

Keep Left

The Paper for Socialist Youth

MAKE '62 A GREAT YEAR FOR SOCIALISM

January 1962 Fourpence Vol. 11 No.1

United Front Against the Pause

By TERRY MARTIN
Hendon North YS

THE beginning of the New Year is generally the time for well wishing, though there can hardly be any love pact between the Tories and the mass of the workers of this country right now.

With the employers wage pause painting a grim picture of what lies ahead in 1962, organized sections of the working class, led by the busmen, railmen, miners and postmen are seeing the urgency of some form of real resistance to the super profit plans of the monopolies and big business.

GEARED

The economy is being geared for entry into Europe and this means that if British capitalism is to be at any advantage with its rivals, efficiency and cost-cutting must be the order of the day.

That's what the wage freeze means, with Fleet Street the salesman. The sweet pill offered is the Economic Development Council, in which various trade union leaders are offered comfortable positions. Suffice it to say that Lord Robens (with plane) knew what side his bread was buttered on!

The plans being drawn up by transport and post office workers to fight the wage pause are encouraging, but past experience shows that certain cautionary conclusions have to be drawn from such plans.

CONFUSION

Isolated action and one-day stoppages tend to cause more confusion and frustration than anything else.

Working to rule is all very well if it shows results and that requires support from other workers. A strong, united front of bus and rail workers, represented by the tremendous potential of the TGWU and NUR, determined to go all out in the fight would aid the postmen immensely,

→ back page, col. 5

Question: What do you think of the Tories?

Answer: ↓



The young lads responsible for this silent, but meaningful, reply were pictured at the great Merseyside 'Fight the Tories' Rally on December 17. See pages 4 and 5 for a full report.

by Liz Thompson

Wigan YS and National Committee

WILL 1962 see the Labour movement stronger than in 1961? Will Britain be further from or nearer to socialism? These questions have a real meaning for young people everywhere.

1961 was a bad year for peace. The imperialist powers stepped up the nuclear arms race. At home, the Tories increased the cost of living, introduced the pay pause and stepped up taxation. Can we change things for the better during 1962?

Our answer must be yes. We are not frightened by the Tories nor the imperialists and their war making. There are million and millions of young people all over the world who want to live in peace and happiness. But they need above all else a determined socialist leadership. Without that there can be no victory in any country in the world.

The best new year resolution for Young Socialists is to fight the Tories everywhere. Although 1961 saw the reversal of the Scarborough anti-H-bomb decisions, the future is by no means black. Over the past few months there have been increasing signs that young people are coming to the forefront in the local parties and putting new heart and life into the struggle against the Tory government.

Great Desire

This reflects itself in a number of ways. Firstly, there is a great desire to build the Labour Party, despite what differences youth might have with the Right wing. This shows itself in the efforts made by many Young Socialist branches to increase their membership to mass proportions.

By developing the social side of their work whilst at the same time enjoying the support of sympathetic local constituency Labour Parties, hun-

→ page 7, col. 1.

Build the paper!

THIS is the new KEEP LEFT for a new year. A brighter and more readable paper—we hope—with which to recruit new members to the YS and step up the fight against the Tories.

It is vital for the YS movement to have a militant paper, leading the struggle for socialist policies. KEEP LEFT, and only KEEP LEFT, has been doing that for 11 years now.

We can only do so with

your help, drive and energy to increase the strength of the paper.

We call upon our readers to step up our circulation by at least 10,000 in 1962 by canvassing outside factories and meetings, selling in busy

high streets, introducing the paper to a new army of readers.

There is a subscription form on the back page.

Build the paper—and here's to a great year for socialism.

Keep Left is sponsored by:

Aberdare, Abertillery, Aston, Aston Manor, Barking, Blaby and District, Brierfield, Bury, Carlton, Cathcart, Chorley, Cirencester, Coventry Central, Coventry East, Dagenham, East Ham South, Edinburgh Central, Edinburgh North, Finchley, Glasgow Central, Gorton, Hendon North, Hull, Irvine, Jarrow, Kirkby, Leamington, Leeds East, Nelson and Colne, Newcastle City, Newcastle West, Newport, Ormskirk, Rotherham, Skelmersdale, Southgate, Southport, Tunbridge Wells, Urmston, West Derby, West Ham South, Whitechurch, Wigan and Wolverhampton Young Socialist Branches.



Sit-downers crushed by Tory Forces



THE sit-down demonstrations organized by the Committee of 100 on Saturday, December 8 were brave efforts to immobilize the NATO H-bomb air bases at Wethersfield, Brize Norton and Ruislip. Bertrand Russell, leader of the 'civil disobedience' wing of the CND movement, described the demonstrations as a 'moral success'.

As one of the few sympathetic observers at Wethersfield, I must regretfully disagree with Lord Russell. The sit-downers were overwhelmed, outnumbered and beaten by the sheer weight of forces lined up by the government.

At Wethersfield alone, 300 demonstrators were faced by over 1,000 policemen, 5,000 airmen (including a contingent from the RAF Regiment, the toughest of the tough armed forces), police dogs, barbed wire and helicopters. Non-violence was met with violence.

Weeks before the actual sit-downs took place, supporters were intimidated and threatened from every angle. Press and radio carried on a vicious campaign against the Committee and some newspapers openly called upon the police to use violence to resist the 'trespassers'.

Members of the special branch raided the homes and headquarters of the Committee, seized documents and maps, threatened the leaders with stiff terms of imprisonment and, on the day before the demonstrations, arrested

them under the Official Secrets Act.

The final blow came just a few hours before the demonstrations were due to begin; the coach company which had been booked to carry an expected 3,000 supporters to Wethersfield cancelled the booking, clearly under instruc-

tions and duress from the special branch.

The sit-downers were beaten before they began.

But they were not beaten simply by being outnumbered. They were defeated because non-violent civil disobedience cannot overcome the forces of a system, capitalism (of which the Tories are the efficient managers), which exists by the violent suppression of the colonial people, the violent fight for a bigger share of the world market and what George Brown would no doubt call the democratic threat of violence against strikers and demonstrators.

There is nothing moral about the bomb, Lord Russell. It is the political weapon of a system that exists by the exploitation of the vast majority. It can only be removed by a political struggle to remove that system.

This does not mean that non-violence should be replaced by violence. That would only result in far heavier and more severe defeats.

A political struggle means that the anti-H-bomb movement must turn to the only force that can replace capitalism. That force is the labour movement.

CND has made a tremendous impact on young people, students and middle-class in-

tellectuals in a few short years. Think what an effective force it would become if it could galvanize the mighty British labour movement into a struggle to kick out the Tories and return to power a socialist Labour Party that would with-

draw from the imperialist war pacts, nationalize the property relations—including the arms industry—that the Tories have fought bloodily to hold and increase, and work in conjunction with genuine labour movements throughout the world.

