

KEEP LEFT

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of the
Young Socialists

UNITES YOUNG WORKERS - APPRENTICES - STUDENTS - UNEMPLOYED AND IMMIGRANT YOUTH

Fight back against the



Young Socialists National Committee statement

Tory government NOW!

THE National Committee of the Young Socialists declares that the election of a Tory Government is a most powerful challenge to young people all over Britain.

We call upon them to join with the Young Socialists in the greatest national campaign yet to defeat its reactionary policies, directed at the working class and the youth.

Our aim is to force this Government to resign as soon as possible under conditions which will facilitate the building of the revolutionary party and the taking of power by the working class.

The responsibility for the electoral defeat of the Labour Party rests with Wilson and his

right-wing clique who, ably supported by the fake left MPs and the Stalinists, refused to fight for socialist policies against Tory big business.

From October 1964 the Labour government was a willing prisoner of the international bankers and the City of London. That was the main reason why Wilson expelled a majority of the Young Socialists in the summer of 1964.

We were the only socialist alternative which challenged his leadership from inside the Labour Party.

The official policy of the Young Socialists, adopted at its annual conferences in 1963 and 1964, included demands for the expropriation of the banks, all out

opposition to US imperialism in Vietnam and the nationalization of the basic industries without compensation and under workers' control.

We wanted a real fight against capitalism and the Tory Party whilst Wilson wanted to placate Toryism by making capitalism work.

We were right. Those who expelled us have betrayed the working class back into the hands of a Tory government.

Wilson and the right wing tried to smash the Young Socialists in 1964 but they failed. The Young Socialists have not only grown stronger, we were able to fight Wilson's pro-Tory policies at every stage over the past six years and emerge more strength-

ened on each occasion. We built a new daily paper, the Workers Press over the past five years.

WE NOW FACE THE GREATEST CHALLENGE OF ALL.

The National Committee pledges itself to:

- Lead the fight against the Tories by establishing the broadest unity on socialist principles.
- To mobilize the working class, the youth and immigrant workers to defeat the Tory government.

The Tories are about to present their laws against the trade unions, and a new law on immigration.

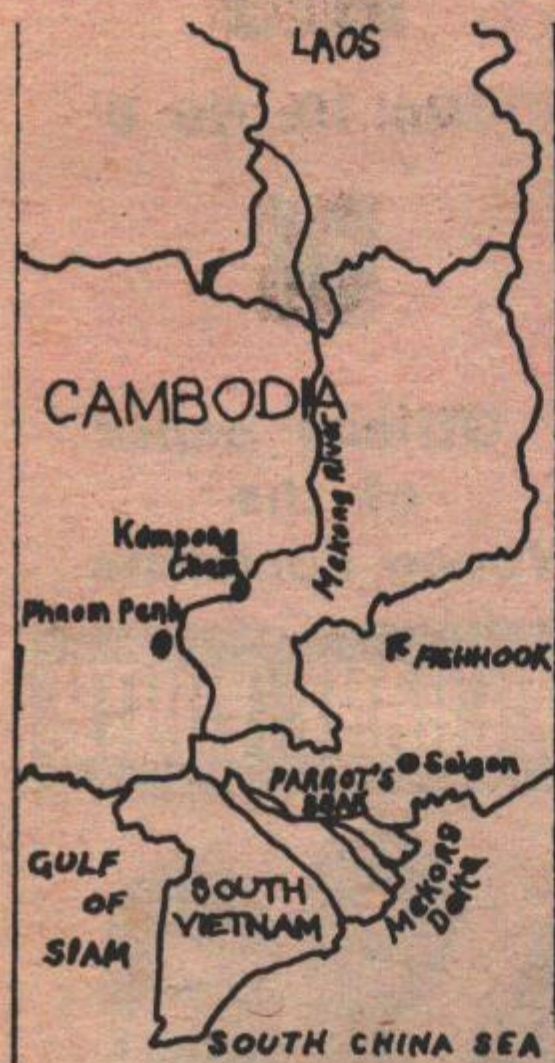
We aim to:

- Organize against these measures with a nationwide rally at Alexandra Palace on October 18.
- Mobilize a united campaign with immigrant workers to defeat Powellism wherever it raises its head!

THIS IS YOUR CHANCE TO FIGHT BACK!

Join the Young Socialists and help us launch the campaign immediately
Fill in the form on page 15

National Committee of the Young Socialists. June 20, 1970.



War in Indo-China a threat to world working class

BY PETER SYLVIERE

THE INVASION of Cambodia and Nixon's decision to extend the Indo-China war over the heads of Senate and Congress establishes the real aims of American foreign policy — the destruction of the Chinese People's Republic and the re-habilitation of imperialist exploitation of the Chinese people.

Since the years of the Korean war when the main bone of US foreign policy was the sharp antagonism between the newly-formed Chinese workers' state and imperialist America, the possibility of open war between the two countries has become increasingly real.

Today, with the sudden penetration of Cambodia, the prospect of a third world war presents itself in sharp forms.

A major redivision of world markets must be high on the agenda of US imperialism.

A special 'task force' entered Cambodia apparently to perform a routine 'search-and-destroy' operation on a 'Vietcong HQ'.

When, after some weeks of indiscriminate killing, looting and burning of villages and no HQ was found, US military

authorities merely announced the HQ had moved 21 miles deeper into Cambodia and carried on the bombing and looting.

On June 1 martial law was declared, threatening death by firing squad to anyone 'aiding or abetting the enemy'.

Following an identical pattern of destruction to Vietnam, the Cambodia war has broken the myth of 'Vietnamization' and troop repatriation has spurred a massive show of opposition inside the US army.

Mass refusals to go into battle are common and the number of

anti-war magazines published by the soldiers are increasing.

This movement in the army is echoed in the US, where, on May 21, New York City was the scene of a 50,000 strong demonstration of workers and students calling for the withdrawal of all troops in Indo-China, and protesting at the killings of students at Kent State, Jackson and Augusta universities.

The historic importance of the march lay in the fact that for the first time sections of the organized American working class came out definitely against the



US troops round up 'suspects' in the villages (above) and (below) US tanks and planes flattened this Cambodian village.

WORLD NEWS

war—20 union contingents representing decisive sections of New York workers attended the march.

The appearance of workers into the stream of anti-war demonstrations frightened some right-wing newspapers into imposing a nationwide black-out on the march.

The motivating forces for the imperialist Indo-China war are in America, which is the hub of world imperialism. The violence of the war sends tremors running through the entire capitalist system.

Tumbling shares and profits in world stock markets, which exposed the fragility of the capitalist structure, coincided with Nixon's thrust into Cambodia.

With the fraudulent credibility of such financial empires as International Overseas Services (IOS) exposed and crumbling, the most reputable financial houses in Wall St have been put into question.

Repeat

The meekest sneeze of confidence could turn the whole lot into a crashing repeat of Wall St, 1929.

Slow turn-over on home markets and fierce overseas competition from Japanese and European business rivals — with threats of 'protectionist' tariffs on all sides—has necessitated war on the working class starting in America itself.

Rising unemployment and prices, fascist police methods, law-enforced strike-breaking and the war itself have proved insufficient to destroy the confidence of the organized US working class.

The rapid advance of Chinese military science, as shown by the recent nuclear installations and the launching of China's

first satellite, is a growing reminder of the enormous unified strength of the Chinese working class.

The Chinese People's Republic constitutes both the greatest danger to American capitalism and potentially a solution to its crisis.

Sights fixed

Since Mao led the Chinese workers and peasants to power in 1949, US military staff have kept their sights fixed on the massive territory of China with the long-term view of conquering it for the free exploitation of its rich natural resources and its 800,000,000 population.

The May 1 decision of Merseyside workers to take industrial action in solidarity with workers in SE Asia at a time when British workers are pre-occupied with the struggle for wages and against productivity deals — represented a big step forward in political consciousness.

The YS must not let up in their fight for internationalism in the British working class and must extend it to include the defence of the Chinese People's Republic.

The shooting down of students in Kent State provides big lessons for both students and workers.

In its struggle for survival the US capitalist class is hitting out on all sides.

The bullets used in Kent State were meant for the working class — the fact that they killed students is a measure of the panic of the ruling class unable to see how to match the strength of the organized working class, but on the final count only the working class can decide the outcome.

● Down with US imperialism!
● Hands off the Chinese People's Republic!
● Well done Merseyside!

A Trotskyist youth organization in Germany

Junge Garde member tells Keep Left

THE GERMAN Trotskyist youth organization Junge Garde developed out of the movement in Germany against the Emergency Laws in May/June 1968.

These emergency laws were aimed at attacks on trade union rights and the use of armed forces against strikers.

Trotskyists of the International Workers Correspondents group intervened in the struggle.

About this time there was a general crisis of all the left organizations in Germany and the Trotskyists' intervention caused a split in the opposition movement, out of which our nucleus was built.

mass rally

One year later in July 1969, the trade unions were forced to organize a mass rally of 10,000 apprentices and young workers against laws that allowed employers to fix the percentage of those apprentices who would get education in the factories and those who should have no training at all.

This law was in accordance with the employers' plans and needs for future costs of automation—to throw out labour and introduce general flexibility.

The International Workers Correspondents group intervened in the trade-union youth movement especially in Frankfurt.

At the mass rally only the Trotskyists group had the perspective for a national strike to

be fought for through the unions—the other leaderships called for a plea to parliament.

Out of this campaign our group won many youth and organized them to work in the unions for revolutionary perspectives against reformism.

We were able to set up groups in many new cities: in Frankfurt, Hanover, and Bochum in the giant industrial complexes in the Ruhr valley, (base of the Krupp monopoly).

From this the Trotskyist group was able to bring a force to the AJS rally at Le Bourget on February 1, 1970.

At the rally, it was discussed how to organize, how to communicate in order to build a revolutionary youth organization in Germany.

Three weeks later in Frankfurt we held our first national meeting to discuss the political basis of the revolutionary youth organization which we find it necessary to build.

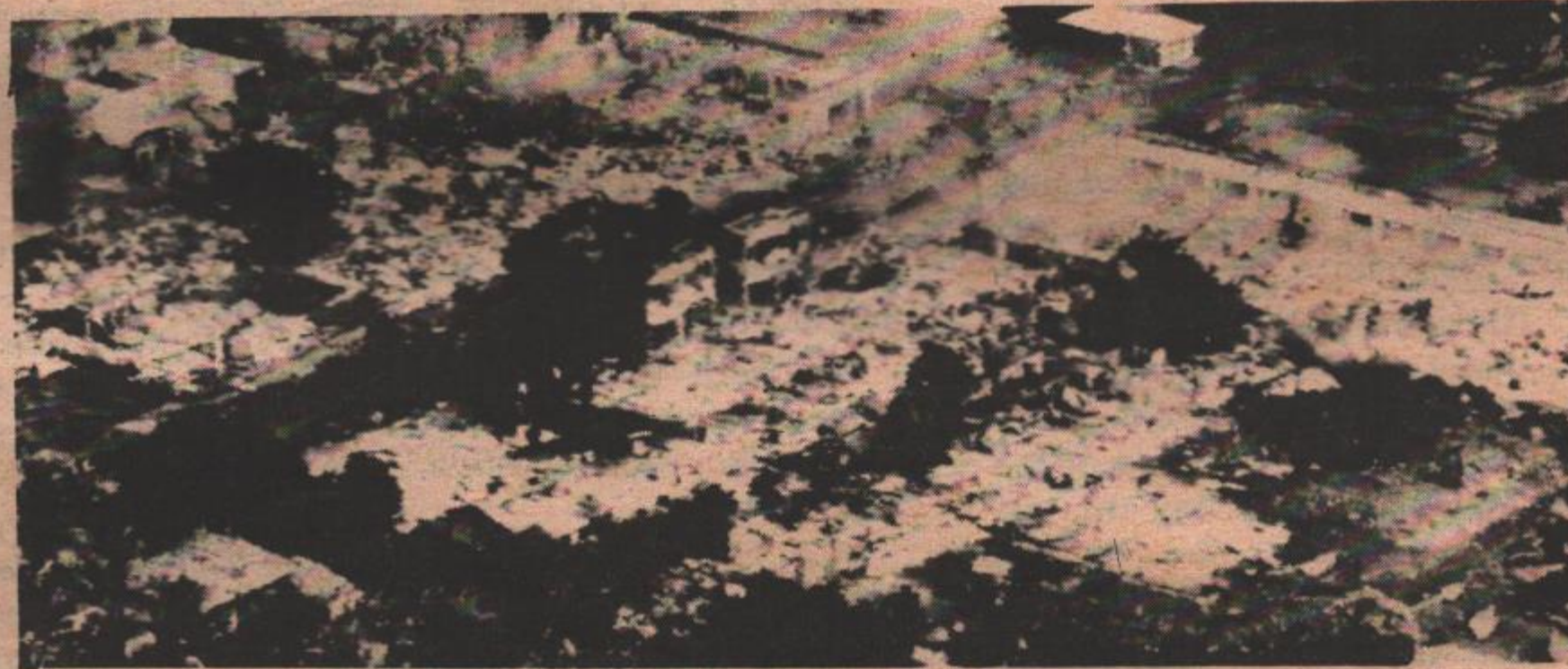
manifesto

This meeting was in preparation for the meeting at Bochum on April 4 and 5 at which we worked out our political manifesto.

