

Keep Left

The Paper for Socialist Youth

April 1963

Fourpence

Vol. 12, No. 4

Youth to the fore on the lobby

Now Wilson says it— CLAUSE FOUR IS OFFICIAL LABOUR POLICY!



March 26 a great victory

MARCH 26, 1963. On that day thousands of workers, young and old, and thousands more forced on to the dole queues by the Tory system, came to London and showed the Tories that their days are strictly numbered.

This was not just another parliamentary lobby. This was the working class showing its determination to get rid of the government and the system responsible for unemployment.

RESISTANCE

It was a great day—and the youth made it so. It was the Young Socialists from all over the country who gave the demonstration its life, provided the banners and the slogans, led the resistance to the brutality of the police.

It was the Young Socialists who inspired every person on March 26 to go back to their regions and carry on the fight against the Tories.

Lobbies in the past have been

tame affairs. Demonstrators have come to London, a few of them have seen their MPs, received vague promises of help and then gone home again.

OPPORTUNITY

The YS were determined to make it different this time. They saw this as a great opportunity of placing before the most militant sections of the labour movement their socialist policies.

The response was tremendous. As adult workers arrived at Euston for the march they were greeted by the large youth contingent, many of them jobless school-leavers, who had stood for hours in the rain without coats or decent shoes.

ELECTRIFIED

They were undeterred by this. Shouting their slogans, they immediately electrified the whole demonstration. Official speakers were greeted with silence; a Young Socialist who said Labour must nationalize and have nothing to do with direction of bosses' industries received an ovation.

So strong was the youth contingent that the organisers of the lobby, with police help, tried to split them off from the main body of marchers.

But they couldn't stop their impact being felt throughout the long day. Thousands of trade unionists have agreed to support the youth campaigns back in the regions.

FIGHT

The success of March 26 must be taken up. Young Socialists must fight in the trade unions for the 40-hour week and a ban on overtime.

They must fight in the Labour Party for nationalization and harry Labour MPs to honour the pledges they made during the lobby.

Committees of trade unionists, MPs, Labour Party members and Young Socialists must be formed to visit Labour Exchanges and investigate the activities of officials who boss jobless youth around.

This is the way to consolidate the victory of March 26.

BEWARE OF PROVOCATIONS!

Readers will remember the lying provocations connecting Keep Left with violence which were used at the last Young Socialist Conference.

There is a new one this year. It is said that we are out to split the YS from the Labour Party and form a 'Young Marxist League'.

This is a lie! We stand, as always, for building a mass YS as an integral part of the Labour Party.

THE lengthening shadow of the dole queue hangs over the third annual conference of the Young Socialists at Scarborough this Easter. Once again hundreds of thousands of workers face the misery of unemployment and the terrible hardship of struggling to maintain their families on the disgraceful pittance given them by the State.

The decisions which the Young Socialists' conference makes on this vital issue will be of far-reaching importance. This problem must be tackled now, and out of all the confusion and muddle which surrounds it the youth movement must clear a path with socialist answers.

Once again, nationalization is back on top of the agenda for the labour movement. Mr. Harold Wilson says so. Clause Four is official policy, the YS have been right all the time.

Nothing has changed fundamentally in capitalist society. It staggers from boom to slump, casting millions on to the scum-

pile in the boom was a long one, it can be said with equal certainty that the coming crisis will be deep and severe—unless we act now to stop it.

Nationalization is the basis upon which a socialist Britain will be built. There is nothing 'old fashioned' about that.

Capitalism is proving once again that it cannot provide full employment, that it cannot run industries to meet the needs of the whole community.

Every corner

With Mr. Wilson's statement behind them, the Young Socialists must carry the fight into every corner of the labour movement to have Clause Four of the party constitution implemented.

The party must give a pledge to take over all those industries—steel, engineering, shipbuilding, motors, etc.—which cannot maintain full employment.

We must talk, think and act as socialists. We don't go cap in hand to the employers and ask them for action, ask them to take their industries to areas of unemployment and use the jobless as cheap labour.

We answer this crisis with specific socialist demands. Unemployment can only be permanently cured by taking the means of production away from the profit-making class.

Immediate steps

And here and now we tackle this problem by calling upon the unions to bring in the 40-hour week and a ban on overtime as immediate steps towards creating jobs.

The Young Socialists must support Mr. Wilson's defence of Clause Four. As we said last month, every time he challenges the Tory system, at home or abroad, the youth movement must back him.

Mr. Wilson has declared that a Labour government would sell no



Harold Wilson in the House of Commons on Monday, February 18, 1963, in reply to an attack by Sir Gerald Nabarro:

'I heard Sir Gerald mutter something about Clause Four. I am glad he understands it. This is the position of the whole party.'

arms to the South African government. This will have brought great encouragement to the masses of that country, struggling to throw off the detested, fascist-type rule of Verwoerd.

Our task

But, of course, Labour's policies are far from perfect. This is where the Young Socialists come in. We do not tail behind Mr. Wilson. Our task is to lead.

We call for the nationalization of the basic industries in this country under workers' control, together with the banks and the insurance companies.

We call for a speed-up in house building through the nationalization of land and the building industry.

We call for the unilateral nuclear disarmament of this country, withdrawal from the cold-war alliances and joint action with the international labour movement against imperialism.

These are realistic, relevant, socialist policies. They can win the support of the vast majority of people in this country as they look for solutions to the growing problems which face them.

The Young Socialists can provide the leadership our movement so badly needs.

We cannot afford to miss the chance this year.

ADVERTISEMENT

SPECIAL SCARBOROUGH MEETING

Come and hear the 3 expelled NC members

LIZ THOMPSON

DAVE DAVIS

MIKE GINSBERG

6.30 p.m., Saturday, April 13, 1963

FLORAL HALL, NORTH MARINE ROAD, SCARBOROUGH



The World

WHILE British Young Socialists are experiencing a sharp internal witchhunt, members of the Young Socialist Alliance in the USA are coming into open conflict with state authorities.

Last October a demonstration was held in Bloomington, Indiana, to protest against Kennedy's blockade of Cuba. Some of those involved were members of the YSA at Indiana University.

Participants were attacked by a mob of about 2,000, two of whom were arrested by police. In January the charges against these two were dropped by the county prosecutor, Thomas Hoadley, who then called for a Grand Jury inquiry into the YSA for 'incitement to riot' last October.

By February, Hoadley's attack was taking a more political line. He demanded that the university authorities withdraw recognition from the YSA, on the grounds that the YSA was violating the Indiana Communism Act of 1951. Offences against this act can earn prison sentences of up to three years.

He charges the YSA with advocating the violent overthrow of the United States government. The YSA have publicly denied advocating the violent overthrow of any government, saying that they call themselves revolutionary socialists in order to distinguish themselves from those who advocate socialism by reform.

Being accused under this 'anti-subversion' act is a serious business. Hoadley has stated that he is prepared to take the matter to the US Supreme Court if necessary. However, a decision by the Supreme Court in 1956, which ruled a similar law in Pennsylvania unconstitutional, casts some doubt on the validity of the Indiana Communism Act.

Every Young Socialist will give wholehearted support to the YSA in what is a common fight against the same enemy.

AT a meeting in March organised by the National Union of Journalists to protest at the jailing of the two reporters Mulholland and Foster, a telegram was received from Mr. Cecil King, head of the giant Mirror-Pictorial magazine combine, in which he joined in the protest as one who has fought 'for freedom of the press'. It is a great pity that the assembled journalists did not respond with a polite note informing Mr. King that his views on press freedom differed slightly from those of the press.

Mr. King has been agitating recently about laws of libel and slander and the restrictions they place upon the press. Linked with his knight-in-shining-armour defence of press freedom, this should give some insight into his thinking.

The libel laws are restrictive and newspapers have insufficient freedom insofar as they can muck-rake and smear people. The page-and-a-half attack on power workers' leader, Charlie Doyle, wasn't enough for King. He would like 'freedom' to talk more frankly about shop stewards and 'evil' strikers.

The Mirror's latest heart-cry against a writer in the New Statesman who suggested the press might be biased will bring a grim smile to the many militants, like busmen and power workers, who know what kind of 'unbiased' reporting they will get from the oracle of Holborn Circus when they struggle for higher wages.

As for Mulholland and Foster, these unfortunate men are just scapegoats for the press lords, whose hypocritical protests cover up their relief at having got off so lightly themselves. The press is full, day after day, with distortions and idle rumours, but no action is ever taken—until the Vassall case cropped up and some comment was a little too near the mark for government liking.

The stories which Mulholland and Foster wrote, the facts for which were provided by 'unknown sources', could not have been printed without authority from management level. No journalist has power to print political dynamite without it being approved, even though the stories formally appear under their names.

If anyone should have stood in the dock, it is the faceless men of Fleet Street who control the ever-dwindling number of papers. But the Tories rely too much on their political support and Mulholland and Foster were cogs in the mighty press machine who could conveniently take the rap.

FENNER BROCKWAY's socialist revolution in Iraq seems to be getting on very well. In true democratic style, the new vice-premier, Ali Saadi, announced on March 13 that Iraq, like all other liberated Arab countries, will exterminate communists without mercy.