The only thing lacking in

the working class is a leadership that will let it see through the barrage of lies and distortions churned out by the Tories and their press and radio about socialism, nuclear weapons, the boss, the landlord and coloured immigrants, and that will lead them forward in a fierce political struggle on every front against the Tories.

That leadership must come from the Young Socialists, CND and all sections of the labour and anti-bomb movements.

Already many workers are fighting strongly against the Tory wage 'pause'; some supporters of the Committee of 100 are trying to form an industrial section; Young

Socialists are fighting the Tories and recruiting hundreds of new members on the policies of their first national conference.

All these must be linked together in a sustained attack on the government, an attack that will involve industrial action and blacking of work on the H-bomb and rocket sites.

The fight against the bomb then becomes a political fight. With strong leadership, correct policies, tenacity and guts it is a fight that will result in a socialist Britain and the end of a system here and ultimately throughout the world that breeds the foulest weapons ever known to man.

— by Roger Protz —

The Eleven Years of Keep Left

TEN years ago KEEP LEFT celebrated its first birthday. Then a duplicated monthly, the paper was already well known in the Labour League of Youth.

The Labour Party had been beaten in the 1951 elections and a big discussion was going on as to the reasons why. Bevan, after supporting the Korean war, had resigned from the Cabinet in protest at the cuts in the Health Service and was now leading a fight against the leadership's Right-wing policies at home and abroad.

The League of Youth, of course, was almost unanimous in backing the Bevanites against the Right wing.

By PAT SIROCKIN
St. Pancras North YS

KEEP LEFT consistently pressed for a socialist programme as the only way to win support for Labour, especially among the younger generation.

The Attlee-Morrison idea of soft-peddalling nationalization to win the floating voter could only lead to disaster, we said.

KEEP LEFT also took part in the fight for democratic rights for Young Socialists. The LOY had been allowed to hold a national conference, after some years of agitation by the 'National Status Movement', but the rights of the conference were severely

limited.

KEEP LEFT argued that the bureaucratic suppression of the right of the League to run its own affairs would stifle the organization. Transport House, always scared of young people, would drive away youngsters looking for socialist ideas.

Unfortunately we were right. Bureaucracy and the absence of socialist leadership led to the decline of the League and its final assassination by the NEC in 1955.

But KEEP LEFT managed to carry on.

Now, after 11 years, the struggle to build a movement which can win the youth of Britain for socialism still goes on. And KEEP LEFT is still in there fighting.



by Vic Moule

The Tory Role in the Congo

WITH every event in the Congo, the role of the United Nations and the self-styled 'philanthropists' around it become more and more obvious. The UN's role is to forcibly unite the Congo and open the door to US imperialism.

The big business sharks of America are hungry for a share in the spoils of the Congo—especially Katanga—and bloodshed and murder have never worried them when large profits stand to be gained.

This is the reason for the violent drive by UN forces to 'unify' the Congo. Macmillan and his Tories look on in apparent dismay at the actions of the UN, but if US imperialism is openly exposed, where do the Tories stand over Katanga? Are their hands really clean?

It is not a question of 'fair play' or 'moral righteousness' which causes the Tories to hesitate in aiding the UN in its attack on Katanga and brings about the situation where they refuse to give bombs to the UN to aid them in this attack.

The big point that has split the Tories is the open conflict between British and American capitalism in the Congo.

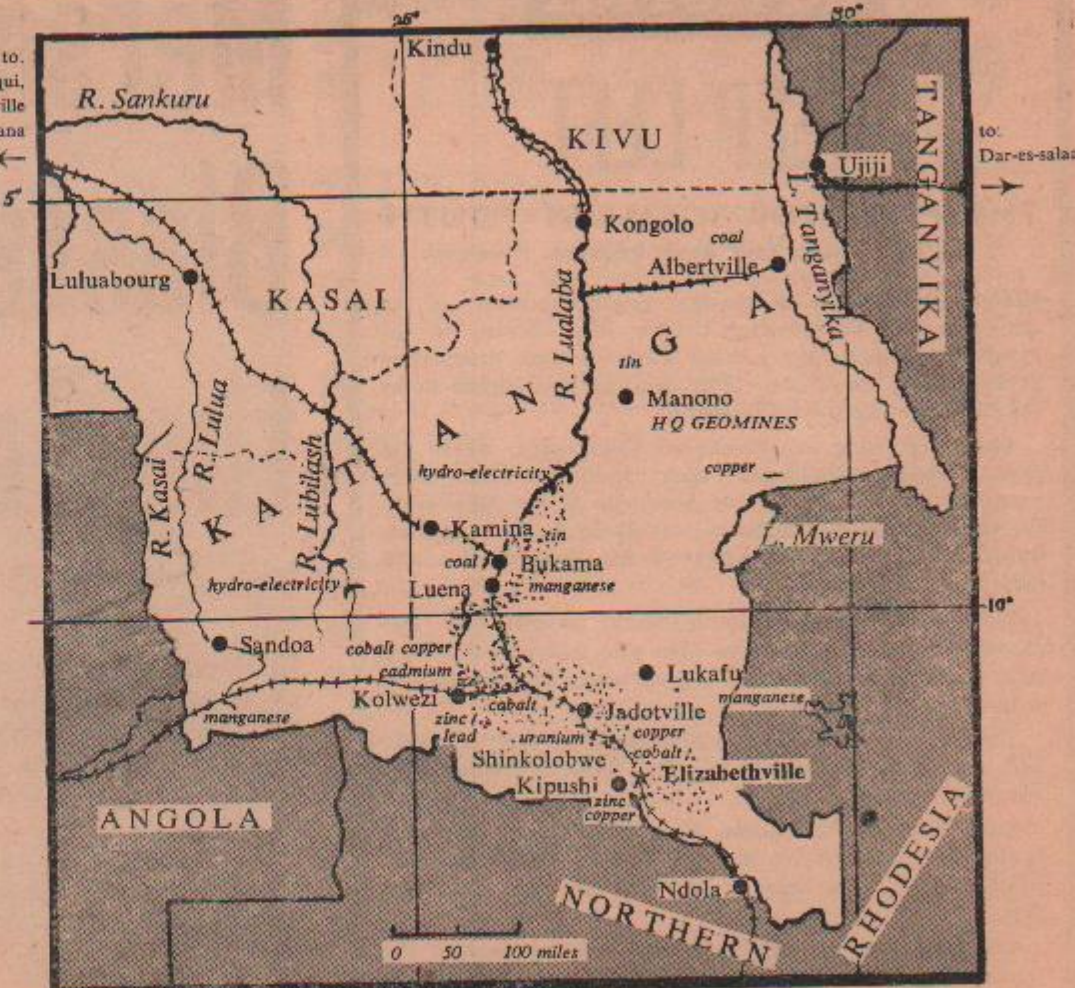
Britain, together with France and Belgium, has large financial holdings in Katanga. In order to preserve them they

rely on their stooge Tshombe to keep reasonable law and order and crush any progressive working class movement in Katanga.