This political manifesto is the basis for everyone who wants to fight capitalism and Stalinism to join Junge Garde.

It is necessary for us to intervene nationally on certain demands and proposals in different cities.

The basis for intervening is the political manifesto.



IN AN article published in 'Jeune Revolutionnaire', French sister paper to Keep Left, disturbing details of France's unemployed youth—a total of 1,203,297—are given.

These young people are aged between 16 and 24 and they are 'neither in the army, nor at work, nor at school'.

One out of every three girls is out of work.

In fact the number of unemployed youth under the age of 24 amounts to 40 per cent of the total number unemployed in France.

Those in jobs, however, fare no better. The average wage for 1969 for the same age group was 710 francs a month (approximately £54) for boys and 640 francs (approximately £48) for girls.

Throughout the entire country 21 per cent of the youth earn less than 500 francs a month, 26 per cent earn 500 to 700 francs making a total of 47 per cent who earn less than 700 francs a month (approx £53).

This is in a country where the average prices of everyday things are very much dearer than in Britain.

There has been recently drafted a plan for instituting 'civic duties' for youth—based on a principle defined by an army general as 'arms for

right-wing youth, hard-labour for left-wing youth'.

The idea is that young people would be used as cheap labour in infant schools, in hospitals and in industry.

The Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme makes a call in its article for a massive demonstration of youth against the French government.

They have asked the leaders of the Young Communists to join them in this national mobilization against the oppression of youth.

Editor's note: the unemployment figures given here may not relate to official figures, probably because many youth are not registered.



British troops in Belfast

THE General Election in Northern Ireland for 12 seats in Westminster takes place against a background of crisis for both the official Unionist ruling party and the opposition Nationalist and Republican parties.

Ireland is Britain's oldest colony and the working class and small farmers' struggle in Ireland has always been tied up with the aspirations for national independence.

Since the period of the settlement of Ulster, when a large number of Presbyterian settlers came from Scotland, there have always been religious divisions in Ulster.

It is these divisions that both the unionists and the nationalists rely on to maintain the poverty and their hold over both sections of the working class in Northern Ireland.

POWER

Because of the split in the working class the Ulster Unionist party has held power for 50 years, ever since 1921.

Northern Ireland, in fact, is the only party of Britain in which a significant section of the working class votes for a Tory policy.

This policy is linked by the closest possible ties with the Conservative Party in Britain. In fact the full name of Heath's party is the Conservative and Unionist Party.

The crisis in N. Ireland has also affected the southern 26 counties of Eire.

The ruling Fianna Fail Tory party is facing its deepest crisis since the civil war. Premier Jack Lynch has been forced to gaoil two of his own ministers for

Crisis election for N. Ireland

By our special correspondent in Belfast

alleged gun-running. Meanwhile, the working class is carrying prolonged battles for wages. Cement workers and bank clerks have already been on strike for four months and the dockers are threatening to strike if their demands for increased pay are not met.

Today, however, the old forms of division are not enough to hold back the militancy of the working class as it comes into action fighting for higher wages, better living standards and better housing.

The small farmers threatened by ruin because of rising prices and Common Market competition are also fighting back.

Bernadette Devlin and Paisley at the present time represent the polarization of class forces which is taking place as the tempo of the struggle heightens.

BACKLASH

The Civil Rights movement in 1968-1969 brought thousands of Irish workers into struggle against the vicious Special Powers Act and the rigged voting system.

Because this movement had no leadership however and could not take the working-class forward the backlash of reaction,

that is Paisley's movement, began to grow.

Paisley's meetings appeal to all the backwardness and bigotry of the small farmer and shopkeeper and a section of the working class.

They finish off appropriately enough with a call to present 'law and order' and a call for three cheers for the police who

Devlin: no political alternative



are notably quiet and self-effacing.

Bernadette Devlin offers no political alternative in a fight to retain her Westminster seat.

Workers who are interested in understanding the political situation have nothing apart from the old calls for Connolly socialism.

The class nature of the struggle is submerged in an attempt to preserve opportunist unity.

On the other hand class unity is needed to defeat Unionism and the drive for this unity can be seen in attempts to find one candidate to oppose the Unionists.

A thorough understanding of the history and development of the Irish working class is now vital—is the only basis of the struggle for revolutionary politics in Ireland.

Stop Press:

ON SUNDAY, June 7 troops were out in force in Belfast on the Crumlin Road.

Senior police and army representatives have announced new and much stiffer plans for dealing with fights and demonstrations.

From now on if trouble breaks out the area is to be flooded by hundreds of troops. Passers-by will be warned at the start that they constitute an illegal assembly and if they do not leave they will be arrested.

Troops will retaliate against stone-throwers with more snatch squads and more gas.

The 45 Commando Royal Marines, who arrived only recently in the Ballykinlar camp, are expected to spear-head the new attacks.

Their training includes the use of troop-carrying helicopters similar to those used in Vietnam. 'These will be used if necessary,' said army spokesmen.

Attack on higher education in Ireland

From our Dublin correspondent

NEAR the end of April, the Irish Minister for Education, Mr Faulkener, suddenly and without consulting anybody, announced that university fees would go up by 25 per cent next October.

This was his reply to the request of the Higher Education Authority (HEA)—a body set up to advise on legislation to rationalize higher education—for an extra £24 million over the next six years, to slightly improve standards and facilities.

Consistent

He said that the government would supply £15 million and that the students or somebody else would have to pay the rest.

This is a thinly disguised attack on the much-talked-about right of the working class to higher education and is consistent with the Tory rationalization policies of the present Irish government.

It is all the more violent, as it comes at a time when more working-class youth are completing their secondary education

because of a much vaunted 'free' scheme introduced in 1967 and because it was coupled with a refusal to raise the school-leaving age from 14 to 15.

Despite the exorbitant fee rise, which conflicts with the December dictates of Prime Minister Lynch, in which he said that wages and prices must not rise more than 7 per cent during 1970, there has been no news of a similar, or for that matter any, increase in the very inadequate grant scheme.

Under this scheme, less than 4 per cent of the student population qualify for comparatively reasonable grants.

The maximum grant is £300 from which one must pay for fees, books, accommodation, bus fares, and so on.

To receive even this much one's parents must be virtually on the poverty line. It is therefore not surprising that less than 2 per cent of Irish students are of working-class origin and these are only able to attend university because of great sacrifices.

But the hardship is not confined solely to working-class students.

Nearly 75 per cent of Irish students work during vacation time, and sometimes during term time, not simply for extra pocket-money but to enable them to attend university without undue

hardship to their parents.

Despite the grant scheme and vacation work, the vast majority are obliged to seek financial aid either from their parents or from the banks under the various student loan schemes for which they have to pay normal interest rates.

When the rise was first announced there was an almost inaudible whimper of protest from the universities against this invasion on their autonomy. This soon died away.

Assortment

The brunt of the protest moves then fell on the official student leadership, the Union of Students in Ireland (USI), a body controlled by an assortment of careerists, liberals and social democratic hacks.

The leaders went along to the minister and asked him to reconsider his action. The minister informed them that he would not.

They then attempted to get students to join the switch-board at the ministry for one day, an enterprise in which they were not very successful.

They now advocate a policy of withholding fees, which is all very well for those who receive no financial aid but is useless for the less well off as their aid

comes through university channels.

They refuse to call any action which demands more personal commitment, ostensibly because of the imminence of examinations but really because they fear losing the student body to more militant leaders.

There have been vague mentions of action during the vacation but as most students will be in Britain working, it is unlikely that anything will happen.

Thus we can see that the attitude of the student leaders will lead to minimal protest and, in keeping their reputation for 'saneness', the fee rise will occur almost unopposed.

They refuse because of this to implement the only policy which has any chance of success i.e. the policy of turning towards the working class for their support.

But this would interfere with their long-term policy of support for the rationalization of university finances i.e. greater ties with big business.

The Irish Young Socialists are struggling to set up Young Socialist Students' Societies in the universities. By doing this we can win cadres to revolutionary politics to lead a principled fight against this and all attacks on students and the working class, direct and indirect.

World News Round-up

By Gary Gurmeet

AFRICA

THE real face of the African 'nationalist' independence movements was revealed lately when Malawi's president Dr Banda played host to the leader of racist South Africa, Vorster.

The South African head, whose government continues the subjection of 14 million Africans to total slavery, was shown around the construction of Malawi's new capital city, which he is financing.

The secrecy enveloping the entire talks between the two heads was necessary to hide the real aim of the visit from the African workers.

It plainly expounds the fact that the nationalist leaders have no aim of fighting against the stranglehold of world imperialism or against apartheid.

BRAZIL

THE Brazilian dictatorship has seized five members of the Revolutionary Workers' Party in a series of attacks against all political opponents.

The Trotskyists of the RWP are among the thousands held without any trials.

Reports of torture in these prisons are being censored by the government.

Meanwhile hundreds of starving peasants were reported to be looting the food trains which have since been put under army guard.

These fascist methods have the undisputed consent of Nixon and Wall Street, which is facing its worst days for over eight years.

CYPRUS

A PRE-ELECTION terrorist rehearsal is being carried out in Cyprus by extreme right-wing groups.

Armed men are reported to have raided a central police station and got away with huge quantities of arms in about 33 cars.

The leaflets left by them were signed by the 'National Front', a right-wing terrorist organization. The activities could be the training ground for a military coup similar to Greece.

The only guarantee for the future of the Cypriot workers is not in the reformist treachery of the Communist Party, but in the building of a new revolutionary party.

ARGENTINA

CLASHES between left-wing students and police, in which six students were seriously injured, have led to the closure of all the universities in Cordoba, Argentina.

The military rule which was imposed after violent struggles and a general strike last year, has closed down the daily paper 'Cronica'.

The government incomes policy was the target of a one-day general strike earlier this year when strikers were attacked by the police.

The trade union leaders had already endorsed this policy. The reformist outlook of the trade union leaders serves the dictatorship well.

LEBANON

AFTER continuous attacks by the Israeli forces into Lebanon, the Lebanese government has firmly declared that it will enforce the Cairo agreement, controlling the activities of guerrillas within its borders.

This has followed the general strike in Beirut calling upon the government to take action against the Israeli attacks.

About 30,000 refugees have left the border areas so far and they have threatened to 'move into the homes and palaces of the rich'.

The Lebanese ruling class, in a bid to control its workers, is prepared to give concessions to the brutal expansionist aims of Zionism.

POLITICAL PROFILES

JAURES emerged on to the political arena at the most dormant phase of the Third Republic which at the time had only 15 years of existence behind it. While backed by no strong traditions it had ranged before it powerful enemies. The fight for the republic, for its existence and for its 'purification' formed the basic Jaurès' idea throughout his work.

He sought a broader social base for the republic, he wanted to bring the republic to the people so that the people through the republic could organize and make the republican state in the final count the instrument of a social economy.

For Jaurès, the democrat, socialism was the only possible means to strengthen the republic and its only possible fulfilment. In his mind there was no contradiction between politics and socialism, the contradiction that reflects the historical gulf between the proletariat and the democratic bourgeoisie.

In his tireless striving for an idealist synthesis Jaurès emerged in the first period as the democrat prepared to father socialism while in the second period of his activity as the socialist carrying the responsibility for the whole of democracy.

'L'Humanité' (Humanity)—it was not by chance that Jaurès so named the newspaper he created.

Socialism was not for him the theoretical expression of the class struggle of the proletariat. On the contrary the proletariat remained in his eyes a historical force at the service of justice, freedom and humanity.

Above the proletariat he assigned the greater place to the independent idea of 'humanity', which on the lips of the ordinary run of French haranguers remained empty but which for Jaurès was filled with unfeigned and positive idealism.

Intuitive

In his politics Jaurès brought together in himself the ability for extreme idealistic abstraction and a powerful intuitive sense of reality.

