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The Keep Left Editorial Board sends Seasonal Greetings to our readers

We hope to see you at the
Keep Left Annual General Meeting
on Saturday January 6, 1968 at the Co-op Hall, Rye-Lane,
Peckham, London, S.E.15 at 2.30 p.m.

*Discuss the building up of the most popular socialist youth
paper in Britain today. Elect the Editor and Editorial Board.
Take part in the National Speaking Contest.*

In the evening we are proud to present—



The Rick 'n' Beckers and The Caution

from 8 p.m. to 11 p.m.

Come along and enjoy yourself. Tickets 7s 6d

**Start 1968 with the Keep Left Annual General
Meeting and help to build a mass circulation for
this paper—our present target is 20,000**

WORLD NEWS

THE further deepening of the world crisis of capitalism has caused the American ruling class to step up even further on the war in Vietnam.

This crisis is the entire reason behind the new escalation and particularly the recent battle on Hill 875. Warmongers of the Pentagon and Wall Street, with their economy in danger of crashing down around their ears, are forced now to think in terms of an all-out world war, centred on Vietnam and involving China.

It is obvious that it is impossible for US forces to continue fighting in Vietnam on the same basis as previously. Over the past three years territories have been continually won and lost, like a macabre chess game, and casualties increase all the time, as does the determination and heroism of the Vietnamese people.

The recent battle for control of Hill 875 at first appears to have been fought in this vein. US forces had to fight for three weeks for control of these three ridges overlooking the town of Dak To, with a death toll of 225 and over twice as many wounded.

But in fact 875 has far more ominous significance in the escalation towards world war. The town of Dak To is on the border of Cambodia, a supposedly neutral territory whose 600-mile frontier nevertheless contains major Vietcong bases. This, combined with reports of US determination to turn nearby Thailand into a massive aircraft base for the launching of two-thirds of US bombing raids, is evidence enough of the course US imperialism is being driven along.

Also, very well-established and influential sections of the American ruling class are now coming out quite openly in favour of invasion of territories surrounding Vietnam.

Ex-President Eisenhower recently stated that hot pursuit was required, whether into Cambodia, Laos or China, and that America was no longer

Hill 875

Macabre chess game to extend war

BY
PAT
LEONARD

obliged to take any notice of territorial boundaries existing on maps!

There is a real urgency now for the issues at stake in Vietnam to be burned into the consciousness of the international working class. The struggle in Britain against the employers and the

Labour government, who last month made clear the severity of the international crisis by having to devalue the pound, is over the same issues as the war in Vietnam and the struggle of workers throughout the world against capitalism.

In its attempts to stabilize its tottering system, imperialism has no choice but to take on the international working class on all fronts, whatever the consequences. This determination now causes the threat of war and annihilation to hang over the entire world.

There is no time to lose in the building of a revolutionary movement as the only answer to this crisis. Every successful struggle of the British working class in the coming months against Wilson, every step taken in the building of this party assists the Vietnamese people, as they assist us each time they drive back and humiliate the US military.

Eisenhower speaks contemptuously of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies when he says that they are not interested in intervening in Vietnam. Imperialism is now thinking more and more in terms of winning back the land and wealth of the Soviet Union and China into their sphere of exploitation; but they should not talk so glibly of crossing lines on maps or doing deals with bureaucrats.

Imperialism, with bureaucracy, now has to contend with the Soviet and Chinese workers and peasants. They are faced with turning the tables on the two greatest blows ever struck against imperialism in the Russian and Chinese revolutions.

These revolutions were not carried out by bureaucrats and the course of history will not be determined in Vietnam or anywhere else by capitalists and bureaucrats. In saying this we speak for youth all over the world now joining the ranks of the Fourth International and building revolutionary parties. In Britain we build the Young Socialists as part of this struggle.

A heavy death toll for the American imperialists

Unemployment and racialism linked on Bradford march



BRADFORD has seen several anti-racialist demonstrations, with anti-Smith and anti-apartheid themes, but what really distinguished the Young Socialists' march on November 11 was the fact that it linked the fight against racialism with the struggle against unemployment.

At the public meeting after the march Mike Singh,

member of Bradford Young Socialists, stressed the need for working-class solidarity.

Other speakers at the meeting spoke of the treachery of the Labour government in backing big business against the working class and the trade unions.

They pointed out that the working class would fight back and, on becom-

ing increasingly disgusted with the government's policies, workers would look for a socialist alternative.

Both the demonstration and the meeting were part of the Bradford Young Socialists' preparation for the lobby against unemployment on December 12 in London, called by the North-East Conderation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

Preparations for Morecambe 1968



New draft statement from the National Committee

IN preparation for the eighth annual conference of the Young Socialists in Morecambe in 1968 the Young Socialists National Committee has, in line with the fast deteriorating position of international capitalism, prepared a completely new draft policy statement for consideration by the branches.

The Young Socialists have travelled a long way since their days as part of the Labour Party from 1960-1964. Now, as an established independent youth movement, they are taking a lead in all the important struggles against the Labour government's policies.

The draft statement therefore embodies all the past experiences of the YS and its plans for the future too.

Such a policy, however, assumes far more importance today as a result of the intensified attacks of the Labour government on the working class following devaluation of the pound.

Continually warned

It has always been the Young Socialists who, since 1964, have continuously warned the labour movement of the actions of the Wilson leadership and its subservience to both big business and the international bankers.

Morecambe 1968 will take place in a period which none of our generation has experienced—at a time of devaluation, growing unemployment, speed-up and cutting of wages.

It is in the light of this situation that the Young Socialists National Committee has made a carefully-considered draft statement.