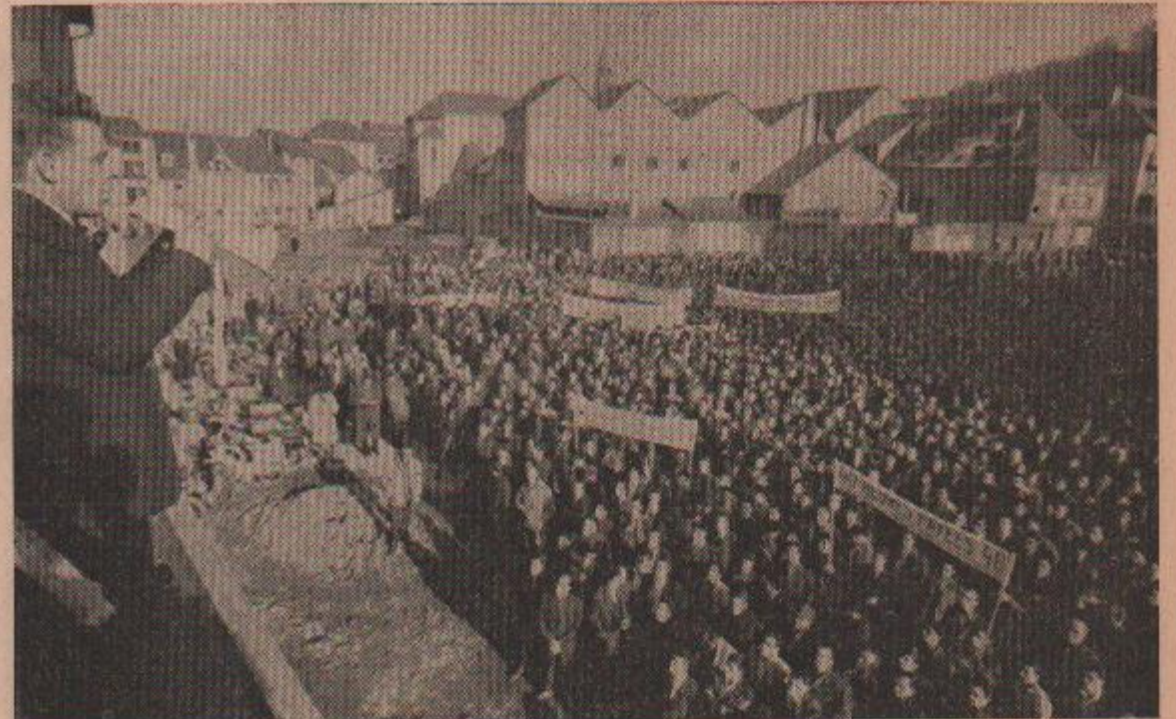
The National Council of the Revolution issued a declaration which said: '... permission is given to commanders of army units, the police forces and the National Guards to annihilate everybody who disturbs the peace'. The Movement for Colonial Freedom's executive committee has stated that it is abundantly clear that many hundreds of people have been executed without any trial.

This is particularly interesting, for Fenner Brockway is an active member of MCF. Despite the executive's condemnation of the atrocities in Iraq, their venerable old member has made no comment since his enthusiastic welcome to the new regime in poor old Tribune.

Young Socialists should voice strong protests to the Iraqi Embassy in London and express their solidarity with the masses in Iraq.

David Lloyd

French miners' great fight rattles de Gaulle



Forbach, north-eastern France: a mass meeting of striking miners is addressed by Henri Rigaud, secretary of the Socialist trade union.

THE last month has witnessed an impressive display of working-class solidarity in France. The French miners have defied the dictator de Gaulle and, in wave after wave, demonstrated their fierce determination to win better wages and conditions.

They have received the backing of massive sections of the French population. Strikes in sympathy have rocked France from end to end, and miners in West Germany and Britain have donated thousands of pounds to their brothers' funds.

The popular support for the

miners is an indication of the growing hatred which the French people feel for de Gaulle.

The dictator has prided himself on large votes for his policies in referendums. But these were a political hoax. When a voter can only vote 'yes' or 'no', he is not able to demonstrate his real feelings for the government.

But with white-collar workers striking in support, professional people and even clergymen urging the miners on and town councils pouring food and money into the beleaguered areas, there is little doubt of the

true feelings of the average Frenchman towards their Bonapartist ruler.

As we go to press, the miners fight on and de Gaulle hesitates to enforce his 'call-up' of strikers and send them back to work at gun-point. Should he do this the whole French labour movement must reply swiftly and decisively.

But for the craven cowardice of the official communist and socialist leaders, the French workers could have taken power many years ago.

There must be no holding back this time and British labour must pledge its full support.

Grim struggle in Kentucky

By JACK DORAN

IN Kentucky last August there began one of the most violent strikes the USA has seen for many years.

It was in 1947 that lay-offs of men in the Kentucky coalfield around the town of Hazard began. In the following year the coal operators found a cunning way to drive down wages and break up union organisation.

This was called truck mining and is still in operation. A mine owner would rent out a mine to a small operator who would employ men to get the coal cut and then sell it back to the owner.

Since the small operator owns nothing and is therefore worth nothing, there is no way of enforcing him to respect union contracts. As a result, miners forego social security, unemployment insurance and compensation payments.

The big operator does not have to sign contracts because he is not employing any men, only renting out his mine to someone else.

The truckers also refuse to pay the agreed 40 cents per ton royalty to the Welfare and Retirement Fund of the union, the United Mineworkers of America, which pays for the old age pensions and the union's group of hospitals. If an employer refuses to pay this royalty it is the miner who suffers, for the union then takes away his welfare card.

By 1959 the unemployment situation had considerably wor-

sened and vast numbers of families were existing only on the government 'surplus commodities' food handouts.

At last the union called a strike. It lasted for seven weeks and finished when certain truckers agreed to sign contracts. These they never honoured.

Faced with ever-decreasing royalty payments by the employers, instead of struggling against the difficulties, the union decided to close down some of its hospitals. This left some areas without any adequate medical services at all.

The officials did not inform their members of this decision; they just cancelled the miners' welfare cards.

This was too much for the men. Towards the end of last August the miners in Floyd County came out on strike. In six weeks it had spread to seven counties.

They demanded a living wage, and some means of enforcing the honouring of agreements by the truckers or else an end to the renting of mines by the big operators.

The strikers found a very effective tactic was the use of roving pickets; pickets would descend on a group of mines one day and call upon the workers there to come out too. If they were successful, the next day the mobile picket bands would be all the larger.

This, coupled with the solid co-operation of white and coloured

workers (in one of the Southern States), angered the coal operators. Reprisals came quickly.

Strikers' homes and shops which had supplied them with food were bombed. Gunmen were hired to shoot at strikers.

The miners took the only realistic step to defend themselves; from then on the pickets were armed with rifles and revolvers.

The miners' main difficulty was food. It is a hard business raising funds in a poverty-stricken area.

'If we had the stuff to feed them we could get them all out,' said strike leader Berman Gibson. 'The men will stand as long as they can eat. I've heard them say, "If it takes 10 years and our families can eat, we'll stay."'

When they saw that terrorism and the threat of starvation would not deter the strikers, the union officials moved in and declared the strike 'illegal', ordering their men to return to work immediately. This order was not obeyed.

The last we heard of the Kentucky strike was in February when it was still going strong. Since then no further news has come through.

The US Embassy in London disclaims all knowledge of the strike, as does the London office of the *New York Times*, despite the fact that this paper was carrying reports of the strike as late as last December.

This, together with the recent printing and dock strikes, shows that the 'happy homeland of democracy' is just as much racked by bitter class struggles as the other capitalist countries.



A snub for the homeless

BEHIND the barman mixing a make-believe cocktail rises the new Hilton Hotel in London's Park Lane. The average charge for a room for one day, without food, in the latest addition to the jungle of useless skyscrapers which litter the London skyline, is £52 10s.

This sum is more than many workers, who are lucky enough to have jobs, earn in a month. A few rich parasites can afford to spend this sort of money in a day on a hotel room alone.

Did someone say the class war was over? This ugly slab of concrete and glass is testimony to the fact that we live in the middle of a class system, however hard respectable right-wing Labourites may try to deny it.

While thousands of Londoners are forced to search the streets for any sort of hovel in which to live and thousands more have to succumb to the humiliation of an LCC home for the destitute, giant hotels and office blocks are under construction.

The hotels will cater for the tiny minority who have made money out of the labour of the kind of people now walking the streets. The office blocks will remain three-quarters empty even when finished.

The Hilton Hotel is a cynical snub for London's homeless. But that isn't enough for the Tories. They are adding to the heavy burden of tenants and house-owners by demanding more money from the rates, which in turn will be doled out in the form of rent increases by the landlords.

For hundreds of thousands of unemployed workers and their families, this is a terrible blow. An increase in rent will equal a cut in their dole money.

