

Keep Left

The Paper for Socialist Youth

The truth about the Young Socialists expulsions



Bessie: the milk of human kindness?

'THERE WERE NO CHARGES'

says Bessie Braddock MP

By The Editor

It was not all sweetness and light at the Labour Party Conference. During a stormy secret session on the Thursday afternoon, the question of the expulsion of three National Committee members of the Young Socialists was thrashed out.

Speaking for the National Executive Committee, Mrs. Bessie Braddock, MP, admitted that the three members had not been told the charges against them when their membership was under discussion.

Startled

Mrs. Braddock told a startled conference, 'We were not asking them for more than satisfaction about their responsibility to the Labour Party and that they would accept and conform to the constitution of the Labour Party.'

'The three members wanted the NEC to put in writing specific charges.'

There were no charges!

The three Young Socialists concerned are Elizabeth Thompson, Wigan; Dave Davis, Leeds and Mike Ginsberg, Benton (Newcastle-on-Tyne).

They were expelled by the National Executive Committee in December 1962. Reporting the expulsions then, Keep Left said that all three had refused to attend an enquiry at Transport House because the executive refused to inform them of the charges against them.

Capitalist

All three pointed out that even in capitalist law courts, defendants are told of the charges against them.

In her report Mrs. Braddock gave the impression that the NEC merely wanted to interview them to discuss 'their responsibility to the Labour Party and that they would

accept and conform to the constitution'.

But this is very misleading. From the outset, all three, plus other members of last year's YS National Committee who were also suspended, were told quite plainly that their 'suitability' to remain members of the party was under review.

Impression

All the suspended members of the committee attended a series of interviews at Transport House, including the three who were later expelled. Mrs. Braddock did not tell the delegates this and created the impression that they had been deliberately unco-operative.

Together with a fourth member of the committee, Malcolm Tallantire from London, they were still suspended after the interviews and then instructed to appear before a further inquiry in November of last year.

Insisted

Malcolm Tallantire attended, but the other three insisted that they would only attend if they were informed in advance of the charges against them. This was refused.

Keep Left declared at the time that such measures cut across every form of democracy and natural justice.

Mrs. Braddock, by her admission at the conference, has confirmed this.

A reference back of the section of the NEC report dealing with the expulsions was

defeated by a show of hands at the end of the secret session. Had it not been for the heady atmosphere of 'Don't rock the boat—there's an election round the corner' there is little doubt that the delegates could have defeated the platform on this issue'.

As we stress on page four of this issue, the air of unity, jollity and fraternity was allowed to overcome the pressing need for a socialist programme for the party. The same goes for party democracy.



LIZ THOMPSON one of the expelled 3

Mr. Harry Nicholas told the delegates that only 66 members had been expelled by the NEC in the last 10 years and 64 of those had been re-admitted.

Far be it from us to question his arithmetic, but there seem to be a few he has overlooked.

He did not mention, of course, the considerably greater number of people who have been expelled by local constituency parties over the years, many of whom do not know they can appeal to the NEC and who have probably dropped out of politics in sheer disgust at the right-wing's idea of 'democracy'.

Silent

Harold Wilson sat on the platform and heard the account of the intolerant attitude shown to the Young Socialists by the party officials. He remained silent.

Yet he was the man who was attacking the judiciary only a week previously and exclaiming that British judges got their orders from the Tories.

On this point, Keep Left is right behind Harold Wilson. But what is sauce for the Tory goose is surely sauce for the Labour gander.

Honest

How can Wilson honestly attack the judiciary when in his own party there exists machinery for expelling people without charges? Quite frankly, it is possible in certain circumstances to get a fairer hearing in the law courts than at Transport House.

If Labour wins the general election, will they organise the legal system along the lines at present laid down at Transport House? In future, will people be held in custody without charges?

When that happened to

Mandy Rice-Davies many people were rightly indignant. But that sort of thing has been going on for years in the Labour Party!

It is significant that when Mr. Nicholas told the delegates that the NEC would consider in future allowing expelled members to appeal to the conference he had to rebuke Miss Alice Bacon for laughing at the idea.

Miss Bacon is widely tipped to be Labour's Home Secretary!



HAROLD WILSON Sat silent

The time has come for a wholesale revision of the expulsion and appeals machinery of the Labour Party. Clive Jenkins, the general secretary of ASSET, deserves the strongest praise for attempting to do this at the conference.

Fight

The fight he started there must be taken up by the members of the party.

It is not just party democracy that is at stake, but the whole judicial system which a Labour government might introduce.

Following the revelations of Mrs. Braddock, that fight should start with the demand that Elizabeth Thompson, Dave Davis and Mike Ginsberg are immediately restored to membership of the party.

Keep Left's big scoops!

On page 5 of this issue the exclusive stories:

- ★ Full report of Labour's secret session
- ★ The CDS plans for the Young Socialists

SPOTLIGHT ON S.E. ASIA

Malaysia: Britain's new right-wing bloc

IN spite of violent opposition from many quarters, the anti-communist Federation of Malaysia was formed last month.

The South-East Asian Federation comprises Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, and Sabah, which was formerly British North Borneo. The 'Protectorate' of Brunei was also to have joined, but its 'tame' sultan opted out some months ago.

Malaysia's first president is the notorious anti-left Tunku Abdul Rahman of Malaya.

The setting-up of the Federation ensures London financiers a more secure, centralised hold on their colonies and former colonies in the area. This is done with the aid of the stooge leaders like the Tunku and President Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore.

The main opposition to the new group has come from Indonesia in the south and from the Philippines in the north-east.

In Indonesia's capital, Jakarta, huge demonstrations took place against the new right-wing bloc. The demonstrators, many of them very young, raided the British Embassy, burned (much to his annoyance) the Ambassador's Austin Princess, and then, just for good measure, burned down the Embassy itself.

It was at this time that Major 'Red Rory' Walker (from Sutton Coldfield) made the headlines. We are not yet sure whether he was playing the bagpipes because the Embassy was being attacked or whether the Embassy was being attacked because he was playing



Sukarno: 'give back factories'

the bagpipes!

Simultaneously, trade union organised workers took over large numbers of British and American factories and plantations in the islands of Java and Borneo. These included Shell Oil, British-American Tobacco, Unilever, Dunlop Rubber, 33 plantations in West Java, and J. A. Watt (Trading) Ltd. Observers on the spot said that the companies were under 'workers' management'.

However, Sukarno, not wishing to lose any of the 'aid' he is receiving from the US and Britain, told the unions to hand the plants over to his government officials, who would keep them in 'protective custody'.

