

WHAT IS MARXISM?

Part 3



by
T. Kemp

THE supporters of capitalism used to depict it as a harmonious system which rewards each factor of production according to its contribution and only goes wrong by accident or as a result of some outside force.

The behaviour of capitalism in the past half century has largely destroyed such illusions in their old form. It is now generally admitted that to function at all capitalism has to be regulated by the state.

Most economic discussions turn upon how much state intervention there should be and what form it should take.

By implication, indeed, it is now admitted that capitalism does contain contradictions.

Marxists see capitalism as a mode of production which is contradictory by nature. The commodity itself contains contradictions: notably in concealing a relation between men behind a relation between things.

The central relation of capitalism, that between capital and wage-labour, is based upon a contradiction, an opposition of interest between different classes.

To follow through the major contradictions of capitalism requires a fuller examination of its working than has been so far made and the introduction of some new concepts. This can be done in a brief and simplified way.

LOOKED at overall, capitalism consists of a large number of firms, representing *capital*, which buy labour power and make and sell different sorts of commodity on the market.

Each of these firms seeks to make a profit in competition with other firms in the same line of business. Market prices are the indicators which it follows and they, in turn, are determined by the laws of the market, the forces of supply and demand.

Production is for profit. Everything which is produced is intended for sale and no want can be satisfied which is not

backed up by hard cash. Demand, in turn, reflects the social relations of production.

Thus workers can only get money by selling their labour power and can only buy to the amount which they receive.

On the other hand, they will only be employed if the capitalist expects to realise the surplus value which he extracts from them.

However, only a relatively small part of the surplus value which the capitalist realises is retained for his own consumption. Various payments such as rent to landowners or interest to banks

will have to be met from it. The rest will go back into the process of production where it will continue to have the form of *capital*.

We can call this process the capitalisation of surplus value, or, more simply, *accumulation*. This is an inescapable and compelling force which operates on the capitalists as a law beyond their control.

Capitalists have to keep their place in the competitive struggle for markets. Hence they try to keep down costs of production by adding to and improving the instruments of production which they own. In other words the labour time necessary to produce particular commodities tends to be reduced.

Competition tends towards the generalised use of such improvements. But some capitalists are more successful than others. Technical advances increase the scale of production and give an advantage to the big capitalists over the small. One capitalist absorbs many. Competition gives rise to its opposite—*monopoly*.

Accumulation

Typically, each major field of industry is nowadays occupied by a small number of giant firms.

As accumulation takes place so the relative importance of different parts of capital changes.

If the value of a commodity is made up of c (constant capital) plus v (variable capital or wages) plus s (surplus value), c tends to increase more rapidly than v .

Marx calls the ratio of c to v the *organic composition of capital*. Thus the lower the technical level of a given industry the lower will be its organic composition of capital. As accumulation, or investment, proceeds, however, the ratio of c to v will rise.

Contradiction

Now this has an important bearing on the production of surplus value and is the source of an important contradiction in the capitalist process of production.

We have seen that only labour power produces surplus value, which appears above as v . When

the organic composition of capital rises, therefore, c increases faster than v .

The *rate of surplus value* is represented by the ratio of surplus value produced to the given amount of variable capital employed, i.e., if this ratio is assumed to remain the same, while the ratio of constant to variable capital increases, we find that the capitalist's *rate of profit* will decline.

Rate of profit

The capitalist's rate of profit is calculated from the ratio between what he realises as *surplus value* and what he lays out as constant and variable capital, thus:

As c rises relative to v , therefore, the rate of profit will fall. The rising organic composition of capital, a result of the pressure of competition acting upon the techniques employed in production, thus bears down upon the capitalist's rate of return.

But it is precisely this rate of return—profit—which tells the capitalist what and how much to produce.

If the rate of profit falls, therefore, capitalists will be likely to cut production; if it rises they will expand it.

But it is important to recognise, as Marx was careful to point out, that the falling rate of profit is a *law of tendency*. It is liable to be counteracted by other forces and capitalists will seek to evade its pressures, notably by trying to increase the *mass* of profits at their disposal. This law is one of the principal forces behind the substitution of monopoly for competition.

Marx indicated a number of *counteracting forces* whose operation explains why the law does not display itself necessarily in an actual fall in profit rates:

- (i) increases in the rate of surplus value brought about by longer working hours, speed up, more intensive exploitation of labour power;
- (ii) depressing of wages below their value;
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- (iv) 'relative over-population' which keeps up the supply of labour power in industries where the organic composition of capital is lower and thus helps maintain the average rate of profit;
- (v) cheapening of imports entering into constant or variable capital.

Falling rate

The *falling rate of profit*, as a law of tendency, helps to explain many developments in modern capitalism. It has to be seen, in association with the capitalists' struggle to extract and realise surplus value, in understanding the following:

I. Periodical crises of over-production: In the boom much accumulation takes the form of technical investment which raises the organic composition of capital. When markets

cease to grow and wages and other costs rise the full force of this is felt on the rate of profit, leading to heavy cuts in investment which accelerate the oncoming depression.

II. Imperialism. The pressure on profit rates in the more advanced countries, which have a higher organic composition of capital is lower, the profit rate *capital* to areas which, because the organic composition of capital is lower, the profit rate is, or is expected to be, higher. At the same time, as excess capital is drawn off abroad, so the profit rate at home is maintained.

III. Monopoly. The rising organic composition of capital tends to favour the larger firms, which compensate with a larger *mass* of profit for the falling rate of profit, or raise their share of surplus value at the expense of the sectors of the economy in which the rule is for many small, competitive firms to exist, by virtue of their influence on prices.

Tendency

Since these are amongst the dominating features of capitalism in the twentieth century, it will readily be appreciated that, although there may have been no apparent fall in the profit rates, except in periods of generalised depression, *the tendency itself has been a powerful force in shaping the behaviour of the system.*

So far the contradictions of capitalism have been approached mainly from this one angle. Although something has been said about the constant need to find markets in order to realise surplus value, this aspect has now to be taken up and examined in greater detail.

Then we shall look again at the development of capitalism in the stage of imperialism and monopoly in part four of this series.

Croydon YS holds local discotheque

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"SOMEONE SOMEWHERE IS WAITING FOR A LETTER FROM YOU"

THE wait for that all-important letter may prove to be longer than expected.

No matter what you were taught at school about freedom in Britain, no matter how you have been convinced that this is the one country in the world that has no secret police, the fact remains that every day in the GPO headquarters private mail is read by security officers acting under the the instructions of a Secretary of State.

The secret police in this country are so secret that even MPs are unable to elicit much information about their activities. Whenever questions have been raised with that democratic farce, the House of Commons, members have invariably been met with heated denials or skilful evasions.

Intelligence

The secret police consists mainly of D.I.5 (Defence of Intelligence 5, formerly M.15), the Special Branch of the C.I.D. and provincial C.I.D. officers temporarily seconded to the Special Branch.

These organisations could be working hand in glove with the Intelligence Department of the G.P.O. whose main concern is interception of mail and telephone conversations.

In addition private foreign intelligence services are active; the F.B.I. (Federal Bureau of Investigation) and C.I.A. (Central Intelligence Agency) of the United States are reported to have an enormous network of agents in Britain since the establishment of American foreign bases in the early 1950s.

Under the 1945-1951 Labour government a group within the Special Branch was established whose duties are to keep watch on official strikes and to investigate Communist activity within the trade unions.

It has been estimated that in the files of the Special Branch Department's political records at Scotland Yard are dossiers on around two million people. (This could be almost a quarter of the trade union movement.)

Many different methods of investigation are employed, including the use of informers in organisations which are being watched, or the direct infiltration of specially-trained security officers who pose as bona fide members of the particular organisations concerned.

Extremely widespread, however, is the practice of telephone tapping, mail interception and 'bugging' by means of electronic and laser-beam equipment.

Device

Vast resources are at the disposal of the Security Services and they are therefore able to employ the most modern technical equipment. A device now developed in the United States makes it possible to listen in to a conversation in a room from a distance and to see what is happening in the room as well!

So far as the opening of mail is concerned the days of steaming open the flap are well and truly over. Everyone knows that chemical solvents are used to extract letters apart from other methods such as using a pair of long nosed tweezers to extract the letter in a roll from one of the holes at the corner of the envelope flap.

If none of these methods are practicable then the envelope can be simply torn open and an official sticker later affixed to the envelope 'found open and officially sealed' pasted across the tear.

When this method is employed the recipient is, of course, given the impression that the Post Office has done him a favour and preserved the secrecy of the mails by kindly sealing an accidentally damaged envelope.

The tapping of telephone lines is necessary for making service checks following enquiries regarding costs of telephone bills, malicious calls and so on. It is under this cover that the telephones of members of organisations under surveillance are tapped.

In each area the GPO maintains a central checking department to which all tapped telephone lines are connected via the central observation panel of each local exchange.

One estimate suggests that as many as 25 lines per week are tapped from each local exchange.

In its 'London Letter' of June 22 1964 'The Guardian' said:

'The job is always done without the knowledge of the switchboard staff by an engineer foreign to the exchange in question. Even he does not know why the line is being tapped: he just ensures that it will be done silently—and almost painlessly.'

Mail interception has been practised in this country at least since the reign of Charles II and telephone tapping... since the telephone was invented.

'Spying'

Now, in 1967, under a Labour government, things proceed as before. Only the methods and scope of the 'spying' by the State has increased.

The Socialist Labour League has recently drawn the attention of the Postmaster General to the fact that its mail was being taken away to the central office of the GPO at St. Pauls.

Remember that in democratic Britain there is no such thing as a private letter, a private phone call—or even a private conversation.

The 'someone' who is waiting for a letter may be the Special Branch; the phone call that 'brings you together' may be a three-way affair.

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BEFORE 1949 the gas consumed in Britain was controlled by nearly 700 owners, the majority of them being private concerns ranging from the Gas Light & Coke Co. to suppliers of small villages.

Because most of the companies were very small there was little capital for expansion. Thus the methods were antiquated, there was a shortage of labour due to poor wages and the employers were only too glad when the Labour government took them over in 1949.

Lord Heyworth, chairman of Unilever and Lever Bros., who was also the chairman of the Committee of Enquiry set up to investigate the problems of the gas industry, advocated nationalization, explaining 'it (improvement) would result mainly from a reduction in the number of producing units and raising the technical efficiency of the small concerns'.