It has been Tshombe's job to see that conditions have remained favourable for the continuation of the exploitation of Katanga by the imperialists.

This practise is far from being a new one. It is the same method which Britain has adopted for nearly all of its former colonies now under so-called independence.

That practice is—place the power in the hands of a stooge who can maintain the British financial interests in that territory for as long as possible. If the capitalists fail in this method then they resort to naked force, as the US has done through the UN in the Congo over the head of the democratically elected premier Lumumba.



To talk about Britain or any other capitalist country granting independence is rubbish! Although it may appear to happen on the surface, in reality Britain holds onto the purse-strings.

Nkrumah in Ghana is a perfect example of the great 'socialist' leading the workers away from the shackles of colonialism, who is in fact nothing more than a petty bourgeois nationalist who is bound hand and foot to the City of London.

And so to Katanga. British, French and Belgium holdings were retained after 'independence' and the true premier of the Congo, Patrice Lumumba, was murdered by the temporary amalgamation of American and European imperialist

interests. Once imperialism had again been established on a firmer footing the amalgamation ended. American and European interests came into conflict as they sought to divide up the rich spoils of the Congo.

One thing is clear. The people of the Congo have nothing to gain by aiding the American or British capitalists except more misery and bloodshed.

This is a problem they can only solve themselves with the backing of the international working class movement.

Young Socialists are not just fighting to beat the Tories at home, but to smash for ever their domination of the colonial people.

Whose Finger in the Pie?

'THE financial power in Katanga belongs to the Union Miniere, the £106 million giant, which has interlocking interests with Tanganyika Concessions.

'This company has even wider ramifications which involve the Anglo-American Corporation (the Oppenheimer interests); the British South Africa Company; and the Benguela Railway, of which the Portuguese Government is an important shareholder. . . .

'In this country . . . moderate voices have been drowned by the vociferous cries of the 'Katanga lobby' proper. This lobby is associated with CAPTAIN CHARLES WATERHOUSE, the former Suez rebel, who is chairman of Tanganyika Concessions; by LORD ROBINS, one of the leaders of the Central African Federation lobby, who was formerly chairman of the British South Africa Company, and by LORDS

SELBOURNE and CLITHEROE, who have both declared their financial interest in companies associated with Union Miniere. They have found natural allies among the Suez group of Tory MPs and an even more powerful group who support the Central African Federation. They have also won the formidable backing of LORD SALISBURY.'

Colin Legum in 'The Observer', November 26.

' . . . the consolidated profit before taxation rose from £11,436,350 to £13,548,928, an improvement of £2,112,578. Taxation on these profits only increased by £545,795 to £5,400,683, leaving the consolidated net profit at £8,148,245. This figure is the highest in the company's history by over £1 million.

'There must be many who feel that the recommendations of the Monckton

Report have not been helpful to a solution of the problems with which it was set up to deal. . . .

'The failure to preserve law and order has led to the disintegration of the Congo. It is useless to hope that the West can improve the condition of the peoples of Africa unless at the same time peace and good order are maintained, as they were for so long and with great success by the colonial powers.

'I have every belief in the future of the Federation and in particular in the wise and courageous leadership of Sir Roy Welensky, provided that our leaders in the United Kingdom show equal wisdom and courage.'

From the statement of President of the British South Africa Company, Lord Robins, at the 63rd annual meeting held on March 16, 1961.

'The gross result for the

year was 3,928,591,153 (Belgian) francs . . . the net profit amounted to 2,365,820,563 francs. . . .

'The hopes expressed last year to see the newly independent Congo follow its destiny in an atmosphere of peace and order have been dashed. However, the trial has been less serious for Union Miniere; the events of July, 1960, only upset the life of the Company during two or three days and were practically without any repercussion on its industrial activities as a whole. . . .

'The Chairman hopes that it will be possible to maintain the order which reigns in Katanga and to save from the ruins of the rest of the Congo the economic structures created by the joint effort of the Belgians and Africans.'

Chairman's report to the Annual General Meeting of Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga, May 25, 1961.

Girl Strikers need leaders

THE Ministry of Labour is to be asked to intervene in the five weeks' old dispute between members of the Clerical Workers' Union and the management of Ideal Standards, Hull, which has refused to recognise the union or consider a pay increase for the many girls employed by them.

The management has refused to budge and the girls, who came out determinedly against them, are now sunk without an adequate leadership to take them forward.

Appeals by CAWU officials to the Ministry of Labour will not get the girls wage increases. Instead the union should have called for a complete blacking of all work that went into the factory by other workers and unions concerned.

United action is once again the key to the fight against the bosses and their government. Indecisive leadership and willingness to talk with the class enemy only plays into their hands.

All workers concerned with goods to and from Ideal Standards should immediately rally to the aid of these brave young girls, getting their first taste of the class struggle.

read TRIBUNE

Labour's independent weekly contributors include

- Michael Foot
- Jennie Lee
- Ian Mikardo
- Donald Soper
- Emrys Hughes

WEEKLY 6d.

Editorial

KEEP LEFT

THE PAPER FOR SOCIALIST YOUTH

9 Salisbury Court, Spur Road, Edgware, Middlesex

ERNE ROBERTS, an assistant general secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, was chosen by the Horsham Constituency Labour Party as their prospective parliamentary candidate. This decision was agreed to by the National Executive Committee.

Then, following the Blackpool Conference, where the Right wing strengthened their hold on the party machinery, the various sub-committees of the NEC were carefully shuffled and manned—especially the Organization Sub-committee—the watchdog of the local parties and individual members.

This sub-committee immediately investigated the candidature of Mr. Roberts. He was summoned before them and questioned about 400 meetings he had spoken at in the past few years.

The sub-committee then recommended to the NEC that they should no longer endorse Mr. Robert's candidature. The NEC agreed.

Ernie Roberts, of course, is a Left-winger, who has fought within his union and the Labour Party for Left-wing policies. But there is more to this case than just that.

The investigation into his background means that the Right wing, with the victories of Blackpool behind it, is going to step up the drive to oust the real fighters for socialism from the Labour Party. Ernie Roberts is only the first to feel the cold draught.

Horsham Labour Party is going to fight the NEC's decision. They must not do so in isolation. Young Socialists should be instrumental in moving resolutions in their branches and General Management Committees demanding a lifting of the ban on Mr. Roberts.

It is not just the parliamentary career of Ernie Roberts that is at stake here. That is—as we feel sure he will agree—of minor importance.

It is the future of the entire Left-wing within the Labour Party and the hope of restoring the party to socialist policies that is at stake.

And that is worth fighting for.

Thought for 1962!

WE send our readers and supporters every best wish for the new year. We do not 'hope' for peace or socialism in 1962. Hoping will achieve nothing.

Only by actively extending the struggle to oust the Tories, build the Labour Party and win recruits to socialist policies can we make a positive contribution towards making 1962 and the years after 'happy and peaceful' ones.

No Racism!