This combination penetrated the whole of his activity. The sterile ideas of 'Justice' and 'Good' with him went hand in hand with an empirical appreciation of even the secondary realities of life.

For all his moral optimism Jaurès finely grasped circumstances and men and knew well how to turn both to advantage.

There was a very healthy sense to this. On occasions he had been called the sly peasant. But this healthy sense of this, thanks to his single scale of values, was alien to vulgarity. And most important this healthy sense stood at the service of the idea.

Jaurès was an ideologist, the herald of ideas, in the sense in which the now half-forgotten Alfred Foullier spoke of the 'motive-ideas' of history.

Napoleon, with an artillerist's disdain, answered the 'ideologists' (the very word belongs to him). Yet Napoleon himself was the ideologist of the new militarism.

The ideologist does not simply adjust himself to reality but from it abstracts the 'idea' and this idea leads him to his ultimate conclusions.

In an era favourable to him this gives the ideologist successes such as the vulgar practice can never achieve; but it is just this which prepares for him dizzying falls in which the objective circumstances swirl round him.

Redundant

The doctrinaire becomes frozen to his theory whose spirit he mortifies. The opportunist 'practico' acquires certain tricks of the political trade and then following a turning point in the situation feels himself to be like a hand weaver made redundant by the mechanical loom.

The ideologist on the grand scale is powerless only at that moment when history disarms him ideologically but he tends to be capable of rapidly re-arming himself; by mastering the ideas of the new era he comes out on top.

Jaurès was an ideologist. From the political situation he would extract its idea and in the service of that idea he would not stop halfway.

Thus in the period of the Dreyfus Affair he brought to its ultimate conclusions the idea of collaborating with the bourgeois left and passionately supported Millerand, a vulgar political empiricist in whom there was and is

nothing of ideology nor of its courage and sweep.

Along this road Jaurès ended up in a blind alley with the voluntary and unstinted blindness of the ideologist who is ready to close his eyes to the facts so as not to deny the motive-ideas.

Jaurès fought with an ideological passion against the danger of a European war. In this fight as in every one he waged, he utilized two methods which deeply conflicted with the class character of his party and which to many of his comrades seemed, to say the least, foolhardy.

He would take a great deal upon himself, upon his personal strength, resourcefulness, improvisation and in the corridors of parliament he would waylay, with exaggerated hopes, ministers and diplomats and pin them to the wall with the weight of his reasoning.

But corridor discussions and effects did not in themselves flow from Jaurès' nature and were not entirely elevated into a system: he was a political ideologist and not a doctrinaire of opportunism.

Capable

In the service of the idea which possessed him he was capable with equal passion, of using the most opportunist and the most revolutionary means and if this idea answered the character of the era so he was capable of achieving results second to none.

But he did meet with catastrophic defeats. Like Napoleon he was able to know both his Austerlitz and his Waterloo.

The world war would have placed Jaurès face to face with those questions which have split European socialism into two irreconcilable camps.

Which position would he have taken up? Undoubtedly the patriotic. But he would never have passively reconciled himself to that degradation of the French Socialist Party which befell it under the leadership of Guesde, Renaudel, Samba and Thomas.

And we do have the indisputable right to suppose that in the revolution to come the great tribune would define his position and develop his powers to the end.

A meaningless piece of lead freed him from his supreme political test.

Jaurès represented the embodiment of the force of an individual. His spiritual profile corresponded fully to his physical build: elegance and grace as qualities in themselves were foreign to him; yet congenital to his speeches and actions was that higher beauty which marks the appearance of self-confident creative energy.

If one considers transparent clarity and refinement of form as comprehensive features of the French spirit, then Jaurès may appear to be little typical of France.

But in actual fact he was a Frenchman to the highest degree. Alongside Voltaire and Boileau, and also Anatole

France, in literature, and alongside the heroes of the old Gironde or the present-day Viviani and Dechanelle in politics, France knew too Rabelais, Balzac and Zola in literature and Mirabeau, Danton and Jaurès in politics.

These are a race of men with powerful physical and intellectual sinews, a positive fearlessness, with a great force of passion and with a concentrated will.

These are an athletic type. It was enough to hear the Zeus-like voice of Jaurès and to see his muscular face lift up by inner rays, his imperious nose, his stubborn, unbending neck, to say to oneself: *Ecce homo!* (Behold the man!).

Jaurès' chief strength as an orator was the same as that which constituted his strength as a politician: tensed, inwardly-directed passion, the will to action.

In Jaurès' oratorical works there is nothing self-sufficient; he was not an orator but more; the art of the word for him was not an end but the means to an end.

Hence, being a very powerful orator, —possibly the most powerful orator out of all those that humanity has produced— he stood above the oratorical art; he was always higher than his speech like the craftsman is higher than his tool . . .

Zola was an artist: he started from the naturalist school of moral impassivity and suddenly erupted with the thunder-clap of his letter 'J'accuse' (I accuse).

In this there was laid a mighty moral force which found its expression in his titanic creative work, but which was essentially broader than art: this was the human force, of destruction and creation.

So also with Jaurès. In his oratorical skill, and in his politics with all their unavoidable limitations, there is revealed a regal character with a real, sincere moral fibre and with a stubborn will to struggle and to victory.

Purposeful

He mounted the tribune not in order to unload himself of images or in order to provide the most complete expression to a series of thoughts, but in order to forge dissipated wills together into a unity of aim; in his speech there is none of the Latin rhetorical art for art's sake: it was always purposeful and utilitarian: it is precisely for this reason that it represents a higher form of human creation.

Jaurès made use of, with equal freedom, now the arguments of reason, now the artistic image, now the appeal to human emotions.

At one and the same time he played on thought, aesthetic sensitivity, and the will. But all these forces of his oratorical, political and human genius were subordinate to his main force: the will to action.

I have heard Jaurès at National Assemblies in Paris, at International Congresses and at congress commissions. Each

time I listened to him as if for the first time.

He had not built up routines, he never repeated himself fundamentally each time he once again discovered himself, each time he mobilized anew the many-sided forces of his spirit.

For all the might of his force, elemental like a waterfall, there was much tenderness in it which shone like the gleam of a higher culture of the spirit.

He broke rocks, roared, shook but never deafened himself, stood always on guard, astutely picking out every response with his ear.

He would snatch it up, counter the objection, at times mercilessly like a hurricane, sweeping all resistance out of its path, at times magnanimously and tenderly like a tutor or an elder brother.

Thus the 10-ton steam hammer is able to grind a stone slab to powder and to beat out gold leaf to a tenth of a millimetre.

Human devil

Paul Lafargue, a Marxist and an ideological opponent of Jaurès called him a human-devil.

This devilish power—as a matter of fact a genuinely 'divine' power—could be sensed in him by everyone whether friends or enemies.

And enemies, frequently seemingly bewitched, passed out expectantly under the torrent of his speech which was well clad in the word, just as in the face of an elemental natural phenomenon.

Three years ago this figure, one of nature's rare gifts to mankind, perished without exhausting himself.

Maybe for an aesthetically rounded image Jaurès needed such a death. Great people are able to die in their own way.

Tolstoy sensing death on the way took up his crook and went off into exile from the society which he rejected and died on a remote station like a pilgrim.

Athlete

Lafargue, in whom the epicurean matched the stoic, lived on in an atmosphere of rest and thought until 70 years of age when he said to himself 'enough' and injected poison into his veins.

Jaurès, as the athlete of the idea, died in the ring while fighting the greatest disaster which has ever befallen mankind and humanity—fighting against the war.

And he will remain in the memory of mankind as a soothsayer and as the precursor of that higher human type which will have to be born out of the sufferings and downfalls, the hopes and struggles.

'Kievskaya Mysl' No. 196
July 17, 1915.

JEAN JAURÈS

Continued from last month

PART TWO

From Vol 8 of Trotsky's works



THERE has never been a full edition of Leon Trotsky's writings. The publication of his 'Collected Works' was suspended and finally banned by Stalin after the expulsion of the Left Opposition from the Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Union in 1927.

The Stalinist censoring of the writings of Trotsky and other Left Opposition leaders was one of the most reactionary blows dealt by the bureaucracy against Marxism and the international workers' movement.

But today the Trotskyist movement, fighting to build the revolutionary leadership of the working class, has its own daily paper in Britain.

Trotsky's Fourth International founded in 1938, lives on today in the struggle of the Young Socialists and Keep Left to build a mass revolutionary youth movement, which will train its cadres to lead the working class to take power.

Here we print the sixth in our series of translations from the Russian of Trotsky's Works.



Blind-alley politics of Black Power

A GOOD place to start in trying to understand this black militant movement is from the points of their programme.

- We want full employment for our people.
- We want housing fit for the shelter of human beings.
- We want all black men to be free from military service.

The most important aspect of these reforms is their anti-working-class character. In fact by the separation of the demands of the black from the white workers they are a real threat to the working class.

Moreover, these demands lead to the illusion that the employers can grant them under capitalism in crisis.

Since this programme was originally written, the Black Panthers Party (BPP), have gone through many experiences, and have abandoned the openly racialist standpoint they held formerly.

But through all these experiences, they have remained faithful to the pragmatic ('try it and see how it works') method of the bourgeoisie—which is death to the workers' movement.



The Black Panthers—'guns and leather politics'.

By
Mick Humphrey

ist capitalist government of America.

The courage shown by the Black Panthers in their confrontations with the police (over 30 have been murdered by the Nixon administration) serve as a diversion from the building of a revolutionary party, and in fact strengthen the ruling class.

The Panthers have always drawn away from building a working-class party.

'Right now I feel that we must make an approach to the working class as a category, but we feel that they are not about ready to come in.'

This hostility to the working class exposes the petty-bourgeois, anti-Marxist nature of the movement.

The anti-Marxism of the Panthers, their contemptuous dismissal of Marx as a 'honkie', not to mention Stokely Carmichael's (not a Black Panther, but very close to their ideology) recent discovery that: 'Hitler was the greatest white man of the 20th

century', is very much a product of the social composition of the Panthers, and the social and cultural degradation that surrounds them.

A vivid description of the movement and its blind-alley politics was recently published in a 'Newsweek' feature on the Black Panthers.

The article is well worth reading, because it confirms, although not written with that purpose, the Marxist critique of the Panthers.

The following extract should show what I mean pretty succinctly:

FORMAL

'For the Panthers come from another world—the world of the street corner where their guns-and-leather politics are only a formal statement of the everyday hostility between the bloods and the police. Bobby Seale, in his San Francisco jail, calls them the first lumpen proletarian revolutionaries—the "poolhall brothers" from an underclass so depressed and so destructive that even Lenin despaired of them.

"We come from the streets and we've been everywhere," said Seale. Michael Tabor is one of them—a sometime junkie and burglar who turned around after

he read Malcolm X, and joined the New York Panthers.

'He testified last week in the bombing case, and what he said was a lesson in the Panther line.

'How long had he spent in prison? "23 years," he mumbled—which came to all his life. Why had he taken heroin? Drugs, he said, "helped my nose not to smell the urine-soaked hallways. I didn't feel the garbage underfoot. I didn't hear the sound of police sirens . . . I was a member of the Cloud Nine society.'

'Had he burglarized apartments in Harlem? No, he said—"Even at that time I knew who the enemy was. I went downtown . . ." Did he consider his activities as crimes? No again—"I refer to crime as being the exploitation of poor people by filthy, rich, money-mad, avaricious, capitalist pigs.'" ('Newsweek', February 23, 1970.)

This statement expresses the bitterness, frustration and despair of the ghetto slum—but it does not amount to a programme.

The Panthers attempt to solve the Negro problem separate from the working class, by means of guns. ('The only good pig is a dead pig') with predictable results.

Says the same 'Newsweek' article:

'The campaign has taken a

fearful toll of the Panthers. They have probably never been so fearsome as the ferocity of the drive against them suggests (this is an understatement), now they are tattered, beleaguered and fighting to stay alive.

'Perhaps 100 of them are in jails and prisons around the country, and 400 or 500 in all have cases pending against them. The guns have been packed out of sight, the berets and jackets closeted, the f—s and mother f—s dropped, at Newton's decree, from the party's public vocabulary . . . guns scared off far more blacks than they attracted.

"They got a Bogart image," one Black Panther suggests. "Black people are afraid of them. They think if you join you're going to get bumped off."

DESPAIR

The despair that runs through the Black Panther movement is that of the lumpen proletariat in the break-up of capitalism, and is summed up by Cleaver:

'There's a need for black people particularly to have a Kami Kaze (Japanese Suicide Fighters) consciousness.'

As the working class in America move forward more and more against unemployment and the imperialist wars, the bosses have to fight to defend their profits.