Describing the actions of the Labour government from 1964 and the unholy alliance between the bankers and the Labour government, the point is correctly made that effective planning of the national resources of the country would have been possible only through a nationalization policy.

Whilst condemning the Labour government for its Tory policies the National Committee says:

'We do not want the Tories returned to power. In our opinion the time has come to save the Labour Party from the effects of Wilson's policies.'

The 'left' MPs in parliament are called upon to 'immediately place a resolution before the Parliamentary Labour Party calling upon Wilson, Gunter, Callaghan and Brown to resign.'

In such a struggle, the statement points out, the experiences of the fight against anti-trade union legislation and the lessons

of the seamen's strike and in the apprentices' strike of 1964 have to be carefully considered.

Unity of young and old workers must be fought for and the old leaderships of the trade unions rejected around the demands of nationalization under workers' control of all basic industries, including the docks, the banks and the building and building supply industries.

The witch-hunt

In its struggles to unite the working class on a programme against the policies of the Labour government the Young Socialists have had to face a combined witch-hunt from both the Labour Party bureaucracy and the Communist Party leadership, and it is this experience which the National Committee takes up in a section entitled 'The Witch-Hunt Against Youth'. It calls on members of the Communist Party who genuinely want to fight for socialism to join the Young Socialists.

The statement makes it clear that all these struggles in Britain are inseparable from the 'international upsurge of youth against world capitalism'. In South-East Asia, in Europe, in Aden, Africa and the United States itself there begins a massive action against imperialism.

Likewise in the East European countries, the Soviet Union and China, youth are taking the first steps in challenging the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Giving details of the experiences of the Young Socialists recently in broadening its work onto an international scale the National Committee draws its conclusions from the participation in the demonstration in Liège, Belgium in 1966 and the 1967 International Assembly of Socialist Youth and says:

'This generation of young workers, our generation, can be won to the programme of the international socialist revolution to overthrow imperialism and transfer power to the working class. On no other programme than this can they be won. From the Assembly we go forward to the International Youth Conference.'

The statement makes the point that an international programme for power is no 'pipe dream'. The enormous contradictions in the development of the means of production on a world scale, particularly in computerization and automation, creates a situation where thousands of jobs are lost each week.

'It is necessary to take the productive forces out of the hands of the capitalists in order to build a socialist society in which automation can liberate humanity from poverty, starvation, unemployment and war for all time.'

A specific programme is outlined which will provide the basis on which to organize the youth.

- A shorter working week with

ample opportunity for open-air sport and recreation.

- At least one month's paid holiday a year.
- The same period of apprenticeship for those in the same trade.
- All junior workers in factories to be trained as apprentices and not as semi-skilled labour.
- Equal pay for equal work.
- Prohibition of night work and arduous, unhealthy tasks; workers' control over the use of young labour.
- Forbidding of all work not connected with the apprenticeship.
- Throw out the indenture agreement that tries to discipline and tame apprentices.

Negotiating rights

Demands are made for full trade union negotiating rights and reduced dues for young workers and organization of the unorganized.

It is in this section that the National Committee has called for the right to vote at 18. It says:

'At the age of 15 the employer demands the right to exploit the labour power of youth, yet the youth is denied all political rights.'

This demand for votes at 18 will take on far more significance if the conference decides

Continued page 12 column 1 →

WIN A WEEK IN PARIS

THE National Committee of the Young Socialists will award a week in Paris to the two boys and two girls who work hardest for the Morecambe Conference in 1968, through enrolling the largest number of fully-paid up Young Socialists and sympathizers to the Conference.

We have already made arrangements with our French sister organization Révoltes and they will be taking care of food and accommodation. Four young French comrades will visit England and we shall act as hosts.

Names of the winners will be announced at the Conference. We are told that Paris is a beautiful city, especially in the Spring. So roll up your sleeves.



A new chief

JOAN LESTOR, MP, has just been appointed Chairman of the Youth Sub-Committee of the Labour Party.

She replaces Bessie Braddock, who was mainly responsible for the expulsion of a majority of the Young Socialists in 1964 because they opposed Wilson's policies.

Joan Lestor has long been a follower of the 'left' in the Parliamentary Labour Party, and, of course, a 'darling' of the 'Tribunites'.

When Mrs. Braddock was doing her dirty work against the Young Socialists, Miss Lestor remained silent. She was, at that time, carefully grooming herself for a Parliamentary seat in Slough. Naturally, when you are carrying out such activity you do not enter into controversy with the tops of the Labour Party.

Like the other 'left' MPs, she has abstained on the important issues facing the working class and was amongst those who withdrew the amendment to the Queen's Speech on the government's economic policies.

'Victory' claim

Naturally, 'Tribune', and the aspiring young careerists who hang around such papers as 'Rebel', will hail her appointment as a great victory.

Of course, it is nothing of the sort. It is just the old right-wing gang, carefully schooled by Reg Underhill, preparing a 'left' face in order to save what remains of the Labour Party Young Socialists from complete disintegration.

Since the expulsion of the majority of the Young Socialists and the proscription of Keep Left, the Labour Party leaders and their fake-'left' allies have completely failed to build a youth movement.

Spineless

They have absolutely no policy to attract youth. They have no alternative to Wilson. They have revealed themselves as spineless when it comes to a struggle. They imagine that it is sufficient to put on a 'left' face and make a few noises.

We are not living any longer in the period where this approach will be tolerated. The youth, together with the adult working class, now face serious class battles against capitalism.

Continued page 11 column 5 →



Two weeks before the strike in London was called off by the Docks Liaison Committee a mass meeting of thousands at the Royal voted to stay out (above). Liverpool dockers expressed, in no uncertain terms, what they thought about the proposals of the union officials.