POLICE tried to intimidate 35 Young Socialists who demonstrated outside two Glasgow shops owned by Sir Hugh Fraser on December 8 last.

The shops had received application from 50 students for Christmas employment. The managements had agreed to employ all except eight coloured students, stating that the employment of coloured employees was against the policy of the 'House of Fraser'.

The young people came direct from the Scottish Conference of the Young Socialists during the lunch break and again in the evening.

Chick McCafferty, who had organized the demonstration on

behalf of the Fight the Tories Campaign, said, 'We Young Socialists are against all forms of racialism, and we are opposed to the Tory Government's racist laws. This is one of the ways in which we are leading the fight against the Tories.'

By the time of the evening demonstration the police had recovered from their initial surprise and top brass officers appeared to warn the youth in arrogant tones that 'no shouting would be allowed', and that, 'the tiniest bit of obstruction would suffice for the police to bring up a "wagon" and arrest the lot'.

The demonstrators stood their ground and held their placards which called on the public to refuse support to racist shops.

Merseyside Blasts the Tories

by Terry Blackledge (Wigan YS)

THREE hundred young Merseyside workers turned up for a Fight the Tories Rally in Wigan on Sunday, December 17—the clearest evidence yet of the eagerness of young people to resist the government's attack on their wages and conditions and to lead the struggle for socialism and the return of a Labour government.

This rally was a resounding victory for the Young Socialists in the north-west who have built a strong leadership among working-class youth on the policies of the first YS conference; it was a defeat for the faint-hearts in our ranks who say the time is not yet ripe to build a large youth movement.

The large audience filled the Victoria Hall to capacity; they waited restlessly for the rally to begin. We wondered apprehensively if some of them might not take 'Fight the Tories' too literally!

Chairman Jimmy Shaw, of

In a brief introduction to the rally, Liz stressed the importance of the Fight the Tories Campaign and the need to build our movement by recruiting young workers with socialist policies.

Keith Dickinson, of Walton Young Socialists and the

out the shocking inequality of our society where a tiny minority wax fat at the expense of the great majority, who receive a miserable education and, for the most part, spend the rest of their lives in badly paid jobs, being bleed white by the government and landlords.

Councillor Jack Hart, chairman of the Wigan Trades Council and Labour Party, made a powerful speech in which he warmly welcomed the growth of the



Chairman Jimmy Shaw and Cllr. Jack Hart.

Wigan YS, welcomed the audience, which represented Wigan, Liverpool, Walton, Blackpool, Skelmersdale, Gil-moss, Dovecote, Brierfield, Gorton, Upholland, Kirkby, Birkenhead, East Salford, West Salford, Chorley and Ormskirk Young Socialist branches and Irlam Steel Works, the Plumbers' Union, National Union of Mine-workers, National Union of Railwaymen and the Boot and Shoe Operatives' Union.

Liz Thompson, secretary of Wigan YS and the north-west's National Committee representative, was greeted by a great burst of cheering and applause that emphasized the tremendously strong position she holds in the area.

Regional Committee, said that the rally was a 'good indication'. The Tories and their policies were particularly open to attack at present.

Comrade Dickinson brought

The Big Dance after the Big Rally



KL Pic Report

Young Socialists and their impact on the Labour Party.

He urged the audience to pay careful attention to the speakers, who were, he said, the future leaders of the Party.

He wished the Fight the Tories Campaign every possible success and said he would do everything in his power to help.

'I shall go back to Wigan Trades Council and tell them what a magnificent job

Easy Victims for the Pay Pause

By DAVID CLARK, Brixton YS

THE wage increase granted to power-station workers shows that a determined group of workers can beat the Tory pay pause. In spite of the outcry from the bosses' press, the government is simply in no shape to get into a fight with a militant section of the working class.

The Tories find easier victims for their chopper in the so-called middle-class white-collar workers, especially teachers and civil servants.

Now these workers are in fact members of the working class—they sell their labour for hire—who have been induced by the bosses to regard themselves as a cut above manual workers.

Such illusions, both about their own class position and the real nature of the Tories, will be lost by those white-collar workers who suffer from them only through hard experience. Illusions about 'the professions' and 'responsibility' to an imaginary public will not disappear easily.

SELL-OUT

This background goes a long way to explaining why the National Union of Teachers' executive found it so easy to sell out the teachers when a majority seemed ready for a struggle. The steps by which they performed the employers' strike-breaking work for them are painfully obvious.

1. Summer 1961: NUT claims rises totalling £110m. per year, giving reasonable increases to all teachers.
2. NUT Conference rejects Burnham Committee's offer of £47½m., which gives most to older teachers with positions of 'responsibility' (heads of departments, etc.).
3. NUT Executive accepts £47½m. 'under protest' and when government grants only £42m. to be paid from March 1962 prepares strike for the £47½m.
4. NUT Executive invents 'teach-while-you-strike' plan and holds ballots in the areas selected for strike action. The teachers, confused by this plan and unhappy about striking for only the offer their annual conference had refused, voted against the strike.
5. NUT Executive accepts the government's offer of £42m.,

with the phoney excuse that by doing so they will have a better chance of further increases in 1962 (the government, showing the executive the contempt it deserved, immediately denied this) and that they would preserve the 'free' negotiating body of the Burnham Committee.

What hope is there for the white-collar worker then? That there has been a real increase in militancy cannot be denied. It is encouraging, but not enough.

Many teachers have certainly realised for the first time the real role of the NUT executive. To throw out this executive and replace it with one that will fight is the first step.

And how should it fight? Primarily by forging links with the industrial trade unions for a common fight against the Tory attack on the living standards of all workers, industrial and white-collar.

UNITE

Rank-and-file committees of teachers from every school must explain the teachers' case to the parents and learn, in return, of the parents' own struggle.

White-collar workers cannot win their struggles along, but only by uniting with the rest of the working class.

The Civil Servants' Clerical Association is preparing a work-to-rule—the first industrial action in its history—and is considering a strike.

If the civil servants involved hope to be successful they must learn the lessons of the teachers: to watch for treachery from their 'leaders' and to forge the broadest possible links with every section of the working class engaged in the common fight against the Tories.

No Racialism (2)

ABOUT a thousand students of Glasgow University marched on December 15 to one of Sir Hugh Fraser's large Glasgow stores. They were marching to protest against the shop's refusal to employ coloured students as shop assistants during the Christmas rush.

When 50 students were sent to the store by the Students' Union, 42 white students were accepted, the remaining eight were coloured and were sent away.

The organizers of the march attempted to disperse the students immediately they had arrived at the shop; although many seemed unwilling to leave without apparently having

achieved anything, no alternative was suggested. A delegation took in a petition asking Sir Hugh Fraser to set an example by rejecting the colour bar.

In this respect, the demonstration, although much larger, was less effective than the picket of Fraser's shops organized the previous week by the Glasgow Young Socialists 'Fight the Tories' Campaign.