Of course with this 'centralisation' of the gas industry, not only Unilever but also many other sections of private industry could enjoy cheaper and better

profit go? The working-class? Not on your life! It goes to pay back the gnomes of Zurich from whom the ruling class borrowed capital to expand their industry.

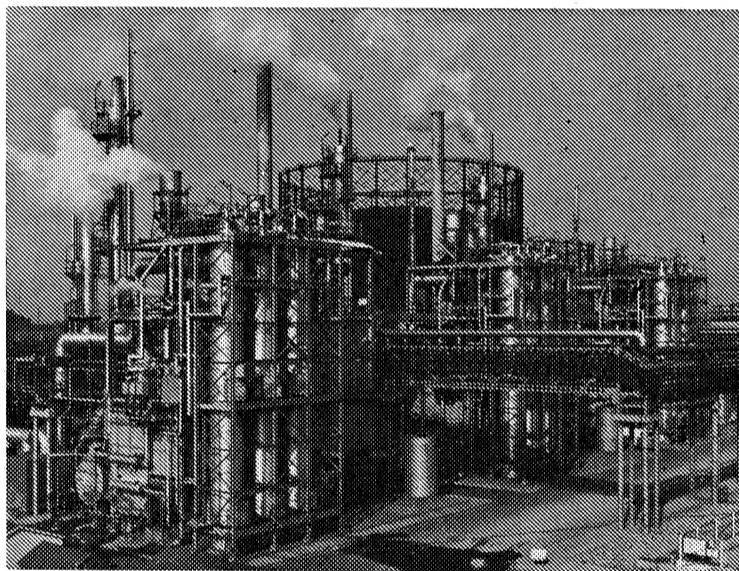
The growth of the Gas Council was only 1 per cent a year since 1959-1960 whilst it still maintained a profit of £36½ million a year and its assets from May 1, 1949 to May 1 1960 £401,489,645 (report of Gas Council 1959/60), not that it need concern the working-class.

When the constitution of the nationalized gas industry was drawn up it was decided to split it into 12 areas—each area having a chairman who would sit on the central Gas Council, which also had a chairman and a deputy chairman, both of whom were chosen by the Ministry of Power and not those concerned with the production of gas.

How then were these other 12 men picked to represent the working class in a democratic and righteous way? In the words of R. Kelf-Cohen:

'The nation took the industry over, re-arranged it in 12 large units and handed over the control of the industry to the most successful managers of the larger undertakings: it is interesting to

The Gas Industry-



a lesson on nationalization

By Keep Left Reporter

quality supplies.

When every other nationalization scheme had been proposed there had been an outcry from the respective employers but in the case of gas there was hardly a murmur since the employers concerned could only benefit from this scheme.

Besides being compensated handsomely for their 'loss' the bigger capitalists were given seats as chairmen on the Gas Board; so much for public ownership!

I have shown how nationalization affected the capitalists of Britain but what changes did it bring about in the lives of the working class? Well, at first, due to the centralisation policy and the building of modern stations and sub-stations, the government was presented with a huge bill which it in turn passed on to the working class.

After a few years of nationalization the gas industry began to make a profit, yet increased its prices to the ordinary worker while private industry enjoyed cheap gas.

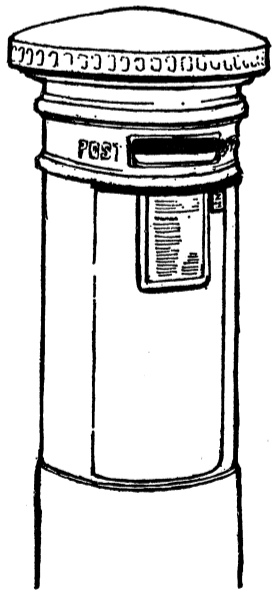
And to whom does the excess

note that not one member of the Council had been connected with a municipal undertaking.'

In other words, the State (not the Nation) took over the industry and gave it to the 12 top capitalists they could find in the industry. No one who had been on a municipal concern, a democratic representative of the working-class in Britain, was picked.

The gas industry is an example of capitalist nationalization. At this stage of the world system of monopoly capitalism each national state must intervene more and more in order to find the massive capital necessary to modernise industry. In Britain under the Wilson government present attacks on the working-class—wage cutting and legislation against the unions—are directed towards making workers pay for this modernisation.

Socialist nationalization means making the employers pay. In other words, to take industry out of private hands and put it under workers' control, with no compensation. This is the policy of the Young Socialists.



by
Gary Spence

Kosygin's visit —



another chapter in the history of betrayal by Pat Leonard

WORLD NEWS

SECRET DISCUSSIONS and parleys between the Soviet bureaucracy and imperialism are nothing new for the working class.

The visit of Alexei Kosygin to Britain in February opened yet another chapter in the book begun by Josef Stalin.

In situations of tremendous crisis for international capitalism, when the organised strength of the working class threatens to wipe away their rule for ever, the bureaucracy, terrified of this threat to their own privileged positions, whether their roots be in traditional Labour Parties, trade unions, or Stalinism, join hands with capitalism against the working class.

RELY

In turn, capitalism is forced to rely more and more on the misleadership, betrayals and lies of bureaucracy to confuse and weaken the working class in their struggle against the employers.

In Germany, during the years up to 1923, the German Social-democratic President of the Weimar Republic, Ebert, formed a link-up with the head of the German army so that they could join forces against the revolutionary German working class and defeat them together.

In 1935 a friendship pact was formed between French capitalism and Stalin on an agreement that France needed to maintain a strong army. This army was not,

however, to be used to defend the interests of French workers, but was at that very time engaged in smashing the struggles of workers in Africa and Indo-China.

These are but two of a succession of treaties which Stalinism has concluded with imperialism against the working class. But they were not just signatures on a piece of paper. They acted as the front-line weapons of imperialism, and were directly responsible for the defeat of working class revolutions throughout the 'twenties and 'thirties, the destruction of the working class in Germany by Hitler, and the slaughter of millions of human beings in the Second World War.

The purpose of Kosygin's visit takes on a much clearer meaning when seen in this historical light, as does the conduct of the capitalist press, the Tory Party, the Labour leaders, and of course the Communist Party of Great Britain. Goodwill was certainly rampant, but towards whom?—certainly not towards the working class.

VIETNAM

From the moment he arrived, Kosygin was swept into a round of 'secret' and 'private' discussions with Wilson in which Vietnam certainly loomed large.

But why were these discussions secret? Surely when the arch representatives of the betrayal of the Russian and British working class meet and discuss Vietnam, they can discuss nothing

but a sell-out for Vietnamese workers? And what did Johnson do through all of this but assist these discussions by halting the bombing of North Vietnam during the visit, only to resume it as soon as Kosygin left. Obviously the master was not satisfied enough with the conclusions drawn by the servants.

And so the sickening parade continued. On to a television interview to denounce the Red Guards and Mao Tse Tung in favour of those in China who lean towards the collaboration of the Kremlin, and via the Queen and the Cenotaph to the Carlton Club, bastion of Toryism.

Here Kosygin was in the company of Edward Heath and Quintin Hogg. Kosygin was praised for his 'skill and diplomacy'.

PRAISE

The Tory Party has every right to praise the Soviet bureaucracy. They have carried out attacks and betrayals which the employers could never have got away with, in the same way that Wilson can win the momentary confidence of British capitalism and Wall Street with his determination to attack the working class on all fronts.

As the Kremlin moves closer and closer into open line with imperialism, the British Communist Party performs their traditional role of following at their heels. How can they be expected to organise a struggle against Wilson and call on 'left' MPs to remove this traitor, thereby jeopardising

the interests of the Soviet masters? This policy explains their outright refusal to mobilise workers for the February 21 lobby of Parliament.

But the most important lesson we can learn from the actions of Kosygin, the Communist Party and Wilson, is the tremendous fear of the strength of the working class which motivates these actions.

The call, as in the 'Popular Front' era of the 1930s, is for unity—middle class intellectuals, liberals, duchesses, bishops—anybody can be united with, as long as they are not workers, who are forced to struggle against capitalism and its servants every day, and who have no time for lies and confidence tricks.

It takes a tremendous storm to drive the lions and the antelopes to shelter together in the same cave, but the working class is now causing this storm all over the world—every time these 'important' men strut about claiming their strength they give evidence to this fact.

REVOLUTION

The Russian Revolution, the Hungarian Revolution, and all the past struggles of workers, victories and defeats, are contained now in the building of the Young Socialists into a mass movement to give leadership, not just to the struggles of workers in Britain, but to workers internationally in the fight to overthrow the capitalist system, and with it all its servants.

THE recent elections in India reflect the deepening crisis of world imperialism and mark the end of the rule of British capitalism's faithful servant, the Indian ruling Congress Party.

The results of this election—the beginning of the collapse of Congress Party and the gains of the right wing and the Communist Party—are the outcome of 20 years history of Indian independence in which millions have starved each year and strikes and riots have rocked successive governments.

India was given independence in 1947 by British imperialism after a hard struggle by the working class.

But British capitalism made sure of continuing its rule by dividing India into two parts—India and Pakistan—on a religious basis. Thus they were able to split the working class and make the workers fight one another.

At the same time British imperialism made a deal with the native Indian capitalists, led by the Congress Party.

The object of this deal was to halt the rising tide of the Asian workers and peasants.

In the post-war boom of the world markets, by using subsidies from imperialism, a certain extremely limited expansion of the Indian economy was possible. But even this was tied to the unstable position of the world market.

Indian elections CP's treacherous role emphasised

As the international crisis of capitalism has deepened over the last few years this aid has virtually come to an end. Capitalism has abandoned millions of workers and peasants to starvation. Thus the rupee was devalued again in June last year.

This devaluation was supposed to help solve the crisis in the Indian economy by reducing imports and increasing exports. But the repayment of previous imperialist aid has made any expansion impossible.

So laws have been passed by the Indian parliament, e.g. Defence of India rule which the Congress Party brought in at the time of the border dispute with Pakistan some years ago, to smash all opposition to capitalism.

The recent elections reflect this crisis of Indian and world capitalism. Imperialism cannot even offer a handful of rice to the millions of workers and peasants. The elections mark the end of so-called democratic rule in India.

The Congress has suffered severe losses, tottering on the brink of defeat. But the working class and peasants were split in two important ways.

Firstly on religion, which gave rise to the victory of the very right wing Jan San and Swatantra parties, and secondly there was a split between the pro-Moscow

and pro-Chinese Communist Parties.