What next for the dockers?

Build a leadership that will not compromise

BY DANY SYLVIERE

'THIS is a defeat for every docker in this country,' was the bitter comment of one docker at the end of the meeting which took a return to work decision after eight weeks of strike action against the Devlin scheme in the London ports.

Implementation of the Devlin 'modernization' scheme on the docks brought London and Liverpool ports to a standstill. Designed to create redundancies (between 20,000 and 40,000) the scheme plans to use containerization, which will bring speed-up, cut wages and destroy hard-won trade-union rights and conditions, such as the continuity rule, which stipulates that a man started on one particular job must be allowed to finish it.

The drive of the employers and the Labour government today in every single industry is for more productivity. Measured-Day Work in the car industry, the Geddes Report in the shipbuilding industry, the government's White Paper on the fuel policy, the new agreement in the electrical trades are all part of this drive.

These plans are backed up by the actions of the Labour government in tying the trade unions to the state, as it has already begun to do through Clause Four of the Prices and Incomes Act.

The aim of the port employers is to get a 'smaller labour force, but highly skilled.' ('The Port', November 24.) They want to make less men do more work, create large redundancies and use labour from the dole queues when they need it.

Decasualization and the ending of the continuity rule will enable them to root out militants. Like all modernization schemes Devlin is a direct attack on the working class first and foremost, other considerations are secondary.

But the leaderships of both strikes, in London and in Liverpool, split the issue on which the men were fighting. In Liverpool the stoppage was on the question of wages and in London it was on the continuity rule. No preparation for a united fight against the Devlin scheme was made—in London, before it was implemented, Jack Dash said that the scheme could be accepted, with amendments.

When the port employers first attempted to start the scheme and the strikes began there was complete confusion. Only sections of the London docks came out and Dash proposed that the struggle be postponed until January. It was only with the intervention of some of the younger members of the Liverpool strike committee that a resolution was passed at a mass meeting calling for immediate action.

However Dash consistently refused to have an agreement with the Liverpool dockers for an inter-port strike committee.



The Labour government intervened to break the strike with threats of bringing in the troops. Gunter made a prepared speech attacking a so-called 'Communist-Trotskyist alliance' which, he said, was behind the strike. And yet, despite the attack of the Labour leaders, Jack Dash insisted that it was not a political strike.

Both he and the Communist Party tried to patch up the rift between the discredited trade union officials and the rank-and-file dockers, throughout the strike. The union officials' sole task was to get the men back to work, as they were responsible for agreeing to the implementation of the Devlin scheme in the first place.

To have defeated Devlin would have meant taking on the Labour government and only a leadership prepared to fight Wilson's policies could have led that strike, in both London and Liverpool, to win.

Only the re-called conference of the Oxford Liaison Committee, attended by trade unionists and shop stewards from major industries up and down the country, gave a clear political lead. It called for the rejection of the Devlin scheme, the nationalization of the docks under workers' control and demanded that the 'left' MPs fight against Wilson in

the Parliamentary Labour Party.

At the end of six weeks with a very solid strike in the Liverpool docks, the government and the trade union officials decided to make concessions to the men in order to divide them from London. In this they were fully supported by Dash's followers in the Liverpool port, who called for a return to work, hailing these concessions as a great victory.

This left the London dockers isolated, faced as they were by a complete refusal by the trade union officials and the employers to negotiate. The plan was to starve them back to work.

Dash's Liaison Committee then began the split in London by calling a separate early-morning meeting on the West India, leaving out the men from the Royal group of docks. This proposal met with strong opposition from the West India dockers and the weak voting strength at the meeting led directly to a return to work.

It was then that the drift back on the Royal began.

Jack Dash, taking full advantage of the situation, moved a return to work on the Royal if the employers would agree to negotiate. This suggestion was overwhelmingly defeated as was the one put forward

by the trade union officials.

The press immediately stepped up the pressure against the strike, appealing to the dockers' wives that Christmas was near.

Meanwhile Dash had whittled down the demands on continuity to such an extent that the men were striking for almost nothing.

On Monday, November 27, the London Liaison Committee proposed a return to work, having won nothing. Out of the dock gates poured the scabs who had worked throughout the strike, to vote for the resolution. After it was passed the scabs went back to work. Hundreds of dockers called for another vote without them but the meeting was closed.

The feeling of the dockers was well expressed by some who said: 'I'm sick! It's a complete sell out! A return after eight weeks and nothing gained!'

But there are very serious lessons to be drawn from the dock strike. Dockers must build a leadership prepared to go all out to win victory and which refuses to compromise, which sees this struggle not just confined to economic issues but as a political fight against the Labour government for the nationalization of the docks under workers' control.

Behind devaluation the plan to cut wages and increase unemployment

Although it meant the abandonment of Wilson's efforts to 'save the pound' at all costs, the decision to devalue is a continuation and intensification of the Labour government's attack on workers' living standards.

By Philip Norris

London Stock Exchange, home of the big business speculators.

MAKING the pound worth 2.40 dollars instead of 2.80 dollars will mean a rapid rise in the price of imported goods. Food will be the worst hit.

At the same time increases in things like petrol will be used as a reason for making everything else dearer.

In other words devaluation was decided upon as a way of cutting the standard of living when other methods did not work fast enough.

The theory is that, since British goods will cost less in foreign currencies, exports from this country will go up while imports are held down.

But, as Anthony Crosland,

government expenditure on social services will be cut.

Devaluation was forced on the government by the loss of confidence in sterling shown by foreign traders and investors. After the September trade figures were announced millions of pounds were sold on the foreign exchanges for German marks and French and Swiss francs.