Nevertheless, the march shows the great opposition to racialism among students; what is needed is the understanding that racialism is a product of capitalism and can only be successfully fought as part of the fight to get rid of the Tories.



you're doing,' he concluded.

His thunderous reception from the young workers showed how delighted they were to hear an adult Party member praising the Young Socialists movements and pledging his support to it. Such praise is most unusual

said he would go further than Keith Dickinson who had said that the Rally was a 'good indication'.

'These Fight the Tories Campaigns which have sprung up throughout the country are the greatest thing that has ever happened in a Labour youth movement.

'At long last the youth of the country are actively out to do battle with the Tories and fight for the return of a socialist government.'

Roger Protz said that the campaign to oust the Tories and build the YS must be based on the policies of the

due to a fault in the sound recording—and a dramatic movie of the Spanish Civil War.

An excellent tea was provided free by Wigan YS after which the enthusiastic youngsters moved down the road to the local Labour Club for a dance to round off the rally.

With one break for a few games of bingo for the older members who had generously given up the club for the evening, the comrades jived noisily until 11 o'clock.

It was an exhausting, exhilarating and exciting day which, not surprisingly, ended with a broken window and a few lost tempers. But these incidents could not detract from the astonishing success of the first major rally held on Merseyside.

We have never pretended that building a large youth movement would be all milk and honey. Of course there will be trouble and clashes and



Liz Thompson

on Merseyside, where the YS branches have been under a particularly vicious attack from full-time officials for their militant policies.

Guest speaker from London, Roger Protz, who had made a grand tour of the Midlands in dense fog to get to the meeting,



Keith Dickinson

first YS conference. In the fight there was no room for diversions, particularly on the question of immigration control.

He angrily denounced the Tories as being solely responsible for bad housing and unemployment and called for a united front of all workers.

'White, black or yellow, a worker is a worker,' he said, 'and we have everything in common. We have nothing in common with Tories, stock exchange gamblers and slum landlords.'

Then came the KEEP LEFT film 'Young Socialists in Action'—unfortunately silent



Roger Protz

breakages. But they are a small price to pay.

These young boys and girls, keen, hard as nails, with no illusions about the boss or the Tories, are the comrades we need in the Young Socialists.

Once we have won them to socialism we will have the toughest, most militant leadership the Labour movement has ever known.



'Dear Comrade Editor'

I WOULD like to congratulate KEEP LEFT on the article on the 22nd Congress of the CPSU and to appeal to members of the YCL to seriously consider Khrushchev's exposure of the Moscow trials and in doing so to make a critical study of the policies of their own Party.

To pull down statues is not enough. There are a number of questions which anyone seriously concerned with the fight for socialism must ask the leadership of the British CP. John Gollan, then secretary of the YCL, defended the Trials, and as comrades who read some of the issues of 'Challenge' for 1937 can see, carried the torch against 'Fascists, Trotskyists and wreckers' into the British youth movement.

He now says that the Trials were a mistake. He says that he now opposes Stalin's methods but supports his policies. We cannot allow Gollan to separate policies which led to the murder of thousands of fighters for communism from these other murders.

What of the other leaders of the CP? They also wrote thousands of words hailing the Moscow trials as a victory

'We, the Leyton Young Socialists, deplore the action of Her Majesty's Government in refusing to permit a debate in the House of Commons over the unlawful action taken by the police in entering the headquarters of the Committee of 100 and also entering the homes of certain members of that organization.'

'We can only regard this as a definite reinforcement of the police action which we can only regard as a deliberate infringement of the democratic rights of the individual and the community.'

against fascism. Today they try to wriggle out of their responsibilities by claiming that they did not know what was taking place.

The international working class has before it great battles which it can only win with a leadership which is clear on the need to overthrow capitalism and which bases itself on Marxist principles. As long as these apologists for Stalinism remain at its head the CP cannot do the job.

Khrushchev's revelations have shown that Stalin's victims were shot not for putting nails in the butter but for opposing his policies. YCLers must demand to know just what these people stood for and to find out for themselves whose ideas were correct.

We cannot take the word of people who have slavishly praised every word of Stalin and condoned his crimes; who heralded the 'Collective leadership of the 20th Congress', and now condemn most of this leadership as revisionist without a word of explanation.

MARGARET MACLEAN,
London S.W.

the unique LP

IN Comrade Crawford's latest letter to KEEP LEFT (December), he asks if there is any method to remove a group of leaders who are in conflict with the majority of party members.

I would like to remind Comrade Crawford of the unique character of the British Labour Party in that it is based on the Trade Unions which constitute the majority of its members. The fight for Socialism cannot be undertaken only politically but also industrially, through the Trade Unions. The Labour Party bureaucracy will be defeated when the Trade Union bureaucrats are defeated.

Furthermore it must be remembered exactly what the character is of the Social-Democratic bureaucracy. While representing the ideology of capitalism they are dependent for their living on the party and are thus open to pressures from both directions.

Comrade Crawford goes on to say that our aims are: 'in the short term to win the coming tussle with the Tories over the wage-pause.' Is this the only short term aim? What about the other industrial struggles against redundancy and for better working conditions? What about racialism, housing, the preparations for imperialist war, etc.?

I feel that Comrade Crawford's conception of a 'common front' has the basic fault of separating immediate and ultimate aims. Scientific Socialists would propose aims which would provide a basis for unity between all sections of the working class (e.g., wages, housing, etc.) with the stipulation that they wanted the measures carried to their logical conclusion—workers' power.

This would increase the workers' awareness of the impotence of the reformist leaders in improving their lot and assist in rallying the proletariat behind the banner of revolutionary Socialism.

The latter conclusion: 'our wider aims' (Socialism?) 'can

only be achieved by a sustained effort' (on whose part?) 'and this effort will be wasted on the Labour Party unless . . . we can recapture the Party for Socialism.' If a sustained effort is needed to achieve Socialism then will not this effort be directed against the State rather than the Labour Party?

Does not Socialism presuppose the active participation of Labour Party members? I make no apology for failing to understand this sentence.

Comrade Crawford finally suggests we may have to form a new party. The Labour Party is the party of the working class, composed of workers individually and through Union affiliations. To isolate oneself from the Labour Party is to isolate oneself from the working class, which for a Socialist is political castration.

P. D. ROOMS,
London, S.E.

the TUC and the Tories

BRITISH capitalism is engaged in a life or death struggle for an increased share of the world market. The colonial revolution, increased competition for capital investment areas and tremendous production possibilities have shattered its relative stability. These factors make all the hard-won gains of the working class movement a demolition target for employers, anxious to restore some sort of competitive power to their commodities.

It was enough, in by-gone days, for the capitalist class to tolerate the trade union movement while attempting to head off any dangerous tendencies (to them) by elevating the leaders to positions of respect in society and smother their class instincts with kindness, hoping in this way to neutralize the movement as a whole.

Having once successfully adapted the trade union movement to the conditions of British capitalism, the Tory

government and the employers, because of their diminished fortunes, are seeking to do it again.

