 'it may well be that there will arise in certain countries a situation in which it will be preferable for the bourgeoisie to agree to the means of production being purchased from it and for the proletariat to "pay off" the bourgeoisie.' This is also Utopian. Even in the unlikely circumstances of the bourgeoisie being willing to be

'bought out', one must expect that the proletariat would only become convinced of the necessity for socialism when the country's economy was in an acute crisis, in which case no payment to the bourgeoisie would be possible.

This programme does not give much hope to the rest of the world. It is based squarely on the idea of 'socialism in one country'. The Russian leaders are quite satisfied to see their country progress, as it must inevitably progress owing to its planned economy, and to leave the workers in other countries to suffer under a capitalist system.

RAY MUSGROVE,
Ealing South Y S

Sectarian

I FEEL that the article on the Common Market by Bob Jackson in the July-August edition tends to evade the basic issues at stake. The main object of the Common Market is political, aiming to unify the efforts of the West European capitalist monopolies against socialism. Furthermore, Britain's membership of the Common Market will result in an increase in unemployment and a general decrease in the standard of living in Britain.

It is the duty of all socialists to oppose any attempt on the part of the capitalist class to consolidate and strengthen its power or to lower the living standards of the working class.

The sectarian attitude advocated by Bob Jackson will do nothing to attract the broad masses of the people to our point of view and such flagrant disregard of the workers' immediate needs will only harm the cause of Socialism.

P.G.,
London, S.E.26

Failure

I AGREE with D. Henderson (last edition) that leadership is necessary, but Gaitskell is supposed to be the leader of the working class. To win elections we must gain the support of the mass of workers, particularly young workers. We must put forward a policy in the interests of the working class. In Signposts for the Sixties the present leadership fails utterly to do this. There is no mention of nationalization—only a compromise with capitalism, when the document says that present company directors must be replaced by bright young men from universi-

ties, and advisory boards set up to make private enterprise run more efficiently. It even supports the idea of a wage freeze!

In the present crisis of capitalism thousands of young workers are faced with the threat of a wage freeze and unemployment. In the face of Selwyn Lloyd's 'little budget' Gaitskell will take the fight no further than the division lobbies and debating on how to spread the sacrifices more evenly. At the same time the Right-wing paper Socialist Commentary attacks trade unions for fighting for better conditions for their members. The recent militancy of teachers apparently went unnoticed by the Labour Party. Here was a great opportunity to recruit these people—and it was missed.

The Labour Party must offer all workers a socialist policy along the lines of the Scarborough decisions, which Gaitskell has been fighting against for the past year.

HILARY NIX,
Sutton Y S

Signpost to . . . ?

I HAVE been reading the current issue of my union journal all about the Labour Party pamphlet Signposts for the Sixties. While I agree with a major part of the document, I feel that the Labour Party leaders should express an intention of extending public ownership. As socialists we should never see ourselves as equal partners in industry and commerce with the capitalist bosses.

The Tory policy of so-called 'free enterprise' has miserably failed. Events have clearly shown that there is now, as probably never before, a need for economic planning and controls. The Labour Party leaders

The Editor regrets that many letters have had to be held back this month due to great pressure on space. Contributors are asked to keep their letters as short as possible—150 to 200 words. The shorter the letters, the more we can print.

ought to give assurances to the rank and file of the party that they will pursue a more radical policy.

I myself would like to see the following points in an election manifesto:

1. A workers' charter bringing in a 40-hour week, three weeks' holiday with pay a year and a higher basic wage scale for all workers.
2. A complete review of the Welfare State Services, particularly the National Health Service, with an eye to abolishing prescription charges.
3. Nationalization of steel, chemicals, water, sugar, all civil aviation and shipping, the fisheries industry, large-scale building firms, automobile industry, shipbuilding, aircraft building and the electrical industry.
4. Municipal ownership of urban lands and certain places of entertainment.
5. Collectivization of the land, whereby the agricultural workers would, by elected representatives, control policy. The socialist government would give any help possible, financial and by way of training schemes, etc.
6. Consumer co-operative ownership of all the large multiple chain stores, wholesale distributing firms and manufacturing firms, particularly in the detergent and food industries.

I believe that is a good home policy for the next socialist government. I hope we will see it implemented.

GORDON WATTS,
Thornton, Lincs.