Incidentally, all unemployed workers and old age pensioners should not forget that some people made a lot of money on that weekend of November 18 and 19. All they had to do with the spare £1000 was to buy francs with it on Friday and sell them back on Monday.

severe, however. To find a way out of the ever-deepening problems facing the British bosses, the working class must be forced to work harder and eat less.

But devaluation cannot be understood just as part of the decline of British capitalism. It is one stage in a rapidly developing world crisis.

As soon as the pound was devalued, pressure began to build up on the dollar. This took the form of a rush to buy gold, thus pushing up its price.

Now the price of gold has been fixed by international agreement since 1934 at 35 dollars an ounce. It is through this price that other curren-

the 1950s.

De Gaulle and Adenauer represented this trend. They started to demand the revision of the world financial set-up.

For the last eight years they have been able to use another argument to back up their proposals:

US gold reserves in Fort Knox, making up a big proportion of the world reserve, began to be reduced in size. This was especially true since the expenditure on the Vietnam war put a growing burden on the US balance of payments.

On the other hand, every action taken by the Americans to reduce this outflow of gold and dollars strikes a blow at

that such things could never happen again.

The workers could be employed continuously producing ever-increasing profits.

Lord Keynes had made Marx out-of-date, they lectured at us.

But they were wrong. Under the surface the old contradictions were at work, building up the problems in a new and still more explosive form.

The problems of the world's currencies, for which no solution is now even seriously put forward, are the result of two decades of expansion, based on arms production and inflated credit.

Capitalism stands on the



BRINK OF A CRASH



President of the Board of Trade, explained, this depends on stopping trade unionists pushing wages up to keep pace with prices. The decision of the Trades Union Congress to accept this position will not, however, stop workers from engaging in big battles to break the wage freeze.

To prepare for these struggles, the government has started on a new round of deflation. The Bank Rate is at a record eight per cent.

This is intended to discourage investment and push thousands more workers onto the dole.

We can expect the new Chancellor to present one of the most anti-working class budgets in history. Not only will deflation be continued as prices rise, but, as in 1931,

They would then be £166 richer!

The new value for the pound is by no means the end of the story. The devaluation of 14 per cent is much smaller than was expected. Many will question whether the new level can be held for long. New crises of confidence are likely in the next few months.

It was to forestall such questions that yet another loan, this time 1,400,000,000 dollars, had to be negotiated with the international banks.

Even the published 'letter of intent' sent by Callaghan makes it clear that the loan depended on savage attacks being carried through against the British working class.

What was agreed to in the privacy of the negotiations may have been still more

cies have determined their level.

That is, instead of the pound sterling, or the franc, or the mark being directly valued in gold, they are fixed at so many dollars.

Once upon a time, when the British capitalists were leaders of the gang, the pound could play this role. But those days have gone. No one believes any more that the pound is 'as safe as the Bank of England'.

After 1945 the Americans propped up capitalism everywhere by lending money to the different governments and investing capital in profitable places.

The advantage gained by US firms in this way began to meet with opposition from some European capitalists in

the reserves of the other countries.

De Gaulle's answer is simple: raise the price of gold or devalue the dollar. He has made sure that a large part of France's reserves have been changed from dollars into gold, so that they would go up in value in the event of such a move.

But however clever this may seem, it will in the long run look rather different. For the disruption of the international financial structure, which is now drawing near, will also mean the end of the post-war expansion of capitalism.

For 22 years capitalism has avoided a repetition of the depression of 1929-1933. Many people came to think that the bosses had now got the knack of managing their system so

brink of a new crash. Exactly how and when it will come no one can say, but come it must.

It will mean much suffering in the working class. It will also bring forth a revolutionary answer of unprecedented power.

This applies especially in Britain and especially amongst the younger generation. They cannot take the working class back to the 1930s without tremendous struggles.

The Young Socialists must therefore study the consequences of devaluation carefully. We must see that from the implementation of these measures the basis can be formed, within the growing response of the working class to the crisis, for the English revolution.

FROM CHARTISM TO THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

WHAT have been the real traditions of the working-class movement in Britain? Has the movement always been dominated by ideas of slow and gradual changes, of peaceful advances to socialism? Or has there been a revolutionary tradition within the working-class movement? It is one of the principal aims of the capitalist educational system and of the means of propaganda to instil in the minds of each new generation the conception that everything in Britain changes slowly, that all political questions are settled in a gentlemanly way, with the spirit of compromise which is said to characterize the British.

WHAT all the Liberals and Social Democrats of the Wilson type fail to recognize is that the British working class has a revolutionary tradition which remains unbroken right from its birth in the horrific conditions of the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The first great expression of this continual striving of the working class to take power from the hands of the capital-

But how to win these demands? This is where the unity of the movement began to crumble. On the one hand there was a wing composed of liberals and radicals, led by middle-class people, drawing their support from London and the Midlands, who believed that 'moral force' would be enough to win the Charter.

On the other hand there was the revolutionary wing of the movement, led by people such as George Julian Harney, who urged that peaceful methods were hopeless against the forces of the government

The history of the British working-class is something which every Keep Left reader must become familiar with. Peter Jeffries presents the first of a series of six articles, entitled:

After 1839 the Chartists endeavoured to strengthen their central organization and the 'Northern Star' became one of the chief organizers of the movement.

They had not long to wait for a revival. In 1842 a new draft of the Charter was drawn up and was signed by over 4,000,000 workers. In August of that year a strike in Ashton-under-Lyne developed into a strike for the Charter. It rapidly spread to many parts of Lancashire, Yorkshire, the Potteries, and even into Wales with the Scot-

and, although Chartists in the North engaged in a series of violent demonstrations and disturbances which were put down with customary force and brutality, 1848 marks the final end of the movement.