Indonesia's next move was to sever 'diplomatic and trade relations' with Malaysia. President Tunku had done the same to the former Dutch colony a few days previously.

There is little doubt that, because of the backing received by Malaysia and the problems of the Indonesian economy, the latter will come off the worse.

Previously all Sukarno's exports and imports went through the port of Singapore. Now he is faced

with the problem of finding another free port.

Prices have risen so high that the average worker's wage will only stretch to about one-third of his needs; exports are declining and there are large debts to pay back to the Soviet Union and other countries.

Sukarno fought for many years to free the 3,000-odd islands of Indonesia from Dutch rule, but he is by no means a socialist. Nevertheless, full support should be given to his government in its fight against imperialism and its new weapon, Malaysia.

The only solution for the acute problems of the Indonesian economy is the formation of a government of the workers and peasants. This is no pipe-dream, if the members of the 2 million-strong Indonesian Communist Party throw out the leaders with their unprincipled support of Sukarno and join with the militant trade unionists to fight to throw capitalism out of SE Asia for good.

The next Labour government must be called upon to disband the Federation of Malaysia and give complete independence to the member countries.

'Democracy' in Singapore

JUST as the Federation of Malaysia was formed 'left-winger' Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, decided to have a general election 'to show the support he had' in entering the anti-left bloc.

There are a total of 51 seats in the island's parliament. Lee's main opposition came from the left-wing CP-supported Barisan Sosialis, who received over one-third of the votes. His own party, the People's Action Party, gained just under half the poll.

The parties' representation in parliament was a fine example of how 'democracy' works.

Out of the 51 seats the Barisan Sosialis have 13 and the PAP have 37! When the result was announced, Lee said that he would have changed the boundaries of the polling areas, but the opposition would have accused him of 'jiggery-pokery'.

Lee has now initiated a reign of terror against the left. He has imprisoned hundreds of communists and trade union leaders and banned many of their unions.

Lee's 'left-wing' cover no longer hides the fact that he is no more than a stooge for safeguarding big business's hold over their most important trade centre in the East.



Vietnam's turbulent history

THE world this month has seen the growth of more trouble for US imperialism in S.E. Asia. Important new developments have taken place in Kennedy's war of oppression in the divided country of Vietnam.

A brief look at the history of Vietnam will help in understanding what is happening today.

In 1804 riots took place throughout the country when Roman Catholic missionaries began spreading anti-Buddhist propaganda. The French government sent armed forces in to 'protect the missions'—and the bankers followed close behind.

This was the start of French imperialism's 150-year plunder of Vietnam.

Impoverished

The position of the impoverished peasants under French rule is vividly illustrated by the fact that while rice constitutes 90 per cent of their diet, it brought big business huge profits and consequently made up 50 per cent of all exports, leaving the peasants desperately short of their staple food.

Vietnam was one of a group of three countries, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, which comprised Indo-China. Absolute power in Indo-China was in the hands of the Governor-General, a French politician, and his councils of native advisors, who could be dispensed with at any time.

Throughout their rule the French bosses were faced with continued opposition from the workers and peasants, against whom the most vicious repressions were used. But after the victorious Chinese Revolution big business in Vietnam was doomed.

For many years the communist Vietminh fought the French troops, which were led by the infamous, brutal 'paras'. The French suffered defeat after defeat until they received the final blow in May 1954 at the siege of Dien Bien Phu.

After the battle the northern part of the country was in the hands of the workers and peasants, and the regime of capital in the south was in jeopardy.

A conference between the capitalist and workers' states was then hastily held in Geneva. An agreement was reached and a cease-fire along the 17th Parallel was called for.

Under the agreement a general election was to be called throughout the country to decide its future.

Realising the likely outcome of

such an election, Wall Street quickly intervened in the south with 'aid' and armed forces. There were no elections in South Vietnam—and there haven't been any since.

The Americans set up the puppet government of Ngo Dinh Diem, who has been in power ever since, in direct contravention of the Geneva agreement. (So much for treaties with the imperialist powers!) All calls by President Ho Chi-Minh of North Vietnam for elections have been ignored by the US.

As in the States, the government is strictly a Catholic family affair.

True to tradition they are militantly anti-Buddhist as well as anti-communist, and it was their activities in this field that brought this country of some 30 millions into the headlines again this year.

For some time now the Central Intelligence Agency has been financing and training the 'Special Forces' which were to be used as guerrillas in North Vietnam (after the style of the Cuban 'invasion'). These troops, headed by Col. Le Quang, and now used internally to maintain capitalism and to repress Buddhist opposition to the government, cost the US £90,000 a month.

Looted

Earlier this month, they raided and looted Buddhist pagodas in the capital, Saigon. The result was immediate riots and demonstrations in support of the monks.

Many of them committed suicide by burning themselves to death in protest.

The embarrassing publicity caused by all this forced the US government to have a re-think about the sort of stooge they need to have in power if the communist Viet Cong forces in the south are to be successfully wiped out.

This is a vital matter for them; the Diem regime costs them £500,000 a day—almost the same amount that Britain spends on her own arms budget!

Washington is now split over whether a more liberal regime or a firmer rule is required to keep South Vietnam free of 'communist oppression'. Kennedy has now sent two of his top men (Defence Secretary McNamara and General Maxwell Taylor) to report on the situation.

The US President realises that if the right-wing state in the country falls, the days of Yankee imperialism in SE Asia are numbered.

That is why there are now rumours that the use of tactical atomic weapons against the freedom fighters is now being discussed.



This sickening picture is a grim reminder of the role of British imperialism in Malaya. In the post-war years British troops slaughtered countless numbers of Malayan freedom fighters in order to keep the country under the thumb of the City of London. The British soldier boastfully holding up the heads of two Malaysians was just one of thousands sent there by—a Labour government! It is sufficient evidence to demand of the next Labour government that they withdraw from Malaysia and give the people their independence.

Who are you trying to kid Mr Campbell?

By a member of the YCL

IN the September issue of the Young Communist League journal, 'Challenge', J. R. Campbell viciously attacks the correct criticism by the Chinese Communist Party of the Test-Ban Treaty.

Keep Left readers have a right to know the record of a man who sets himself up as an authority on the fight for peace and the defender of the Russian and Chinese revolutions.

In the first imperialist war (1914-18) Campbell broke all the rules of workers' solidarity by supporting British bosses in their fight with German competitors for the conquest of more markets, cheap labour and raw materials. Instead of campaigning against the war, Campbell supported it and, consequently, the rights of the capitalist class to use workers as cannon fodder in the defence of their own profits.