Folk Songs at Enfield Y S



The Folklanders, a young group of folk singers from Potters Bar, Middlesex, entertained 60 Young Socialists at the opening of Enfield Y S's new premises, which have been completely re-decorated by the members themselves. The Folklanders sang a programme of folk songs from many countries. Left to right: Dave Smith, Maureen Seaton and Mike Aston, who were augmented for the occasion by Frances Seaton and Ann Smith (seated) from Barnet.

1945 and all that

by Margaret Maclean

AFTER 10 years of Conservative government it may seem improbable to some people that just 16 years ago the Tories were faced with economic ruin and a militant working class which threw them out and swept Labour into power with a majority of 152. However, if we study the record of the 1945 Labour government and the subsequent return of Toryism we can learn some lessons that will help the Labour movement to fight the Tories today.

In post-war Britain, the working class had totally different needs and interests to those of the bosses, just as they have today. The Tories saw that some industries were on the point of collapse and that industry as a whole had to be re-equipped and built up. They also saw that this would require vast sums of money and a tremendous effort on the part of the workers. The workers were fed up. They were sick of making changes which would give them decent houses, security and work.

Standing between these two hostile

forces was the Labour government. On one side stood the workers, who had given it a mandate to build Socialism in Britain. On the other side, the ruling class was breathing down its neck.

There were only two ways out of this tremendous problem—one was to take the economy right out of the hands of the bosses and nationalize all the most important industries. The other was to retain things more or less as they were, and try to give capitalism in Britain a shot in the arm. The latter course was chosen.

One of the government's first actions was to borrow 3,750 million dollars from the U.S. Government. Dalton's plan for persuading industrialists to set up factories in areas which had been centres of unemployment before the war was put into operation and he remarks in his memoirs that big capitalist organizations like Courtaulds and I.C.I. did not suffer by going to these development areas and were no doubt surprised to find 'how easily trained and adaptable these workers were'.

Fuel is essential to all industries and the mines were in such a terrible state that even the Tories saw the need to give them some financial assistance. Transport is also vital to an industrial economy and it was no coincidence that these were two of the first industries to be nationalized. The railways in particular were in very bad shape and had paid no dividends to their shareholders for a number of years.

The most important industry to be nationalized was iron and steel. This was a very vital product and in short supply and the government had to control this industry in order to raise production and help capitalism as a whole. Apart from the nationalization of steel, the Tories did not seriously oppose the government's actions, particularly as most of the people appointed to the boards of the industries were just the grasping sharks who had previously controlled them.



A great crowd greets Attlee on the steps of the People's Palace, East London, after his win in the Limehouse constituency.

The aim of the government to raise exports to 175 per cent of the pre-war level was achieved by 1950 and the capitalist economy was saved for the time being, but it was saved as always at the expense of the working class. Although the Trade Disputes Act had been repealed, the workers were still restrained from pressing for higher wages. They were offered instead bonus scheme and national arbitration tribunals.

A number of useful reforms came into operation, among them the Health Service, but Britain remained a capitalist country competing on the world market with other capitalist powers. And the bosses, of course, still required their cheap raw materials from the colonies. When Mossadeq renounced Persia's treaty with the Anglo-Iranian oil company, Morrison, then foreign secretary, was in favour of sending in the gun-boats. In Malaya the Labour government fought as viciously as any Tory administration would have done against the so-called terrorists in order to keep the profits of the rubber plantations.

The hostility of the capitalists towards the nationalized economy in the Soviet Union was faithfully mirrored by the government. In 1950, under the auspices of U.N.O.

they pulled the British working class into the Korean war to help prop up the corrupt and reactionary government of Syngman Rhee, which was seen as a bulwark against Communism. The defence budget mounted higher and higher and it was also during this period that the first cuts in the National Health Service were made with the introduction of a charge for dentures and spectacles. The beginning of the Korean war also saw the introduction of the two-year call-up.

In 1951 Labour lost the election to the Tories who came back with a large majority. The lesson to be learnt from the 1945 Labour government is not that they were stupid, or that Cripps or Dalton were worse at doing sums than Selwyn Lloyd, or that the working class has miraculously become apathetic since the end of the war. The lesson is that in order to get decent housing and social services, a good standard of living and full employment, socialists must do more than try to prop up a rotten society. They must build a new one and to do this they must break completely with all the Tory inspired rubbish about the 'National interest'.