One of the ways they hope to do this is by implicating the TUC leaders in Selwyn Lloyd's National Development Council, whose object, supposedly, is to control the development of 'our' economy. These proposals, taking place to the background of the 'wage pause', the expulsion of the ETU and the Rootes struggle, can only lead us to the conclusion that this body is a transitory stage in a bigger offensive of the employers with the help of the TUC.

Selwyn Lloyd's 'our economy' is typical Tory hypocrisy, for it is the economy, not of the workers, but of the class that Lloyd is doing the dirty work for, the employers.

One would expect the TUC leaders to have a very clear-cut policy of opposition to this body. But on the contrary, they show an inclination to join in. Instead of explaining this body to the workers they are trying to sneak in unawares. After the TUC Conference it looked as if they would join but militancy among many sections of the working class prevented them from taking this step.

This shows how important it is for the YS 'Fight the Tories' Campaign to explain to young workers and Young Socialists what is actually going on. To recruit many more young workers and step up the anti-Tory campaign will also be a tremendous blow at the bureaucrats of the TUC and Labour Party who are trying to sell the working class down the river.

PADDY O'REGAN,
S. Paddington YS

labour 'who's who'?

I THINK the officials of Transport House ought to publish a Labour Party 'Who's Who?' giving the connections—not necessarily past-times or

social activities—but titles, directorships and other gainful occupations held by prominent members of the Labour movement.

This would no doubt be a tremendous propaganda asset in helping forward acceptance

ON a recent visit to sell KEEP LEFT at the Hull Technical College I was standing outside when a man came up to me and asked me what I was selling. When I told him he said I was to take them outside the college precinct. I asked him to take me to the principal. He replied that he was the principal.

Michael Bentley,
Hull YS.

of their socialist ideals as embodied in the phrase 'each for all and all for each'!

It would encourage those worthy and horny-handed sons of toil whom they represent to fight and fight again with all possible vigour for the return of a Labour Government at the next General Election!

R. J. CALDER,
Sauchie, Alloa.

what happened to those decisions?

IT is now nine months since the YS conference. What has been done to some of the decisions that we arrived at there? Nothing—that is except on the issue of KEEP LEFT, against which there has been a continuous witch-hunt by the Right wing.

There have been several clashes between the Tories and the working class in the last few months. The workers have been sold down the river on nearly every occasion by the union leaders. There is now a stirring of the white-collared workers; these people on the whole vote Tory in an election. The pay pause is having a steady effect on them and we should be out in force recruiting these people into the YS.

Young Socialist branches should be asking why nothing has been done on nationalization and the other decisions reached at the YS conference.

KEEP LEFT is the only paper that has fought for these decisions and for building a mass youth movement.

Does the Right wing want a youth movement?

MICHAEL BENTLEY,
Hull YS and
Yorkshire Regional Committee

BUT OF COURSE!

But Lord Rootes must be the man of the year. He beat the fiercest unofficial strike the motor-industry has seen for many a year. He lost millions. He won respect.

—Daily Herald,
December 29, 1961

The Sparks Fight Back

THE militants of the ETU suffered a set-back at the election of a Right-wing Executive Council which took office on January 1.

By ALBERT HODGSON
East Ham North YS

Resulting from such a defeat, the rank and file are posed with the problem of how to stop the Right wing from expelling members who led the fight against the capitalist press, the Tories and the leadership of the Labour Party and the TUC.

The first step in the fight back was taken by the Rules Revision Conference last November which decided that the annual conference should be the highest body of the union, not the Executive Council.

This decision was over-ruled by the new EC on the grounds that the election of delegates to the conference was rigged.

It is clear that stronger action will be needed to

defeat the Right wing. The rank and file campaign committee must be organized on a national scale to fight the Right wing officials and to take the struggle into industry.

A fight against the employers for better wages and conditions will also be a blow against the Right wing of the ETU and the TUC and Labour Party.

The main question that arises from such a struggle as in the ETU is—how did such a situation arise?

It would be a serious mistake to blame individual members of the Communist Party. Frank Haxell has admitted that there were irregularities in ETU elections, but Haxell cannot be put up as a scapegoat for the opportunist policies of the CP.

The blame for the situation in the ETU lies at the door of King Street. Gollan and

company are responsible for the opportunist policy of the CP in the trade unions.

What happened in the ETU is not just an 'industrial mistake', but is the result of Stalinist political policy.

What CP and YCL members must raise now is the whole political policy of the CP since the death of Lenin. It is important for them to understand what happened in the USSR, how Stalin came to power and what his policies were—policies still carried out by Gollan and Co. Only by grasping these facts can they hope to come to grips with the situation in the ETU.

This is the only way in which to avoid any more disasters like the ETU. The Right wing has no real support in the union amongst the militants.

Once CP and YCL members break from the shackles of Stalinism the reign of the Right wing, the servants of the Tories, will be a short one.

FOR decades one of the chief concerns of the working class movement has been the question of war. There are those who claim that the two world wars were a product of 'German Militarism' and that this is the main enemy.

In order to show the real causes of war and to fight against a future one, we must examine the history of the Labour movement on this question, and especially the history of the German Labour movement.

In 1914, on the eve of the First World War, the Basle conference of the 2nd International passed an historic resolution in which the socialist parties of the world declared that they would oppose their own ruling class in the event of a war, and strive for the taking of power

It happened in Germany

by Jack Sharp

by the working class.

At the outbreak of the war, however, it became clear that this policy was a difficult one to carry out, and every social democratic party in the world except the Russian Social Democrats (Bolsheviks) 'discovered' that it was necessary for the workers to support their own ruling class in the war.

The chief protagonist of this idea was Karl Kautsky, one of the leaders of the German Socialist Party, which was at that time the strongest social democratic party in the world.



Rosa Luxemburg

There was a split in the German party and the Left wing led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg continued to make propaganda against the war. This found a response when the German workers struck in 1917, the army and the fleet mutinied and forced an end to hostilities.

Workers' councils were formed on the model of the Soviets which the Russian workers had set up, and the

'Of course, the Fascists are not asleep. But it is to our advantage to let them attack first: that will rally the entire working class around the Communists.' Stalin in a letter to Zinoviev and Bukharin on the German situation, 1923.

German workers could have gone on to take over economic and political power in Germany.