In 'The Times' recently articles have openly called for the establishment of a military dictatorship. All is now being prepared by the imperialists for an offensive against the workers and peasants.

In India, as internationally, Stalinism has sold out the class struggle. In Kerala at the previous election, when the Communist Party had the possibility of winning, the Congress Party was able to use the Defence of India rule to imprison the leaders. Up to this date these leaders have not been released.

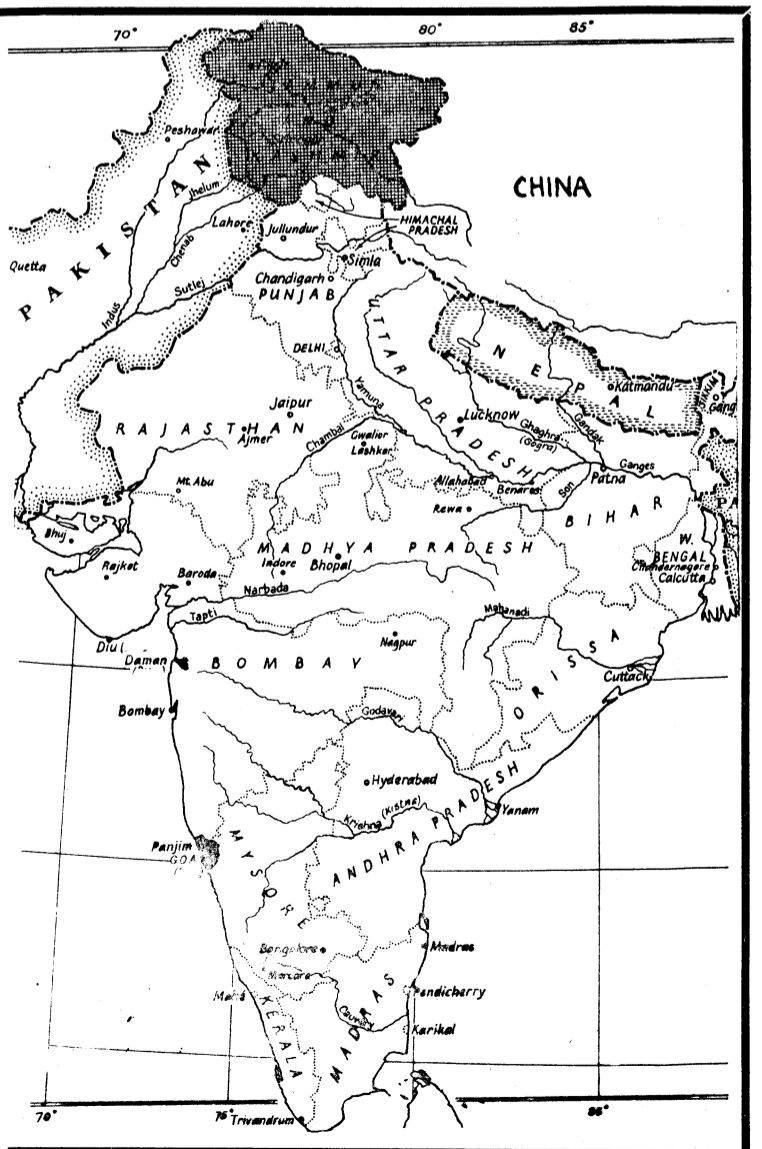
The role of the right wing (pro-Moscow) CP has been particularly traitorous.

In the last few years when the pro-Chinese were opposing the imperialist attacks on China and organising demonstrations against the ruling Congress Party they were arrested. The pro-Moscow CP never fought for the release of these men—they stated that the country should be defended above everything else.

But the pro-Chinese CP has also travelled the same treacherous road. In the elections they were prepared to unite with any centrist or religious organisation against the Congress Party.

The policy of the pro-Moscow

continued on page 12



IN order to solve the crisis facing British capitalism, the British employers and their government attack the working class, by wage freezing, unemployment, speed-up and other policies.

This attack is made most strongly against those least able to fight back. Thus in 1964 the Labour government, on behalf of the bankers and international financiers, delayed the paltry and long overdue increase in the old age pensions. In 1967, it has been decided to raise the fees of overseas students by over 300 per cent.

This measure is iniquitous and unjust for a number of reasons. The most important of these is that by providing less education for the people from the colonial and ex-colonial countries, the government is helping to perpetuate the exploitation of these countries by British and world imperialism.

CUT BACK

The government, in order to solve the problems of the employers, has cut back on the whole education system, including the programme of university expansion. It has also cut back on the building of new primary and secondary schools.

For all these reasons it is important for workers to realise that the movement of student protest which has grown up this year is fighting against the economic policies of the government.

Every worker who fights for a wage increase or for improved conditions is confronted with a struggle against the policies of the government. In this struggle he can see students as allies, whose different experiences and special skills can be utilised in the struggle for socialism.

Students stand in a special position in relation to the central struggle in our society, between the employers and the working class. Trotsky explained this in his article on *The Intelligentia and Socialism*.

'The student, in contrast both to the young worker and his own father, fulfils no social function, does not feel direct dependence on capital

STUDENTS



and the struggle for Socialism

BY MICHAEL NOLAN

or on the state, is not bound by any responsibilities, and—at least objectively, if not subjectively—is free in his judgement of right and wrong. At this period everything within him is fomenting, his class prejudices are as formless as his ideological interests, questions of conscience matter very strongly to him, his mind is opening for the first time to great scientific generalisations.'

A fight for the ideas of Marxism is an essential part of the training of any student who wants to bring about a socialist society. A study of the classics of Marxism and their use in a struggle against the ideas of economics, empiricist philosophy and liberal-democratic history must be studied, understood and defeated by Marxist students.

Students of science and technology need to see that the skills they acquire are utilised not for the profits of a capitalist but for the service of humanity in a planned socialist society.

Events in the universities and colleges reflect the class struggle in society as a whole. The sons of bankers and monopolists are to be found there, defending the position and ideas of their parents. The sort of pressures we hear about from the Central Intelligence Agency being exercised in the student movement in the United States are by no means absent from the movement in this country.

INDICATION

The recent campaign to get the National Union of Students to affiliate to the American-backed International Student

Conference is a clear enough indication of this.

The children of the ruling class are determined to prevent any real struggle by the student movement against the policies of the Labour government. The leaders of the NUS opposed militant action on February 1, when thousands lobbied Parliament, and on February 22, when tens of thousands protested, demonstrated, and went on strike.

The leaders of the Radical Student Alliance, talk in their policy statement of a 'classless education' as if it were possible to achieve such a thing without destroying capitalism.

Their fight against the NUS bureaucrats, but often in terms of replacing them rather than destroying them. It is essential to see that the struggle against

the leaders of the NUS reflects the struggle in society between the employers and the working-class.

Only by joining with the working class in the struggle for socialist policies will it be possible to secure a 'classless education'.

The only body in the student movement at present fighting for these policies is the National Association of Labour Student Organisations. The recent policy statement by the Executive Committee emphasised the fact that 'wage freezing and higher fees for overseas students are closely linked measures'.

This was explained by the fact that the government 'has decided to pursue policies that are clearly in the interests of the owners of wealth and against those of students and workers'. Thus NALSO supported not simply students who fought against the policies of the government, but also 'millions of workers who are forced to fight against the government for higher wages'.

NOT ENOUGH

Only NALSO has linked the issues in this way. Many students firmly believed that the 'day of protest' on February 22 would change the government's policies. The protests were widespread, but they were not enough. Crosland's references in his speech of February 23 to the 'near hysterical reaction of some universities' shows the utter contempt with which he treats his critics, both students and academic staff.

It is only by fighting for an alternative, socialist government that students will achieve their aims. The lobby of February 21, in which many students took part, linked the struggle against the rising fees with a wider struggle against the policies of Wilson.

The Young Socialists is the only organisation fighting in a principled way against all the betrayals of the Labour government.

The Morecambe conference of the Young Socialists on March 18-19th will be a big step forward in this fight. A big representation of students at this conference and a full discussion of their problems will play an important part in defeating the policies of Crosland and Wilson.



AFTER BEING HOUNDED from one meeting room to another by local Labour councillors, the Rotherham Young Socialists branch is back in South Yorkshire.

In 1964 a branch was set up on the Kimberworth Park housing estate and had regular meetings of up to 50 people.

Local councillors immediately launched a campaign of slandering the youth; but 18 months later these methods had proved useless against the YS, which had re-established itself in the

Rotherham YS build an active branch

BY TOM MOLE

Holmes area of Rotherham.

There is a great deal of short-time working in the town, especially at the giant steel plants of Steel, Peech and Tozer, and Park Gate.

Fighting on the question of unemployment and the wage freeze, the YS has made big gains amongst the working-class youth. Four members of the Young Communist League branch are now in the YS.

One of the ex-YCL members, Jeanne Thompson, told us: 'There's a lot more go about the YS. Their policies are much clearer, especially regarding the position of the trade unions'.

Another ex-YCLer and a member of the old Kimberworth Park branch said:

'As the political situation develops it becomes more and more clear what the role of the Stalinists and the other fake-left tendencies are—to lead the working class up a blind alley. The YS and revolutionary

Marxist policies are the only way to achieve socialism, both in Britain and internationally'.

Education

Inside the YS branch itself a committee was formed and showed itself capable of leadership. Education classes, an essential part of the YS, have produced good results. Discussion and political understanding in the branch is on a much higher scale than when the branch was formed a few months ago.

Of a recent week-end school in a Youth Hostel, Ian Ranby, branch treasurer said:

'I learned a lot at the school, especially on how to fight the bosses in a Marxist way'.

This was the general feeling of the branch towards the educational activities, that they had learned a great deal more not only about the YS, but about other political tendencies and capitalism itself.

Irene Stanley said that there should be more dances and said that this should become a regular feature of Rotherham YS.

Ges Prentice, the football organiser, told us that the formation of a football team had helped the branch a lot.

'We've had a great season this year losing one match and the lads are very enthusiastic.'

'Birdy' Dixon, a member of the team, said: 'I enjoy playing and think that a football team is an important part of the YS'.

Internationalism is taken up in the Rotherham branch in a very active way. Members have already sent a letter to 'Révoltes' in France asking for a French branch to be a twin branch with Rotherham.

The lobby of February 21 and the Morecambe Conference are two great events that the Young

Socialists must make political successes of.

Chairman Fritz commented: 'The lobby and Morecambe are a vital part of building a revolutionary socialist alternative to the Labour government. Rotherham should fight to turn out the branch on these occasions and make them successes.'