In the 1930s Campbell's defence of the execution, after faked-up trials, of Lenin's leading comrades and top military personnel, was an equal betrayal of the workers.

Terror

The terror that Campbell defended in his book 'Soviet Policy and its Critics' lowered the prestige of the Soviet Union in the eyes of workers throughout the world and further weakened its position in relation to imperialism.

Now Campbell comes forward as an expert on the fight against nuclear weapons, having repudiated nothing he has said or done in the past.

Campbell, in his article, suggests that there is an equality of blame for the existence of nuclear weapons. He states: 'One of the most horrible aspects of the nuclear arms race (my emphasis) has been the pollution of the atmosphere as the consequence of the testing of nuclear weapons.'

What rubbish! Campbell knows full well that the threat of war is not due to the 'arms race' but is based upon economic and political factors. These are expressed in military alliances and conflicts.

It was the United States government in 1945 that first manufactured and used the bomb—with the full approval of the British Communist Party.

The bomb was essentially intended to hold off the threat of revolution in Europe after the war and to hold back the colonial uprisings in Asia. It was aimed, too, at the Soviet Union as a means to blackmail the Soviet leaders into making concessions to imperialist policies in other parts of the world.

By 1950, the Soviet Union had, in self-defence, made its own

bomb. Soviet economy, unlike capitalist states such as the USA and Britain, does not need to expand territorially at the expense of other states, because production is not for private profit but for public use.

Profits

Based on this analysis, we cannot say that the threat of war is due to the arms race, as Campbell implies. The military conflict is produced by the need of capitalism to defend its profits and property with the most advanced weapons that science can produce.

We uphold the right of the Soviet Union to have and test such weapons in the same way as we defend the rights of workers to organise politically and industrially to further their fight against the bosses.

We have our criticisms of both the Soviet leaders and the leaders of British trade unions, but this does not prevent us from seeing that both the USSR and the trade unions in Britain are the creations of the working class, and must be defended against the attacks of the employers.

The recent Test-Ban Treaty in no way defends the power of the working class, either here or in the Soviet Union. It was signed by the imperialist powers, not, as Campbell claims, because 'the people' forced them to do so, but because it suited their political and military interests.

He ignores the statement of McNamara, head of the US armed forces, that his government signed because it was militarily advantageous to do so.

'Respect'

Campbell should know the record of such agreements. In 1939, Hitler promised Stalin that he would respect Russia's neutrality in the forthcoming world war.

Stalin, Campbell, and the entire leadership of the British party believed Hitler—or if they did not, were very quiet about it.

In June 1941, the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union. The traitor Stalin, who would rather risk the security of the Soviet Union on the word of a fascist than in the power of the working class, could not believe the news that they were under attack, even though he had been warned on many occasions that such an attack was pending.

One would hope that this lesson had not been lost on Khrushchev and Campbell, but with his master angling for a another non-aggression pact, Campbell obediently

hides the real face of imperialism.

The Chinese are right when they say no amount of pressure will change the nature of imperialism.

Saying that imperialism cannot be changed, does not, as Campbell claims, mean giving up the struggle against war. What the Chinese say, often in a confused way due to their failure to break with the ideas of Stalin, is that the fight against war is the task of the working people of the world.

We can never rely on the actions and words of imperialist statesmen, as does Khrushchev, to help us in this struggle. In Britain, the fight against the bomb means that we must campaign to bring down the Tories and return a Labour government pledged to renounce nuclear weapons.

We must link this to a demand to nationalize the major industries which form the basis of the bosses' economic power.

These two demands are linked because they both strike at the heart of the system that drives to war and tear away from the bosses the means to wage it.

Campaign

It is in this campaign throughout the labour movement that Young Socialists and communists will link the fight against war to that of the battle for socialism.

It is significant that nowhere in his article does Campbell mention socialism. But why are we fighting the bomb, except to open the way to a socialist Britain?

None of Campbell's suggestions advance the struggle in a class way.

The Test-Ban Treaty did nothing to undermine the strength of imperialism. It was Khrushchev who made all the concessions.

The Soviet leaders accuse the Chinese party of lining up with 'reactionaries' and yet the foreign minister of fascist Spain saw fit to sign. Will Campbell kindly explain this?

Campbell knows that the treaty was signed because both Khrushchev and the imperialist powers were agreed that China must not have nuclear weapons.

Is this the internationalism that Campbell defends? Does he defend the 'socialist solidarity' by which Khrushchev sanctions the export of rockets and jet fighters to the Indian outfit of imperialism on the borders of China?

Discussion

YCL members should press for a full discussion on the dispute between Moscow and Beijing and should extend the discussion to broader issues such as possible co-operation with imperialist and the British party policy towards parliament and youth organisation.

Campbell's article is a disgrace and will only confuse young workers looking for a solution to the threat of nuclear war.



James Bingham

Tom Morgan

Ralph Levitt

Three US students indicted — face jail sentences

THREE Indiana University students, members of the Young Socialist Alliance, face possible terms of three years' imprisonment on each of two counts concerning their political ideas.

The three are Ralph Levitt, 25, James Bingham, 25, and Tom Morgan, 22. They were indicted in Bloomington, Indiana, on July 18 on two counts under the state's 'Exterminate Communism' Act.

An earlier indictment was quashed, but only due to faulty wording.

The three are charged with assembling on March 25 and May 2 for the purpose of 'advocating and teaching the doctrine that the government of the United States and the State of Indiana should be overthrown by force, violence and any unlawful means'.

'Black Revolt'

The March 25 meeting concerned a talk given by Leroy McRae, a national officer of the YSA, on 'The Black Revolt in America', a topic on which he had spoken many times at university campuses.

McRae, himself a Negro, explained that the Negro people have the right to defend themselves from the attacks of the racist mobs. Indiana's witch-hunting state prosecutor Thomas Hoadley twisted these remarks, which were based upon a supposed constitutional right, into advocacy of force and violence.

Levitt, Bingham and Morgan are charged with having attended the meeting—a charge which marks a new low in anti-socialist witch-hunting.

Majority

They have at all time stressed that force and violence by a few people cannot construct socialism. Only when the great majority of the people are won to socialist ideas can society be transformed.

Undeterred by their arguments and the failure of his first indictment, Hoadley went ahead with the second one, which took in a fresh charge.

This concerned a private meeting held in a rental basement apartment on May 2 when a campaign against the first indictment was discussed. Hoadley claims that meeting was arranged to discuss 'overthrowing the government'.

YSA members

The leaders of the government said the great majority of the members of the YSA were not involved in the meeting. Hoadley stated 'We think we have a good way to successfully prosecute the case.'