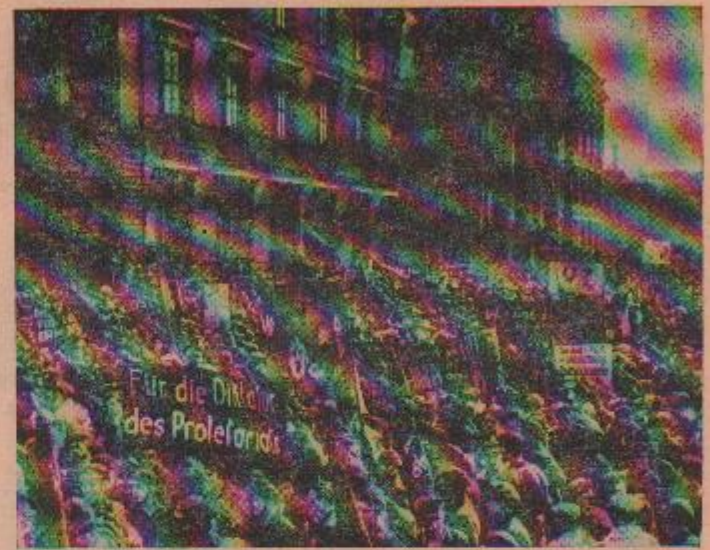
The Kautskyites were much alarmed by the turn events were taking and called for 'free elections'. In spite of the opposition of the Left wing, they formed a coalition government with the ruling class. They further betrayed the workers in January 1919, when the Left wing (the Spartacists) led a demonstration against the appointment of a hated Right wing minister as Chief of Police.

In face of provocation, this became an open rebellion which was put down by the Army and in which both Luxemburg, Liebknecht and a number of other leaders were murdered.

The extreme Right wing took such heart from this that in 1920 they made an armed bid to take power under the leadership of the Fatherland Party. The workers replied with a General Strike which forced the Fatherland Party to retreat and brought down the government.

In the period that followed, the workers fought a losing battle to maintain their wages and conditions. The German capitalists were in a weak position on the world market as a result of the Versailles treaty which they had been forced to sign at the end of the war. The only alternative to increasing misery for the German workers was socialism.

Many of the big industrialists, particularly the steel barons of the Ruhr began to see that if they were to compete on the world market they must smash the trade unions



'For the Dictatorship of the Proletariat', said a banner held by workers in a mass demonstration a few months before Hitler took power.

completely. They began to finance and to prepare fascist organizations to do this job.

One of these gangs was Hitler's 'German Workers Party'—later to become the German Nationalist Socialist Party. Between 1931 and 1933, although the fascists were



Karl Liebknecht

formally illegal, the government turned a blind eye to the murder of thousands of the best fighters of the German working class by armed fascists.

By 1933 Hitler took power. The social democratic leaders offered no resistance, and made no attempt to lead the workers and the impoverished middle class against Hitler.

There was another party in Germany which could have done this—the Communist Party. But under the guidance of the bureaucrats in the Kremlin, they also failed in the task.

During the late '20s the CP had striven to come to terms with the social democratic leaders. After 1929, however,

the international communist movement made a wild swing to the Left. They began to characterize the social democratic parties as 'social fascist' and in some cases (notably the shameful episode of the Red Referendum) even assisted the fascists against the social democrats.

By these tactics, they succeeded in turning away thousands of workers in the ranks of the social democrats who sincerely wanted to fight fascism.

The German workers, without a leadership seriously bent on winning socialism in Germany, without a policy for accomplishing this task, were defeated from the beginning. Under the slogans 'against the Versailles slavery' and 'clean out the Jews', Hitler was able to convince the middle class and even some sections of the workers that their salvation lay in supporting their rulers in a war to put German capitalism back on the map.

What we should learn from the fate of the German workers is that the only way to prevent World War III is to fight now to establish a real socialist leadership in the working class movement seriously opposed to the ruling class, a leadership with a policy of nationalization and ready with the same call as the Basle conference of 1914—

'Turn your guns against your own masters, and refuse to fight your comrades in other countries.'



Ernst Thaelman, German CP leader, said in 1932: 'Nothing would be more fatal than an opportunist over-estimation of Hitlerite Fascism . . . it would be false to believe that the most important process that is taking place in Germany at present is the growth of Fascism.' He died in a Nazi concentration camp in 1945.

● A Great Year from page 1

dreds of young people have been brought into contact with the socialist movement for the first time.

We are all aware of the jibes and sneers at the YS branches who strive to build up a large membership around their social activity. This is non-political, we are told by people who can barely muster a dozen members at their own YS branches.

But it is political. In fact it is impossible to organize such functions without a leadership which understands its obligations to socialism and at the same time knows that it will be impossible to achieve success unless large numbers of youth are attracted to the Labour movement.

The success of the mass Young Socialist organizations is above all the success of having persuaded hundreds of non-political youth to associate with the Labour movement. This very active association will pave the way for political assimilation later, provided the leadership of such YS branches is politically-minded.

The great danger before the YS movement today is that it is timid and frightened of youth. There is too much 'respectability'.

It is this type of political snobbery which is responsible for Labour losing the votes of young people at general elections. During 1961 we broke down this barrier in Wigan.

Our political meetings are amongst the best attended in the area. Our dances draw in several hundred each week. We enjoy the sympathetic support of our adult party and, in particular, of our youth officer, Comrade Birch, who, whilst he might not agree with us on many of the things we say, works might and main to help us strengthen the youth movement.

You cannot build a mass Young Socialist branch if you are constantly at loggerheads with the local party. The Young Socialists and the local party must work together.

Everyone knows that there are unsympathetic adult parties in far too many parts of the country. Often, however, the Young Socialists could break the hostility down if they took

into account many of the local problems.

The most important of these is to see to it that the Young Socialist branch is a part of the local party and not something separate. Its members must be the most active workers in the party and see to it that regular reports of what the youth are doing are made at the management committees.

Don't let us get into the habit of blaming the Right wing for everything. Let 1962 be a year in which we took a long, hard look at ourselves. Let us stop being content with a small membership. Search out your local talent. Organize your trad groups and popular entertainment. Prepare an attractive programme for your political meetings.

Brighten up your meeting

places. Make young people see that Labour is the party of youth. If this is done, then we have no hesitation in saying that the future of the Labour Party belongs to the Young Socialists of today.

As we do these things we can debate the issues of war and peace, the struggle against the Right wing, the fight for a socialist programme and all the things we believe to be essential if we are to succeed.

To fight the Tories means to build the Labour Party. Closing the ranks does not mean closing our mouths. If we go out of our way to win the sympathy of the adult movement by showing that we want above all to defeat the Tories and see the victory of a Labour government at the next general election, then no power on earth can stop us.

Spain: from the inside

By Luis Guzman

MADRID. 'Spain is the most tranquil country in the world', reads a headline in the Falangist (fascist) newspaper 'Pueblo'. The average Spanish worker puts in 12 hours a day, six days a week and earns £2 to £4 a week. Agricultural labourers earn £55 to £60 a year. 82 per cent of the peasants own no land at all. But there are 10,500 landowners who own an average of 1,500 acres apiece. According to official statistics, the workers and peasants of Spain receive 35 per cent of the National Income; the capitalists receive 47 per cent of the National Income.

One out of every 11 workers is involved in an accident each year, because there is rarely protection from machinery. All charity is dispensed by the Church, which dispenses only to the faithful.

There is no free education. Parents are charged a minimum of 5s. a month for each child plus compulsory contributions for the Church to save lost souls. For several hours each week schoolchildren are taught the Catholic religion and fascist doctrine.