Labour must take immediate action on the question of housing and rents. It is a disgrace that Labour-controlled councils should agree to raise rates and rents. Not one of them was elected with a mandate to do this.

All Labour councils should refuse to bow to the Tory demands. They must declare that all decisions of this kind must be put off until after the general election, thus putting responsibility upon the Labour Party to take action.

Housing and rents will be a key feature of the election battle. Labour can win vital votes if it declares its intention of really grappling with these serious problems by introducing municipalisation of housing and nationalisation of land and the building industries.

Why we need real nationalization

By a Young Socialist Economist

THERE are now more than 700,000 unemployed and the figure is creeping up by 20,000 a month. Workers are jobless because someone somewhere decided that his factory had 'surplus capacity', that the demand for the goods he sold was falling off and that he would sustain heavy losses if he continued to market the same volume of goods.

Cutting down on production means cutting down on the labour force. Only if there is a market for products can there be full employment.

PROFIT

But how can the market be guaranteed? What causes demand to fall and, with it, a rise in unemployment?

Under the present economic system of capitalism, goods are produced to make a profit, not to fulfil a need. It follows from this that the total money paid out in wages must be less than the total value of all goods and services produced.

INVEST

This difference between the cost of wages and the total value produced by the workers (and only workers produce value; machines cannot do this) is the profit, which the capitalist may decide to invest in financing further production, if he thinks he can make additional profit.

If, on the other hand, he suspects that there may be a falling or static demand for the goods produced, he will hold on to his profit and wait for a more favourable time to invest it.

CONFIDENCE

So the person who decides what goods to produce and in what quantities is the capitalist, firstly because he sees to it, by keeping wages down, that not enough purchasing power is in the hands of the consumers (that is, the people who buy goods) and, secondly, because for all kinds of reasons, including sharpening world competition, he loses confidence in his ability to produce at a profit.

Nationalisation of the main industries, correctly administered, would mean that the key factor in deciding what is to be produced would be the needs of the community.

PLANNING

Temporary unfavourable world market conditions would not result in vast armies of men being thrown on the industrial scrapheap, since a lessening in the number of hours worked would ensure that no one was sacked due to a falling off in demand.

In any case, with millions of people throughout the world living beyond the border line of starvation, there is no such thing at present as a real fall in demand.

A degree of planning would be possible which would mean that all production was integrated in an overall scheme and that there was efficient manufacture and dis-

tribution, from the supply of nuts and bolts to the finished product.

There would be a proper perspective as to what should be produced at any given time. Nationalisation of the building industry and of land, for instance, would mean that instead of countless office blocks being built for the prestige of wealthy companies, there would be an adequate supply of houses.

At the moment production is the prerogative of capitalists, each groping blindly for profit in his own narrow sphere, but unaware or indifferent to what other spheres are doing.

ANARCHY

This leads to uneven growth. For example, the decline in steel production will lead to a fall-off in the amount of coal needed by this giant industry. But the Coal Board is at present introducing modern methods which will rapidly increase production.

This will mean that soon huge quantities of unused coal will pile up, the NCB will have to slow production and men will be laid off. This is what we mean by the anarchy, or unplanned nature, of capitalism.

GEARED

The nationalised sector of the economy today is tiny, about 20 per cent of the total, and it is geared solely to the needs of private industry. In 1945, the Labour government took over, as the main plank of its nationalisation policy, the railways and mines, two sectors left completely bankrupt and run-down by the former owners.

Railway and mine shareholders had received no money for years. Shareholders are people who receive interest on their investments without doing a scrap of work.

COMPENSATION

The Labour government felt sorry for them and agreed to pay out vast sums in compensation for something like 25 years—so much so that for years the surpluses made by the railways and mines have been swallowed up in payments to the shareholders.

Former directors were placed on the boards of the nationalised industries. Mines and railways were tied completely to the interests of private industry. It receives cheap coal and low freight costs, which the community has to subsidise through increased costs for domestic fuel and ever-rising rail fares (and in return they get fewer trains, stations are closed down and thousands of railmen sacked).

BASIS

What a different story it would be if all those major industries which cannot provide full employment were nationalised under the control of the labour movement, with no parasites on the boards and no compensation payments for ex-shareholders, except in cases of real hardship.

Nationalisation is the basis upon which a socialist society will be built. Industries would be run not to enrich the few but to provide full employment and improve the standard of living of us all.

East Midlands raps closure of Leicester federation

Keep Left Reporter

THE East Midlands Region YS Conference, held at Derby on March 2, condemned outright the suspension of the Leicestershire YS Federation. The suspension had taken place as a result of pressure from one or two influential local trade union bureaucrats who are terrified of the emergence of a youthful alternative leadership.

Local supporters of the paper *Young Guard* characterised the Leicester Federation's activity against unemployment as 'ultra-left' and they abstained when the emergency resolution was put.

Nevertheless, the resolution, deploring the suspension of the federation and demanding its immediate re-instatement, was passed by an overwhelming majority, with only two voting against.

The conference also made it clear that they opposed David Ablitt retaining his seat on the

SUPPORT FOR FRENCH MINERS

Bexley Central YS have voted to send £5 to the National Union of Mineworkers and have asked that the money be forwarded to the French miners' strike funds.

Bexley YS will encourage other branches to donate as much as they can to these funds.

YS National Committee, as the East Midlands representative. Following his NC report, the great majority of speakers condemned his failure to resign and ridiculed his position as 'outright opportunism' and 'an attempt to get the best of both worlds'.

Ablitt was saved from the final blow when the right-wing chairman refused to accept an emer-

gency resolution from the floor calling for his immediate resignation.

Despite the pessimism of some delegates, who were disillusioned by the right-wing attacks on the YS, the conference revealed a determination not only to build the movement but also to unmask those people who, while masquerading under the name of 'lefts', are capitulating to the right wing.

All quiet on the South-western front

Keep Left Reporter

THE South-west Regional Conference of the Young Socialists held on March 16 at Bristol was the usual annual event—well-organised and very boring.

The guest speaker for the NEC was Anthony Wedgwood Benn, who proved rather too radical for the liking of the *New Advance* supporters in the audience. For many delegates, the highlight of the day was the forthright speech by Jim Barnes of Gloucester, who gave his reasons for resigning from the National Committee.

An emergency motion from Torbay YS was thrown out on the grounds that it was unconstitutional. The motion called for a mass demonstration against unemployment in the area.

Rejected

The delegates did, however, succeed in rephrasing the motion in terms of a suggestion for 'future activities'. This did not please the Regional Organiser and it was again rejected.

In this fashion, a great deal of time was wasted and the conference was unsatisfactory for most of the delegates.

KEEP LEFT

THE PAPER FOR SOCIALIST YOUTH
29 Torriano Avenue, London, N.W.5

FROM JANUARY 12, ON TO SCARBOROUGH

MR. REG UNDERHILL should seriously consider joining the team of 'That Was The Week That Was'. His column in the March edition of *New Advance* surely marked his entry into the field of humorous writing.

He attempts, at great length, to try and discredit the highly successful demonstration and rally held by the Young Socialists in London on January 12. (As usual, *New Advance* was two months late with the news.) Mr. Underhill and his colleagues have refused to allow the Young Socialists to organise a campaign nationally against unemployment; they threatened and actually closed down two federations which attempted to start such a campaign.

Perhaps the sight of young people, including ill-clad and underfed, jobless school leavers, marching through London was too much for these respectable people. 'Why did they assemble outside Transport House?' wails the luckless Reg. The answer to that is simple: despite the constant attacks by the inhabitants of that building against the rank and file, it remains the centre of the Labour Party. Young Socialists have a perfect right to think of it as their headquarters; there could have been no better starting point for their demonstration.

Then Mr. Underhill pulled his master stroke. Both KEEP LEFT and *The Newsletter* (the journal of the Socialist Labour League) reported the evening rally on January 12. 'Could they have been in the know?' he muses darkly, suggesting some sinister plot hatched by these two papers. What a tired imagination! Yes, KEEP LEFT was in the know—so were *The Newsletter*, the *Sunday Express*, the *Sunday Telegraph* and BBC and ITV, because they all received advance notice of the march and rally.

Then from the sublime to the ridiculous. Mr. Underhill speaks stirringly of the stalwart Young Socialists who have taken the vacant places on the National Committee—most of whom received one or two votes at the last conference and came third or fourth in the ballots for their regions. Mr. Eric Page, now 'representing' London is, for one, over the age limit for the youth movement!

Is it any wonder that the first task of the third Young Socialists' conference must be to throw overboard all the attempts by the officials of the Labour Party to weaken the youth movement and shackle it to the reformist needs of the NEC? The bans, prescriptions and expulsions must be condemned. That done, the conference can go on to discuss a programme of action against the Tories on such pressing problems as unemployment, nuclear weapons and housing.

It can elect a National Committee which will refuse to bow to the reactionary demands of the right wing. The new Committee must put into operation the militant and realistic policies of the YS through a countrywide campaign to recruit thousands of new members. The NC must recognise no existing bans or expulsions and accept no future ones.