The Rotherham branch will soon establish a second branch in the Herringthorpe area.

Throughout their campaign, the Rotherham YS branch has found Keep Left to be an invaluable weapon. It was by using Keep Left on canvasses that the YS in Rotherham was able to make possible this expansion.

In the words of Keep Left organiser Dave Flute: 'We are confident that the YS and Keep Left will continue to build in Rotherham in the future'.

RÉVOLTES holds Paris Assembly

by Our French Correspondent

SIX HUNDRED young people—workers and students—met in Fontenay, a suburb of Paris, for two days on February 11 and 12 for the Paris Youth Conference organised by Révoltes.

Apart from young people coming from the Paris region, there were also representatives from the main provincial revolutionary youth groups, whose task it will be to organise similar assemblies and public meetings in their respective areas.

Also present was a delegation of German revolutionary youth—25 in all—including young workers from Frankfurt and Mannheim and students from Marburg, Frankfurt and Munich. Young immigrant workers and students from Algeria, West Africa and Italy also attended.

Révoltes had initially planned a National Conference for the beginning of 1967. But due to a host of repressive measures on the part of all local councils—those administered by bourgeois parties or reformist and Stalinist parties—Révoltes was prevented from hiring a hall big enough to hold over 1,000 people and also from acquiring the necessary accommodation. Thus the conference had to be temporarily postponed.

However this Paris Assembly, and other similar meetings to be held in provincial regions, are a step in the preparation of a National Conference which will really reflect all the struggles of French youth today.

This Assembly was highly successful. It showed that Révoltes was no longer a small group of militants able to analyse the situation in the class struggle correctly, but whose intervention was limited to certain individual cases. It has now become a regroupment of forces acting as organisers in the struggle of youth against this society of exploitation.

All those who spoke were comrades who are really fighting and bringing youth into struggle, thus reflecting the deep needs and aspirations of thousands of young people whose conditions of existence are being attacked by the reactionary legislation of the Fifth Plan and the Fouchet educational reform.

Their problems are; unemployment, general professional de-qualification, wage cuts, rejection from a large number of schools, attacks on the trades unions and elementary democratic rights.

The only means of reacting against this attack are those through which Révoltes is fighting:

1. Committees to fight against unemployment, against the consequences of the Fouchet reform—such committees already exist in the University of Paris, uniting hundreds of students.
2. An all-out fight in the trade unions to make them organise the united resistance of the working class and youth against the class attack of the bourgeoisie.
3. The building of a mass revolutionary youth organisation as the political weapon of youth in their struggle.

The Conference adopted several important resolutions on the work in the trade unions, in the teacher training colleges, amongst immigrant youth, and one on the role of the paper 'Révoltes'.

A letter was sent to the workers of the Dassault factories in Bordeaux, who have started a strike against sackings in their industry. These workers are standing out alone because the bureaucracies are refusing to call a solidarity strike of the metal workers.

Eight hundred francs were collected and sent to these workers, whose struggle is really that of the whole of the French working class.

The conference also passed an extremely important resolution on the next general elections, calling on a vote for the candidates of the workers' parties—Communist, and Socialist—and against all bourgeois candidates, including the 'lefts' such as Mitterrand and Mendes-France, behind whom the reformists and the Stalinists are lining up.

The conference gave full support to the Trotskyist candidates Stephan Just and Gerard Bloch and to the national campaign of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste for the united front of the working class and the programme of defence of the class.

Stephan Just brought the greetings of the OCI and explained the meaning of the campaign of the French Trotskyists. The conference enthusiastically decided that Révoltes would take part in this campaign.

An international resolution was adopted calling for the preparation of an International Assembly of Youth in England this summer.

The participation of the German delegation proves that this Assembly can and must open a wide international discussion with all those who want to fight and organise youth on a class basis in all countries.

No other conditions should be needed to permit this discussion being started. Only in this way can it be a decisive step towards an International Conference of revolutionary youth, for which Révoltes, together with the Young Socialists in Britain are fighting.

continued on page 12



Make the Lefts fight Fe

FEBRUARY 21 saw the Young Socialists, students and workers from Lucas/CAV, Liverpool and BMC, Oxford, march in a demonstration through the West End of London against the wage freeze and unemployment.

Central to this further step in the campaign against the Labour government's Tory policies was the slogan 'Make the Left MPs fight in Parliament'.

Watched by students at the London University, the marchers assembled in Malet Street with the Lucas/CAV workers from Liverpool out in front, followed by the Oxford BMC workers, Scottish car workers, rail workers from Swindon and many other trade unionists representing either factories or their local branches.

Marching along a route which took them up Oxford Street to Hyde Park the demonstrators shouted slogans demanding nationalization, an end to wage freezing and unemployment, and 'Make the Left MPs fight Now'.

For some workers this demonstration was like many on which they had joined the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League in 1966, but for those workers whose first demonstration it was the march was a new impressive experience.

Amongst the contingents were many young workers and apprentices who had travelled down by coach to participate in this the most impressive of all demonstrations against the Wilson government.

One of the most important things about the march was the fact that there were a large number of students. Not only did they travel down early in the morning by road but there were many who came on to the demonstration whilst it lined up by London University.

Dave Davis, chairman of the Bradford University Socialist Society said that the Labour government had attempted to carry out a vicious attack against the students on the question of grants.

'At present there is a means test which has been condemned by the National Union of Students. The question of raising students' fees is part of the policy of the wage freeze.'

The fight against these attacks was not, however, just a student question, it had to be linked with the fight of workers in the factories against wage freezing and unemployment, he said.



One young member of Sunderland Young Communist League who had been delegated by his branch to go on the demonstration and the lobby declared that he was going to make a report back to his branch which criticised the fact that the Communist Party had failed to do anything to organise workers out on the demonstration.

'We did not even find out about this demonstration or the lobby until the Young Socialists told us about it. I am very critical of the way in which the Communist Party just sat back and did not fight for the lobby.'

This was a sentiment expressed by many others on the demonstration. Indeed right from the time the call was first made by the Lucas/CAV workers for a campaign to make the left MPs fight

against Wilson the Communist Party officials in most back and actively opposed the mobilisation of the workers to participate in the demonstration and the

In an attempt to belittle the enormous efforts of part in the demonstration, the 'Morning Star', daily paper of the Communist Party, reported on February 22 that a 'group of Young Socialists and 200 trade unionists had marched through

But the 'Morning Star' reporter was seriously misled by the force of the march, which numbered 1,500. This was not a body of workers, unemployed and Young Socialists, but a body of workers, unemployed and Young Socialists who projected the deep hatred of the Labour government's building up amongst many sections of the working class

This was a fact which was very forcefully brought home to the MPs who were lobbied at the House of Commons the afternoon.



Lobbyists found the left MPs evasive. In one of the most serious confrontations took place between over 100 very young workers from the north west and MPs Eric Heffer, Stan Orme and Orbach.

All three tried to explain away their position on the question of saying that the procedure in the House over voting was complicated and that it was not a simple matter to vote

When it was pointed out that within the procedure of the Parliamentary Labour Party a motion could be tabled and Orme feebly suggested that there would be no support for the

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Again there were a large number who were kept back by the police until it was too late to see any of the workers who did manage to see the left MPs found themselves receiving the same answers they got last year on the wage freeze lobbies.

MPs such as Charles Pannell (Leeds West), Mervyn Dymally (Coventry North), Bill Small (Scottish AEU), John Munn (Leeds Stone), and John Rankin (Govan), all offered more excuses. All were evasive and not one could give a straight answer. He would fight on behalf of the workers in the factories and demand the Wilson leadership and demand the Labour government



Make the Lefts fight — Lobby February 21

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This was a sentiment expressed by many others on the demonstration. Indeed right from the time the call was first made by the Lucas/CAV workers for a campaign to make the left MPs fight

against Wilson the Communist Party officials in most areas had held back and actively opposed the mobilisation of large bodies of workers to participate in the demonstration and the lobby.

In an attempt to belittle the enormous efforts of those who took part in the demonstration, the 'Morning Star', daily paper of the Communist Party, reported on February 22 that a 'group' of 600 Young Socialists and 200 trade unionists had marched through the West End.

But the 'Morning Star' reporter was seriously underestimating the force of the march, which numbered 1,500. This was no 'group' but a body of workers, unemployed and Young Socialists who rejected the deep hatred of the Labour government's policies now building up amongst many sections of the working class.

This was a fact which was very forcefully brought home to the MPs who were lobbied at the House of Commons in the afternoon.



Lobbyists found the left MPs evasive. In one committee room a confrontation took place between over 100 very angry workers from the north west and MPs Eric Heffer, Stan Orme and Maurice Orbach.

All three tried to explain away their position of abstention by saying that the procedure in the House over voting was very complicated and that it was not a simple matter to vote against Wilson.

When it was pointed out that within the procedure of the Parliamentary Labour Party a motion could be tabled against Wilson, Orme feebly suggested that there would be no support for such a move.

Floundering in one excuse after another the three MPs looked very relieved when the division bell sounded and they beat a hasty retreat from the committee room which finally erupted in uproar.

Again there were a large number who were kept out of the lobby by the police until it was too late to see any MPs, but those workers who did manage to see the left MPs found that they were receiving the same answers they got last year on earlier anti-wage freeze lobbies.

MPs such as Charles Pannell (Leeds West), Maurice Edleman (Coventry North), Bill Small (Scottish AEU), John Mendelson (Penistone), and John Rankin (Govan), all offered more or less the same excuse. All were evasive and not one could give a guarantee that he would fight on behalf of the workers in the factories against the Wilson leadership and demand the Labour government change its

policies.

At the meeting held in the Caxton Bill Hunter, Lucas/CAV Liverpool shop view of the struggle which had had to be liaison committees the demonstration had effort.

The demonstration had been planned committee and as a result of a fight against said they were opposed to the wage freeze activity on the wage freeze.

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A large number who were kept out of the room it was too late to see any MPs, but those who did see the left MPs found that they were not the same as they got last year on earlier anti-wage

John Pannell (Leeds West), Maurice Edleman (Leeds East), John Mendelson (Pennington), and John Gowan, all offered more or less the same and not one could give a guarantee that they would stand for the workers in the factories against the policies of the Labour government change its

policies.

At the meeting held in the Caxton Hall following the lobby, Bill Hunter, Lucas/CAV Liverpool shop steward, declared that in view of the struggle which had had to be waged against the local liaison committees the demonstration had been a really magnificent effort.