In this period it will not be petty-bourgeois nationalist groups, but the revolutionary party, under the banner of the Fourth International, that will play the decisive role in leading the working class to victory.

The lesson of the Black Panthers is that racialism can only be fought in the united struggle of all workers against the common enemy.

Discussion on capitalist

crisis at weekend school

WELL-KNOWN Playwright David Mercer introduced a discussion on 'Culture, Theatre and Socialism' at the London area Young Socialists weekend school on May 30 and 31 in Eastbourne.

The school provided a clear insight into the effect of capitalism's crisis on both the working class and the intellectuals, through the talk given by David Mercer and the one given by Socialist Labour League Central Committee member Cliff Slaughter.

On Saturday much of the discussion revolved around one of David Mercer's films 'In Two Minds' which he said had tried to show the case of a schizophrenic girl and her conflict with parents who applied enormous pressure on her to accept the 'normal' standards of society.

Children in this situation, David Mercer explained, find themselves in fact coming into conflict with values of capitalist society.

Difficulty

With the intensification of the political and economic crisis of capitalism, Mercer said there was great difficulty in producing original work because of the increasing censorships and stultification of 'non-conformist' views.

However, 'a work of art cannot by itself provide the answers. Revolution is the means of transferring power.

'A work of art may enrich consciousness and it will enrich future society,' said Mercer talking about his recent plays on television and his dealings with Stalinism.

A lively discotheque in the evening was enjoyed by all the members and a number of local YS members from Eastbourne.

Speaking on Sunday Cliff Slaughter said that the fight for and the success of revolution lay in the fight for the continuation of Leninism.

Conception

This meant first and foremost an internationalist conception of socialism. The effects of the war in Vietnam could be seen from one corner of the world to another.

The development of the world economic crisis and its reflection in the severe crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy were the factors underlining the significance of Lenin today.

The revolutionary movement could only be built on an understanding of the laws of development of society and the unity

Guest speakers:

Playwright David Mercer and SLL Central Committee member Cliff Slaughter

between theory and practice. In Britain the general election period has seen the polarization of the working class against the Tories.

The return of a Labour government was necessary to take the working class through the experience of voting against the Tories and take up a struggle to smash all illusion and reformism.

A short film about the 1926 General Strike laid the emphasis once again on the decisive nature of revolutionary leadership.

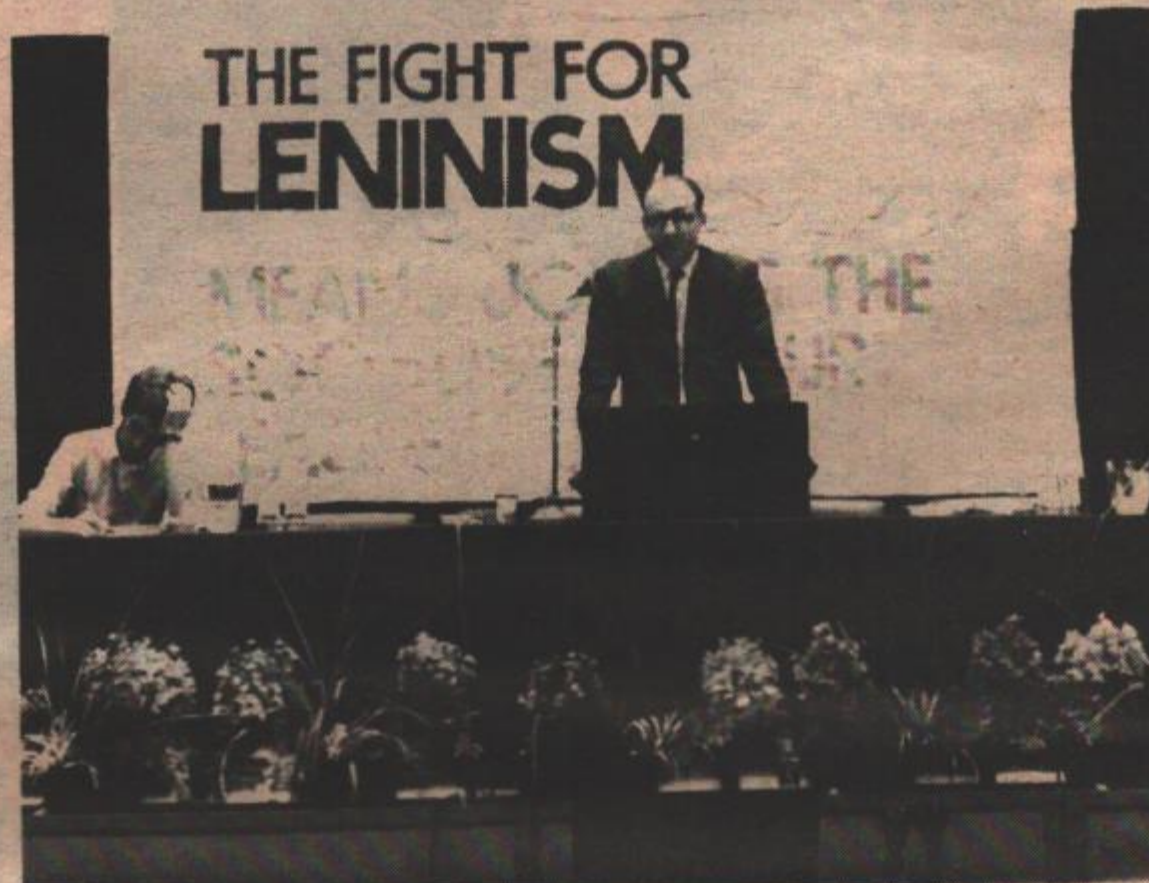
The General Strike was betrayed by the reformist trade union leaders.

The weekend school divided up into federations to discuss the election campaign in each area. All the federations made plans for a drive to build up the branches.

These plans included open-air meetings, mass leafleting, discotheques and varied social programmes.

1970 THE YEAR OF LENIN & TROTSKY

THE FIGHT FOR LENINISM



Above: Cliff Slaughter Central Committee member of the Socialist Labour League. Below: A section of the YS audience.



Playwright David Mercer and chairman of Saturday's session Aileen Jennings.

The Intelligentsia and Socialism

by LEON TROTSKY

Price: one shilling

From New Park Publications, 186a, Clapham High Street, SW4

FOLLOWING a unanimous decision at this year's annual conferences of the Young Socialists and its French sister organization the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS) plans are now going forward to prepare for an International conference of revolutionary youth at the end of 1970.

In a joint 'open letter' to 'young workers, apprentices, students and youth organizations fighting for socialism, against capitalist exploitation and Stalinist oppression' the AJS and the YS said:

'The time has come to unite the fight of revolutionary youth in all countries through the building of the Revolutionary Youth International. We propose a meeting to prepare a conference of all youth movements which are struggling for socialism.'

Describing the position of youth today in capitalist society the letter states that they are deprived of any education, skill or security. The student struggles express capitalism's dead-end character.

VIOLENT

In eastern Europe too youth react no less violently to the bureaucracy and its agents.

'In the economically backward countries there are tens of thousands of youth who have never had a job and have no hope of ever getting one . . .

. . . Young workers will never accept this future. On the contrary they have the will to fight for a real future . . .

. . . In countries like Vietnam the youth lay down their lives to defeat imperialism. They are the vanguard of the revolutionary struggles of workers both in the capitalist countries and in those dominated by Stalinist bureaucracy: in May-June 1968 in France, Czechoslovakia and in all big class actions.

. . . Youth refuse to conform to a society which massacres whole peoples in Vietnam, Nigeria, the Middle East and elsewhere; which creates widespread famine in India, Latin America and Africa.

WAGE SLAVES

'Capitalism imports from the economically backward countries millions of wage slaves with no rights: Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Spaniards, North Africans. Youth will ruthlessly oppose all attempts to divide workers along racist and nationalist lines.

'All over the world,' says the statement, 'the working class takes up the struggle against capitalist exploitation, against imperialism and against bureaucratic oppression.'

Taking the developments in recent years—the French general strike of May-June 1968, the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet bureaucracy, the heroic struggle of the Vietnam-



Preparation for International Conference. 9,000 at Le Bourget, Paris February 1, 1970.

PLANS AHEAD FOR

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

ese workers and peasants against US imperialism, the wave of strikes in the whole of western Europe—the letter makes it clear that only through the struggle to build revolutionary parties of the Fourth International and to defeat Stalinism can the working class be prepared to take power.

The ruling class of Europe is more and more conscious of how finely balanced are the scales of the class struggle. It knows

that its power is threatened . . . ' . . . The so-called "democratic" governments are only a screen, behind which naked dictatorship is prepared, if the working class were to be paralysed and prevented from striking the death blow against them.'

The European Common Market, the letter says, is an attempt by capitalism to solve its crisis at the expense of the European working class.

The working class of Europe

has now entered a period of intensive struggle against the european monopolies and governments.

On this basis the only solution for the working class in Europe is a struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe.

And in the words of Leon Trotsky: 'This first big revolutionary victory in Europe will have the effect of an electric shock on the Soviet masses, will

awaken them, will arouse the spirit of independence, will recall the traditions of 1905 and 1917.'

Pointing to the imminence of revolution in Europe the letter says that the European workers' struggle merges with the resistance of American workers 'to the effects of the policing of world imperialism by American imperialism, with the struggles of the workers and peasants of Vietnam, Cambodia and all oppressed . . . with the revolutionary explosions in Latin America'.

In the front ranks of this struggle are young workers and students. 'Imperialism and the bureaucracy in their crisis leave these young people no alternative but to struggle for socialist revolution'.

In complete opposition to protest politics the letter states that youth must reject the false solutions of all those who seek 'short cuts' to the socialist revolution just as they reject 'fake leftism' and all those tendencies which call into question the leading role of the working class in class struggle.

In conclusion the letter says that the aspirations of the 9,000 youth who rallied at Le Bourget airport in France on February 1 was summed-up in the slogan 'Long Live the United Socialist States of Europe'.

Both the AJS and the YS conferences undertook to discuss and work together with all militants, groups and organizations who agreed to fight for the perspectives of the open letter.

A working committee of the two organizations is preparing the work for the international conference.

LONDON REGION SUMMER PROGRAMME

Sunday June 28 — Rally: five-a-side football and discotheque.

Sunday July 5—Coach trip to Margate.

Sunday August 30 — Sports Day.

Friday, September 11 —Swimming Gala.

Local trips once a month in every federation.

Write to:
YS, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4, for details.

Young Socialists

SUMMER CAMP

Saturday July 25—Saturday August 8

Situated on the Blackwater Estuary



Main lectures on:

'Revolution and Counter Revolution'

Cost for one week £8
or £15 for two weeks plus pooled fare of £2 17 6

Write to YS Summer Camp, 186a Clapham High St., London, S.W.4., for details.

GREAT SUCCESS FOR TEAM IN THE NORTH



Factory-gate meeting—everyone listens with great attention to what the YS has to say.

The north starts

Rep

A YOUNG SOCIALISTS recruiting team campaigning in the North West has met with huge success.

In the area, which is well known for its militancy, the team set out to expand the branches, set up new ones and in this way prepare for the imminent attacks on wages and conditions, irrespective of which government is elected.

Dockers on the Merseyside hit out against the syndicalist union bureaucracies when they came out on strike on May Day in support of the Vietnamese Revolution and against American imperialism.

Experiences of the team show that a vast majority of the youth talked to were violently against the Tories.

A number of them came forward to join the team in its campaign.

Lunch meetings

Highly-successful lunch-time meetings are being held at most of the major industries like Cammell Laird's and Plessey's.

Shipyard apprentices on



UCS apprentice tell Keep Left reporter Norman Bissell what they think.

In the UC Fairfield preparin

Labour since the Tories were the party of the upper class and the bosses.

JIM CLARKE:

'Immigrants are entitled to live the same as anyone else and they have the same rights as everyone else. It's people like Powell that should be deported.'

RONNIE MCKENDRY:

'Tory talk about law and order could get out of hand. "Riot" guns for the police are not for criminals but would be used against students protesting and pickets like at Grangemouth, Pilkington's and BSR.'

Apprentices interviewed at

Upper Clyde speak out

THE GENERAL Election certainly aroused the political interest of shipyard apprentices in Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, Glasgow.

Large numbers of apprentices willingly gave their views to Keep Left on the Tories, law and order, Powell, the Scottish National Party, Wilson's policies and apprentices' wages.

In the UCS, apprentices are faced with uncertainty about their future following the 3,500 redundancies announced by the management and the retreat by

union leaders and Communist Party shop stewards on the fight against the sackings and for socialist nationalization.