If the witch-hunt is broken at Scarborough, then real unity of the Young Socialists can be established and the way is clear for building, for the first time in this country, a great mass youth movement which will lead the increasingly urgent struggle to build a socialist society.

THROW OUT THE BEECHING PLAN

NO doubt the YS conference, through an emergency motion, will discuss the Beeching report on the future of British Railways.

The movement must express itself clearly and decisively on this issue. We are not against progress, but we are firmly against any Tory 'modernisation' which seeks to destroy the final vestige of nationalization in this industry and, through pushing up fares even higher, forces passengers to subsidise cheap freight facilities for private industry.

'Making the railways pay' has been Beeching's—and the Tories'—guiding thought. This means ruthlessly sacking 150,000 railway workers in the next few years, many of whom have given a lifetime's service; this means closing

down 'unprofitable' lines and stations throughout the country, which will bring terrible hardship to many communities.

Socialists are not interested in making the railways 'pay'. We believe that transport, all transport, must provide a social service for the people.

The next Labour government must throw out the Beeching report and the wealthy doctor with it, and provide, under nationalization and without crippling compensation payments, an up-to-date, cheap and efficient system.

Yes, we are for a modern railway system—but not at the Tory price. The railway unions must defend with all their strength their members threatened by the Beeching hatchet.

IF you were to pass through any of the old mill towns in Lancashire, towns like Rochdale, Bolton, Ashton-under-Lyne, Wigan and places around Manchester you would get a picture of row after row of mean, little houses packed into countless dark streets; you could imagine how dreary it must be to live there.

These streets and towns are paved with heroic and fierce struggles of generations of workers. They tell a history of untold misery and suffering; men, women and children driven to work in the cotton mills for long hours and appalling wages in the last century.

Women and children made up the largest part of the labour force. Their slim and nimble fingers were needed to piece together the cotton thread when it snapped. They were cheap labour for the employers.

Children

They had to work in back-breaking conditions, in foul-smelling rooms from early morning to evening. Children were dragged from sleep to the mill. There was nothing at the end of the day except to go home to a miserable cellar.

It was hard for young girls, in particular. Not only used as cheap labour, they also, in many cases, had to satisfy the over-lookers' or the boss's lust. They were condemned to miscarriages and all kinds of degradation.

Girls rushed into early marriage hoping to escape the horror, only to find themselves back at the mill, this time with one child at home and another on the way.

These women had to work right up until the hour of delivery of their babies, or lose their job.

All these things were happening in the years around 1844, when Frederick Engels wrote about them.



Mill workers demonstrated in London last year against redundancy

The long, hard struggle of the mill towns

In some parts of the mill the heat is so intense that you work with practically no clothes on. Bodies, clothes and hair are covered in cotton fluff.

If you live in Wigan and work in a mill in Bolton (when there is no work in Wigan), you have to be up at 5.15 a.m. in order to get to work, and you arrive home about 6.30 p.m.: 13 hours a day, travelling and work. And you work for less money in Bolton than in Wigan.

The average wage for women is £6 a week from 16 years up to retiring age—if you last that long. Extra money can be earned

shifts and in some cases 3-shift working, so as to give round-the-clock production.

Trencherfield have put in new plant and equipment to 'modernise' the place. This will only result in hardship for the cotton workers, because Trencherfield will want profit for his new machines.

Speed-up in the mill will mean still more redundancy for the workers. They want to produce more cotton, but with less workers. That's what Tory modernisation means.

The mill owners have made fantastic profits from the workers for generations in Wigan. Now profits are falling and they expect the workers to solve their problems for them. We don't intend to let them get away with it.

A Wigan Young Socialist looks at those 'dark satanic mills'

But what of 1963 in the cotton mills? In this great age of skyscrapers, rockets round the moon, H-bombs, and beauty parlours for poodles are conditions so different from when Engels wrote about them? I don't think so, although some changes have, of course, been made.

Children no longer work in mills. The working day is reduced. Wages are higher. Workers have better homes, not hovels.

Noise

But take a closer look at the mills themselves.

Unless you have been inside a mill it is difficult to understand what it is like. The noise is overwhelming and it is constant.

The first thing you must learn is how to lip-read; it is impossible otherwise to communicate with other workers.

If you can imagine what a road drill sounds like and multiply that sound by a thousand you will get some idea of the mill noise.

There are long rows of high, fast-moving machines and a narrow alley for you to walk down and work in.

through piece-work.

Some weeks you can come home with about £8, others with about £5 10s. Many of the girls have to lift heavy weights and stand for long hours.

Then there are the lads: many things go on that would make your hair stand on end. But the bosses don't care, as long as the work is done.

I have worked in Eckersley's, which is one of the largest mills in Wigan. They are part of the British Van Heusen Corporation, which produce Peter England shirts and Aertex goods.

The financial report for Eckersley's this year said that profits have declined over the past period. They said it has been the worst recession in memory. I know, because many of us went on short time.

Rescue

But the Tory government came to the rescue of the owners. They offered grants to small mills to close down and gave grants to large mills to stay open.

To stay open means to improve production. In Trencherfield Mill in Wigan, shift working has been introduced. There are double

Organisation

Employers and union leaders have formed an organisation called the Textile Action Group. Their aim is to 'Save British Mills'.

They say they represent the common interest of mill owners and mill workers in Britain against foreign competition, particularly from Japan. They are calling for a reduction of imports of cotton goods to this country.

It is claimed that Japanese cotton workers will accept long hours and terrible conditions in return for a bowl of rice.

British mill owners use such cynical rubbish to try and make us think that we are somehow 'superior' to Japanese workers and will slave all the harder to beat them.

Threatened

But British cotton workers don't live in the lap of luxury either. We have no steak dinners in posh restaurants.

We are threatened with bad conditions, just as Japanese workers are. Our fight is the same.

The problems of British cotton workers cannot be solved at the expense of the Japanese workers. This will only benefit the British mill owners. We must link up with other cotton workers inter-

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

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

Address.....

No. of copies of KEEP LEFT required regularly.....
(Bulk orders: 4d. per copy, post free. Annual subscription: 6s. 6d.)
Send to: Roger Protz, 29 Torriano Avenue, London, N.W.5.

Soviet youth fights the bureaucrats

Nikita the philistine threatens young artists and writers again



nationally, through the trade unions.

Two-thirds of the world's population are starving and miserably clad, yet, because of capitalism, cotton workers are sacked and cannot produce clothing.

Only planned international trade can solve these problems. We should begin in our mills by demanding that they be nationalised.

Nationalisation is not a dream; it can be a reality. Mill workers must attend their union meetings and demand that the officials get off their backsides and fight for nationalisation.

TAG says, 'We want action now for the mills', but what sort of action? Action for speed-up, redundancy, cutting down the conditions of workers in other countries, forcing these workers to starve, too?

Plan

We must fight for a clear policy of nationalisation of the cotton industry, take the production out of the hands of the mill owners, and plan things in a proper way.

That is why it is important to go to the union meetings, join the Labour Party and the Young Socialists and fight to have links with cotton workers in other countries. Unity of workers against the mill owners would be really powerful.

Many of the workers who suffered and were forced to exist under horrible, heart-rending conditions in the last century, were our forefathers and mothers. We must remember their suffering and struggles and refuse to co-operate with the mill owners today.

We have nothing in common with them. They can still hire and fire as they like. When trade is bad they ruthlessly sack workers.

Scrapheap

In some of the towns in Lancashire, when the mills close down, the workers will never find jobs again. They will be thrown on the scrapheap like cotton waste from the mill.

There is nothing funny about the road to Wigan Pier, though Reg Underhill in *New Advance* seems to think there is. Wigan has a long record of sweat and blood and hard struggle.

Many of us in the mills have been confused and pushed down for a long time, but we can see in the Young Socialists a real movement to fight for.

We have had enough right-wing union and Labour jokers round Wigan. Now we must organise and struggle to defeat the growing attacks of the employers.

OF late, the 'authorities' in all the cultural fields in the Soviet Union, all those old reptiles from the Stalinist Zoo, have been working overtime, baiting the new generation of Soviet artists, sculptors, writers, poets and film makers.

There has been a great and sweeping offensive against these young people, culminating in a lengthy tirade, on March 8, 1963, by none other than that well-known art critic, N. S. Khrushchev.

He expresses an uncomprehending fear of the enthusiasm of youth: 'In Comrade Rozhdestvensky's speech one could detect the contention that only the group of young writers and poets express the sentiments of all our youth. That is not so. The growing craze for jazz music and jazz bands cannot be considered normal,' Khrushchev added.

Some way has to be found to check the inroads which the new Soviet generation has made in the field of culture. Execution squads and concentration camps? Not possible—or not yet!

Something more subtle is needed, the pitting of one tendency against another. Ilya Ehrenberg is lambasted, while Mikhail ('Quiet Flows the Don') Sholokhov is praised.

This is an attempt to stop the movement halfway, if it cannot be pushed right back. This process has been accompanied and followed by a spate of half-confessions, promises to do better next time, and 'Yes, yes, I agree' from the bureaucracy's victims.