Hoadley has begged for more

time that he plans to 'drive the YSA out of the Indiana University campus'. He 'fried' the movement first in the local papers, smearing them with fake charges of dope cases, riot and subversion.

The National Students' Association, at their recent congress, strongly condemned the witch-hunt. A Committee to Aid the Bloomington students was formed in Bloomington but its campaign has received such a response that CABS is building a nationwide defence movement to raise funds for the three YSAers.

Solidarity

Keep Left expresses its complete solidarity with Ralph Levitt, James Bingham and Tom Morgan and calls upon all sections of the labour movement in Britain, the US and other countries to throw their full support behind them.

If Hoadley is successful, he could usher in a new era of anti-socialist witch-hunting which would make the late and unlamented Senator McCarthy grind his teeth in envy.

Who follows Franco?

AS many sections of the Spanish labour movement battle against the tyranny of the fascist Franco regime, an important booklet entitled 'The Spanish Conspirators—after Franco who?' discusses the situation in Spain and the Generalissimo's possible successor.

The booklet published by Housmans, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.W.1, price 5s., is written by Labour MP Bob Edwards and Augustin Roa, a Spanish trade unionist.

They show at length that the Western 'democracies' have shared up the Spanish economy for years with military and economic help. When Edwards was in Madrid in 1959 he learned that there were three large American military bases in the country outside the control of NATO.

They give detailed evidence to prove that Franco and West Germany have been planning to build a successor to the pro-war Hitler-Franco axis and that secret negotiations have been in progress for some time to bring Franco into NATO.

The booklet also sets out the views of General Yrigoyen, leader of the Spanish labour movement, and the views of the Spanish Communist Party, who have been active in the struggle to bring Franco into NATO.

The booklet is available from the publishers and all newsagents.

KEEP LEFT

THE PAPER FOR SOCIALIST YOUTH
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LABOUR AND THE TORIES

BUTLER? Maudling? Hailsham? Who will be the next prime minister? We are not particularly bothered which of these gentlemen is chosen by the tribal customs of the Conservative Party—although can you imagine a prime minister named Hogg? The important point is that, one way or another, he will be a Tory, leading a Tory government.

We are mainly concerned with getting rid of the whole miserable crowd. Had the Labour Party waged a consistent campaign during the last few months, the Tories would now be choosing a leader of the opposition, not a prime minister. They remain in office by default; they are completely discredited in every section of the community and behind the disarray the dark forces of people like Martell close their ranks for action against the working class.

Last month we suggested that the Denning Report might not be published. We were wrong and we frankly underestimated the ability of the ruling class to stick together in a time of crisis. But has Lord Denning really white-washed his class? He may have cleared—to his satisfaction—the government, but the fact remains that **someone** was the man in the mask, **someone** was the headless man and without a doubt our 'betters' do indulge in wild orgies and incredible obscenities.

The Tory cabinet may have been painted whiter than white, but, in spite of the noble lord's efforts, the society they represent still stinks in the nostrils of ordinary men and women.

They can and must be swept from office in the next few months. But how does Labour intend to do it? Regrettably, the Scarborough conference laid down no clear-cut policies to deal with the system that produces unemployment, Rachmanism, Profumoism and diseased prostate glands. Under the bright lights of the television cameras, the great majority of the delegates allowed themselves to be bamboozled by a series of smart platform gimmicks and the cry of 'We can win!'

Yes, maybe they can, but what do they do when they get into office? Many delegates who unthinkingly raised their hands in support of platform proposals admitted afterwards that they had no idea of the actual proposals being put forward. We are not exaggerating. We questioned many delegates, in particular after the housing debate, when they had quietly shelved municipalisation and voted for an obscure Transport House document. Most of the delegates said they had never heard of the document, let alone read it. They were just prepared to accept it for the sake of unity!

Unity is fine and essential, but it must be based on sound and existent policies. Labour has nothing of the sort. Hidden beneath a shower of fake bonhomie, lies the ominous fact that Labour is not really equipped to deal with the pressing problems facing both the labour movement and middle-class voters. Mr. Wilson may have just discovered science, but unless it is geared to a socialist economy, with the mighty industries run by the working class, it could have very great dangers.

Science under capitalism can only be used to exploit more efficiently the vast majority of the community. In America, for example, automation has led to massive unemployment.

The whole rank and file of the labour movement will fight with all its great energy to return Labour to power. But it will want more than just pie in the sky for such an effort. In the coming months socialists must step up the fight to unify the movement around policies which will deal ruthlessly with the rotten society we live under today.

KEEP LEFT MARCHES ON!

THE September and October issues of Keep Left have appeared later in the month than is normal. This is not due to any crisis in the running of the paper.

On the contrary, it is a sign of our growing strength. We have deliberately held back publication of this issue and the previous one because of important news stories which took place at the beginning of September and October—i.e., the TUC Congress and the Labour Party Conference.

No other Young Socialist journal can compete with such a service. 'New Advance', for example, has to go to press so early in the month that it cannot comment on important events for up to two months after they take place.