But was Chartism really killed? No. In fact many of the lessons: the relation of Parliamentary work to the struggle outside Parliament, the role of the strike for political ends, the struggle between the revolutionary and reformist tendencies within the movement, became part of the historic lessons of the

a pointer to revolution

ists was the Chartist movement which reached its peak in the 10 years after 1838.

Chartism was essentially a movement produced by the brutal exploitation of the working class as it emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Capitalism arose only as a result of massive social upheavals, particularly the organized break-up of the agricultural and village communities and the forcible transfer of labour into the new towns.

CHARTIST AIMS

Chartism was a movement of the working class aimed at the overthrow of the capitalist system which had produced these conditions of poverty, starvation, disease, so vividly described by Engels in his 'Condition of the Working Class in England in 1884'.

These aims of the Chartists were summed up in the six demands which constituted the programme of the movement: The vote for all adult males; equal electoral areas; payment of MPs; secret ballot; the abolition of property qualifications for MPs; annual Parliaments.

and that insurrection and 'physical force' were necessary.

Mass meetings were held outside many cities consisting of tens of thousands of workers who heard speakers argue the case for the Charter and for a Convention where it was to be launched in 1839. Some idea of the size of the movement can be gauged by the fact that the 'Northern Star', one of the leading organs of the northern Chartists, had a circulation of over 50,000. Many of these copies were read in public houses and clubs and its total audience must have been enormous.

Eventually in the summer of 1839 the Charter was presented to Parliament, containing over 1,000,000 signatures. It was duly debated and inevitably rejected by a House of Commons which was dominated by the owners of property.

The government had prepared carefully for the aftermath of the debate. Sir Charles Napier was charged with organizing the military against the Chartists and with this display of force and determination the 'moral force'

wing collapsed.

The revolutionary wing of the movement persisted in the struggle and a committee to prepare for insurrection was formed, consisting of representatives from the North and from South Wales. Plans were made at a national conference for the insurrection and it was agreed that the signal for the taking of power should be the capture of Newport by the Chartists of that area led by John Frost.

SAVAGE FORCE

A force of 4,000 was assembled to march on Newport, consisting largely of miners. It was met with a savage show of armed force on the part of the authorities of the town. The leaders were arrested, tried and sentenced to death.

Only after a massive national campaign were these sentences commuted to ones of life imprisonment. Throughout 1839 a wave of arrests were made and the working class had had its first experience of an organized scale of opposition to the state machine.

tish miners coming out in support.

O'Connor, leading light in the 'Northern Star', and until then an advocate of 'physical force', was frightened by the strength of the strike and he only supported it under enormous pressure from the ranks.

By the end of August, however, he denounced the strike in the 'Star' and declared he would stop it. As a result it failed in Manchester and was soon defeated. 1,500 were arrested and 79 deported to Australia.

The economic crisis of 1847-48 gave the movement its final lease of life. Once more a large number of people signed a petition demanding the implementation of the points of the Charter and a mass rally was organized in London in April 1848 in order to present the Petition to Parliament.

The government prepared massive forces this time under the Duke of Wellington in order to intimidate the Chartist leaders and protect private property.

Again O'Connor capitulated before this show of strength

working class which were embodied into its future struggles.

Chartism failed, not because of a lack of fighting capacity of the working class. It failed because, in a sense, it came too early. After 1850, British capitalism entered a period of unequalled prosperity and expansion in which it became the leading industrial power in the world, the 'workshop of the world'.

NOT FORGOTTEN

This ushered in a period of comparative peace between the working class and the capitalist class in which wages for the skilled workers rose and living standards increased.

But the Chartist movement was not and is not forgotten. We salute those of its leaders who struggled in the years of its existence to develop the revolutionary movement of the working class. If Chartism represents a glorious page in the history of the British working class it also points the way to an even more glorious chapter: the coming English proletarian social Revolution.

MOSCOW



TRIALS

ANTHOLOGY

Price: 12s. 6d.

Available from New Park Publications Ltd.,
186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

Young Socialist pamphlet dedicated to the memory of Comrade Peter Archer who died on October 25, 1967, aged 23. He was a founding member of the Young Socialists and a member of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the Inter-

Leon Sedov



SON • FRIEND • FIGHTER

Dedicated to the Proletarian Youth

by

LEON TROTSKY

2s. 6d.

national Committee of the Fourth International. Peter had been active in the Young Socialists in Birmingham just before his death. A Trotskyist all his adult life, Peter Archer followed politically in the footsteps of Leon Sedov and the thousands of Young Communists murdered by Stalin. They fought unselfishly and heroically to build the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution. It will be built.

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A move towards dictatorship

IN last month's Keep Left, we told the story about the booze-up at the Savoy. Lord Thomson, owner of 'The Times' and dozens of other newspapers, made a clown out of George Brown in front of his big business friends.

The honourable gentlemen had been meeting in secret for several days discussing how best they could conspire against the working class. It was our opinion then, and it still is now, that what George Brown may or may not have said was unimportant. The fact is that Thomson and the big businessmen were out to discredit their Parliament using Foreign Secretary Brown for the occasion.

More and more they want to destroy trade unionism and replace it with the type of labour front in which workers have absolutely no rights, as was the case in Hitler's Germany.

Present at Thomson's celebration was, of course, Paul Chambers, until recently chairman of ICI and now on the board of the Royal Exchange Insurance. Presumably taking seriously what had been discussed in secret, Mr. Chambers went ahead and organized another gathering on his own; this time the largest companies associated with synthetic products were called together and set up the organization for investigating what was wrong with industry.