What has been happening? Ever since 1956 and after the 22nd Congress, there has been a rising

tide of literature touching on all the questions left unanswered by the years of the Stalinist dark ages.

This great tide has welled up, feeling out every weakness in the front of the Soviet bureaucracy, exploiting every opening in its defences. The only free elections afforded any section of the Soviet population were in the Writers' Unions, and here the youth swept out the old hacks.

A torrent of literature of one sort or another has fed a thirsting readership. Entire editions have been sold out. Literary evenings, poetry readings, private exhibitions and soirées have supplemented this.

The old system of censorship had broken down and various publishing houses and even film studios are turning out material

without the permission of the bureaucrats.

Speaking of the film 'Zastava Ilyicha' (still being made), Khrushchev has the following to say:

'Its grave errors are obvious. One would have thought that cinema workers who had seen the picture would frankly tell the directors about them. But something quite incredible has been going on in connection with the film. No one has yet seen it, but there is already a wide publicity campaign, conducted on an international scale, boosting the film as "an out-

standing development in our art". What do we need this for? That's not the way to do things, comrades, not at all!

Obviously the situation was getting out of hand. Resentful, the old hacks displaced by the changes in the cultural societies, turned to the bureaucracy, which after a sustained campaign has been foisting the old men back on the associations of artists.

The movement of the young painters, sculptors, architects, film makers, composers and writers has overflowed the strict limits of their arts, if one can speak of limits.

This generation emerged only recently out of the black night of Stalinism. Their first need was to know where they had come from, where their past lay, and to get their bearings.

In attempting to retrace this development, they stumbled on

It is common knowledge that Ehrenberg never claimed more than his share of courage.* But it seems that in his old age he has grown reckless and keeps drawing the attention of the youth to the real fate of their forbears—his contemporaries—and to their cultural heritage.

He has gone further, denouncing Stalin's military conduct (before the Stalingrad affair was revealed).

Along with Shostakovitch he denounced the Iraq regime of terror just after the Soviet government had given recognition to that regime.

Khrushchev's speech is a queer mixture of bluff, threats and apologetics. The more he says, the more he gets entangled. The speech is a patchwork quilt of styles, obviously the handiwork of many 'experts'. He contradicts himself over and over again, pleads ignorance of Stalin's crimes while he (Stalin) was alive, claiming to have learnt about them after his death!

There is a priceless passage here about Stalin's historical contribution to the Bolshevik party which makes nonsense of all previous 'stories', including Khrushchev's own. All the ills of Soviet society are supposed to have derived from the monster cult, from Stalin's personal shortcomings, when only in the previous paragraph this is flatly contradicted:

'His guilt lay in the gross errors of a theoretical and political nature he committed, in his violation of the Leninist principles of government and Party leadership, in his abuse of the power invested in him by the Party and people.'

This, according to Khrushchev, was known in Lenin's own time.

Yet all Trotsky-baiting and witch-hunting in the Bolshevik party is passed off as quite correct and the seal of respectability is once more set on the conduct of J. V. Stalin.

It is obvious that at this stage of the rising tide of revolt against the bureaucracy, neither side is quite sure of itself; the rebels, because they have not yet discovered their traditions and links with the past, the oppressors because they know they have no future and that they stand with their backs to an abyss.

By Tony Wolfe

the corpses of their predecessors. The more they searched, the more horror piled on horror.

The further one goes back, the greater the revelations, especially about the role of the Khrushchevs of the cultural world. The latter, for their part, are bent on distracting the youth from this search, with cries of 'forward! onward!', etc., etc. Let Khrushchev speak for himself:

'But it has to be said that books are also appearing which in our view give what is, to say the least, an inaccurate, and to put it more truly, an incorrect, one-sided picture of the things that happened during the personality cult ...

I should like to touch on another question connected with the portrayal of the personality cult period in literature. I understand the magazines and publishing houses are being flooded with manuscripts about people's life in exile, in prisons, in camps.

'Let me repeat again that this is very dangerous subject-matter and difficult material to tackle ...'

The bureaucrat fears as death, the final disenchantment, the day when the whole truth gets known. Hence the violent attacks on Ehrenburg and his book *People and Life*.*

* MacGibbon and Kee, 21s.



Ehrenberg lambasted ... Sholokhov praised



Teachers hit back at Boyle's law

By a Young Teacher

THE decision of the Minister of Education, Sir Edward Boyle, to overrule the Burnham Committee (the joint representative body which negotiates teachers' salaries) and introduce legislation to enforce his salary proposals, is a deliberate attempt to split the teachers in face of the Tory offensive against the working class.

Under the original agreement, teachers were to receive increases of £50 and £80 a year at a total cost of £20½ million. Boyle refuses to ratify the Burnham agreement.

He agrees to the overall increase in the total salary bill but he wants more money to go to teachers with higher qualifications and in posts of greater responsibility.

Thus the teachers, who are already divided among themselves

in the two rival unions, the NUT and the NAS, will be further weakened by this Tory scheme to play off the older and higher-qualified against the younger and less-qualified teachers.

Young Socialists must not look upon the attacks on teachers as an isolated incident but rather as part of the whole attack on the trade union and labour movement.

The government's decision for the National Incomes Commission to investigate the 40-hour week agreement of the Scottish building workers shows that capitalism has reached a stage in its crisis where even properly negotiated agreements are a danger to the 'national interest'.

Similarly, even the salary agreement of the pro-government weighted Burnham Committee cannot be ratified by the Minister

of Education if the Tories and the bosses are to keep down the demands for a living wage.

Boyle's intervention, the third successive one made by Tory Ministers of Education, points clearly to the fact that the government has no further use for this body. As the crisis of capitalism deepens, the facade of 'democracy' will be thrown on the rubbish dump and the Tories will try to dictate what wages they think they will pay to the teachers.

Now is the time for teachers and other members of the so-called middle class to realise that they, along with the working class, are all oppressed by this Tory system. They must join the Labour Party and the Young Socialists and fight the Tory attacks in the only possible way—by building up the labour movement and making the working class conscious of its great historical task: to smash capitalism.

K the 'art critic'

THE following are some comments made by Khrushchev at an exhibition of Soviet modern art in Moscow.

'You're a nice-looking lad, but how could you paint something like this? We should take down your pants and set you down in a clump of nettles until you understand your mistakes. You should be ashamed.'

'Are you a pederast [homosexual] or a normal man? Do you want to go abroad? Go on, then; we'll take you free as far as the border. Live out there in the "free world". Study in the school of capitalism, and then you'll know what's what. But we aren't going to spend a kopeck on this dog shit.'

'The Dutch masters painted differently. You can look at their pictures through a magnifying glass and still admire them. But your paintings just give a person constipation, if you'll excuse the expression. They don't arouse any other feelings at all.'

'You are stealing from society. You are a parasite. We have to organise our society so that it will be clear who is useful and who is useless. What right do you have to live in an apartment built by genuine people, one made of real materials?'

'Judging by these experiments, I am entitled to think that you are pederasts, and for that you can get 10 years. You've gone out of your minds, and now you want to deflect us from the proper course. No, you won't get away with it.'

New books



The Soviet Revolution, 1917-1939
By Raphael R. Abramovitch,
George Allen and Unwin, 45s.

THE author of this book played his part in the events in Russia in 1917 as a left-Menshevik. This species of political animal is unfortunately not unknown to Young Socialists.

Its chief characteristics are a mouth for making revolutionary noises and a clean pair of heels when there is any real fighting to be done.

Abramovitch (he was a leader of the Bund, the Jewish Socialist Party) gives a number of facts about 20 years of Russian history. But the one thing he could never understand is a revolution.

By his account, the historical agenda was all set to follow the overthrow of the Tsar in February.



1917 — from the enemy camp

By BOB JACKSON

The Petrograd workers and peasant-soldiers knew what a Menshevik is incapable of grasping: unless they followed the road indicated by the Bolsheviks and took power themselves, the war would drag on and reaction would get back into the saddle.

Abramovitch tells in some detail of the unrest among sections of the workers after October. At the moment when every capitalist power was waiting and working for the collapse of the Soviet state, he and his co-thinkers did all they could to take advantage of the tremendous problems facing the Bolshevik leaders.

But the USSR did not collapse. In the Wars of Intervention, when the Abramovitches were working with the counter-revolutionary Whites, the workers and peasants built the Red Army and beat back the imperialists.

They paid a terrible price. Backward Russia in the 1920s inherited a legacy of famine, devastation, disease and illiteracy.

Out of the ruins came Stalinism — privilege, corruption, repression.

'There, we told you so!' crow the Mensheviks and their political descendants. Abramovitch gives an account of the horrors of Stalin's rule and tries to prove that it all inevitably followed from Lenin's actions and ideas.

The workers could never have held the power in Russia, he says, and they should not have tried. The Soviet Union is not, in his estimation, a workers' state, but 'the first totalitarian state in modern history'.

People who look at politics like this are a nuisance to the working class. The Russian Revolution was the greatest event of our time, for it began the job of ridding the world of capitalism.