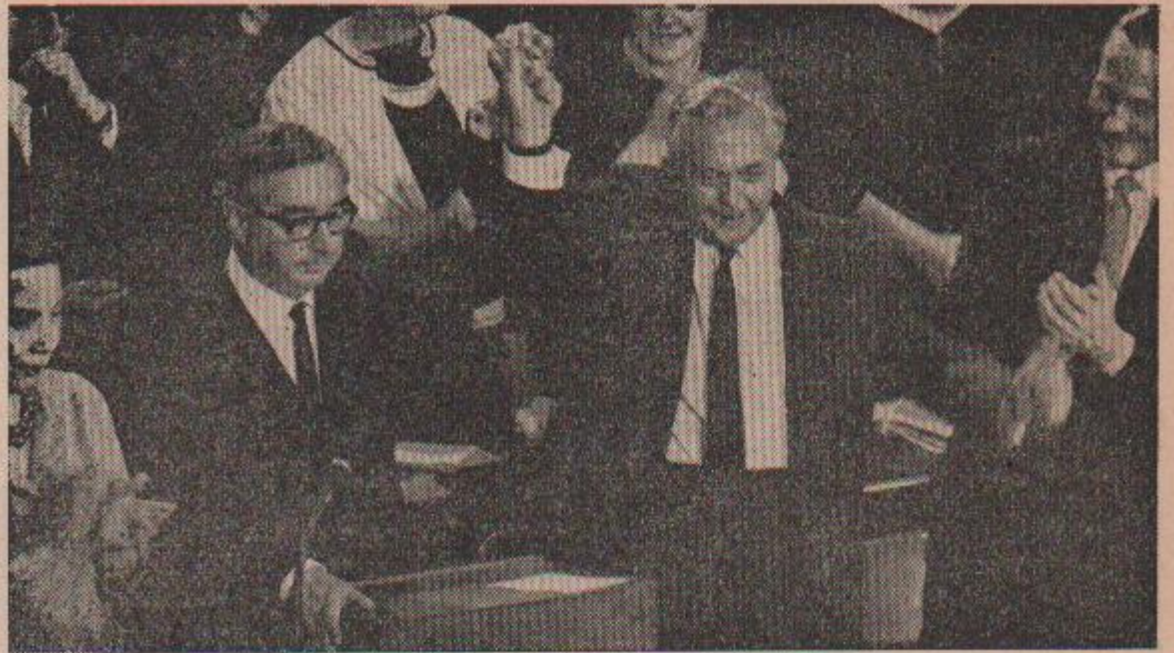
Keep Left is unique among left-

wing journals for the speed with which it can be produced. In fact, when the need arises, we can bring out the paper almost as speedily and efficiently as a weekly paper.

What this means to you, the reader, is just this: that if you redouble your efforts to increase the circulation of the paper and bring in a steady flow of finance, the time cannot be far distant when we can announce increases in its size and scope.

Despite bans, proscriptions and expulsions, Keep Left has forged ahead in recent years. We are very confident of the future, but that future depends on you.

We appeal to you to do everything you can to bring in added finance for the paper so that we can make our plans for a bigger and better Keep Left.



Hands raised for 'unity'. Not a dagger in sight this year.

Heads in the clouds — not a policy in sight

From Keep Left's reporter at Scarborough

A FORWARD-LOOKING, up-to-date, united party. This was the image the Labour Party leaders tried so hard to convey through the press and television to the labour movement at the Scarborough Conference.

We heard election speeches by Wilson, Brown and other leaders on Britain's future. Speeches filled with patriotic sentiments and fine phrases about increasing Britain's status in the world and controlling the 'commanding heights of British industry' were tossed around the conference hall all week.

What?

We saw Wilson and Brown clasping hands and the past bitter clashes over nationalization and defence seemed to have been resolved in a general atmosphere of friendship and brotherly love.

But what policies were hammered out at the conference for the next Labour government? Why were vital issues on nationalization, defence and unemployment not discussed?

Wilson's speech on science and technology, giving bright visions of the scientific possibilities under a Labour government, was all very fine, but unless the main industries are taken out of the hands of private enterprise and nationalized, such fine words are meaningless.

Revitalise?

Any kind of planning for the future, using science and automation in the interests of the working class, is impossible under capitalism, which is run by means of the most ruthless exploitation, solely in the interests of private profit.

Wilson was right when he said in his speech that young unemployed people were an

'intolerable reflection on our so-called civilisation', but the way to solve unemployment is not by 'revitalisation of declining industries' or merely creating new industries, but by fighting to get rid of the system which throws young people on to the scrapheap and the dole queues before the age of 18.

The discussion on planning on Wednesday, when a resolution on wage restraint under a Labour government was passed, showed that the Labour and trade union leaders have no plans for taking over the main industries. On the contrary, the discussion was on getting the economy 'on its feet' and 'working well' under capitalism.

As one delegate pointed out, what difference is there between talking about a 'planned growth of wages', as Frank Cousins tactfully put it, and wage restraint? It just sounds better the first way.



Frank Cousins: tactfully called for 'planned growth of wages' rather than restraint.

Mr. Fred Hayday, bringing fraternal greetings from the TUC, said that we must not argue about who owns the wealth in the country, as it is easier to negotiate with a prosperous employer.

With thousands of workers unemployed, and thousands

more earning under £10 and barely able to keep themselves and their families, all talk of wage restraint must be opposed by the rank and file of the Labour and trade union movement.

Planning is impossible under capitalism. The employers certainly are not going to agree to any 'planning' of their profits!

Throughout the conference, the key issue of nationalization was kept from the discussion. In the housing debate, a resolution calling for nationalization of the land and building industries as the only solution to the problems of Rachmanism and slum housing, was defeated on the advice of the platform.

Remain

Young workers want a definite change from a Labour government, a Labour government that will take the problems of unemployment, of slum housing, of bad wages and conditions at work and will provide a socialist answer—nationalization of the basic industries.

The Labour Party conference at Scarborough swept these issues under the carpet in the interests of preserving a unified front for the election. But all the problems facing the labour movement under capitalism remain—and wait to be answered.

JOBLESS PREPARE LONDON LOBBY

IN a press statement on September 22, the Northern Campaign Committee Against Youth Unemployment announced its intention of organising a lobby of parliament in November. The lobby would also include trade union offices in London, where unemployed young people will put their case for a fight for jobs by the unions.

The committee said that the unions would also be told of the many complaints about treatment of the unemployed by officials and the police.

Bomb

I was pleased that my contribution on the workers' bomb provoked so much argument, but feel rather insulted by comrade Pardoe (September KL) who implies that I consider the workers as unimportant and that I disregard the class struggle.

I am a syndicalist and have no doubt at all that ALL power rests with the working class—if they will take it. I believe that the most effective weapon against the bosses—both capitalist and communist—is the general strike.

I would like to see a stay-in strike by which the workers took over the running of the factories and businesses for their own interests instead of slaving for the bosses and whereby they starved the boss class out of existence!

I also believe that to use violence during such a revolution would provoke all the armed might of the military to descend upon us, whereas if we remained non-violent they, too, might mutiny.

To CND secretary, Coventry, I can only say that I don't claim to be any sort of Marxist. I am for the Russian workers, but those I most admire—the men who died at Kronstadt—were not Marxists, either. They believed in workers' control—something which no self-respecting Marxist would ever dare contemplate!

Ian Vine,
Bristol 8.

Sino-Soviet

I am somewhat confused as to what Peter Reilly (September KL) has based his arguments on the China-Soviet rift. It is true that Indian aggression (?) is imperialist in that it is a continuation of British imperialist policy.

But it is also obvious that Chinese activity in that area is also a continuation of the expansionist policy of the old imperial government. The inhabitants of these areas, incidentally, are neither Indian or Chinese.

The lesson to be drawn from the Sino-Soviet rift is that the revolution cannot succeed in a

massive, monolithic form, as events have and are showing that it soon degenerates into a form of 'socialist imperialism'. Socialism can only succeed with the abolition of all forms of power over men and recognises men as individuals and not, as the Chinese and others seem to regard them, as pawns, figures on paper, or parts of a huge automation.