The demonstration had been planned despite the central liaison committee and as a result of a fight against those who, although they said they were opposed to the wage freeze, were really against any activity on the wage freeze.

'In Liverpool we ourselves had as our aim, in the call from the Lucas/CAV factory, the building up of a mass movement of the rank and file linking up with a fight in the Parliamentary Labour Party and we saw as the beginning of this a mass demonstration and lobby in London.

'We have heard today Eric Heffer and Stanley Orme telling us again, as they did last year, that "your job is to fight outside", that they in the House of Commons are doing all they can and deserved more backing from workers,' said Hunter.

'They were talking to stewards who have shown that it is possible to rouse workers against the wage freeze, to raise their understanding of what is involved in their working life today, that they cannot proceed to fight even for an extra half-penny an hour without being involved in political thinking and action.'

'This demonstration today has shown that there is a possibility of building a united front in the working class. You can move workers against the wage freeze. Fifteen hundred people is not a small thing,' he said.



The chairman of the Merseyside Rank and File Builders' Movement, Colin Stevenson, said that in all the demonstrations he had been on in the past 15 years this was the best he had been on.

'Every time we go to Parliament we get the same parrot phrases.

'I saw Heffer in a corner today, hot under the collar—and so he should be. He knows which way he is going.

'When he and I were walking the streets together he was the first to go at the throat of the MP he was going to see. All he got today was the example he showed others 15 years ago.'

Alan Wilkins of Bristol-Siddeley, Coventry claimed that the working class had seen nothing from the Labour government except its plans to mobilise the employing class.

'In Coventry before the election of the Labour government the

shop stewards and workers really controlled the factories. We said what conditions should be and what wages should be paid.'

He pointed out that in the preparation for the fight against the Wilson government they were not just engaged in a fight against the right wing but also against the Communist Party.

'Last Saturday a number of Communist Party members of my branch phoned me up. The CP delegates who had been appointed to come on the lobby were withdrawing on the basis of a leaflet we had circulated in the factory which called on the "left" MPs to fight, called for the repeal of the Prices and Incomes Act and an end to the wage freeze and unemployment.

'The CP wanted to cancel the coach. But we went ahead and then found that they were coming on the coach after all.

'But as we neared London we found out why they had come—their purpose was to persuade the people on the coach not to come on the demonstration. But I am pleased to say they walked away on their own.'

Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League stated that in spite of all the attempts made to prevent it the lobby and demonstration were successful, because in Britain there was a movement of the working class. The Wilson government had left them with no alternative but to fight.



'And when they are on the move they will test out for themselves, by experience, all the policies of those who claim to lead the working class.

'It is nonsense to say that the "left" MPs cannot be forced to act. Who are they but people who have to be elected by the rank and file.

'The decisive force is not what they do but what the working class does; what the men and women who have to bear the brunt of the sacrifices decide to do.

'It is equal nonsense to say you can move the right wing. They are carrying out employers' policies. It is easier to move the employers than the right wing—the employers could not take a stand against the working class if they did not have the support of the right wing.'

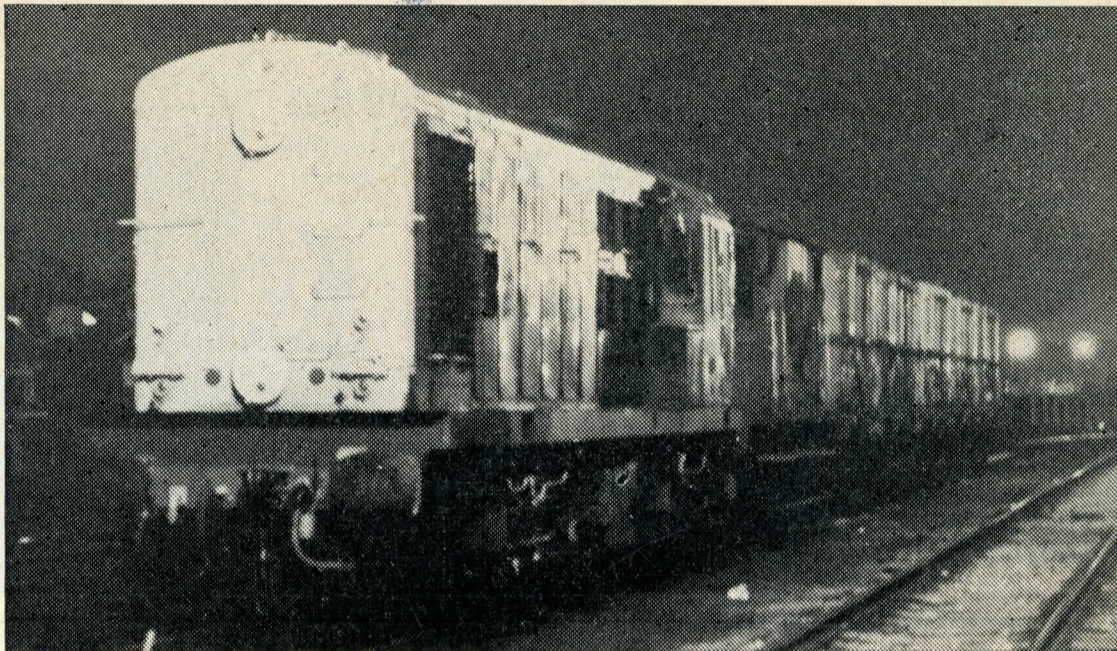
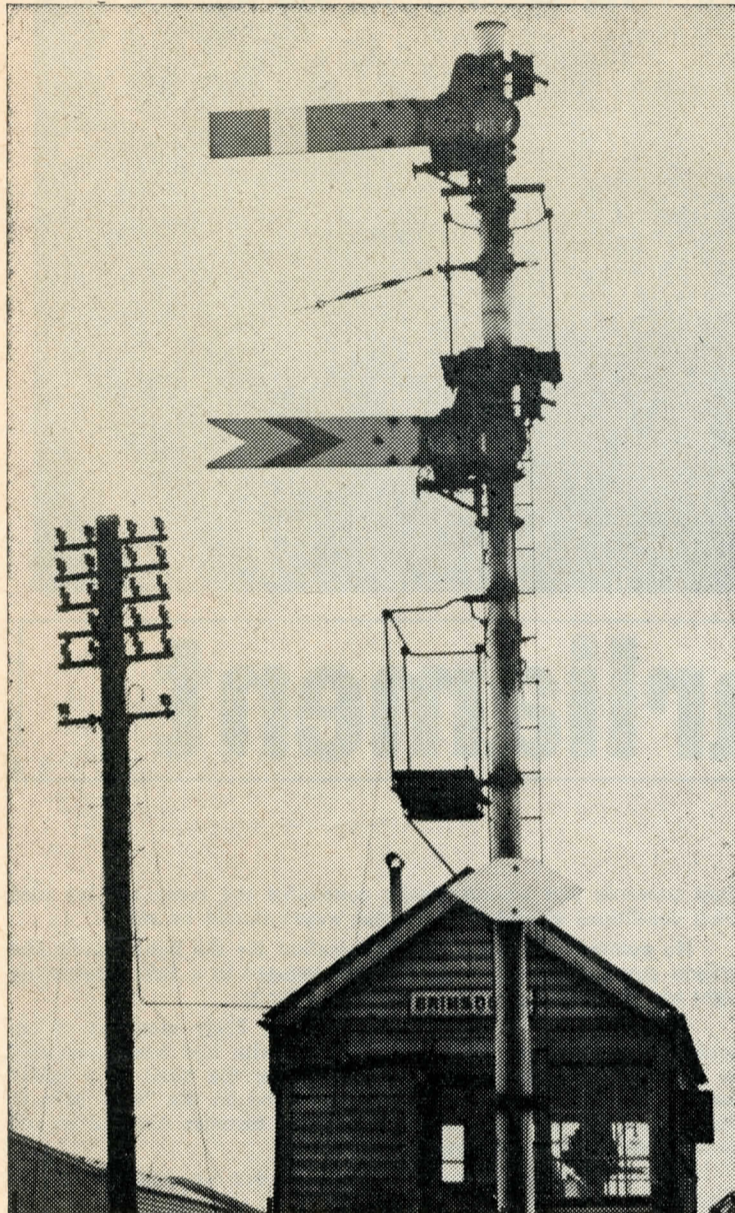
It was, therefore, necessary to narrow down the struggle inside the Parliamentary Labour Party to a call on these MPs to fight against Wilson's policies.

'The Labour Party conference is eight months away. If they don't want to fight now what will become of this conference in October?

'We don't want just a group of MPs to oppose Wilson. We want a group of MPs to put forward socialist policies.'

Speaking on behalf of the Socialist Labour League Cliff Slaughter said that the League welcomed the statement of Communist Party members who believed it possible to begin a united campaign against the capitalist policies of the government.

MY JOB RAILWAY



Redundancies up the line

BY A YOUNG RAILWAYMAN

THE PURPOSE of this article is to bring to light the position facing hundreds of young men now employed by British Rail as firemen and to show, in the short space available, that the agreements arrived at by the management and unions deny them the opportunity of completing their time as firemen, and eventually being certified as drivers.

In the agreement of October 25, 1965, the management conceded that all men in the line of promotion on or before October 25, 1965, would be given a star indicating that they could not be made redundant owing to the introduction of single-manning and would be kept at their depots until such time as they could be absorbed into the system as drivers to replace retired men.

Since this agreement was signed British Rail have con-

tinued to recruit young men for footplate duties, knowing that when they no longer need them, they can sack them without worrying about union action to protect them as it is fully within the agreement signed by the union leadership.

Outside

At Stratford, we have about 50 firemen, passed cleaners and cleaners who are outside the agreement. Many of these young men have transferred to Stratford, either because they have been made redundant at their previous depot or because they feel that prospects are better at a London depot.

It is not surprising that they transfer when you consider the rate of promotion at Stratford in comparison with many other depots. It took me seven months from the time I joined the railways until I received my fireman's check.

At Norwich Thorpe they have men with 19 years' service as passed cleaners who are still waiting to be made regular firemen.

Men with similar seniority at Stratford have long since been

driving. These young men who transfer from provincial depots usually rent a flat or live in the British Rail hostel at Ilford, which houses about 250 railwaymen.

For £3 10s. a week, which is deducted from their wages, they get their own room, food provided and some social life in the way of sports and recreation.