Despite all that Stalin and his bureaucrats could do, the achievement of 1917 has not been destroyed. With the aid of our fight against the world's bosses, the Soviet workers will clear out Stalin's successors and get back to the road of the Bolsheviks.

Then the sceptical pessimism of Abramovitch and his like will be confounded.

Why Youth rebel

The Insecure Offenders
By T. R. Fyvel, Pelican Books, 5s.

THIS book is sub-titled 'Rebellious Youth in the Welfare State'. Mr. T. R. Fyvel should have added, 'How can we tame them?'. An ex-Literary Editor of *Tribune*, he sets out to investigate the tremendous rise in juvenile delinquency during the 1950s.

In 1938 over 21,000 people between 14 and 21 years of age were convicted. In 1955 nearly 25,000 young people appeared before courts and by 1961 the figure had risen to 56,000.

This book takes up the appearance of the 'Teddy Boys' in 1953 in Britain and other parts of the world. Why do these youth act in this way he asks. Why do they hate the police? His answer? 'The affluent society.' They have lots of money in their pockets. The 'mass media', television, press, cinema, etc., are all aimed at making youth spend.

He does not mention that White Paper published in 1962 which revealed that almost half the working population earn less than £10 a week!

His solution? Better education, raise the school-leaving age to 17, provide better clubs and raise the pay of Probation Officers. The youth of Britain Mr. Fyvel laments have no sense of national purpose. Only towards the end of the book does a glimmer of the author's purpose come through.

'To compete today, Britain must have a class of administrators, scientists, and technicians who will be as efficient and purposeful as their equivalents anywhere else . . . the doors through which working class boys and girls can rise into this new middle class should be as wide open as possible.'

1917 with a peaceful period of capitalist democracy. Things turned out very differently, he explains, only because Lenin and Trotsky cunningly tricked the workers and soldiers into putting them into power and Abramovitch and his friends 'into the dustbin of history'.

But how did it happen? The author does not tell us, because, to this day, he doesn't know. No wonder Trotsky called him 'a conservative pedant whose every instinct had been outraged by the revolution'.

The 'Teds', he complains, are violent. Not a word about Hiroshima or the violence of British imperialism. He discounts the millions killed in the Second World War and the millions trained to kill.

The Notting Hill riots are explained psychologically. As far as the author is concerned working and housing conditions and the fascists have nothing to do with it.

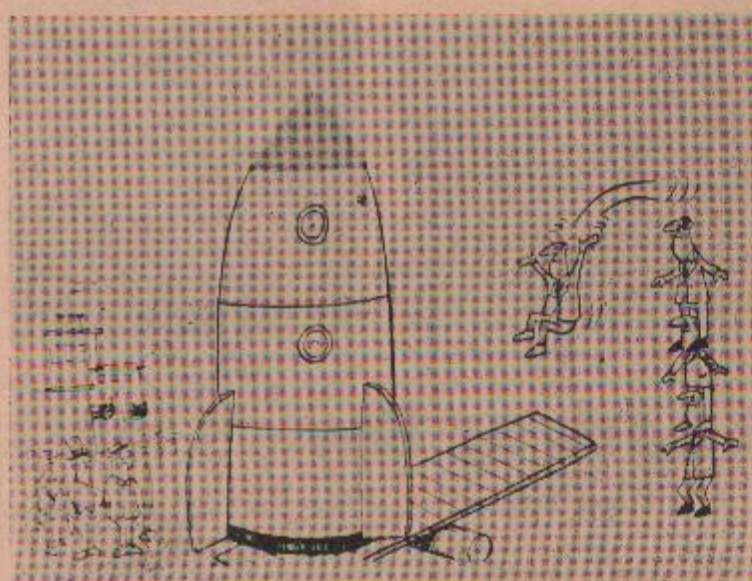
We must show the working class that they can 'get on' he says. Clubs and schools where the middle and working class can mix are suggested.

Mr. Fyvel covers up and hides the fact that in this society the vast majority of working class youth and adults cannot 'get on'. The whole economy is based on workers selling their ability to work to the employers, spending their whole lives working in industries, offices, factories, etc., owned by a minority of the population. The police, the magistrates and Probation Officers are maintained by those employers and the Tory government to make sure that this working class keeps in its place.

In the 1950s the Labour youth movement was isolated from this rebellion of the young, mainly unskilled, workers in relation to dress and the police. Keep Left campaigned from 1957 onwards for the youth sections to turn towards these young people.

In the 1960s the Young Socialists are now turned towards, and are succeeding in many areas, in bringing hundreds of young workers around the socialist movement, and leading them against those responsible for this society.

No, Mr. Fyvel is not with us. He's not on the side of the young workers. This is just another book trying to sell ways of teaching the youth to conform and keep in its 'place'.



THIS cartoon is one of the many amusing ones found in 'What's so funny, comrade?' (Pall Mall Press 9s. 6d.), a collection of drawings from the Soviet humorous magazine *Krokodil*.

Many of them are telling blows at the shortages and bunglings of the bureaucracy. One cartoon shows two overlarge children in prams, with one saying, 'Isn't it about time we walked?' and the other replying, 'What, without shoes?'

If that had been drawn in the West it would have been denounced as 'anti-Soviet'.

The book is prepared by an American and is designed to

deliberately belittle the achievements of the Soviet Union. But the laugh is on the editor, for *Krokodil* is testimony to the fact that the Soviet people can laugh at themselves and are well aware of the type of government they have.

Of course, the paper is 'official' and cannot go too far; it is a useful way of channelling discontent from anger towards laughter.

But however distorted the style, *Krokodil* unwittingly mirrors the feelings of the Soviet people, who, far from beaten down, are struggling daily against the repression and stupidity of the Khrushchev clique.

World of Science

IN his opening remarks at the tenth Pugwash Conference held in London last September, Lord Hailsham claimed that progress in technology was responsible for the crisis facing the human race today.

Muddle-headed scientists then went on to agree that 'the lack of adequate detecting devices was the only obstacle standing in the way of an agreement to ban nuclear testing'.

A Soviet delegate proposed that 'black boxes' were the answer to this burning question. These are sealed containers packed with sensitive instruments which, if placed on the territories of the USA and USSR, could detect any nuclear tests carried out.

Try to fool us

It is not very surprising to find Hailsham trying to fool us with the idea that nations go to war simply because they have weapons; we know that it is the imperialist nations which develop weapons in order to prepare for war.

The fact that the Soviet delegate, Academician I. Tamm, took the same attitude indicates just how far the Soviet bureaucracy is prepared to play along with the imperialist lies in the interests of 'peaceful co-existence'.

Under their thumb

The British, American and French imperialists have spent a great deal of money in using technology to develop the most up-to-date weapons with which to equip their armies. They do this in order to keep the colonial peoples under their thumb, to protect profit interests in Latin America, Africa and many other countries, and to eventually wage war on the Soviet Union.

To suggest that this minority, responsible for millions of deaths throughout the world in the drive for markets and profits, will disarm voluntarily is ridiculous. Worse than this, it is an attempt to deceive all working people who genuinely want world peace.

Only way to Peace

The organisations which support such conferences as Pugwash (Hogwash would be a better name) are trying to pull the wool over our eyes. They don't want us to see the real solution to this problem.

Only when the labour movements of all countries unite to disarm the imperialists and build socialism can there be any talk of peace. The fight for peace cannot be divorced from the struggle to remove the system responsible for wars and misery.

P.G.

Nationalisation

As a former member of the right wing of the Labour Party, I would like to put Jon Lewis straight about the role played by this faction within the party.

In the March K.L., he says that it is better to gain power on a policy of watered-down nationalisation than to risk defeat on one of complete nationalisation, thereby keeping the Tories in control of the country. But have the party leaders ever attempted to defend nationalisation?

No! They have replaced socialism with social reform. Right-wing leaders such as Gaitskell (a sincere champion of the working class he might have been, but a champion of socialism he was not) have always backed down and apologised whenever the Tories launched their hysterical attacks upon nationalisation and socialism, and when party members, particularly those in the YS, have stood firm against Toryism the right wing have expelled them, banned and proscribed newspapers and closed down YS federations for organising attacks on the Tories.

If comrade Lewis believes that the right wing, once it has been elected to power in Britain, can be prodded into more socialist policies he is absolutely mistaken.

There are, however, some of the right wing who do believe that we should first gain power on social reform policies, show the nation that nationalisation works, then go on to nationalise more. But these people are in a minority; the majority of the right wing just do not believe in true socialism at all!

Many party members seem to think that everything will be fine when there is a Labour Party driver at the reins of the capitalist donkey. If one looks at Ramsay MacDonald and Attlee, who both headed Labour governments with no real socialist policies, one will find that they did no better in running the country than the Tories.

I suggest to comrade Lewis that the only answer to unemployment, poverty and greed, in fact all that is associated with a capitalist society, will not be found anywhere, no matter how much surgery is done to it, in the capitalist system, but in a true socialist system with full-blooded nationalisation under workers' control.

*'Former right-winger',
Leicester.*

Ireland

Keep Left is an excellent paper, but for us, in Northern Ireland it has one fault. It never mentions that of all the depressed areas in the UK, Northern Ireland has the biggest problems.