During the debate on devaluation, Mr. James Callaghan, Chancellor of the Exchequer, described this gathering as 'sinister'. It was, he said, out to do away with democracy and Parliament. For once we must agree with him, with the proviso that it is the Callaghans, the Browns and the Wilsons who are opening the door to these dictatorial businessmen. It is their anti-trade-union legislation and unemployment policies which are encouraging the employers to go right ahead and attack the working class.

Thus it was in Germany, before Hitler came to power. Social Democrats such as the Labour leaders of today pursued consistently anti-working-class policies and, in their turn, facilitated the coming to power of Hitler because they split the working class.

At that time the Communist Party also split the working class because they denounced the Social Democratic traitors as 'social fascists', and thereby prevented a united front of the working class against Hitler.

Today the Communist Party is licking the boots of the Labour 'lefts' who, in turn, lick Wilson's boots. All these forces in their way disarm the working class in front of the Paul Chambers and Roy Thomsons. Everyone can see that there is an enormous growth of racialism and a re-emergence of fascist groupings in many parts of the country. This mood is encouraged by anti-socialists such as David Frost, who recently interviewed Mosley in a way which gave this gentleman's policies a big boost.

The writing is on the wall for all to see. We, as Young Socialists, must be prepared to take the leadership of the struggle, which is now more and more urgent, to overthrow capitalism, war, and the dangers of fascism forever. There is absolutely no time to lose. We must get on with the job of recruiting tens of thousands of young people to the Young Socialists and make our next year's Morecambe Conference a rallying centre against the conspiracy of big business and its hangers-on in the labour movement.

Your Answers to 'Flower Power' and 'Love Society'

THE letter 'Missed the Point' in last month's Keep Left, from E. Barbour-Hill, betrays a dangerous confusion about the nature of revolutionary principles.

E. Hill seems to think that a movement should be judged merely by what it claims as its final goal. For Marxists, who apply scientific method to prepare for the overthrow of capitalism by the working class, the question is otherwise.

Transient crazes like the hippy movement cannot be understood by abstractly examining their aims. The real significance of these movements is whether they help or hinder the working class in the struggle for power.

Despite what your correspondent implies, the hippies are not revolutionaries. As far as one can gather from the confused statements of their spokesmen, they stand for 'dropping out' of society and thus avoiding, in a purely personal way, the worst aspects of capitalist oppression.

Their individualism is bound up with the fate of the middle class: a class without a future. Hippyism has nothing in common with Marxism, which fights to clarify the working class in order to enable it to end oppression once and for all.

Hippyism confuses workers by claiming that they can solve their problems on an individual basis. It is quite consciously used by the capitalists in order to turn youth away from the class struggle. Perhaps E. Hill could give examples of the way in which the Young Socialists have been 'used by the capitalists' in 'its early days'. I can't think of any.

All anarchists oppose the building of a revolutionary party to enforce the dictatorship of the working class, and hippyism is only anarchism spiced up with sex and mysticism.

True Marxists envisage the withering away of the state under socialism.

But we always emphasize that the withering away of the state can only be brought about by the working class first imposing its own iron dictatorship over the capitalist class.

The anti-authoritarian, 'anti-fuzz', attitude of the hippies is the direct opposite of the anti-capitalism of the working class. The hippies oppose the power of the working class far more than that of the capitalists they know and 'love'.

All sorts of people, includ-

ing most motorists, are against the police, but this does not make them revolutionaries.

We do not condemn 'the hippies' out of hand but on the firm basis of a struggle against all tendencies which confuse the working class. This is the role of the hippies and the only principled struggle is a struggle against their ideas.

John Spencer,
Putney YS.

E. HILL, you stated in your letter in the November edition of Keep Left that the article 'Flowers of Decay' and my letter in the previous issue, had misused the point about the hippy movement, but it is you who have not only missed the point about the hippies but have been completely deluded by them.

You state that the 'Love society' of the hippies is identical in principle and practice to that advocated by Lenin, but this conclusion is absolutely wrong.

A Communist society as advocated by Lenin is a workers' society, organized by workers' committees—it is a society where, as you yourself quote: 'From each according to his ability, and to each according to his need'.

This bears no resemblance to the idealistic middle-class 'Love society', whose members are usually supported by their parents any way.

And may I suggest that in future you do not 'peruse' Lenin's writings, but study and analyse them as scientific works.

You say that we should not 'despise' something because the middle class take part in it, but the hippy movement does nothing to benefit the fight of the working class against capitalism and it therefore deserves our contempt.

You seem to think that, although they cannot afford it, the working class also wish to 'retreat from the struggle for survival under capitalism'. You have obviously not been studying the recent struggles of the working class and the fight of the Young Socialists, which is not a 'struggle for survival under capitalism'—it

is a battle to overthrow capitalism.

So you feel our attack on meditation is unjustified. Obviously you have not, once again, studied what it is you are defending.

If you consider meditation to be merely a way of relaxation you are very much mistaken. It is not only a retreat from the struggle of the working class it is a complete diversion from it.

You conclude with the remark: 'We cannot afford to waste the resources of any movement which is directly opposed to authority.'

We are not anarchists, completely opposed to all authority. We are against the authority of the capitalist state because it is used to suppress the working class, and we have no intention of making alliances with every movement which is simply opposed to authority.

The Young Socialists is a movement based on Marxist principles, fighting to overthrow the capitalist system and build world socialism and, as such, has nothing but contempt for idealistic middle-class movements such as the hippies who, by accepting capitalism as inevitable, by trying to cut themselves off from the struggles of the working class, and by not fighting to overthrow capitalism, are in fact, supporting it as it staggers to its inevitable death-bed.