But already, in March and April of this year, they went on strike in Yarrow's and other yards for two-thirds share of the production bonus paid to journeymen and for the four-year apprenticeship.

Now, as well as expressing interest in the policies of the Young Socialists and their class hatred of the Tories, these young workers are demanding large increases on the basic rate and have already turned down the management offer in the Govan division (Fairfields).

Jim Campbell, a second-year

apprentice welder in Barclay Curle's ship repair yard was first to be interviewed.

JIM CAMPBELL:

'If I had the vote, I would vote Labour because the Tories only make money off the working class and do nothing for us but only care for the capitalists.'

'Another thing I don't agree with is their law and order—giving the Glasgow police "riot guns". We have to keep the Tories out to get anything done.'

Ronnie McKendry, an apprentice turner, and Gordon Drysdale and Jim Clarke, both apprentice fitters in their first year at Yarrow's training centre all agreed that they would vote



FOR YS RECRUITING IN THE WEST

International campaign on Merseyside

Report from John Simmance

Recruiting around Birkenhead YS branch met with particularly excellent response. Youth in the area are driven to boredom and frustration by the living conditions, low wages, and lack of facilities.

A young girl, member of Birkenhead YS commented: 'Young people here find it difficult to do anything besides forming into groups of "skin-heads" and "greasers". The three cinemas are often run as bingo halls for the old. Anyway, youth, especially girls, just can't afford to do much. After paying for their "keep", they have very little pocket money.'

Provocation

Consequently police provocation is extremely high. 'Youth are pushed around simply because they happen to be standing about talking to each other,' said one young YS member. John McMannus, an 18-year-old apprentice fitter-turner in a ship repair firm, and a leading member of the Liverpool YS, expressed the conditions of all youth in the area when he said:

'A wage rise in my factory was held up for months, which meant that I got £9 in my third year, while in my first year I was only receiving £4.'

Demonstration

A demonstration organized by the YS through Liverpool was very impressive. The march, calling for a Labour victory and socialist policies to meet the crisis, comprised of contingents from Manchester, Birmingham and Wigan. A number of young people joined the march and over 60 youth put down their names to join the YS.

Robert Cloberty, 18 years of age and a leading member of the Huyton YS, summed up his hatred for the Tories in this way:

'If the Tories are returned they will create redundancies and another pay freeze. 'A Tory government would be a capitalist one for millionaires, not the working men.' Asked about what he thought of Enoch Powell he replied: 'He has no right to stop immigrants coming in. Powell is all for the management and the bosses.'

Yarrow and wards they're for action

GORDON DRYSDALE: 'Even though the redundancy won't affect us as much, it's obvious that if the employer can get away with it he'll only pay say 1,500 men instead of 2,000 since he won't be paying out so much in wages. 'A 16-year-old apprentice here gets 3s 6d an hour, a 17-year-old gets 4s 9d, and up to about 7s an hour in the fourth year. But that's for production work which a man gets 12s 3d an hour for.' At Annersland college, where other apprentice engineers were



on day release, Tom McLean, UCS Govan division, George Gilmour, Weir's Pumps Ltd., and Jan Van Beest, UCS Scotstoun division said they thought that the Tories were against the working-class youth.

The worst thing about the Labour government was Barbara Castle's laws against the unions, the rising prices and the lack of housing for young people.

They all felt that religion should be kept out of the election, unlike the situation in the Glasgow Bridgeton constituency, where Paisley's supporter, Pastor Jack Glass was standing as a Protestant Independent.

Having got a four-year apprenticeship and two-thirds of a man's bonus for production work, the UCS apprentices have now put in for a £4 increase on the basic rate for 17-year-olds, they said, and at Govan division has already rejected an employer's offer of £2 1s 6d.

They all expected a meeting of apprentices in the yards shortly and thought that strike action would probably be taken.

Only the lack of union backing made some hesitate.

But at Weir's Pumps, where between 60 and 100 apprentices had been out already this year, wage increases had been won even without union leadership support.

Finally, JOHN PADDEN, a fourth-year apprentice electrician at Farifields, said:

'I will definitely vote Labour because the Tories lie about reducing taxes when they're going to bring in a value-added tax. They're going to increase British armed forces on the Rhine, in Cyprus and Malta and this will mean conscription, taxes and food prices up.'



Above: Discussion in the street on YS policy. Below: Time-out in the sun for a few minutes.

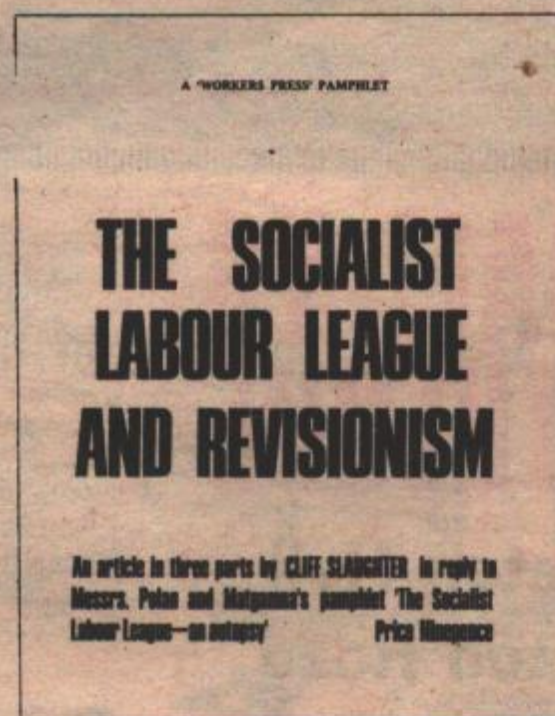


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Culture and Socialism and a Manifesto Art and Revolution

An article compiled by the author from a talk he gave to a Moscow club on February 3, 1926, and a number of other addresses.

The Manifesto, appearing in 1938 under the signatures of André Breton and Diego Rivera was in fact drawn up in collaboration with Trotsky.

Price: Two shillings and sixpence

Available from
186a Clapham High Street,
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June 1970

A class vote against the Tories

THE General Election on June 18 takes place against a background of determined wages struggle and international economic crisis.

It is this situation which gives the sharp edge to the significance of the election. Both the Tory and Labour leaders are agreed that wage increases must be stopped and, in the long run, earnings must be driven down.

This is at the centre of the election — the fight for wages and the rising cost of living.

In order to keep pace with rapidly increasing prices workers have to fight for higher wages and it is on this basis that many will make the choice to vote Labour, in the belief that this is the only way to better their standard of living.

It is on this basis that the class vote for Labour is made — not out of any loyalty to Wilson or belief that he will turn over a new leaf.

Workers know instinctively that the Tories stand for the employers. Heath and his friends are standing in the wings with a full Powellite programme:

Law and order, curbs on immigration and compulsory repatriation, extra powers for the police particularly against the youth, laws on political demonstrations, cuts in housing and education programmes, laws against strikes and increased unemployment.

There can be no abstention in this general election. There is a lot at stake historically for the British working class. Some of the revisionist groups would like us to believe that the best policy is not to vote whilst the Communist Party is intent on making a left cover for the Wilson leadership.

Voting for the Communist Party cannot be a solution. They cannot be seen as a political alternative to Wilson. Their programme in fact is quite reactionary, calling for the 'curbing of monopoly rule', cutting the arms bill by half and calling for a maintenance of Britain's commitments to the United Nations.

There is no socialist alternative here. Where are the answers for the problems of the working class and the youth?

The most reactionary part of the programme is contained in the so-called 'proposals for peace', 'the recognition of the post-1945 frontiers and the existence of the two German states'.

Here is reaction indeed! It shows very clearly what the Communist Party has in mind for the gains made by the working class immediately after the war. How is it possible to reconcile a permanently divided Germany with Communism and Socialism which means the abolition of all frontiers?

Posed in this election are vital issues which cannot be played around with by ultra-left adventurers or smothered by Stalinist peaceful roaders.

We call for a class vote for Labour against the Tories so that the working class can deal with its treacherous reformist leadership on solid ground.

That is why we call on all young people who now have the vote at the age of 18 to vote Labour and keep the Tories out — they are the main enemy of the working class.

We say more than that — the only way to build socialism in Britain is to mobilize the mass of youth who are rapidly becoming politicized during the election, to build a mass revolutionary youth movement which will lead the working class in a struggle against the Labour and trade union bureaucrats and end Toryism for good.

In France in May/June 1968 the youth showed in great force that they could defeat the hated regime of General de Gaulle — they pointed the way. In 1970 the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme, through its rally of 9,000 at the Le Bourget, Paris proved that youth will rally to revolutionary policies in their thousands.

It must be done here in Britain too through building the Young Socialists branches and building the circulation of Keep Left.

Not a single problem facing the working class today can be solved without a fight for a socialist programme of nationalization of big business, the banks and the land without compensation and under workers control.

Join the Young Socialists and fight with us to build a socialist republic in Britain within a Socialist United States of Europe.

SOUTHALL YS DISCOTHEQUE

Shackleton Hall
Shackleton Road

July 10 8 p.m. adm 3s
REGGAE! REGGAE! REGGAE!

'We work to unite immigrant and white youth on socialist policies' says Southall YS Branch

WITH THE calling of the General Election this month, we have entered into a period of deepening class struggle.

The conflict between the rising prices and fight for higher wages forms the base of the economic crisis.

In Southall Federation in Middlesex we have, in view of this unstable situation, made a very conscious effort to greatly expand the YS.

Over the past period we have set up a new branch and recruited many new members.

Around the election period, through our campaigns, we have noticed a marked hatred for the Tories among working-class youth and trade unionists.

Determined

Youth everywhere are determined that they are not going to be taken back to the 1930s with mass unemployment and acute misery for the working class.

In Southall our most urgent task lies in uniting the immigrant youth with white youth in common struggle against Powellism.

The Indian Workers' Association plays a most reactionary role by keeping Indian youth isolated from the rest of the population through their own cinema, Indian Students' Union and religious institutions.

The National Front have again put up a candidate in the election to appeal to the backward workers influenced and encouraged by ultra-right statements.

That is why we consciously set out to unite broad layers of youth around a socialist programme as the only way to defeat the Tories and their more extreme friends.

Tension

Due to the tension created by the 'skinheads' and 'Paki-bashing' incidents, the police form a prominent part of the scenery. They can be seen on almost every corner in Southall.

Youth, sometimes in small groups, who stop on the street for any reason are immediately told to move on and most of them are searched if found on the streets late at night.

Young people group together and form gangs mainly due to the non-existence of any decent recreational facilities.

The only place for youth besides the church and school youth clubs was the Bowling Alley which was closed recently mainly because of its unprofitability.

Programme

In the Young Socialists we have planned a wide summer programme for the Federation in conjunction with the regional programme.

This includes discotheques, coach outings, film trips, and rallies.

We have also planned a regional demonstration through Southall later this year, aimed against the Tories and the Wilson leadership.

We go forward confidently, in the year of Lenin and Trotsky, to build the mass Young Socialists.



Out recruiting — members of Southall branch on the high street.



Do you live in the Southall area? Come to our meetings every Wednesday 8 p.m.

June 17 — Election Meeting.

June 24 — Disco-Nite.

July 1 — Youth and Violence.

July 8 — Quiz Competition.

July 15 — Culture, Art and Society.

July 22 — How Profit is made.

Contact YS:
186a Clapham High St London SW4



AJS premises in Paris opened earlier this year.

THE first congress of the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme, French sister organization of the YS, in the middle of May marked a big political step forward following on from their mass Le Bourget rally in February this year.

The congress, attended by 700 delegates and over 100 visitors, verified the political maturity and rapid growth of the Trotskyist movement based on revolutionary working-class

youth in France.

The main discussion at the Congress was based on the struggle against the proposed laws being introduced by the Pompidou government and directed against the trade unions and the political left.

The implementation of the government's 'sixth plan' means an all-out attack on the French working class through unemployment and the introduction of 'progress contracts' which are planned to tie the workers to the management.

One out of four youth are already unemployed in France and there are very few apprenticeships.

Much of the slanderous oppo-

Special report from France

sition to the AJS comes from the Communist Party. The Stalinists have been working with the government to enable the imposition of suppressive measures against the left.

The Stalinist-controlled union, CGT, has refused to organize against the 'sixth plan' and 'progress contracts'. It has been forced, mainly by the fight of AJS members, to call for a national meeting in defence of youth in Renault.

Delegations from important factories like Renault and Michelin told the conference of their ex-

periences in struggle against the Stalinists and how they mobilized workers against the government.