Only with the destruction of centralised authority will we destroy all ruling classes and all exploitation.

Paddy Ryan,
Rainham, Essex.

George Clark

Working Young Socialists have asked me to convey to you the terms of the following resolution:

'This branch of the YS is appalled that George Clark could be convicted and savagely sentenced for exercising his democratic rights to peacefully demonstrate. We call on all members of the labour movement to protest against this attack on our rights of free expression.'

Susan Scott,
Hon. Secretary.

● Keep Left expresses its support for the views expressed in the Working resolution. The sentence on George Clark is further evidence of the growing trend towards authoritarianism in 'free' Britain. Clark goes to prison for 18 months for merely being present on a demonstration; Nazi Jordan got 3 months for preaching hatred against one section of the community.

Benefactor?

The late Lord Nuffield was hailed as a benefactor and given a title because he gave away £27,000,000 to various charities and trusts. But how did he amass his fortune of £30m.?

Only from his employees in his Oxford factories and elsewhere who suffered appalling conditions and hardships so that he could gain his fantastic wealth.

Many of these employees had gone to Oxford from the dis-



stressed areas of Wales in the hope of getting a better life for their wives and children. As one who lived in Oxford for many years amongst them, I speak with feeling.

This is just another instance of how thousands are exploited for the benefit of a few.

West London housewife,
W.10.

Sweated labour

I work as a dressmaker in the West End of London. We work from 8.30 to 5.30 and a 40-hour week. About 80 people work there.

It is very overcrowded. There are 18 people in one room and 12 in another. We have 2 toilets and 3 sinks between us to wash and wash-up in.

You have to bring your own

towel and soap. We have no canteen on the premises and have to work and eat in the same room.

If our boss has no maid we have her washing and cleaning to do. We also have to press and clean her coats, suits and slacks every week.

I have been told that overtime is compulsory. We have to work until midnight before a fashion show. We don't get time and a half but get a day off.

The clothes we make are very expensive to buy. A dress costs £30 to £100 and a suit from £50 to £150. I get £4 a week and the highest wage is £10.

The girls have to make tea in the basement and carry it up to the third floor when the lift is out of order. The stairs are narrow and unsafe and the teapot so heavy we have to hold it in both hands. Recently a girl fell down the stairs and hurt her back.

The machines are very old and if we are ill we get no sick pay.

London Young Socialist

● This letter was quite anonymous. We are making an exception and publishing it because of the light it sheds on the real-life 'Rag Trade'.

Jobless

In your last month's 'Blueprint on Youth Unemployment' I was interested to read about the work being done by unemployed wor-

kers' committees in relation to the problems of unemployed school-leavers.

I would like to put a few suggestions forward for extending this work.

I think that pressure should be put on local councils, especially those which are labour controlled, to provide amenities for jobless youth.

Alongside the demands for factories to be re-opened and for training and education schemes to be started, we must ask for equal dole money for all unemployed, regardless of age.

Unemployed youth should be allowed into places of amusement and recreation, such as cinemas, swimming baths, sports fields, libraries, etc., free of any charge.

In the areas hardest hit by this problem, we should demand the opening of special centres, where young people can enjoy themselves and lectures and discussions on all topics of interest can be held. These centres could be financed by trades councils, held on their premises, and run by the youth themselves, under adult trade unionist supervision and help.

I think it should be stressed that these are not just reformist ideas. These are plans which should be carried out to help unemployed youth understand the world around them and the struggle which needs to be carried out to change that world.

'Jobless',
London, S.W.17.

Citizen '63

On September 11, BBC television presented an important documentary on the lives and ideas of young people in Portsmouth, in the 'Citizen '63' series.

Marion Knight and her friends, most of whom are in CND and the YS or the YCL, spoke frankly about their views on life. Their complete alienation from Tory Britain, their built-in distrust and dislike of authority and their striving towards a better way of life tore through the cotton-wool image of Britain usually seen on television.

They are not the dole-queue youngsters who feature so prominently in the pages of Keep Left. They are mostly from middle-class backgrounds, but they, too, have an important part to play in the fight for a better future.

We are pleased to publish, with her permission, the poem which Marion Knight read at the end of that memorable programme.

ON THE STREET WHERE I LIVE

Like Durrell's Alexandria I am
part of it
Not it of me
For it is not me; it is all of us
There can be no love of it
No nostalgic memories when you
are without it
Yet how can one forget those first
gasps of freedom
Of virgin childhood anarchy
Of the purest Marxism the world
will ever know.
This naive and thoughtless
existence
Was what all those men and women
were rushing desperately to find
But we did not realise, and they
were too busy to see
That we had found it on their
pavement.
We are all men and women now
But we are too busy searching
to remember
That once it was ours.
But we had tired of longing for
them to be like us
And we weakly gave in.
How I wish we'd been stronger
But we were converted so
willingly I know
I know. If only we could return
to that mature infancy
To our spontaneous accidental
fulfilment of life.
Len is now a pot carrier, locked
like an animal
Perpetually crying inwardly and
lowly



For those days of natural Utopia
When there was no taking but
giving.

And Pete the Liar, then a
deep-sea diver
And a big game hunter, now
degraded, ashamed, a milkman.
The million-dollar girl, Carol,
With her splendid Paris fashions
Now a whore, conning from
sailors.
And Jill, the dancer, pregnant and
ugly.

We were provoked only by God,
his climate.
Sex was only a bisexual game
An exploration without lust or
orgasm
We were unassuming, unemotional
We merely longed for them to be
like us.

Marion Knight

sporting corner

EXPERIMENTAL laws are now in progress in Rugby Union, but it is too early to say whether or not they will brighten up the game, or even save it from extinction in this country.

Rugby League has ousted the 15-a-side version in popularity in nearly every country except South Africa, where sweeping changes to the rules have transformed the game. Even so, RL is making strides there as well.

'The Observer' recently devoted a half-page to a discussion on how to improve RU. The writers agreed that the present tentative changes in this country, which rule that the backs must remain 10 yards clear of scrimmages and line-outs in order to give a chance to the forwards, will make little change.

They concluded by saying that the only long-term salvation for the game would be to drop the two wing forwards and ban line-outs—which is exactly what RL did 50 years ago and made it a far more exciting and fast-moving game. In Italy, sacrilege has extended so far that RU have adopted RL's play-the-ball rule, whereby a tackled player who retains possession of the ball gets to his feet and plays the ball with

his foot, so cutting out the unnecessary scrimmaging in RU every time a man is tackled.