Marion Kavanagh,
Croydon.

THE writer of the letter in last month's Keep Left (E. Barbour-Hill of Bristol), who sympathizes with the 'hippy-cult', has certainly failed to understand the purpose of the article 'Flowers of Decay'.

The letter says 'a perusal of Lenin's writings makes it clear that the final object is a proletarian anarchy', etc. There is a complete failure to say how we are to achieve a classless society.

There is no mention of the need for a constant struggle to raise the political consciousness of the working class and to warn of the constant dangers of revisionism, opportunism, reformism, pacifism, anarchism, which have to be vigorously attacked and fought against.

The 'Love Society' of the hippies bears no similarity to Marxism whatsoever and has rightly been exposed for what it is, the symbol of a degenerate capitalist society.

The hippies of today were the beatniks and CND-ers of yesterday. Who knows what new gimmicks will occupy their minds tomorrow. Theirs is a subjective reaction to capitalism.

Very few hippies practice the theory of the 'Love society'. In fact for most of them love is synonymous with sex, and they care little for the brotherhood of man.

What comfort is the 'Love society' of the hippies to the Vietnamese workers and peasants, or to the miners, or to the Liverpool dockers?

In Liverpool the hippies can be found in such places as 'O'Connors Tavern', 'The Crack', or the 'Philharmonic Hotel'. They frequent these haunts most evenings and in fact attending these public houses constitutes the bulk of their activity.

Many of them are students but a large number of them are bored and frustrated teenagers from the housing estates, with ordinary jobs, leading a Walter-Mitty conformist-by-day, hippy-by-night existence.

To say that 'the hippy movement embodies a very strong anti-fuzz feeling' (and this is a prime ingredient of revolution), is a mistake.

Firstly, the 'anti-fuzz feeling' present in the hippy movement is not a feeling motivated by the fact that the police are lackeys of the capitalist class, and secondly an 'anti-fuzz' feeling in itself is not an ingredient for revolution. After all there is a strong anti-police feeling amongst most criminals, very few of whom could be channelled into a revolutionary direction.

(In any case the hippy movement embodies a very strong pacifist feeling, which is a prime ingredient for no revolution at all.)

The working class do not have to accept the struggle for survival under capitalism, instead we can fight to build a movement to destroy capitalism for ever.

The 'hippy cult' renders many young people harmless to the capitalist class. It is therefore invaluable to the employers in their attacks against the working class.

This cannot be said of the Young Socialist movement.

I would not recommend meditation to the average worker. To meditate at the time of an attack by the capitalist class would be a sure way to 'retreat from the problems of the world' (permanently).

I think that it is true to say that a revolution in this country (or in any other country) will not be led by flower-waving, bell-jingling hippies, but by trained, disciplined Marxists.

There must be a consistent Marxist analysis of all tendencies present in this capitalist society, if we are to go forward to the revolution.

P. Franzen,
Liverpool YS.

Russian Revolution Celebrations

THE Celebration to mark the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution was an impressive display of the strength of the revolutionary forces in Britain today—the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League.

I was particularly impressed by the enthusiasm and talent shown in the competitions. Coming after the highly successful London Young Socialists Sports Day, this first exhibition of Young Socialists' art and poetry showed that the revolutionary youth movement can be a real centre, attracting the energy and creativity of working-class youth and students throughout the country.

In an age of cultural disintegration, when the ruling system of capitalism offers nothing but decay, it is only right that young artists should be attracted to the working class and its revolutionary movement as the force for a better future. Young workers will be able to develop their own talents and cultural level in fighting for the revolution.

Like sport, therefore, art and poetry are here to stay as part of the Young Socialists' activity, and will play an important part in rallying new members, putting the Young Socialists at the centre of the life of youth in Britain, and politically developing young comrades.

I would suggest that another type of national art exhibition be held in concurrence with one of our activities in the coming year, the National Committee to select the most practicable date.

Charlie Pottins,
Willesden West YS.

Antigua

AMONG the islands of the Caribbean archipelago, that stretches from the tip of Florida to Venezuela in South America, lies the beautiful island of Antigua. In 1493 this island was discovered by Columbus, who then pronounced it as part of the Spanish Empire of the New World and also named it after the church of Santa Maria la Antigua of Seville in Spain.

The island afterwards passed from the hands of one European imperialist nation to another and was finally held by Britain until 1967 when it finally obtained independence.

Along with Barbuda and

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Paper of the Workers' League USA
Room 8, 243 E.10. St. NYC 10003, USA

Rhedonda it became the seat of government for the Leeward Islands until, in 1956, the Leeward Islands Federation was dissolved to establish the abortive West Indian Federation in 1958.

The population of over 54,000 at one time mainly depended on sugar and cotton as the staple industries, but recently much attention has been focussed on the tourist industry in spite of which there has been chronic unemployment and underemployment.

Of the population 9,500 are wage earners and 4,000 are employed in the sugar industry, which runs at full capacity for just over six months of the year.

However, great effort has been made to invite foreign investments and here and there are small industrial plants, such as oil refining, block making, etc.

For its political status and development a summary of its colonial history will serve as a guide to understand the present situation.

When sugar was 'king' in the West Indies, Antigua was one of the main exporters of sugar to Britain, as it is today.

The development of the sugar industry followed the well-known pattern of the use of imported African slaves, who worked on the plantations for their European masters under the most inhuman conditions.

Long after emancipation was formally carried out, Europeans still kept the natives at a hand-to-mouth level until courageous native leaders themselves sought to break the economic bonds of slavery.

In the 1930s native leaders struggled to unite the working class, especially those who were employed in the sugar industry. Men such as Reginald Stephens and V. C. Bird struggled to establish what is known today as the Antigua Trades and Labour Union.