To Hell with Franco—We'll Strike!

Despite government controlled trade unions and Article 222 of the Penal Code, which states that any worker who goes on strike is guilty of sedition and can be sent to prison for as long as 12 years, Spanish workers and students are in continuous struggle against Franco.

Luis Guzman is a Young Socialist from South America who has just returned from an extensive tour of Spain.

In 1951 Barcelona students protesting against an increase in streetcar fares touched off a general strike in Barcelona which was joined by 200,000 workers in Bilbao.

In 1953 the Franco government organized demonstrations demanding that Britain return Gibraltar to Spain. When the demonstrators began demonstrating against Franco instead of Gibraltar the police cracked down.

Against Hungarian and Spanish Suppression

In 1956 student demonstrations in support of the Hungarian Revolution turned again into demonstrations against Franco.

In July this year there was an attempt to blow up a train of Falangist civil war veterans near San Sebastian. The workers in the Damm Brewery in Barcelona went out on strike. Later a group of guerrillas led by El Campesino crossed the frontier and attempted to blow up a dam.

In the beginning of December 3,000 steelworkers at Beasain staged a three-day 'sit-in' in protest against wages of £1 8s. 6d. a week.

'I am a Falangist and a Fidelista,' a Spanish student tells me. 'During the Civil War the Falange was pledged to agrarian reform and nationalization of banks, but Franco betrayed us.' He avidly reads the copies of 'Bohemia' from Cuba which I give him.

Another student tells me a joke: 'Franco, the head of the Falange, and the Cardinal Primate are travelling in a plane. The plane crashes. Question: Who is saved? Answer: Spain is saved, of course!'

£2 a month—I want to be an officer'

'I want to get into officers' training school,' says a messenger boy earning £2 a month. 'Army officers, bull-fighters and priests make the most money.'

A secretary tells me: 'I am a Catholic, but I can't understand why monks and nuns should live in palaces while there are people who are hungry.'

The Church needs money—not workers

A poster on a wall put up by the Church reads: 'The solution is not to criticize the priests but to contribute to the seminary.'

'Even if I could afford to buy Marxist books on the black market, working 12 hours a day I have no time to read,' says a worker. He shows me his small collection of banned books.

A Loyalist war veteran tells me: 'The older generation is partially demoralized. But the youth are not afraid of Franco.'

On the walls—the Warning for Franco

The streets of Spain today are full of tourists who do not understand. With them are Americans looking for a good time from the US Air Force bases, supposedly there to defend 'democracy'. On the walls they pass, initials are painted: POUM, MPR, CNT-FAI, the organizations of the underground. There is no other Franco to take Franco's place.

After him comes the deluge.



Barcelona—workers' shacks overlook the city.

Goa Reveals the Hypocrites

By MICHAEL PORTER

LIKE a man with a split personality the capitalist press praises Nehru every time he rattles the sabre against Red China—over the border dispute—but chides him when he throws the Portuguese out of Goa. Lord Home even went so far as to state that the occupation of Goa signified the death of the UN.

The same illustrious Lord, however, is scandalized by UN intervention in Katanga. When UN action suits him—as in the murder of Lumumba—he is not opposed but when the UN grabs Katanga where British commercial interests are strongly represented then he raises holy hell. He wants the UN and he wants to eat it piecemeal!

BRUTAL

The Portuguese have held on to Goa for 451 years by the most brutal methods. That's long enough by any standards—and if the Indian army hadn't liberated Goa the Goanese nationalists would have done it anyway.

The Goan nationalists, who have been demanding re-union with India for many years, staged a strike among manganese miners a week before Indian troops entered the colony.

So much for the passive Goans, happy under Portuguese rule! The press, of course, made no mention of this.

When Cuba was invaded by the hired thugs and assassins of the CIA and

when unarmed Tunisians were rounded up and shot by French paratroops in Bizerta the yellow press of Fleet Street did little or nothing to protest.

Yet when Nehru's army "invades" Goa—which is an integral part of India—what do we get? A stream of editorial abuse and slander. 'Unjustified aggression', 'inexcusable violence' and so on. One paper even wanted to know what Gandhi would have thought!

United Front

● from page 1

and help in building that essential weapon against the Tories—class solidarity.

This is what Young Socialists should aim at fostering wherever they are employed. The enemy is easily seen, even by the most naive worker affected by the Tory wage pause.

Only a Labour government pledged to destroy every last trace of big business with a socialist policy of decisive change, economic and social, is the answer.

The labour movement is presented with a wonderful opportunity to really expose the Tory government and all that it stands for. If we are to grasp it, we must push aside all the waverers, and apologists, from Gaitskell and Brown on the right, to the self-styled 'Lefts' around 'Tribune'.

The slogan for 1962 must be: **'OUT WITH THE TORY H-BOMB GOVERNMENT—LABOUR TO POWER!'**

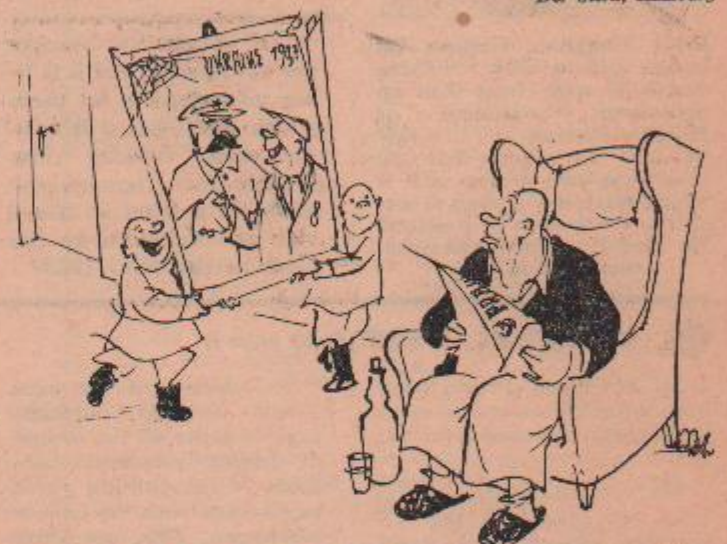
QUOTE OF THE YEAR

'There has been a great upsurge of feeling, particularly among the youth of the country, that the policy (of unilateralism) we have been pursuing is the right one.'

'Be not dispirited by any vote taken here today. It will mean as much—or as little—as the decision of last year was apparently taken by some people.'

Frank Cousins, Labour Party Conference, Blackpool 1961

Der Stern, Hamburg



'Look what we've found hidden away in the attic, granpa!'

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Name..... Organization.....

Address

No. of copies of KEEP LEFT required regularly.....
(Bulk orders: 4d. per copy, post free. Annual subscription: 6s. 6d.)

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

JOIN THE YS!

To: Ken Scarr, 9 Salisbury Court, Spur Road, Edgware, Middlesex.

Please send details of my nearest branch.

Name

Address