Fraternal greetings were brought to the conference from the Young Socialists, Britain and Junge Garde, Germany. Conference also greeted representatives from the Workers Alliance and the Organization Trotskyiste.

A delegate from the underground Greek Trotskyists was given a standing ovation.

Delegates endorsed the continuation of an appeal to the Stalinist youth movement (MJC) and all other left organizations

for a united struggle against the proposed legislation of the government.

Résolutions adopted included one condemning the Brazilian regime's action against the Trotskyists, and a resolution calling for Arab-Israeli workers' unity against the Middle East war and their capitalist classes.

Conference made plans for a fund of five million old francs (about £45,000) to intensify and escalate the work for the International Conference of Revolutionary Youth at the end of the year.

Big step forward for Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme



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Above: AJS conference in session. Below: Jeune Revolutionnaire, the AJS monthly paper.



ON THE BRINK OF A WIPE-OUT

'Once in Golconda'

By John Brooks

Published by Victor Gollancz, 25s

WALL STREET is the heart of American capitalism, the street where the US capitalist class carries out its business activities, the street where the Stock Exchange is located.

Today Wall Street is in the grip of intense crisis. In the last few weeks millions of dollars have been wiped off share prices. And all the leading stock exchanges have been hit: in London, Tokyo, Sydney and Paris.

Near-panic is growing amongst the capitalist class that they face another 1929, (the year of the Great Crash which saw stock prices collapse, hundreds of bank failures and the creation of fifteen million unemployed by 1932).

IMPORTANT

John Brooks' book tells this fascinating story. It is also an important one with many lessons for today.

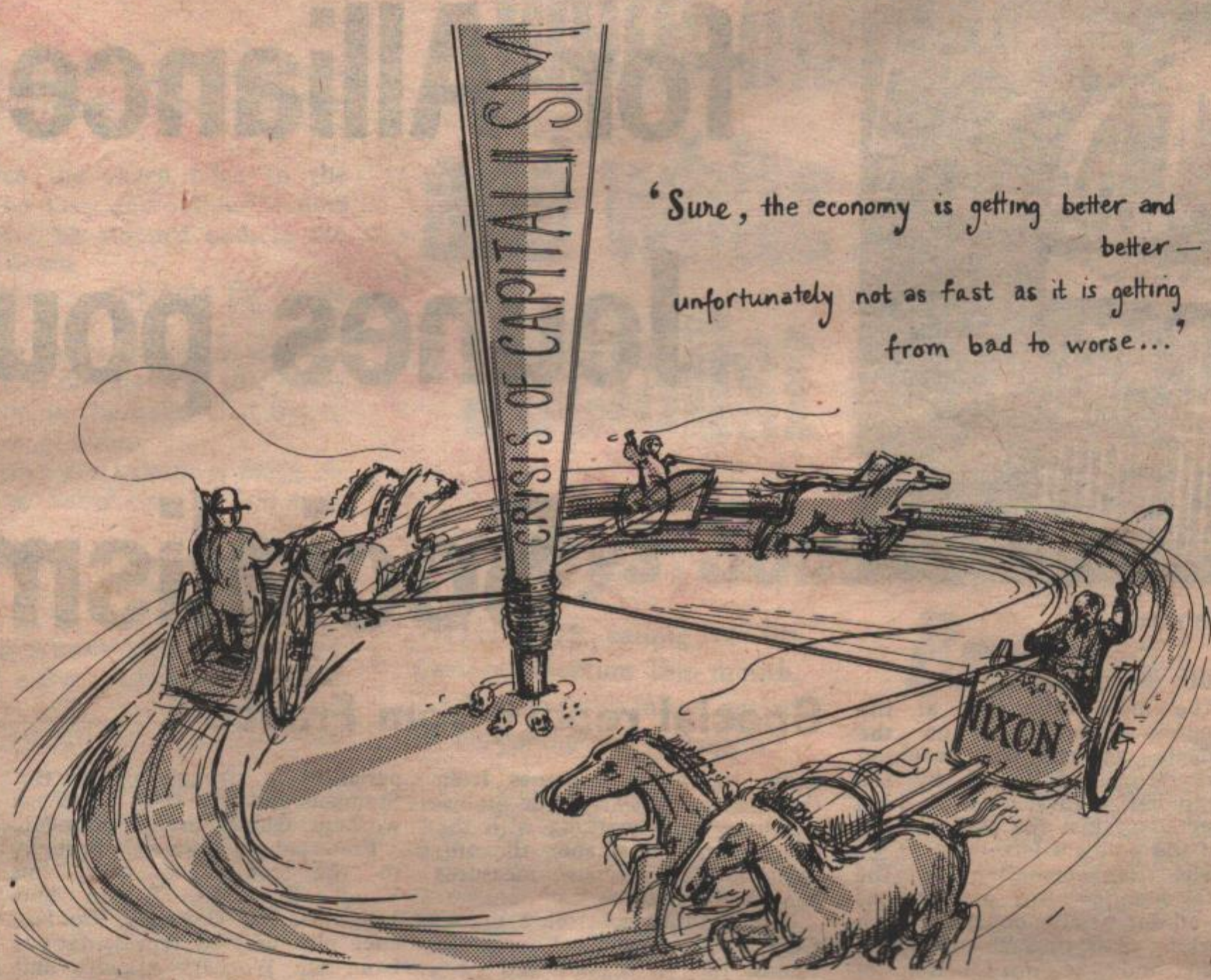
Its title comes from Golconda, now a ruin, a city in South-East Asia where, according to legend, everyone who passed became rich.

It was this legend, says Brooks, which dominated Wall Street throughout the 1920s.

He shows how the boom of these years allowed a small number of capitalists to amass fortunes running into millions of dollars through their Wall Street speculations.

Including the banker J. P. Morgan, its uncrowned king, A. A. Ryan and Joseph P. Kennedy, they manipulated the savings of millions with one aim in mind: profit and gain.

The continual upsurge in share prices induced many small busi-



A New York banker comments on the crisis.

ness people to jump on the bandwagon and sink their entire savings into stock purchases.

Often buying shares on borrowed money it was this group, rather than the big boys, who were destroyed by the 1929 crisis and the collapse of share prices.

When the bubble burst, the crisis was not confined to America. It spread rapidly to the whole of Europe.

DRAMA

Every exchange was hit as capitalism came to near collapse in all the leading countries where unemployment soared to millions and millions.

But the author's account does not centre on these matters. He deals with the activities of Mr Richard Whitney, the central figure of his drama.

Whitney became the champion

of the jungle law which dominated Wall Street. It was Whitney, who was to end the story in jail for financial fraud, who opposed all proposals for government regulation of the exchanges.

From the 'Guardian' Saturday May 23

Spectre of 1929 at US Stock Market

From ALISTAIR COOKE: Boston, May 22

FIFTY minutes before the New York Stock Exchange closed yesterday afternoon, the Dow Jones Industrial Average, the dour barometer of American prosperity, had gone down 20 points. An hour later, when the average had crawled back eight points, a Boston broker eased his tie with the comment: "We were on the brink of a real wipe-out. At that moment, there was more than distress in the air. There was panic. Fortunately, the market rallied."

That the economy will take a turn for the better in the second half of the year. At the moment, not many people outside the Administration seem inclined to trust the President's crystal ball. The chairman of the House Banking Committee, a Texas Democrat, has made an unheard of request to the President to appear in person before the committee and explain "the apparent inaction on the part of the Federal Government in the face of a mounting economic crisis." Senator Mansfield is now urging a wage and price control law. The question, which no one seems able to answer, is whether the stock market is reflecting a "mounting crisis" of confidence in the economy, in the Nixon Administration or in American society. Wall Street men are quick to point out that the stock market is behaving far worse than the economy

now experiencing a healthy "shake-out," especially of fly-by-night corporations, amateur dabblers throwing in "go-go money," and other South Sea Bubbleheads. Certainly in the past year, too, the instant stock market expertise of cab drivers, lift men, baseball players and such, has unpleasantly recalled the stock market plunge that preceded the catastrophe of 1929.



EDWARD HEATH: Former director of Brown Shipley, merchant Bank, total assets £66 million.
REGINALD MAUDLING: Director Kleinwort Benson, Dunlop Rubber, Shipping and Industrial Trust, etc.
SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME: Formerly 14th Earl of Home. Eton and Oxford. Millionaire

landowner, estimated holding 96,000 acres.
SELWYN LLOYD: Fettes and Cambridge. Director Sun Alliance insurance, Rank Organization.
IAN McLEOD: Fettes and Cambridge. Director Lombard Banking.
QUINTON HOGG: Eton, Oxford. Director Wellman Smith Owen Engineering.

Keep Left pinpoints main class enemy

BEHIND the well-fed election smiles, the Tory party remains what it was: the party of wealth and privilege, the party of imperialism, exploitation and war.
Since the time in the 1860s when it ceased to represent mainly the landed gentry, and became the political spokesman for the big banks and monopolies, the Conservative Party has been dedicated to the interests of capital against the working class, not just of Britain, but the whole world.
The Parliamentary Conservative Party and the Tory peers together contain the representatives of every section of the ruling class — banks, industries, landowners, and construction.
Over a million pounds is given each year in donations from big business to the Tory party.
All their efforts to project a 'democratic' 'progressive image', the work of many public relations men, cannot hide their reactionary past.
The Tories must not be allowed to hide their even more dangerous plans to attack the working class in the future.
Their plans for the future are clear, a state-organized witch-hunt of militant workers through the introduction of a law and order bill should they come into power.
It was the Tory party which

organized the bloody work of building up the domination of the British Empire over the life and labour of millions of colonial workers and peasants.
After Ramsay MacDonald had joined the Tories in the 'National' government in 1931, the ruling class was able to ride out the slump on the backs of a defeated working class.
As the unemployment figures soared above the three million mark, wages were slashed and unemployment benefit cut to starvation level.
When you see the faces of Heath and Maudling on your television screens, never forget the Means Test and the 'not genuinely seeking work clause', which dragged millions of British workers and their families below subsistence level in the 1930's, humiliating and crushing them.
With equal determination and cunning, they organized to break the resistance of the trade unions in the 1920s.
The 1925 Tory government

Continued on page 15

FILMS ART BOOKS THEATRE REVIEWS

'The Molly Maguires'

An atmosphere of defeat

THIS film is an exception for the American film industry.

Here is a description of the heroic nature of the workers' struggle against capitalism.

It just manages not to be good socialist propaganda, by not drawing emphasis to the continuity of American capital between 1875, the period of the film, and the present.

The Pennsylvania miners in 1875 are mostly Irish. We are told brutally and quickly of their daily life and work, and why they must struggle against the mine owners.

armed men

We learn that the 'state is a body of armed men'. The secret society, the Molly Maguires, meets police provocation and violence with their own violence.

However the atmosphere of the film is one of working-class defeat; the miners talk about when they were on strike for six months, and went back with nothing.

Now they fight mostly with sabotage.

These men who work all day with pick axes and shovels on the coal face are not pacifists. In one exceptional scene we see them at play in a very violent game of football and then reduced to the level of animals

for the amusement of the mine owner who awards the cup.

The anti-hero is a police spy who infiltrates the Molly Maguires. He knows he is doing dirty work and any enthusiasm for the job is lost after a few days down the pit.

He is soon involved in a crisis of conscience when he becomes emotionally involved with the leader of the Molly Maguires, the man he is to betray.

The story of the miners' fight is to some extent obscured by allowing the spy's crisis of conscience to be seen in personalized romantic terms; he also falls for his pretty landlady.

Only in this way does the film avoid total commitment to the proletariat, for it comes out against any compromise, pacifist or otherwise, with capitalism.

Sean Connery, the comrade who is betrayed, is the hero in the full sense of the word.

He is allowed to dominate the film with his philosophy of his own involvement in a class struggle.

no idea

He refuses to accept the possibility of ultimate defeat, although he has no idea how it can be avoided.

At least his consciousness is at more than a trade union level—more of an anarchist-syndicalist nature.

Obviously the answer is revolu-

tionary theory, but when we consider the subsequent history of the American working class it is appropriate that the film does not give this answer to the problems of 1875.

In many ways the film is comparable to Eisenstein's 'Strike'.

Unfortunately no director has learnt to subjugate modern sophisticated colour photography to artistic needs in the way that Eisenstein, among others, was able to do with the cruder and starker techniques of his time.

The pastel shade, the exact colour of someone's face or the beautiful sets tend to get in the way at the most important dramatic moments.

workers' struggle

It is amazing how a capitalist industry has been able to describe so well the heroism of the workers' struggle against it.

The disappointment of this film lies in the atmosphere of defeat it portrays in the working-class's struggle.