Rugby Union is in difficulties in Britain because of its snobbish, class attitude. Apart from South Wales and Cornwall, it is almost exclusively played by upper-class young gentlemen, who turn blue in the face at the thought of professionals playing RL for money.

There has been a great deal of fuss in the press recently over RL talent scouts approaching RU players. Just as with soccer, a great deal of nonsense is talked about professional rugby. Most players are only part-time pros and they don't make a great deal of money at the sport.

In the North, RL is a thriving amateur game as well. Schools and youth clubs play it in preference to RU and many small clubs enthusiastically take part in the qualifying rounds for the RL cup, just as in the FA cup.

RU, like cricket, is just beginning to wake up to the harsh fact that this is 1963 and the days of 'gentlemen' and 'players' are over.

The story of the formation of the Rugby League is a small episode in the class struggle in this country. Towards the end of the last century rugby was the dominant brand of football. It was so popular in the North that clubs were forced to open their doors to working-class players in

order to compete successfully.

But working-class players could not afford to take time off without pay.

The stuffed shirts of the Rugby Union were appalled at the thought of all these 'rough' types playing the gentleman's game—and wanting money for doing so! The 'broken time' dispute led, in 1895, to the Northern clubs breaking away and forming the Northern Rugby Union, later to be called the Northern Rugby League.

They abolished the line-out—the one feature of RU which has done more to make it dull and unattractive—and later the two wing forwards. RL has spread to many parts of the world and test matches are played against Australia, New Zealand and France.

Rugby Union has no money worries. Even though crowds for club matches dwindle year by year, they get a great deal of finance from their old-school-tie supporters' clubs.

But sport needs more than money—it must have the crowds as well. That is why RU is now belatedly trying to bring itself up to date.

Who knows, in a few years RU may swallow its pride and become an open sport, with amateurs and professionals, and even merge with that tough, attractive game, Rugby League!

Bill Reynolds

HOW THEY ARE ORGANISED

'DAILY STATE', a 12-page mock newspaper which is designed to show how miserable life would be in a nationalized economy, marks the opening of a pre-election campaign against the Labour Party by big business.

A small piece on the back page states, 'Nothing in this paper is intended to be for or against any political party as such. Indeed, if only one facet of political policy, as embodied in a certain Clause Four, is dropped, none of the events imagined in these columns is likely to happen.'

'Daily State' is clever, in some places witty and it has obviously cost a lot of money to bring out. Someone must take the socialists in the Labour Party quite seriously!

'Daily State' is published by Aims of Industry, which calls itself a public relations firm for private industry. It is a group financed by a long list of member firms, including many of the giant monopolies which dominate this country.

CAMPAIGNS

In return for their contributions, the companies get both general campaigns for 'free enterprise' and special campaigns for particular industries and companies. 'Aims' has its headquarters at Fetter Lane, London, and ten regional offices in the provinces.

At the headquarters there are four divisions—education, press relations, public relations and parliamentary relations. There is a research department, a panel of lecturers, a fleet of vehicles and mobile film units.

The press division provides news stories and hand-outs for the press as well as scripts for BBC programmes. It also organises press conferences for company directors.

'Aims' provides works magazines, arranges exhibitions and runs film shows. It also offers its subscribers 'contacts with both Houses of Parliament'.

Founded in 1942 to counter-act socialist propaganda, 'Aims' expanded considerably after the war and between 1950 and 1956 its expenditure annually went up from £75,000 to £150,000.

'Aims' is just one of the ways in which Britain's capitalists are organised to defend their profits.

INTERESTS

Long before 'Aims' was started, employers began to group together for common interests. In the 18th Century, Adam Smith wrote in his book, 'The Wealth of Nations', that:

'Masters are always and everywhere in a sort of tacit but constant and uniform combination not to raise the wages of labour above their actual rate.'

FIRST OF A SERIES OF ARTICLES ON THE TORIES, THE EMPLOYERS AND HOW THEY DEFEND THEIR SYSTEM

About that time the Master Printers organised an association, and gradually other trades followed. Trade Associations had two functions—to push the needs of one industry against others, by such means as price fixing and by lobbying Parliament, and to present a united front against the workers, who were also beginning to organise.

Many employers would not tolerate the unions at all. They blacklisted all union members, or else simply staged a lock-out.

In February 1959, the Engineering and Allied Employers published a document entitled 'Looking at Industrial Relations'. It was pretty straightforward writing:

'Twice in four years the Federation has been prepared to fight it out with the unions. Clearly, the unions' capacity to pay strike benefit was limited. Such a course, involving, as it would have done, the virtual closing down of the industry, might have been a worthwhile calculated risk. It was no occasion for the kind of compromises which inevitably result from a court of inquiry.'

PEEP

That is a peep at the inside of British industry. The employers are militant and they can wage a concerted attack throughout an industry, with a common strategy.

The Trade Associations covering the various industries are not the only employers' organisations, of course. During the First World War a higher stage was reached with the formation of the Federation of British Industries, to push the interests of manufacturing industries.

Today the FBI has 286 affiliated trade associations and 7,613 individual firms. It is governed by a Grand Council of 400 members and at its London HQ there is a Director General, a secretary and four directors (economic, technical, home and overseas) as well as 160 administrative staff.

It has 16 standing committees with such designations as Company Law, Economic Trade Policy, Taxation, Technical Legislation, Transport Users Policy, Valuation and Rating.

EXPERIENCE

Like Aims of Industry, the FBI has ten regional offices, each with its own staff, and in each region there is a Council of members. The FBI also has agents, part-time or full-time, in 90 countries, to send back experience and information for the members.

The FBI works with the government and trade unions on such bodies as the British Productivity Council.

In fact it has a 'special relationship' with the government. It is represented on all kinds of committees set up to deal with particular problems and, according to Sir Norman Kipping, its Director General, 'almost every day the

FBI is approached by one or another government department for advice...'

The National Union of Manufacturers is similar to the FBI, but it represents smaller businesses. Many companies in the FBI are united with banking, shipping and insurance firms in Chambers of Commerce.

INFLUENCE

In 1956 the FBI, the National Union of Manufacturers and the Association of British Chambers of Commerce formed a joint committee to influence the passage of the Restrictive Practices Bill through Parliament. All the MPs got a memorandum from the joint body.

By the time the Bill had reached the Committee stage, over 350 amendments were tabled. Over 60 of these originated from the FBI-NUM-ABCC committee.

The 1956 annual report of the FBI stated that throughout all the Bill's stages the committee was in close touch 'the Board of Trade and with interested Members of Parliament and Peers.'

The Tory Party is the party of big business—but big business has its own inner conflicts.