Should these men be made redundant and refuse to move into a lower grade, they will not only be out of a job, but homeless as well.

Viewed on a national level, no apologist for the management or union leadership would deny that many men will lose their jobs because of the October 1965 agreement.

Every man

But at a local level the apologists maintain that with retirements at Stratford being numerous in the next three years, the management will need every man they can get.

The answer to this is that with the introduction of single-manning, the company will certainly need every man of driving age (i.e. 23 years), but they certainly will not need 15- and 16-year-olds

who cannot drive for several years to come, especially as the management intends to have full single-manning within the next two years.

One must also take into account many other factors, such as the closure of small goods yards under the National Plan which means less work for Stratford men.

The introduction of the second stage of the National Plan led to the cancellation of 10 driving positions which had been advertised on the promotion list.

Also, with the concentration of work at key depots and the closure of smaller depots, men will be forced to transfer or leave the job.

Should they transfer to Stratford it will put the unstarred firemen one step nearer the day when the management can present them with their cards.

As evidence of this trend: of the 17 driving positions advertised at Stratford on the last promotion list, only nine went to Stratford men, the rest going to transfers and redundant drivers from Cromer and Bury St. Edmunds.

Another important factor is the introduction of the proposed

freight drivers' bonus scheme which, when introduced, will lead to much increased productivity per man hour and consequently a reduction in the amount of staff needed.

It is also significant that the management attempted to break the October 1965 agreement by threatening to sack over 1,000 starred firemen to pay for the proposed bonus scheme.

The union fought this and called in 'trouble shooter' Jack Scamp who came down 100 per cent on the side of the union.

Over-staffing

Lastly, the management has recently been carrying out investigations at Stratford into over-staffing, although it would be interesting to know how the management reconciles its theories of over-staffing with the large amounts of overtime being worked and the number of trains being cancelled.

If indeed Stratford is over-staffed, the record of cancellations and excessive overtime is an indictment of the management's inability to manage and presents a strong case for workers' control of the industry.

THIS YEAR'S YS CONFERENCE —

155 resolutions

— and plenty of discussion!

IN THE YEAR that has elapsed since the 6th annual conference of the Young Socialists, tremendous changes have taken place throughout the world, and especially in Britain.

The complete exposure of the weakness of the American dollar and consequent crisis of the world's currencies has led the bosses to determinedly attack the wages and conditions won by the working class in the period of the post-war boom.

Wilson's anti-trade union laws, providing for vicious sentences against militant workers, have brought under the control of the state all decisions relating to pay increases.

Unemployment has deliberately been pushed up and the large pool of jobless is being used as a threat to all those workers resisting the bosses' attacks.

But events have not run as smoothly as the bosses had hoped. In a bitter six-week strike the seamen showed that the working class in Britain will pursue wage claims etc, even if

this does mean fighting the government.

The sharp struggles in the motor industry have also confirmed this. In these and all other problems facing the working class, the question of the role of the government and leadership is pushed right into the foreground.

The fight of the Red Guards has raised in many workers' minds the question of bureaucracy and the job it does nationally and internationally—blurring over the essential conflict between workers and bosses and, of course, what can be done to end this conflict.

Clearly a new leadership is required for the working class, one that will fight for socialist policies and bring into this struggle even wider sections of workers.

Big strides have been made by the Young Socialists and Socialist Labour League in building such a movement over the past year, and the lessons of our rich experiences are embodied in the YS national committee's proposed amendments to the main policy document, 'Socialism and Youth', to be discussed on March 18 and 19 at the 7th annual conference.

Throughout our campaigns we have had to fight all those

fakers in the Labour Party and in the leadership of the Communist Party who use 'left' phrases to cover up for Wilson:

'As the Labour government is discredited amongst the working class, the Communist Party is the main force to witch-hunt the Young Socialists in their fight for an alternative leadership. They call the police to stop the YS demonstrating for the victory of the Vietcong and an end to the war in Vietnam. They openly collaborate with the forces of the state. Under the cover of "unity of the left", they attack the fight of the Young Socialists against the wage freeze and forge a unity with the police.

'They fought against the Young Socialists in the struggle against the trade union legislation and seriously split and weakened the working class.

'We call on all members of the Communist Party who genuinely want to fight for socialism to join the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League and fight for the demands of the Fourth International.'

The great success of the Liège demonstration in October last year is developed in the preparation for an international assembly of youth:

'The Young Socialists have always refused to entertain any

illusions in social democracy and Stalinism and their various pacifist and revisionist hangers-on. We have consistently based our programme and activity on the power of the working class, given correct leadership, to defeat imperialism and establish socialism . . .

'Now that, together with the comrades from Révoltes in France, we have brought a strong contingent of our movement into Europe, we do not intend to make the slightest concession to this basic principle.'

'We stand four-square for the convening of an international conference of socialist youth to begin the work of building a revolutionary international of youth. We will work might and main to this end. This was for us the true meaning of Liège as we are sure it was for other organisations represented on the demonstration.'

Pure 'left' talk in developing such a movement is not enough. Says the amendment:

'It is the most abject form of betrayal to express support for the Vietnamese Revolution on the one hand whilst refusing in practice to mobilise the working class in action independently of the social-democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies.'

Specific points are taken up in

the 155 resolutions from YS branches.

Internationalism: The international nature of the economic crisis, and the necessity to build an international movement to fight, is developed by several resolutions which trace the building of the YS on the traditions of the Russian Revolution and pledge support for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

Colonialism, Rhodesia, Vietnam, Hungary and China: The unity of the struggle of workers and peasants in under-developed countries with each other and with the class struggle in Britain and other Western countries is stressed. The building of an international movement to carry out this task is called for.

Communist Party and fake 'lefts': The obstruction of the Stalinists to a real fight against Wilson and the inactivity of the 'left' MPs is described in many resolutions. Unity of the left is urged for a real fight.

Other resolutions cover the wage freeze, seamen, docks, miners, Aberfan, nationalization, pensions, unemployment, racialism, housing, immigration, trade unions, apprentices, school leavers, education and leisure, the pop industry, the United Socialist States of Europe, and so on.



a warning

EVERYONE now knows that the main policy of the Wilson government is to attack the wages and standards of living of the working class.

As a result, tens of thousands of trade unionists all over the country are preparing for action against wage freezing and the Prices and Incomes Act.

In their factories and industries they are stubbornly resisting this legal encroachment on their rights.

It is not difficult, therefore, for Young Socialists to visualise the kind of struggle which is now opening up. Government legislation against the trade unions must sooner or later lead to the legal prosecution of trade unionists. Tory-minded judges will be called upon to lay down class justice in defence of the interests of the employers and the government.

From all this emerges the intense activity by the secret police. It is not an accident that in recent months disclosure after disclosure has been made concerning the tapping of telephones, tampering with mail and the opening of cables and telegrams.

Under Wilson's direction the faceless policemen have full sway to investigate trade unionists and whomsoever they wish behind their backs under conditions where the victim is unaware of what is happening. A small committee of a non-elected Privy Council, consisting of ex-Cabinet Ministers, recommends to a Secretary of State that so and so's mail should be opened, so and so's phone is to be tapped etc. etc.

The government protects the whole arrangement by refusing to disclose to the person or persons concerned whether or not their mail, telephone or telegrams are being checked.

In all probability he or she will never know the extent of this activity until they appear in court and, to their surprise, a dossier will be presented by the prosecution consisting of extracts from correspondence and telephone calls which they

thought were private. These may well be presented in such an order that they are torn out of context, but acceptable to the court.

These activities by the secret police are part and parcel of the preparation to legally implement the Prices and Incomes Act and other such legislation.

Attempts are on the way now to frame up trade unionists. We should be on guard. Britain is no longer the democratic society which many misguided people thought it was. The Labour government of the day is opening the doors to dictatorship.

All Young Socialists should take note of what is happening and educate themselves accordingly. More than ever we need to build a disciplined revolutionary party in this country which will be able to combat the legal attacks of the employers and the government against the working class. When you write that letter, make that telephone call, look out. What you write or say may well be distorted and used in 'evidence' against you later on.

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Lessons of the Lobby

ON February 21 adult trade unionists, students and young workers demonstrated together to demand 'left unity' against Wilson and company.

The demonstration and the lobby of Parliament in the afternoon followed the slogan 'Make the "left" MPs fight'. (The left is that group of MPs in the Labour government who have shown a measure of resistance to the Wilson cabinet's anti-working class policies)

We think that those who took part in this successful demonstration and lobby have learned certain lessons. The working class has shown independently it can unite certain sections on a common class policy—in this case the repeal of the Prices and Incomes Act.

The betrayal of Wilson and the right wing—the wage freeze, unemployment, anti-trade union laws, strike breaking, withdrawing students' grants, and the racist Immigration Bill demands more than abstinence from the Labour 'lefts'.

The excuse that they might cause the fall of Labour from power is now nonsense with a majority of almost one hundred in parliament.

The demand for these MPs to place a resolution before the Parliamentary Labour Party demanding the resignation of Wilson and his cabinet and to take up a fight for socialist policies inside and outside Parliament is perfectly within their power and rights as MPs. There is no excuse this time.

The fact that trade unionists were forced to wait outside Parliament and were not allowed to see their MPs or even get inside Parliament, when many from the north had given up several days' pay to attend the lobby, has shown us that 'democracy' is a one-sided thing and the working class are on the other side as far as the Labour bureaucracy is concerned.

Another important lesson for socialists to learn is the role and tactics of the Communist Party. At the report back held in Caxton Hall it soon became clear that the CP in King Street far from organising in support of the lobby and demonstration had worked to split the demonstration.

Reports stressed that where the Young Socialists and others tried to raise the question of the lobby—for which the Keep Left has constantly campaigned — they were opposed at every turn by CP officials.

The meeting emphasised that the policies of the CP leadership were in no way a reflection of the feelings of the rank and file.

In carrying a resolution the meeting confirmed that it was the Labour government which had betrayed. The reports of interviews clearly showed this did not mean only the right wing of the government.

We in the school socialist society fully support the line taken by the Young Socialists towards the lobby and believe that, as the Labour government has betrayed the working class and as the Communist Party has proved once again that it is incapable of leading a working class

movement against the employing class, there is a real need for an alternative working class leadership.

If the working class is to safeguard its gains and advance the world over it will be with the policies of the Fourth International and its organisations, and not behind the banners of those in King Street or Transport House, who have, in their different ways, betrayed the workers' movement in favour of a settlement with capitalism.