It is rather like those films that celebrate the tragedy of the American Indians.

Like the Indians, the film says, the working class has had a tragic and heroic struggle.

Bravely the producer wipes a tear from his eye. Since then, he says, the American nation has come in to being, and you cannot hold back progress.

W.F.



Sean Connery as he appears in the film 'The Molly Maguires' which is directed by Martin Ritt and co-stars Richard Harris and Samantha Eggar.

'The Origins and growth of modern education'

By Elizabeth Lawrence.
Pelican Books 1970.

THIS BOOK is a string of excerpts from various writers on education, held together by a small amount of comment.

It has a purpose beyond that of providing quotable material for student teachers. Modern educational thought, says the blurb, has 'a respectable pedigree', its roots are deep in the past.

This is intended to console people who think that modern educational theories are too 'progressive'.

It has nothing to do with the validity of the ideas themselves.

But there is another aim behind this book. It is to give the impression that educationalists have had good ideas about education, which were unrelated to the society in which they live.

Education, however, has always been intended to fit people to belong to a particular class in society.

Educationalists often ignore this, and produce highly-distorted theories as a result.

Elizabeth Lawrence quotes from one of them, Homer Lane, whose explanation of delinquency is that it is a wrong direction of social impulses.

The fact that delinquency occurs predominantly among young members of the working class, faced either with unemployment or with 45 years of factory life with no prospects, is apparently irrelevant!

It is useless for Elizabeth Lawrence to say in her introduction that education reflects the current beliefs of an era, but that she herself has no space to show how it does so.

It is in the interests of the ruling class that student teachers should not explore the relationship between theories of education and social systems, particularly our own.

It is therefore this relationship which should be explored by Marxists, who need to understand how education expresses the ideas and needs of the ruling class, and also how it reflects the conflict between classes in society.

A few of the excerpts given by Elizabeth Lawrence may be useful in doing this. But they would have to be incorporated in a different book.

Reviewed by Mary Healy

PAINTINGS from an Exhibition. Pictures by R. B. Kitaj, Marlboro Fine Arts, New Bond Street, W.1.

Reviewed by
Cissy Lodge

Detachment dominates

OF ALL the exhibitions that the London galleries offered during May, from Bill Brandt's photographs to the Harriet and Sidney Janis Collection at the ICA, there was one that stood out in originality and depth from all the others—that was Kitaj's.

Although he is no less sophisticated than David Hockney and Richard Hamilton, he brings a struggle into his works by understanding the position of individuals as part of historical forces.

The industrial boom of the 1950s and 1960s in Britain made possible a kind of flowering in British art in all fields, from films to painting and sculpture.

Artists like Richard Hamilton and Allan Jones reflected the nervous tension and artificial sense of well-being of a society that subconsciously at least knows that it is decaying below the shiny surface.

life-like

Allan Jones' most recent works have been objects, like life-like mannequins, of women kneeling on all fours with a glass plate on their backs—people turned into objects to be used.

This unease penetrates into the art of R. B. Kitaj, who is showing an exhibition called 'Pictures from an Exhibition' this month at the Marlboro Gallery on Bond Street.

His work is dominated by a feeling of detachment. You are pushed away from involving

yourself in his work by every possible means a painter can employ.

Colour is decorative, harmonious, and combined to make a pale distant effect.

Most of his paintings are based on photographs, so that there is no contact with the painter's hand, and the works are twice removed from the object that they are taken from.

detachment

If this was all that there was to Kitaj, his main contribution would be as a stylist. But all his detachment is used to make you question very closely the subjects that are treated. And these are exactly the opposite of his style.

Kitaj is concerned with the violence of war, of love and human relations, and he always sees this as part of an historical situation.

The exhibition includes a series of screen prints called the 'Struggle in the West', the 'Bombing of London'.

One of them, 'The Good Old Days' shows episodes from the Second World War, with scenes of torture, bombing raids, and marching workers.

All very finely made, but you are left not knowing what he is trying to say.

Slowly you see a logic run through the pictures. There is often a figure of a young girl who has managed to escape from the corruption of the scene going on.

Sometimes she is in danger of



Synchrony with FB—General of Hot Desire.

being murdered or corrupted, as in 'The Ohio Gang'.

Kitaj holds up this image of purity, not as an ideal, but more a sign of optimism, and this gives a great strength to his work.

I think that Kitaj has taken an important step, because he has broken decisively the stranglehold that has predominated in English art for many years.

English artists very much tended to see themselves as separate from the struggle in society, and this has deadened their work.

Kitaj sees events not on the surface, but tries to look into their causes and their development.

He brings history into his work, something that runs against

traditional English art's eternal and deathly concern for style, or the painting of trees, at the expense of the real life of our time.

In the catalogue for the exhibition, Kitaj chose to put a quotation from Sartre:

'Nothing is more respectable than a long period of impunity.' Sartre expresses the desire of the middle class to put its head in the sand, and live a respectable life in the armchair.

Kitaj is breaking from this. He is becoming conscious of the forces that make up our world, especially the forces that will make possible a transformation of that world.

That is why he has made a decisive impact on many contemporary artists.

EDITORS



The end of capitalism?

IN VIEW of the economic crisis that the capitalist countries have been facing, we are all tempted to ask ourselves: 'Is this the end of capitalism?'

The capitalist countries of the USA and Europe during the last few weeks have had to experience a drastic slump in their equity prices, with the US official share price Dow Jones index falling to 60 per cent of its original price nine months ago.

This gradual fall of the share prices over the last nine months and this sudden slump down of more than 32 points in the life of the Wall Street market, has not at all helped the other capitalist countries in the world.

The London Stock Exchange was an example. But the Wall Street crisis, apart from being one indication of the future of capitalism, is also a direct result of the action of pursuing capitalist and imperialist policy.

The sending of troops into Cambodia by Nixon, IOS difficulties, continuous inflation and the falling rate of economic growth in these countries has been the product of the present crisis of the world capitalist market.

Employers view the crisis with justified alarm. The question is posed of whether another 1929 crash is at hand.

Capitalist papers have even rather honestly asked themselves if this is the end of capitalism.

They however, have gone on to suggest possible remedies and now, the employers seeing their 'shortcomings', have resorted to tackling the dissatisfied workers with even more productivity deals.

The fact is that capitalism is at its end.

It has outlived its purpose from the end of the last century and is only prevailing at the expense of the working class.

A young revolutionary movement that will overthrow this corrupt system and put the power into the hands of the working class, where it rightly belongs is the only solution.

This is what we in the Young Socialists fight for and represent.

Fred Morrison
Stratford YS

What happens afterwards?

MY LETTER concerns revolution.

Many people I have talked to seem concerned with the revolution itself, and not what happens afterwards.

Not only must we concern ourselves with the theoretical and perhaps, impossible side of socialism, we must face facts: the post-revolutionary period will not be all green fields and flowers—it will be a period of hard work for everyone.

Complete socialism will not come straight away. It would leave the masses of the working class in mid-air—like

pushing a non-swimmer out to sea in a boat and then sinking the boat.

This is how the Russian revolution faked.

When our revolution comes I hope it will not turn out the same way.

D. J. Stephens
Eastbourne YS

Crystal warning

ON MONDAY, May 18, Enoch Powell came to our area to deliver a speech as an obvious part of the Tory pre-election campaign.

He spoke with great concern about 'the nationalization going on under our very noses'.

He meant by this that any state intervention in crisis-ridden industries was a big threat to private enterprise.

In other words, for Powell the policy for industry should be 'the survival of the fittest'.

If industries could not overcome the growing economic crisis, they should 'go to the wall'.

For the working class particularly in our area, which is really the centre of industry in London, this presents a tremendous threat.

Industries which are faced with falling profit and the need for government subsidy, would thus, under a Powellite economic policy, be forced to close.

Already many factories have closed down and the threat of massive unemployment hangs over the area.

Many youth have already been thrown out of work and can see no prospects of any jobs in the future.

Nationalization under workers' control is in the minds of many workers, especially in the shipyards and on the docks, as the only solution to the threats of redundancies and mass unemployment.

Powell's speech should be taken as a crystal warning.

Powellism and Toryism do not just mean attacks on immigrant workers but represent an uncompromising hatred and an offensive against the whole working class.

Lesley Fuller
Willesden YS

A second card

WITH THE election of Paisley to Stormont, British imperialism has played its second card in dealing with the N Ireland working class.

The first was the forced, artificial division of the Protestant and Catholic working class by the British troops, and the careful nurturing and protection by them of the force to deal with the working class—right-wing reaction—Paisleyism.

Now they have elected him to Stormont on an extremist platform:

1) His orientation towards the disillusioned small farmers on a programme against the landed gentry—merely an anachronism existing because of a stunted bourgeois revolution. Contrary to what his supporters believe, he paves the way directly for the factory farms required by the EEC.

2) His basis of support in the cities of the small shopkeepers who see in the destruction of the slums and the encroachment of the supermarkets the end of their livelihoods.

3) The support he has gained indirectly from the army. This had not been available in N Ireland as there is no standing army, and the police—RUC and B Specials—were both based predominantly in the Protestant working class. The Wilson government, acting clearly for imperialism, corrected these 'shortcomings'—7,000 troops, and the re-organization of the forces of the state on 'un-bigated' lines.

Paisley correctly took up his seat on the government opposition benches, and the ministers move in 'leaps' towards him.

Imperialism has decided how to divide and defeat the working class—a platform of barbarism and civil war is its solution to the crisis.

The working class is also taking up its positions, moving in behind its traditional leadership, the trade unions, basing itself not on the strength of the bureaucracy, but on the strength of the British working class.

The Protestant working class, the dominant section of the working class, sees now the reversal in the role of British imperialism; the constitutional knot with Britain, which for 50 years maintained their 'privileged' position, now refuses to pay up; armed troops arrive now when they ask for jobs and houses; there are bullets, batons and CS gas where once there were crumbs.

The traditional industries, long 'loyalist' strongholds (the shipyards, ropeworks, textile works) now are decaying sweatshops held open until they can quietly be closed.

The Protestant worker sees that even one major defeat in which his ranks are broken will mean that big sections will turn and fall in behind Paisley.

The Catholic working class, temporarily held by the church, by the middle-class leaderships of Civil Rights Association (CRA), the Stalinists, and revisionists under the guise 'reforms are on the way', now see through the illusions. The troops are not peacemakers and never have been.

Open conflict with the troops, Catholic and Protestant uniting against the forces of 'law and order' and beating them back, occurs every week-end.

The workers are still confused, but objective necessity forces them to unite, and imperialism realizes that a massacre at this time would cement this unity, destroying also the forces of the right.

Stalinism, here, moves into

its most counter-revolutionary role, putting forward not the unity of Catholic and Protestant workers in a fight against the common enemy, but rather an amalgam of Catholic groups on an NLF basis.

The YCL has become the Connolly Youth Movement—Connolly, though a fighter for the unity of the working class all his life, is believed by a big section of the Protestant working class to have been a Catholic Republican because of his part in 1916.

This ultra-leftism is deliberately to alienate sections of youth in particular who are moving towards politics and to maintain the poisonous divisions which are the basis of the grip of imperialism.

This complements their consistent betrayals in the unions, their consistent denial of politics, their refusal to fight productivity bargaining.

Against these betrayals the League for a Workers' Vanguard and the IYS fight for a workers' and farmers' government, breaking from Westminster, nationalizing the land and basic industries, posing unity with the southern workers, as the first step to solving the crisis.

Long live the Irish section of the Fourth International!

Withdraw British Troops Now!

Vote Labour in Britain and N Ireland! No Abstentions!

Thwart the plans of the class enemy!

J. McGee
Dublin

Red scare

THE employing class have now seen that the economic crisis which they have created is going to surpass in intensity the great slump of the 1930s.

Under these circumstances a Labour government cannot carry out the measures that in their view are necessary to resolve this crisis, i.e. the breaking down of the trade union movement and the introduction of large-scale unemployment.

Since the employing class have control over all but two or three of the daily newspapers, they use these to whip up scares and witch-hunts against the labour movement.

This was seen in the recent scare and campaign against Rosemary Whipple.

With tales of red plants and communists in factories they try to stampede the middle class into a campaign against the unions and the Young Socialists.

In this they failed because we were able to answer them

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on every count with our daily paper and with the discipline of our movement.

In the same manner the Tories' talk of a growth of crime, murder and violent demonstrations. With this they hope that the middle class will go out and, as a reaction to this propaganda, vote for Edward Heath's policy of 'law and order'.

We call for the nationalization of the press under workers' control and its freedom from the twisted half truths and lies of its Tory editors and policy makers!