Here the working class are cruelly exploited. The wages are 25 per cent below the national average. This is mainly because the unemployment figure is now 11.2 per cent. And it is expected

sporting corner

READERS of this column will have realised by now that I am a sports enthusiast. But despite my keenness, I am not blind to the many sordid aspects of what is, in present-day society, a big business.

In the soccer world we have recently had trouble at Burnley. Their Irish international, Jimmy McLroy, was sacked after a lifetime of service—although the club boss, director, Bob Lord, would never admit this.

The trouble here was that McLroy, getting a little older, could not go on for ever. Bob Lord knew that. Only directors drawing a big, fat salary go on for ever.

Lord and his fellow directors had to decide whether to keep McLroy on for a few years longer at £100 a week, for services rendered, or drop him at once. They chose the latter.

An article in 'The People' by Bobby Seith of Dundee (formerly of Burnley) typifies the uncompromising capitalist attitude be-

to rise even higher since the aircraft and shipbuilding firms here were passed over when recent contracts were being handed out.

Northern Ireland is among the records in another field, too. The same party, the Unionist Party, has been in power here for 40 years and we have had the same prime minister for 20 years.

There is a big demand for Keep Left among the youth here. Perhaps that is a sign that changes can be expected in the near future.

*Brian Dunlop,
Belfast 14.*

● **Brian Dunlop's criticism is fair. We would be pleased to receive an article on the Irish situation.**

Realism

On reading Keep Left I find that the contributors, when attacking opinions contrary to their ideals, continually call for a realistic approach from their opponents.

It would be wise to practice what you preach. Why not show the same realism about the bomb as you do about unemployment, slums, landlords, racialism and other capitalist horrors? How you manage to distinguish between a bomb controlled by bureaucrats in Russia and a bomb controlled by bureaucrats in America, I just do not know.

If you want to win the support of new and old members of the YS for your otherwise excellent paper, and if you want to stop the justifiable sneers of the right wing on this matter, I suggest you examine your whole attitude to the bomb.

The YS movement must set the pace by calling upon workers everywhere to fight against the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons by any country, instead of talking mythical drivel about the 'workers' bomb'.

*J.F.O.,
S. Paddington YS.*

Gunter

I personally regard the terms 'right' and 'left' as vague, misleading and often erroneous generalisations. I also regard the allegations of 'witch-hunting' which are being slung around within the Labour Party to be highly emotive and, in the last analysis, profiting only the Tories. The following serves to convince me even more.

After marching on the Sheffield anti-unemployment demonstration, I attended a protest meeting at which a lady told the floor of 'witch-hunter' Byrne of the ETU and the 'pro-Tory' Ray Gunter. On leaving the meeting I purchased a copy of Keep Left—and there again were the alarming charges against Gunter.

I decided that I should consult 'Hansard' before taking the matter any further and I am disgusted to have to relate that your article is so sensationalised that it would have stood a better chance of serving the 'popular' dailies.

hind football. It is big business and Bob Lord is the man who runs his club on strictly business lines.

Seith says, 'It seemed to me that at Turf Moor (Burnley's ground) Bob Lord had had his finger in everything. One thing about Mr. Lord—he's a terribly difficult fellow to convince that he's wrong.'

Seith was looking at the subject as a sportsman. Lord sees it as a way of making money.

Last month's K.L. review of 'This Sporting Life', which is about Rugby League Football, goes deeper and shows how the pressure of making good at the game affects sportsmen's private lives.

The rewards in Rugby League are tremendous if you are good—and to be good you have to be bigger and stronger than anyone else. You have to know all the dirty tricks and be able to take your share of the punishment without complaining.

The difference between top-class

**Straight
from the
shoulder**

**readers
have their
say**

The success of a paper can be gauged by the number of letters it receives for publication. Keep Left could now quite easily fill two pages a month with letters, but this would mean cutting out many other features. We are forced, therefore, to reluctantly hold over many of the letters we receive, although we try to print the more controversial ones. Long-winded contributors will have to suffer the editor's blue pencil.

YOU join the 'reactionary gutter newspapers'. (Your terms.)

Out of a speech covering 16 paragraphs you quote parts of two—and this you do inaccurately. Whereas Gunter said 'evil men', it came after 'tiny handfuls' (note plural). There were no cheers at this stage. The ministerial cheers came after Gunter said... 'they (the unions) must (modernise)... and ensure discipline'.

But this was a typical parliamentary debating technique, for it was followed immediately by 'and employers must respond', amid opposition cheers.

I leave to your readers the task of reading all 17 paragraphs and see if they can then say this was a 'pro-Tory' speech. However, let me quote the last few lines, '... we do not propose to divide the House on the second reading but we shall do our best to do something of a major character

football and top-class Rugby League is that in soccer all players are professionals, while in Rugby League they are part-time professionals, with an ordinary week-time job.

Soccer is financed by people paying high prices to watch it. Small teams are backed by supporters' clubs, which pass on the proceeds from subscriptions and raffles.

Without finance, soccer clubs are forced to close down (Accrington Stanley, for example).

Rugby League is supported by big businessmen for their own prestige. Crowds are comparatively small and would not cover expenses if the businessmen did not chip in.

If a club does not do well, businessmen will not support it and the financial rewards for the players—large signing-on fees and fat bonuses—are not forthcoming.

That is why the players will go to any lengths to stay on top themselves and keep their clubs at the top of the ladder in order to please the all-important backers.

Bill Reynolds

in the committee stage.' (Opposition cheers.)

Finally, two points: the 'left' had better be more accurate lest they alienate even more support. For instance, I think the majority of the electorate are prepared to accept that ballot-rigging did take place in the ETU and a small number of shop stewards and a large number of employers abuse their powers.

I'm afraid that until Keep Left tries to be a little more tolerant and accurate, to say nothing of recognising parliamentary procedure, its proscription is warranted.

*Eric D. Smith,
Sheffield University
Labour Society.*

● **With due respect, Mr. Smith, to hell with your parliamentary procedure, which is just jargon for covering up the real intentions of MPs. But even Gunter's jargon couldn't disguise the fact that he called shop stewards (albeit 'tiny handfuls' but nevertheless members of the movement he is supposed to lead and should defend at all costs against attacks from the Tories) 'evil men' and threw in a broad hint that the state—the capitalist state—should take action against them if they endanger 'our' economy. And the Tories certainly cheered when he called for the unions to discipline them. We say again, Gunter's speech was a disgrace.**

Readers anxious to take up Mr. Smith's suggestion should apply to the House of Commons, NOT Keep Left, for copies of 'Hansard'.

Unity?

At a meeting of the Regent Street Polytechnic Socialist Society on March 14, Fergus Nicholson, a guest speaker and National Student Organiser of the Communist Party, gave us a wonderful example of how to forge unity in action.

Did he attack the Tories? Did he attack the right wing of the Labour Party? No. But he did attack the people who organised the unemployment march in January. He said it was 'fixed to coincide with a protest against expulsion. Many of the youth didn't know what they were supposed to be demonstrating for'.

Pressed, after the meeting, to clarify what he meant, he said that money that had been collected at factory gates was 'collected under false pretences'. The people who 'fixed' the march were 'crooked'.

Mr. Nicholson also attacked people who talk about revolution, saying they were members of the 'horseless cavalry'. The chairman explained that the aesopian language was probably an allusion to the Chinese CP, but Nicholson immediately made it clear that he was referring to sections of the British labour movement.

The sort of slanders uttered by Nicholson ought to be nipped in the bud. But many young communists present at the meeting resented his attacks on the YS.

*M.J.,
Regent Street Polytechnic
Socialist Society.
(More letters back page)*

**Some more on
'realism'**

By G.W., a Leeds Student

MOST people concede that there is too much emphasis in popular Sunday newspapers, in TV productions, in films and magazines on violence and sex.

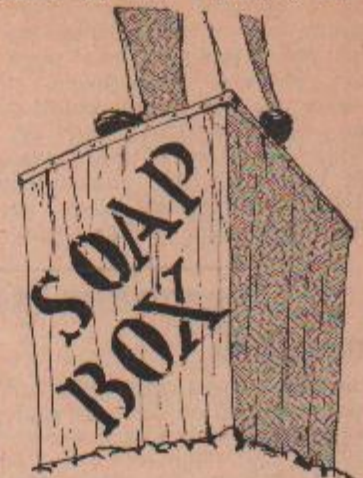
It may take the form of James Bond's sophisticated sexual and physical sadism or the cesspool attitude of James Hadley Chase's 'No Orchids for Miss Blandish'; but whether it is obvious or submerged the motive is the same—sordidness, brutality and crudeness to titivate the jaded reader's mind.

The trend becomes all the more obscene when such twisted emotional states are put into films and novels and pushed out as 'art'. That critics acclaim these efforts as important is a telling comment on their own state of mind.

The film version of David Storey's 'This Sporting Life' has received just this treatment. We are asked to look at the sickening and degraded spectacles of the Rugby League world, a product of it (Frank Machin) and the relationship of this man with a beaten-down, disheartened widow, Mrs. Hammond.