A School Socialist Society Member.

Student Teachers

STUDENT unrest is not confined to the universities. In teachers' training colleges and sixth forms there is a great interest in political questions and a considerable protest movement.

On February 15 at Putney, south London, 300 students at

Students and Apprentices

MANY YOUNG PEOPLE, in an attempt to avoid going into dead-end jobs, take up an apprenticeship to learn a trade. They are laid open to the employers using them as cheap labour, as the 'training' of young people is very profitable to the employers.

Apprentices enter four or five year apprenticeships but after two years they are often fully skilled, although they still get apprentice rates of pay.

They do not have full trade union rights and sometimes they have to do work which is not connected with their training. When their apprenticeships are over they often lose their jobs because it is not profitable to the employers to pay them a skilled rate.

Young people who stay on at school and college after the age of 15 can also find them-

case however. He equates action with violence; inaction with peace. Conclusion—war is the only way to overcome inaction. But this does not solve the basic problem.

Will you cause greater suffering in reaching your aim (the dictatorship of the proletariat) than relief, which you hope the suffering will bring?

Instead of rejecting the present as completely evil look and see that Trotskyism, your idea, is part of this present — it is reaction against it. You consider your idea good—it will lead you to your aim. But it cannot be derived from a vacuum of evil capitalism.

Marx analyses human society in terms of progress. But the next step in a progression is always based on what came before. That step is rejected in the sense that it is left behind (the way capitalism left behind feudalism).

But it is not destroyed whilst you are still standing

The NUS is a mass organisation to which the vast majority of students belong. We would never say for example that the Transport and General Workers' Union or the Amalgamated Engineering Union were useless simply because they have treacherous reformist leadership.

On the contrary precisely because of their mass base we would conclude that the struggles in which transport workers and engineers are involved would find their reflections within these organisations and that an important front in the battle for leadership of these sections of workers would be the trade unions themselves.

Surely precisely the same position applies to the National Union of Students. To turn one's back on this organisation, to reject it as 'useless', is a sectarian error comparable to the actions of the RSA.

Whilst NALSO must fight



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

Whytelands College went to a meeting organised by the University of London Institute of Education Students' Association to demand higher salaries for teachers.

For many of these students it was their first political meeting. Like others all over the country they were offered a liberal leadership which failed to explain the salaries question in terms of the economic crisis and to link it up with the struggle of the working class against the wage freeze.

Capitalism can no longer afford even the minimum in education so far offered to the working class, hence the cut-backs, low salaries and now the implications of the Plowden Report.

Higher salaries therefore involve a political struggle going beyond the limits of mere protest or putting a 'fair case' to uncle Harold: something more than was offered by the 'united front' platform which included a Communist Party member and a member of the Bow Group.

ULIESA put forward a militant-sounding resolution in support of the February 22-29 Student Week of Protest and called for a special lobby on March 1.

This was again avoiding the main issue of unity with the working class against Wilson's pro-monopoly policies.

As a Young Socialist I raised and gained some support for the February 21 demonstration and lobby of Parliament for the repeal of the Prices and Incomes Act and called on all students to fight with the working class to make the 'left' MPs fight Wilson and his policies.

**Gay Holland,
South London Young Teacher.**

selves being exploited by the employers. In many cases their parents find it a struggle to keep their children whilst they are studying, so students have to get jobs on Saturdays and during their holidays.

They are paid very low wages and quite a few of them have to work a whole day for about £1. The hardest and dirtiest work is often left for them as the full-time workers will not do it. Most students cannot be too choosy about what they do as there are never enough jobs to go round and they have to grab whatever they are offered.

By working they do not have sufficient time for relaxation and for studying and thus the whole thing becomes a vicious circle.

The Young Socialists demand better conditions for apprentices and full maintenance grants for students.

Students and apprentices should be in the forefront of the struggle against capitalism and we should do all we can to bring them into the Young Socialists.

**Marion Kavanagh,
Chairman, Thornton Heath YS.**

Pacifism

THE letter entitled 'Fight against Pacifists' in the February issue of Keep Left contained a reply to Vincenzi's criticism of the Trotskyists.

Vincenzi says 'the British working man is not disposed towards violent revolution—in fact he has always rejected it'.

To this the letter from L. H. Putney replies; 'to substitute the idea of complete "peace" . . . creates a dream world which aids the cause of this misery, the capitalist class.'

L. H. is oversimplifying the

on it. You accept it as a necessary evil if you want to stand and move on.

You cannot negate what gave rise to you and think that everything will be different and better.

Will you not achieve more by *employing* not destroying the products of progress that do exist? For example human life?

**C. L.,
West London.**

Student Movement

YOUR editorial in the February issue of Keep Left provides an excellent analysis of the significance of recent developments in the student movement; the political solidarity which you extend to members of the National Association of Labour Student Organisations will no doubt be a great encouragement to them in their fight with the Labour Party bureaucracy.

Nevertheless I believe that you make one serious error in your analysis which cannot pass uncorrected.

In your penultimate paragraph you say: 'The Students' Union and the Stalinist-Liberal Radical Student Alliance are useless. In one way or another they are both tied to the establishment. Students must have independent socialist leadership.'

I agree with your remarks with regard to the RSA which undoubtedly is a diversionary movement attempting to lead students who are coming into conflict with the Labour government into the safe area of 'protest' politics.

Your mistake however is in bracketing together RSA and the National Union of Students.

to maintain its *political* independence (i.e. for a correct programme against reformism and Stalinism) this in no way implies that it should remain independently aloof from the affairs of the National Union of Students.

All the problems with which students are and will be confronted will be burning issues inside the NUS. NALSO members must become the champions of the students' demands within the union and thus engage in the fight to win the broad student movement's leadership.

Bradford Student.

Bramley

BRAMLEY is a district in Leeds where conditions are bad for youth. The Young Socialists was started five months ago along with a youth club on Wednesday nights.

To go to other youth clubs you have to go to church. There are no picture houses or dance halls. The only dances are at Christmas.

We think the aldermen of Bramley are not for the working class but for bosses, that is why the YS is building up in Bramley. We are building the international force which will overthrow the bosses and put the working class in power.

Questions which are discussed a lot are 'What is Communism', 'What happened in Russia', 'The police', and whether God is any good for the working class.

We have two football teams in the Yorkshire Football League and one Sunday we even had a girls' soccer team.

The North West Leeds team challenges any other team in the YS to a match. We hope this is taken up. At the

moment North West Leeds is second in the League, with a good chance of winning it.

We are determined to build, although there are lots of difficulties—landlords refusing us meeting rooms (they do not agree with the YS building a mass movement), youth who start bother and sometimes a lack of funds.

We know that if we do not have a working committee in the YS branch, which organises and leads discussions and action, then we will not build the YS.

We can build the YS through the newly established Leeds and Bradford Federation and through the campaign for the Morecambe Conference for which we aim to have a coach load.

Bramley YS Member.

Letter from Algiers

BELOW we print a letter from a member of the Young Socialists who is now travelling around Europe and North Africa.

SO FAR I have been to Morocco, Gibraltar (a dump) and Algeria, besides travelling through France and Spain. I was in Madrid the evening they had student demonstrations but I did not see anything, in fact I did not know about them until after, except that there were loads of policia around, which is nothing unusual for Spain.

Really it scares me; everywhere they have got guns and even machine guns. Where I crossed the border from Morocco to Algeria they had a fortress complete with tanks.

When I was on the train to Madrid I was with about 10 Moroccans. The Spanish railways have a system of 'suplemento'. If the train is going to stop at every station, or for any reason they feel like, they charge you more.

Anyway this inspector came round to collect 'suplemento'—about 10s. in this case—and these Moroccans, who could speak Spanish, did not want to pay, because it is really a racket. One refused to pay and the law descended like vultures.

The inspector got a plain-clothes cop who ranted and raved and took out handcuffs and made as though he was going to arrest us all. Then, when the train stopped at a station, he got a couple of Guardia Civil, another sort of Spanish cop who wears a weird getup, carries a gun etc and whose origins lie in the repressions during and after the civil war.

They tried to get this fellow out of the carriage by persuasion obviously to arrest him. They asked to see his passport and refused to give it back.

Eventually the fellow got his passport back and did not have to pay extra. But it was a real insight into the way they work.

Spain itself is very poor,

but it is not despairing poverty as opposed to North Africa where Tangiers has to be seen to be believed—it is really terrible.

It is not just hunger or thirst, but no hope whatever of any kind of decent life.

As soon as you get off the boat you are surrounded by local youngsters who are trying to sell drugs, women, photos, rooms for the night, a guide around Tangiers—anything for a bit of money.

They are not just criminals, it is the only way for them. In three days in Tangiers I was approached more than 80 times. It is really bad.

Then there is the old Arabic town—Casbah—as opposed to the new French section (which is like Bournemouth). I do not think that I will ever be as shocked again by anything. I mean that just from a humane viewpoint.

The streets are narrow, winding uphill, littered with dirt and anything you can think of. There is a beggar to your left, his feeble hand outstretched. His face is not a human's; it is someone's who is dying. He has sores over half his head.

To the right there is a woman who is mad. She sits in the gutter talking away in Arabic.

When I was in Marrakesh I was walking down a street and there was a small recess and an old broken door and this old woman in a bundle of rags groaning—she was really in pain. She must have been having a heart attack or something.

It is impossible to forget the faces of the beggars who look at you as if they know you pity them—but it is the money that counts. In England or Spain there is poverty but it is not of that level of despair.

The British worker knows consciously that he will not be beaten. They may not have much in their pockets but they know they can fight. Also, I would say from my brief stay in Spain, so does the Spanish worker.

The Spanish really are a great people; never have I met anyone so friendly and cheerful and yet serious. I spent a whole day from Madrid to Algiers on a third class train (like pig sties—converted cattle trucks) and was showered with food, cigarettes and wine and I cannot speak a word of Spanish.

It is quite amazing; they sing and talk to each other as if they had known each other for years and yet they are strangers.

But Morocco is something different. Even if there were any prospects for immediate revolution, millions of them, who are right at the receiving end of the vicious world system, are already dying.

I am sorry but when I write about it, it becomes pre-tentious. It defies description because it is so real.

I hitch-hiked around Morocco for about two weeks and covered about 1,000 miles. I

went to Rabat, the capital, Casablanca, the commercial centre and big port. Really things are not so bad outside Tangiers.