In 1953 the Tory government's Transport Act was in line with the demands of the Road Haulage Association. In 1956, however, the Tories switched to the side of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce.

Unlike the trade unions and the Labour Party, the employers' groups and the Tories are not officially connected. The Tory Party does not disclose where its funds come from.

WITHHELD

Occasionally though, we hear about funds being withheld, when a group of capitalists feel that the Party is not giving good enough service. In September 1957 'The Times' reported:

'The Conservative Party lost the support of a number of textile men about two years ago. Subscriptions to many of the mill town Conservative parties slumped alarmingly at that time and have not recovered.'

More recently, large numbers of farmers opposed to Britain's entry into the Common Market withdrew their financial support

from the Tories in protest at the Brussels talks. For a period in the thirties, Mosley's British Union of Fascists was able to budget as much for propaganda as Tory Central Office, because many employers were not certain about the National Government of that time.

Aims of Industry, and also the Economic League, supplement the work of the Tory Party, while helping to maintain the myth that politics and industry are somehow different worlds.

'SUBVERSIVE'

The Economic League was founded in 1919. It states that 'while maintaining its complete independence of any political party, the League must actively oppose all subversive forces, whatever their origin and inspiration, that seek to undermine the security of Britain in general and of British industry in particular.'

It holds meetings and film shows, publishes leaflets and puts items in the national press. It specialises in work aimed at workers—factory gate meetings, leaflets at the bus stops, and so forth.

Its leaflets and news items are mainly concerned with arguing the case for capitalism and defending industries which are under criticism.

INFORMATION

As well as open Economic League propaganda, members of its staff have regular contributions published in an important group of provincial newspapers. The League also circulates information to firms and trade associations.

Together with the Road Haulage Association it campaigned unsuccessfully against the Labour government's nationalization of road transport. Among the methods used was a confidential note to various people suggesting how they should word telegrams of protest to the government. Unfortunately, this fell into the wrong hands and was read out in Parliament!

The campaign waged by Tate and Lyle against nationalization of sugar was much more effective. This was conducted on behalf of Tate and Lyle by Aims of Industry.

The campaign is estimated to have cost about £250,000. It was

during this campaign of 1949-50 that 'Mr. Cube' made his appearance on every packet of sugar that housewives bought. 'Mr. Cube' cut-out models for children appeared in the shops, films were commissioned to show how happy everyone was in Tate and Lyle factories and four million records were distributed carrying interviews with Tate and Lyle staff by Richard Dimbleby.

Norman Manley, the Jamaican politician, was also employed to tell how everybody on the sugar plantations liked their bosses. In 1950 Labour was returned with a tiny majority and the idea of nationalizing sugar was forgotten.

When it comes to dealing with the workers in industry itself, all the employers, with odd exceptions, unite in the British Employers' Confederation. This was founded, like the Economic League, in 1919, when there was a strong upsurge of militancy in industry.

STATE

Back in the 19th Century, before the workers had the vote, the landowners and capitalists started developing the state machine as an anti-working class instrument. They started the police force with this purpose and ensured that it remained firmly on their side.

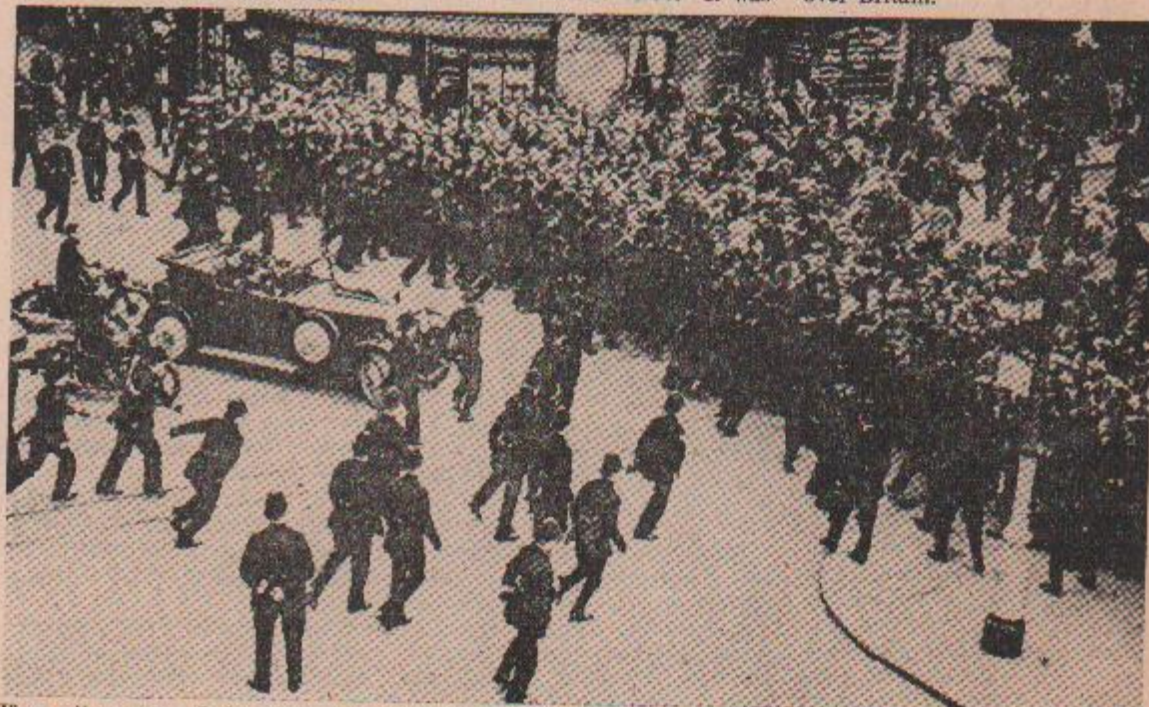
They divided the civil service, too, into two categories—those who decide and those who implement. The top civil servants were, to start with, all public school men.

The civil service chiefs, and their military counterparts, are the administrators, not on behalf of parliament, but of the employers. The BBC, too, is part of the State. The majority of its top posts are held by public school men. In the General Strike of 1926 the BBC would not even let the Archbishop of Canterbury broadcast because he was too moderate towards the strikers.

The bosses are organised and they can take concerted action. They have the state. With the rise of monopolies, the employers have become more united and disciplined, the state has become stronger.

We must realise that we cannot effectively fight individual employers without taking into account the ruling class as a whole.

We must study the ruling class, its strength and its weaknesses, so that we can learn how to organise ourselves to defeat them and take over Britain.



The police, part of the state machine created by the employers to defend their profits and property, seen here clearing a path for Mosley's fascists in the 1930s.

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