The most important task facing Young Socialists is to assist the Labour movement in fighting the Tory wage freeze and their war plans. It does not help to talk about 'the soggy complacency of some employers and the apathy of some workers' as Gaitskell did in parliament recently. It was the idea of workers and employers 'pulling together' in the National interest which tied hand and foot the 1945 Labour government, and prevented them from taking power from the employers.

We must fight to kick out the Tories and make sure that we do not have to pay yet again to get capitalism off the rocks.



The Prime Minister with Government officers and whips, 1945. Top row, left to right: Capt. Arthur Blenkinsop MP, Capt. Julian Suow MP, Capt. Geoffrey Bing MP, C. J. Simmons MP, Capt. Michael Stewart MP. Bottom row: J. Henderson MP, R. J. Taylor MP, Rt. Hon. W. Whiteley MP (Chief Whip), the Prime Minister, Herbert Morrison (Lord President), G. Mathers MP and F. Collindridge M.P.

Stop the Witch-hunt!

RYING UP and down the country have responded angrily to Reg Underhill's latest attack on Keep Left. Here is just a brief selection of the many letters of support we have received at the time of going to press.

'At a meeting of our branch a motion was unanimously approved for despatch to the National Committee of the Y.S. expressing full support for Keep Left and protesting against the way in which the organization of the Labour Party is used in the witch-hunt against Keep Left.'

Jarrow Y.S.

'We, the members of this branch of Brierfield Young Socialists condemn the activities of the National Committee of Young Socialists and the

National Executive Committee in preparing disruptive circulars for the purpose of imposing an undemocratic ban on the Young Socialists' paper Keep Left, a paper which consistently fights for the implementation of adult and Y.S. conference decisions.

'Further, this branch believes that the use of rank and file subscriptions to the party machine, for the purpose of suppressing a Y.S. paper that supports Conference decisions is a most disruptive action. We feel the NEC and the NC of Young Socialists would be better employed in launching a national campaign to fight the Tories and monopoly capitalists. We demand that this misuse of party machinery cease immediately. Further we demand that no ban be placed on the publication or distribution of Keep Left.'

Brierfield Y.S.

'This Gillmoss branch of the Young Socialists, Liverpool, condemns the action of, and repudiates the lies and assertions contained in, the August circular concerning the paper Keep Left.'

'This Gillmoss branch has found both the people around the paper, and the paper itself, a great help in its formation and development.'

Gillmoss Y.S.

'This branch of Nelson and Colne Y.S. insist that the NEC and the NC of the Y.S. cease their attack upon the Y.S. paper Keep Left.'

'We declare the right of the Y.S. to publish whatever publication they think necessary in the struggle for socialism. We demand that the deliberate misuse of party machinery by the Right wing members of the party in pursuing a policy to ban Keep Left cease forthwith. Further we declare that this Y.S. paper re-

peatedly presented and fought for the implementation of Y.S. conference decisions. We demand that no ban be placed on the publication and distribution of Keep Left.'

Nelson and Colne Y.S.

'This branch reaffirms support and sponsorship for Keep Left and will do all in its power to protect the paper against the attack from the officials of the party.'

East Ham South Y.S.

'This branch reaffirms its sponsorship of Keep Left and demands that the National Committee of the Young Socialists refrain from attacking Left-wing members of the Y.S. and implements the Y.S. conference decisions in a national campaign to defeat the Tories.'

Hendon North Y.S.

The Left's Task — Stand Firm at Blackpool and then Lead

By DENNIS GILLIGAN
Barking Y S

THIS year's Labour Party Conference meets under the shadow of a severe economic crisis, and the promise of major struggles in industry this autumn and winter. The Tories are prepared to thrust the problems of capitalism on to the working class, as they did in the 1930s. There is one great difference between the '30s and the present period however. The defeat of the 1926 General Strike, followed by MacDonald's betrayal in 1931, left the working class demoralized. Mass unemployment, a reign of terror against militants in industry, a catastrophic decline in Union membership—this was the '30s.

Contrast this with the picture today. At 9 million, union membership is an all-time high. Organization has never been so strong. A new generation of workers, who have never known the hard, bitter poverty of the inter-war years, is now at work in the factories. The Tories face not a cowed and submissive working class but a self-confident and aggressive one.