The 'art' part of the film lies in the sophisticated cinematic techniques of the 'flash-back' as Machin's mind wanders over past events, or the slow-motion movements of mud-covered players stumbling around the field. The content of the film draws on much less sophisticated material—Machin getting his teeth smashed in, his animal attitude to Mrs. Hammond or his rebellion against the smart etiquette of a luxury class restaurant.

Films like 'This Sporting Life' masquerade as art because they are technically well done and producers have some sort of 'mandate' to include swearing, sex scenes and beatings-up. Readers can easily be taken in by David Storey's novel



(which was enthusiastically reviewed in last month's Keep Left) with its 'realistic' exposure of Rugby League, but at the same time he uses many techniques of the more sensational crime and sex writers—Jan Fleming, for example. One distrusts his intentions and the whole tendency in novelists like John Braine, Len Doherty, Alan Sillitoe and Stan Barstow to crudify aspects of working class life.

In this respect, as a useful antidote, parts of Richard Hoggart's 'Uses of Literacy' make some contribution to a more realistic understanding of what working-class people are like.

But the most positive and practical way would be closer participation with the working class movement, where people are involved in real situations and the artist can draw his strength from these and the real people involved in them.

Contributions to 'Soapbox' are invited on all topical matters. Length: 350 words; dateline: 15th of month prior to publication.

Keep Left Aldermaston special Easter 1963

200 on big Sheffield youth march

From Keep Left's Correspondent

TO the crowds in the Sheffield shopping centre on Saturday, March 16, the Young Socialists demonstrated their hatred of Tory unemployment and their determination to see Labour in power. The column of 200 marching behind the Sheffield YS banner was made up of Young Socialists from Sheffield itself and surrounding areas, trade unionists, party adults and a considerable number of unemployed, of whom many were West Indians and Africans.

The march was no tame one: shouted slogans demanding work-sharing, nationalization and a Labour government rang out loudly and seized the attention of everyone around.

A month had passed since Young Socialists from a number of branches formed a committee to plan the campaign. It had been a month of feverish activity.

Leaflets and collecting sheets appeared in factories and speakers and collecting tins at factory gates. Young Socialist speakers were warmly received by trade unionists and shop stewards who gave money and came on the march.

After the march, 250 crowded into the City Hall. Mr. V. Thomas, secretary of the Trades and Labour Council, opened the meeting. In Sheffield alone, he said, there were 20,000 unem-

ployed. At the end of the Easter term the numbers of unemployed youth would increase to over 1,000.

Dave Ashby from Leeds said, 'What policies will unite the employed and unemployed? At the present time only the YS policies of work-sharing and nationalization.'

'It is no use asking the Tories for help—they need unemployment. Our fight is for a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.'

Stuart Hastings, speaking for Sheffield Young Socialists, declared that although Hailsham might offer 'faith, hope and courage' he would not offer charity. Workers could expect no charity from the Tories; at the root of unemployment was capital, aggressive and hard-bitten as ever.

The meeting highlighted the position of youth. In the course of the campaign many young workers had made approaches to the YS. These must now be recruited into the movement.

LETTERS (See also page 7)

Resolutions

In last month's Keep Left an article appeared on the front page containing the following sentence: 'Out of 137 resolutions on the agenda, only a few are wishy-washy or irrelevant.' Having read the agenda several times, I find no irrelevant or, as you wrote, wishy-washy resolutions. Every one of the resolutions on the agenda is in keeping with the fight for socialism by Young Socialists.

Maybe you could print a list of the 'irrelevant' resolutions or refer back to your article, this time choosing your words more carefully.

I notice you wrote rather sarcastically of the resolution from Kensington South YS, which deals with Northern Ireland. Socialism is international and there is no reason why Northern Ireland should not be discussed.

Somewhat unfortunately, I have not been in the YS really long enough to find a difference between the so-called right wing and the left. However, I do realise that unity is essential, whereas this kind of article about 'irrelevant' resolutions only further helps to split the YS and draws the full-time officials at Transport House closer together against the YS while we sling mud in each other's eyes.

M.G.,
Woolton YS.

March 26

As a representative of the National Union of Public Employees at the March 26 demonstration, I would like to congratulate your newspaper and the whole of the Young Socialist movement on the magnificent way the Young Socialists led the working class, employed and unemployed, the trade unionists and all the trades council representatives in the greatest show of strength of a political organisation of the working class since Jarrow.

Who said the working class were apathetic, who said the employed workers have no regard for the unemployed? This demonstration proved them wrong.

It was not only the witch-hunted militants that were agitating against the blue-boys, it was the ordinary working men, the onlookers. The neo-martial law action of the police showed how free 'free speech' is in this country.

The deliberate splitting into three of the march, the sadistic brutality of the mounted police and the irresponsible antagonisation of the demonstrators—these show how free this country is.

This was an impressive march of YS members. All of us must endeavour to go to Scarborough and let us show the Tories and the Labour right-wingers how strong we are.

P. L. Scott,
Leeds.

CND at the crossroads

By a Leicester YCNDER

THIS year's great Aldermaston peace demonstration finds the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament at the crossroads. After a year of internal feuding and the introduction of a new, watered-down policy, CND will either subside into respectable ineffectiveness or, with a fight from the ranks, become a militant organisation challenging the roots of a corrupt society responsible for the production of weapons of mass destruction.

The campaign's leadership is busily retreating to a position of trying to get 'broad-based' political support on the peace issue with a new, right-wing policy.

The logical extension of this desire to get support from all sections of the community is seen in Canon Collins' request that banners on the march this year should have a 'general' theme. This means advocacy of the jaded slogans for disengagement, positive neutralism and support at all times for UNO.

NO BANNERS

Along with this we have an appeal for no political banners—whether they be Communist, Labour, Liberal or Conservative—to be carried. Collins hopes the left will accept this ruling by throwing in the Conservatives, though he knows full well that the likelihood of a Tory banner on Aldermaston is remote.

Despite these pressures on the CND rank and file, the march this year will again be the world's greatest peace demonstration of the labour movement—whether Canon Collins likes it or not.

Young Socialists will have a special task on the 1963 march. They must discuss with all those who see the bomb as a 'moral' question, above classes and politics, and point out the relationship between disarmament and the struggle against the Tories and the employers.

DISCOURAGE MILITANTS

The marchers must realise the shortcomings of the leadership, which tries to recruit Tories and discourages militant Labour and Communist Party members from showing their strength.

Only in the broader political fights in the YS and Labour Party



Keep Left banner, Aldermaston 1962: KL has always supported the demonstration and has sought to turn it in a socialist direction.

can the left-moving strata of the middle class, so active in CND, be shown their true interests and aims.

We are fighting not just the bomb, but a system which produces the attendant evils of unemployment, slums and misery for millions throughout the world.

You cannot have a 'broad' movement, including Tories and Liberals, against such a society; this is the great danger of the Canon Collins' type of thinking.

CHALLENGES SOCIETY

CND, when it challenges Tory Britain's right to have H-bombs is, perhaps unknowingly, challenging the very basis of that society. In such a struggle, the Tories and Liberals will be against CND, just as they are against the struggle of the working class.

Is this sectarian? No—it is realistic. The only force to remove capitalist society is the working class, allied with all those middle-class people in CND.

Whatever the dictums of Collins and company, let the banners declare their slogans, let the voices ring out this Easter: **OUT WITH THE TORIES. LABOUR TO POWER!**



Saturday, March 23: Leicester Young Socialists staged an impressive demonstration through the streets of the city to win support for the March 26 lobby. Despite attacks from the right wing, the YS are a growing force in Leicester and receive frequent publicity in the local press.

Committee of 100 hits trouble too

THE Committee of 100, even more than CND, is wracked by internal dispute. The London and Welsh Committees have had a heated row, Bertrand Russell has waved the movement a philosophical farewell and Vanessa Redgrave has explained her resignation in *Tribune*.

And the Committee has announced further plans to save the world by building a peace factory.

A truncated review of the movement's work maybe, but nevertheless an objective one. Certainly one thing is clear: the Committee is losing support hand over fist and is no nearer removing the causes of nuclear war.

The Committee of 100 can be seen as the left wing of the peace movement. As militants who wish to wage a fight—rather than merely agitate—against the bomb, its supporters might seriously consider whether the present methods can ever achieve anything.

The brutality of the police, and harsh prison sentences against Committee supporters should begin to convince them that something more is needed.

Once again, it is only by integrating with the labour movement and joining the struggle for a socialist society that any real steps can be taken towards peace.

Committee of 100 supporters have a proud record of brave struggle against the might of the State machine. In order to defeat that machine they must join with the socialist movement and the massive power of the working class.

EXTRA SPECIAL KL IN MAY!

Next month's issue of Keep Left will contain a full report and analysis of the 3rd Annual Conference of the Young Socialists, to be held at Scarborough this Easter.

There will be a big demand for copies. Readers, YS and trade union branches and Labour Parties are advised to place orders now in order to avoid disappointment.