There are many factories around the five big towns, especially Casablanca.

The women all go around in head to toe robes with veils. It is un-nerving. They are like ghosts. It is like being in another world, especially in the south. The peasants really live in a different world from the towns.

In these countries the fields are ploughed by horses or camels. The main activity is sheep herding. Then you come to small villages—never less than 30 miles apart. There is a cluster of houses, mud built with no windows and with only a small crude hole for the door.

The people stare at you as if you were a Martian, then you look up and there is a large Coca Cola sign. Everywhere there is the Coke sign.

Or like one time when I was off the main road walking along and this peasant comes past on a donkey carrying a large cardboard box with the slogan 'Tide, the washday miracle'. It makes England seem like a million miles away.

After Morocco I crossed over to Europe again to Gibraltar, which is just like Tunbridge Wells or East Grinstead. Old retired colonels walking about and 'English Tea 1s. 3d.' signs.

It is the only place where I had any trouble with the authorities about staying. They only let me remain three days. But there was no hope of a job so I moved on through Morocco to Algeria.

I have only been in Algeria three days but it seems a very interesting place. I got a train to Algiers because I was fed up with walking and I met a couple of young rich Algerians who were going from Al-Asanan to Algiers for a couple of days.

They paid for my stay in a good hotel for a couple of nights and filled me up with food.

Everywhere there are 'Vive FLN' signs and government proclamations about the revolution. The bookstands are packed with Polish, Russian and Chinese magazines, all in French or Arabic. If I stay here I will have to learn the language.

The shops and cafes have photographs of armed partisans and there are loads of shops selling pistols and rifles. Everywhere there are the painted slogans 'Votez Oui pour le révolution algérienne'.

Mind you, apart from all this, there is no sign of a revolution. There are still the beggars, still the rich and their big cars, hotels etc.

In the cafes there are groups of people singing Algerian folk music which is weird but far more real than pop music. The musicians, usually playing the mandolin and the banjo, really know

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Paper of the American Committee for the Fourth International
Room 8, 243 E.10. St. NYC 10003, USA.

their stuff. Another thing I find most interesting is the tit-bits of language e.g. in the Algerian dialect of Arabic the words thank you is Shaha.

Apparently this fellow was walking through the desert and dying of thirst and he came across an oasis whereupon he fell down on his knees and said 'Shaha-ra' 'Thank God', 'ra' being a name for God. And so they named the desert.

Best wishes for now,

I hope all goes well at your end.

Adrian,
YS member.

February 21 Lobby

THE DEMONSTRATION and lobby called by the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League on the theme that the "left" Labour MPs should fight against Wilson's policies' was undoubtedly successful.

Well over 1,500 students, Young Socialists and adult workers turned out.

There were workers of many political affiliations, all drawn into solidarity against the blows the Labour government has directed against the working class.

Yet it was the youth who dominated the march and it was the slogans of the YS which were shouted.

Despite the fact that the police, the watchdogs of capitalism, split the march into three sections, its effect was nothing short of fantastic.

The Labour 'lefts' were in no doubt as to the fact that the working class could and would give them considerable support if they would fight in Parliament.

The YS had a magnificent turnout. It was the revolutionary youth and other trade unionists who led the fight for the march and it was they who exposed the left fakers and the Communist Party leadership who openly betrayed the labour movement by refusing to fight for the lobby and thus denying thousands of workers an experience that was most valuable.

I think though the 'lefts' in the House of Commons reacted in the manner that most of us expected.

A fight for the interests of the working class against Wilson and the employers would, in this period, pose the question of the working class taking power, a course that would expose through struggle, social democracy and its petty-bourgeois basis and consequently reveal the total inadequacy of the lefts.

Although a completely new worker to politics I can see the importance very clearly, either the working class is to take power under a revolu-

tionary leadership or the employers will utterly smash and destroy the working class.

The working class has tried out the old traditional leaderships and found them corrupt and rotten. A new leadership is necessary; one that has a history of unflinching struggle at the forefront of the fights of the working class.

Such a movement is the Young Socialists.

The future lies in the hands of the working class. I am sure that their policies are ours.

Barry Almeida,
Burnt Oak YS.

Reply to New Keep Left Reader

KEEP LEFT exists as an organiser for the working-class youth in the fight for socialism.

As such it wages war against the fifth column agents of capitalism—the right wing—and exposes all the fakers who cover for them.

Of course, these fakers hate the Keep Left and fanatically rave at its policies. When I saw the letter by Christopher Vincenzi, this was written proof of the success of the aims of Keep Left.

As is usual he started by saying he agrees with us, and added—BUT. This 'but' means that he totally disagrees with us.

The sympathisers 'with an independent left-wing platform' expose their real position in saying that the African workers '... do not have sufficient men even who are trained to understand sophisticated modern weapons and techniques.'

He shows absolute contempt for the working class and its struggles. This pseudo-intellectual snob believes that he and his like have the gift and sole right to lead. This is why they oppose the victory of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam, many of whose weapons are stolen from the Americans and are of the category '... sophisticated modern ...'

This political missionaryism aims to 'lead' the working class not on an independent path to break capitalism but back into the arms of capitalist exploitation and misery.

Thus opposition to the slogan 'arm the African workers' means that they oppose calling the working-class into action, for they know that as in Russia in 1917 workers can break the hold of capitalism in other countries, and this is the LAST thing they want.

L. H.,
Putney.

révoltes

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International Youth Manifesto

1967 will be a year of exceptional importance for the European socialist youth movements. In all the major capitalist countries young people face the consequence of a worsening economic situation with all the burdens of the crisis being placed on their shoulders. Low wages, speed-ups, unemployment and the constant threat of war heavily overshadow the lives of millions of youth.

The Liège demonstration on October 15, 1966, against the war in Vietnam and in defence of the Hungarian Revolution revealed for all to see the powerful attraction which international action has for socialist youth.

This was much more than a demonstration. It was the first major intervention of revolutionary internationalism in the politics of Western Europe since the end of the Second World War. As a result, it has created the possibilities for a major victory against the politics of opportunism and revisionism which have held back the workers' movement in Western Europe for so long.

Liège opened up new avenues for the development of revolutionary Young Socialist movements in all the major capitalist countries.

These movements have a number of things in common. They are opposed to imperialism and its agencies, the Stalinist and Social Democratic bureaucracies. They believe that the struggle to assist the Vietnamese people begins with the recognition that the main enemy is at home. Insofar as we fight to defeat our own capitalist class, we assist the Vietnamese people in their struggle against imperialism.

Revolutionary youth is completely hostile to all forms of pacifism, both of the bourgeoisie and the renegade revisionists from Marxism. Together they seek to disarm the working class precisely at a time when it needs to be prepared more than ever for a most bitter conflict against imperialism.

Now, as in the past, the pacifist road is the road of enslavement for the working class, leading in the end to annihilation through war.

There can be no compromise between revolutionary socialist youth and all those who support the camps of bureaucracy and pacifism. Liège witnessed a public split between these forces. This can never be healed. It is a fight to the finish, that is to the day when the working class will triumph all over the world.

British Young Socialists owe their existence to a successful fight against the bureaucracy of Harold Wilson's Labour Party. Their comrades in the French Révoltes organisation owe their existence to the fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy and its stranglehold over the working class movement.

The youth of Hungary, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have learned, and are learning, how to successfully defeat their Stalinist bureaucracies. In China, the movement of millions of youth against the Stalinist bureaucracy expresses itself through the Red Guards.

These revolutionary youth will overcome the

contradictions of Stalinism when they go beyond the limits of the leadership of Mao, beyond the present struggle against the capitulationist wing of the Stalinist leadership, and unite their struggles with the international struggle of youth against imperialism and bureaucracy, behind a revolutionary programme.

Youth want to fight capitalism, but this cannot be done in an individual way. For youth, the great challenge of our time is the construction of revolutionary parties in every country, sections of the Trotskyist Fourth International, fighting day in and day out to win the confidence of the working class in preparation for the seizure of power and the establishment of socialism.

Once it is explained and fought for in a determined way, this great challenge can win the respect and support of tens of thousands.

We must not postpone our united effort to accomplish this task for a single day.

Let us prepare immediately a conference of all the youth organisations in Western Europe to work out a common programme and organisation designed to intensify our efforts towards the construction of revolutionary parties.

We propose to call an International Assembly of European Youth to be held in Britain between July 29 and August 5, 1967. This would have as its purpose several days of discussion, out of which it is proposed to set up a provisional committee to organise the conference.

We appeal to revolutionary youth everywhere to give us their fullest support.

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The Sovereign Private Hotel

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If you would like to attend the Young Socialists' Conference please fill in this form and send to: Sheila Torrance, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

NAME _____

AGE _____

ADDRESS _____

REVOLTES ASSEMBLY

from page 6

The Conference passed resolutions calling for the liberation of Hugo Blanco and other Peruvian political prisoners and also Fausto Davila and Mexican political prisoners.

It received messages from the National Committee of the Young Socialists and from a group of young socialists in Hanover. The success of this Paris Assembly has mobilised even more of the revolutionary youth of France. We now go forward to prepare a National Conference and build an organisation to give the lead to exploited youth in this country.

The immediate slogan is to call for a demonstration of youth in Paris against the dequalification and decay that the bourgeoisie reserves for them. This is the only way to make the six million young people take part, in their own way, in the next elections and really join the struggle of the working class.

Indian elections

From page 5

CP in India has been to try and convince the capitalist governments of Nehru, Shastri and Gandhi to bring in socialist measures.

They claim that socialism can be achieved through parliament in India. In fact both the pro-Moscow and the pro-Chinese parties have continually followed this parliamentary road and are talking of forming state governments in Kerala, Bengal, Andhra Pradesh etc.

In fact they did form a govern-

ment in Kerala some years ago with Namboodiripad as Chief Minister. He swore on the bourgeois constitution to 'uphold and implement' the fundamental aspects of the constitution, i.e. bourgeois property relations and exploitation.

Thus both the Communist Parties in India are betraying the revolutionary struggle of the working class. In India above all there can be no solutions to the problems of the working class and peasants by electing a few MPs. This is clearly exposed

by the present election results.

The job of a real communist in India today must be to fight to expose the role of parliament and to organise the working class to overthrow capitalism.

A revolutionary party must be built which learns from the international struggles of the working class. It must be a section of the Fourth International which will link the struggles of the Indian workers with the struggles in the metropolitan countries. This is the vital task in the Indian sub-continent today.