Battle

The debates at Blackpool take place, therefore, as the Tories and the working class prepare for battle. This must determine our attitude to the resolutions on the agenda.

As we said in the June Keep Left, wage strikes in industries such as motors, shipbuilding, aircraft and building will immediately raise political questions. Demands for more nationalization of these industries will come forward spontaneously. The Labour Party must be prepared to respond immediately to these demands with a concrete programme of nationalization.

Retreat

There are 14 resolutions calling for an extension of nationalization. These include the Ormskirk resolution which calls for public ownership of all urban and agricultural land, basic industries, building societies, finance houses and insurance companies.

The Right wing's programme for meeting the economic crisis is contained in Signposts for the Sixties, a document which continues the retreat from nationalization.

Gaitskell's victory on the H-bomb over the past year has undoubtedly encouraged the Right wing to move forward on other fronts. It is no surprise that Mr. Crossman, so prominent in the campaign to confuse the Left on the H-bomb, is also one of the

chief authors of Signposts for the Sixties. The TGWU at their conference consigned it to the dustbin. We hope this lead is followed and that the Scarborough decisions on nationalization are re-affirmed.

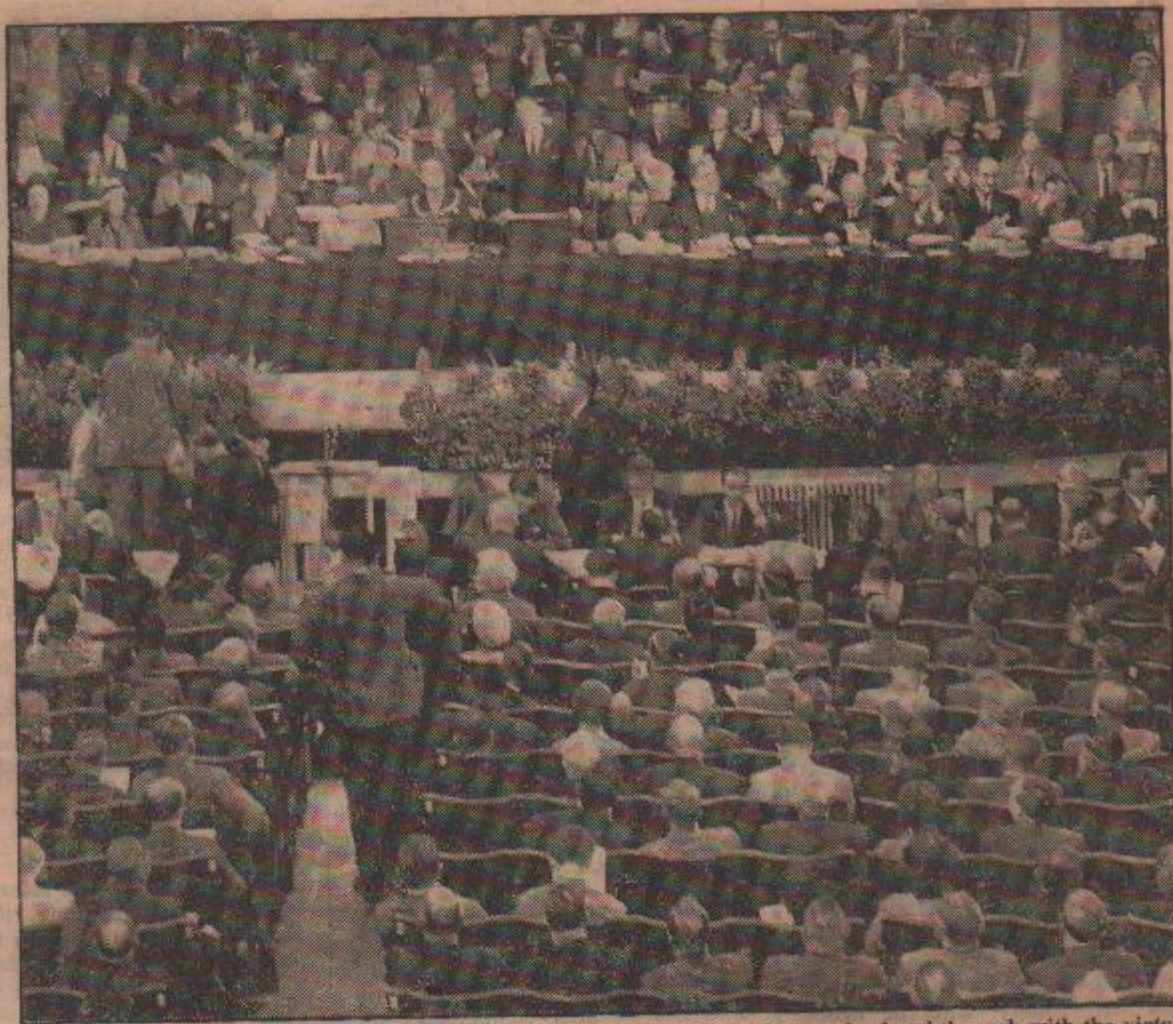
A resolution from Bermondsey LP calls for checks on immigration. This is already badly overcrowded. Conference must reject this resolution which plays into the hands of the racist groups now forming.