Nick Vajda
Tottenham YS

Out of curiosity

I HAVE just attended the weekend school in Eastbourne.

My own politics are Republican Socialist and I went to the school with a fairly closed mind, more out of curiosity about the Young Socialists' aims and methods than any other reason.

At first I felt that all the stressing of ideology and theory was impractical—particularly since nobody seemed to think about guidelines for actual government when the workers' struggle has been successful, which could be quite soon.

As the school progressed I began to learn more about the importance of a good knowledge of Leninist-Trotskyist theory for the success of the workers' struggle and began to realize that Young Socialists' policies offered a definite possible system, if not the only system.

I was most impressed by the high standard of ideological awareness shown by the

speakers and by comrades with whom I had private discussion afterwards.

This has given me a new insight in the people's struggle and as I learn more about the movement I may become firmly convinced of the need for Trotskyist international socialism.

In conclusion, I wish to thank the Young Socialists for organizing such an informative and enjoyable weekend school.

Rioch Mulhall
Clapham

Strongly determined

ON arrival at Eastbourne weekend school, I discovered that the Young Socialists, through organization and persistence are strongly determined to build up a powerful revolutionary front with full socialist principles based on Marxist-Leninism to overthrow the capitalist class.

We have seen in the last months the Tories' intentions, that if they win the general election they would pass laws against strikes, which is, of course, a big challenge to the working class.

The time has come and the need is urgent for the Young Socialists to resist the Tories by keeping them out. The

only way to do this is to make sure they lose the general election.

It is also the duty of every Young Socialist all over Britain to organize new recruits, speak to the working class, in factories as well as in offices, to fight strongly against capitalism.

We saw in the film shown at Eastbourne the inability of some people to free themselves from elements which have been influenced by the capitalist society.

Drawing our experiences from that film, we need to realize that the Young Socialists need not only have the plans and the will to build the revolutionary party, but must work to carry out the revolution very soon.

Sam Bello
Croydon YS

Continued from page 12

set about preparing for battle, setting up the Organization for the Maintenance of Supplies, an official scabbing body.

Helped by the treachery of the union leaders, they defeated the unions in the 1926 General Strike, with Churchill once again to the fore.

After the defeat, the Tories brought in the Trades Disputes Act, to shackle the unions.

The huge profits derived from this international gangster racket enabled the Tories to tame a layer of labour leaders.

They were trained to hold down the workers at home, and take them into the slaughter of the 1914 First World War.

Men like Winston Churchill worked with fanatical ferocity to destroy the workers' 1917 revolution in Russia.

They were terrified that the British working class would follow this example.

The huge investments of the British Empire, however, gave the British ruling class the means to keep the workers in order without getting rid of parliamentary forms of rule.

But the Tories did all they could to assist their class brothers in Italy, Germany and Spain to establish and maintain fascism.

Their lip-service to 'democracy' must not mislead us into thinking that they would not use the same methods on the British workers.

Churchill, later to come forward as the great 'anti-fascist'—when the interests of German and British imperialism conflicted—visited Mussolini in 1927 and declared:

'If I had been an Italian, I would have been with you from the beginning to the end of your glorious struggle against the bestial appetites of Leninism'.

And in 1936, in his book 'Great Contemporaries', he wrote:

'If ever this country is defeated in a war, I hope it will find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful place among the nations.'

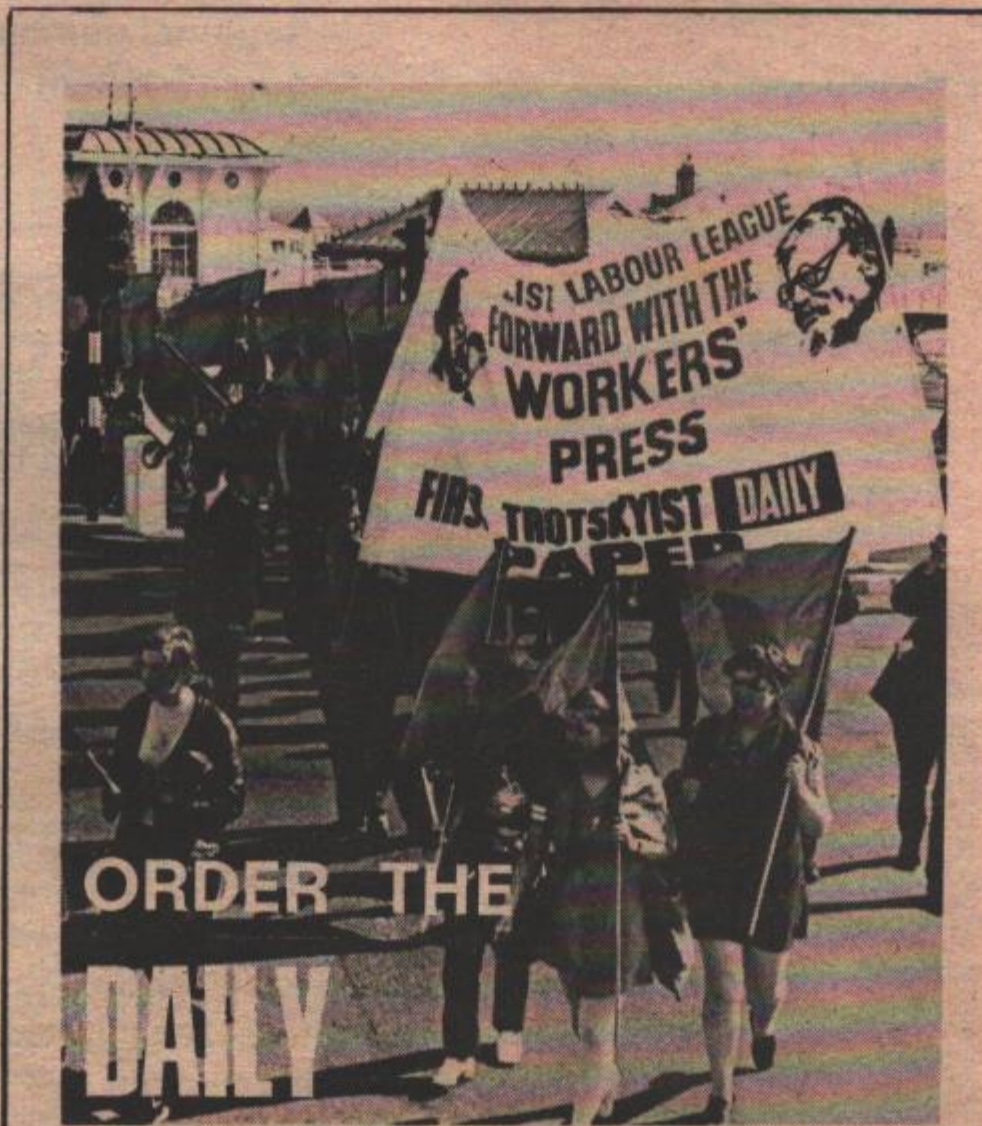
When we think about the dangers of a Tory government, we should not have in mind the MacMillan never-had-it-so-good era, even with the facts revealed in the Profumo affair. The Tories now represent a ruling class in desperate crisis.

They must try to smash the trade union movement and all resistance in the working class in order to survive. Their experience in brutal suppression of workers from Dublin to Durban, from Amritsar to Suez, will now be brought to bear against the British workers.

Even Enoch Powell only gives us the faintest glimpse of the real face of Toryism. His efforts to split the working class are only the prelude to more open repression.

The fight to keep the Tories out in the general election on June 18 is vital for the whole future of the working class. But it has to be part of the preparation for the battle to get rid of the power of capitalism, which the Tories represent and which keeps them alive.

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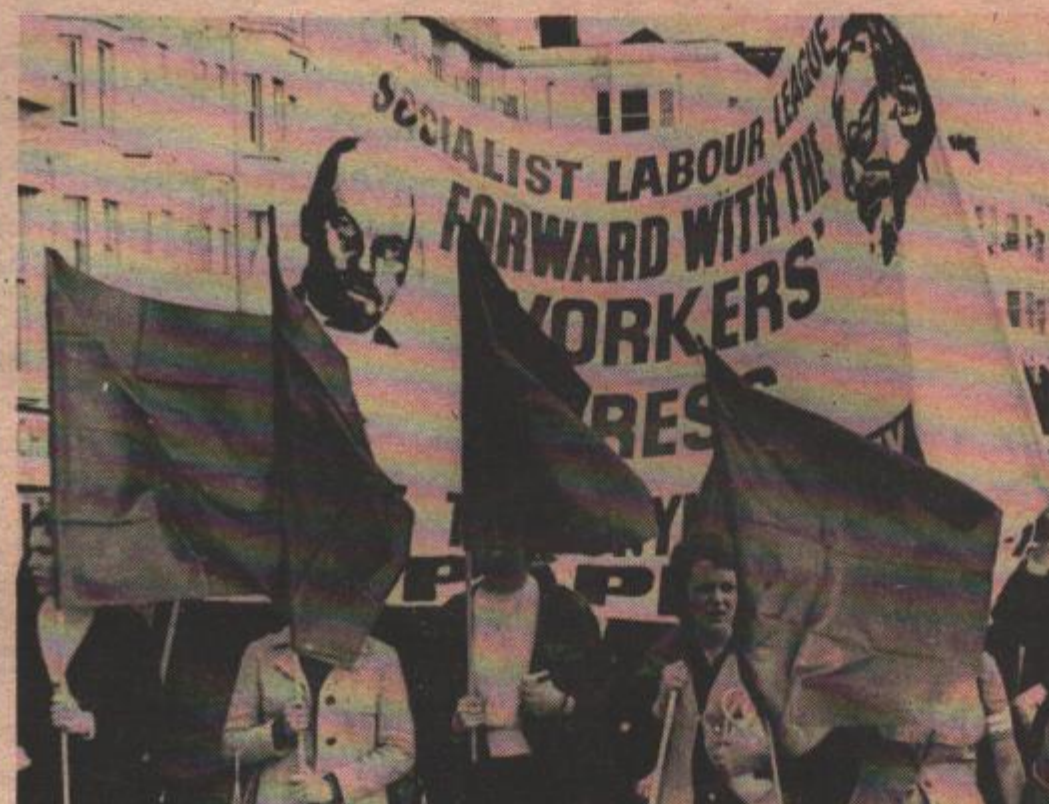
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Middlesex Region

Sunday June 28
Five-a-side football.
Saturday July 11
—Trip to Southend.
Sunday August 16
—Trip to Margate.
Sunday August 30
—Sports Day.
Saturday September 19
—Regional demonstration
through Southall.

West Yorkshire

Sunday June 14
Regional Rally: Keep The
Tories Out.
Seacroft Village Hall.
Five-a-side football, films,
meeting discotheque.
Sunday June 21
Hike: Yorkshire Dales (meet
Cookridge Street 9.30 a.m.)
Sunday August 16
Swimming Gala: Knottingley
Swimming Baths 4.30 p.m.
Sunday August 30
Sports Day: Horsfall Stadium,
Halifax Road, Bradford, 2.30 p.m.

Southern Region

Sunday June 21
—Trip to Margate.
Monday June 22
—Social evening: Stunby Hall,
5, Norwood Hill, S.E.25.
Saturday June 27
—Discotheque. Ifield Community
Centre.
Sunday July 5
—Regional Rally: Old Town
Boys Club, Waddon.
Sunday July 12
—Mystery Ramble.

West Midlands

Sunday June 14
—Anti-Tory Rally. Bennett Hall
YMCA, Constitution Hill,
Birmingham.
Sunday July 19
—Day trip to Alton Towers.
Sunday August 30
—Sports Day: Harvey Haddon
Stadium, Nottingham.
Saturday September 19
—Demonstration and rally in
Birmingham.

NATIONWIDE YS

THERE'S PLENTY TO DO IN THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Sheffield

Sunday June 21
—Day Trip.
Saturday and Sunday July 4
and 5
—Weekend School.

Scotland

Sunday June 14
—Sports Day.
Saturday and Sunday June 20
and 21
—Weekend School.
Saturday September 19
—Demonstration and Rally.

North-East

Saturday August 29
—Demonstration, Rally and
Dance.
Saturday September 12
—Swimming Gala.
Sunday September 27
—Outdoor Athletics and films.

Wales

Sunday June 28
—Regional Coach Outing.
Sunday August 30
—Swimming Gala and Sports
Day.
Saturday September 26
—Regional Rally and
Demonstration.

PROGRAMME

Summer Camp

July 26 to August 8
Main lectures:
'Revolution and Counter
Revolution'.



If you want more information please write to
YS National Secretary John Simmance