Forged

The crisis of leadership remains the major problem facing the working class. Gaitskell, Crossman and the rest of the present leaders of the Labour Party are completely unable and unwilling to lead the working class in a struggle against Toryism, to make crippling inroads into capitalism.

This one problem the conference will not resolve. The new political leadership of the Labour movement will be forged in industrial struggles. On the docks, in motors, on the building jobs, new leaders will come forward from among the younger men.

The Y S must aim after the conference to step up recruitment among young industrial workers who are unaffected by the defeats of the past. It is the job of the Y S to build, organize and educate that new leadership.



The Labour Party Conference, Scarborough 1960, where the Left made a major breakthrough with the victory on defence and nationalization. But because of the lack of leadership from the so-called Left leaders, the Right wing are certain of reversing the defence decision this year. Here is evidence of the necessity for a strong leadership to fight for socialist policies. Such a leadership must come from the Young Socialists.

Hands Off the ETU

by ALBERT HODGSON East Ham South Y S

THE Labour Party National Executive went into its last meeting faced with the task of giving a lead to the working class in the present crisis to wage war on Macmillan and Co. Instead the NEC joined the Tories and their agents in the TUC and Fleet Street in the assault on the Electrical Trades Union. Once again the Right wing has shown its willingness to assist the Tories in the fight against the Left wing of the trade unions.

The leadership is carrying on in the post-Scarborough tradition of witch-hunting from the Party every section of resistance.

The attacks are based on the allegation that the ballot for the position of general secretary of the ETU was rigged. Trade unionists cannot support, under any circumstances, ballot rigging; but neither can we support the Tories, their agents and Fleet Street in attacking the Left wing of the trade union movement.

Ballot-rigging is just a convenient excuse for the employing class to launch its attack on the Labour movement and impose a wage freeze on the working class. The Labour Party leadership wants to throw out the ETU for political reasons, not democratic ones. (When the Right wing talks of democracy, just whisper 'Scarborough'.)

At the ETU conference the

membership voted for unilateralism, more nationalization, against Polaris, German bases, the wage freeze and bans and proscriptions in the Labour Party. These then are the real reasons why the Tories, the press and the Right wing of the Labour Party and the TUC wage war on the ETU; not because of democracy, but because they are hell bent on smashing a militant section of the working class and forcing upon it a renegade Right wing leadership.

'Hands off the ETU'—'Unite against the Right wing'. These must be the slogans of the Left inside the Labour movement.

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST RACIALISM!

Central Station, Newcastle
to the
Connaught Hall

Saturday, September 9
Assemble 2 Start 2.15 p.m.
Speakers at Connaught Hall
include:

Liz Thompson (Wigan Y S)
Arthur Blenkinsop (ex MP
for Newcastle East)

Sponsored by Anti-Racist
Organizing Committee

BARKING CONSTITUENCY LABOUR PARTY

An Old Year's Carnival Dance

with
HUMPHREY LYTTLETON

AND HIS BAND

7.30 p.m.-11.30 p.m.

Saturday, December 30

ASSEMBLY HALL, BARKING

Tickets, enquiries: E. E. Fennell, Sec., Barking Y S, 8 Woodbridge Rd., Barking.
Bar Tickets 15/- Refreshments