Over the years the union grew from strength to strength and wrenched from the hands of the bosses better working conditions and wages, particularly after the introduction of adult suffrage.

Education mainly depended upon the limited resources of Christian charity. The various denominations operated local parish schools until later, when the imperialists subsidized them, and finally when native leaders won the nationalization of primary education.

Even in the early days there was discrimination against the natives—they could not worship in the great St. John's Cathedral with their bosses.

The power of the Union grew until the Legislative Council was overwhelmed by its representatives. The Union's political section is known as the Labour Party. Socialism was the aim of the movement and for over 20 years the Labour Party was returned to the Council completely victorious.

However the Labour Party became bureaucratic and corrupt, with Bird holding a dual position as Chief Minister of government and President of the Union. This led to a great deal of dissatisfaction but attempts to form an opposition party failed.

The British government, of course, was content to leave

révoltes

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POUR LA CONSTRUCTION DE L'ORGANISATION RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE DE LA JEUNESSE

matters to Bird.

During the early campaigns of the Union emphasis was placed on the exploitation of Antigua by the imperialists, but today people have come to realize that their leaders are now hand in glove with the bosses. Demonstrations are practically unheard of and strikes are few and soon hushed up.

Demands to nationalize the sugar industry, controlled by Tate and Lyle, were disregarded and since independence, capital has been invested by Canadian and other capitalists, the outcome of which is yet to be seen.

We see that the political system in Antigua reflects the sombre outcome of many so-called socialist revolutions staged especially in the ex-colonial countries. National leaders arise and come to power on the promise of instituting socialism but remain puppets of the imperialist powers.

It is therefore the duty of the working class to strike at the roots of the capitalist economic system and not apply the usual patchwork practice of lopping off the branches while leaving the roots untouched. This must be their role both in Britain and Antigua.

Frank Hilbourne, Leicester.

Criticisms on Film Reviews

IS IT possible for Young Socialists to review works of art in a clear way, and at the same time not to oversimplify the issues involved in them? I think so. But the recent Keep Left film reviews give a different impression.

Certainly we must condemn 'In the Heat of the Night' along with the sickeningly predictable 'Hurry Sundown' for their flimsy, liberal pretence that class collaboration answers the problems of the southern Negro.

Equally certainly, though, the merit of 'In the Heat of the Night' as opposed to 'Hurry Sundown' is not that 'the Sheriff's racialism is gradually broken down'. The Sheriff's racialism, together with that of his whole community, is seen in the film for what it is, just one convenient way of providing a scapegoat when the established power structure is threatened with exposure.

Remember the harrowing opening shot of the bridge. On top of it the first of Steiger's victims, the destitute white fugitive, is slowly and calmly trapped by the law.

Any socialist should register that the close of 'In the Heat of the Night' is a ludicrous fake, contrived by a squeamish director who

fearfully evades the only answer to the problems of Negro exploitation and working-class power raised in his own film.

The other review puts 'Bonnie and Clyde's anarchic fight against the cops in the context of the trampling of the American working masses under the heel of US capitalism and its laws.

The reviewer fails to note the weakness of the film, which itself fails to put the two fighters in such a context. Besides their antagonism for the cops, the Barrow 'gang' are shown briefly to be sympathetic (like Robin Hood) to a homeless traveller, and nasty to . . . an undertaker.

Like the work of the French film director, Godard, on which this film leans heavily, 'Bonnie and Clyde' presents nonconformity and rebellion as individualist and cranky, in short as middle-class nonconformity and middle-class rebellion.

The strength of the film on the other hand, is the vivid contrast it makes between the colourful and attractive nature of the Barrow gang's rebellion and the sense of impending defeat (personified by the dumb loyalty of 'Bonnie and Clyde's weird mechanic friend), which must inevitably accompany a sporadic revolt against authority.

Keep Left must not faun to the triteness which invariably accompanies the insights occasionally attained by directors working for the profiteers of the film industry.

Nick Lewis, Ilford YS.

Education

SINCE we have joined the Young Socialists and have taken part in Keep Left sales, it has become increasingly apparent that the Young Socialists is the only movement that can provide a progressive education.

Due to the state school system, where politics is treated as something that should be left to the 'others' to handle and where colonialism is described as 'great discoveries', we find that although youth are very awake to the betrayal of Wilson and his pro-Tory policies, they don't realize the very great role they can play in changing this situation.

Only when youth come into contact with the Young Socialists do they feel that at last they can join a movement that can realistically oppose Wilson and capitalism.

But, having discovered the reality of the situation and the role they can play, some youth still have great difficulty in understanding the theory of the decline of capitalism.

Although senior members of the Young Socialists spend many hours discussing and explaining, a lot of their explanations may not be understood, largely because a very limited political vocabulary.

In Liverpool we have decided to run a 'book review' class, where youth can join in discussion to help overcome these difficulties.

In this way we feel we will help to stop 'silences' at branch meetings, where some youth have found it difficult to understand what has been said. We feel that this, combined with experiences like the 'Russian Revolution' Celebration', will help to increase the strength of our movement.

A. J. Howe, D. Kirkby, Exchange YS, Liverpool.

Sackings

ON November 10 my friends and I—we went in a Liverpool factory—went in to work as usual. At approximately 11 o'clock 120 girls, including me, were given their cards and their pay packets.

As we were leaving the factory we said that the reason we were being sacked was because of Wilson's Tory policies.

In this factory there is no trade union. In fact the firm is very anti-union and if you are heard talking about trade unions you are sacked.

But everybody, wherever they work, should join a trade union and fight for real socialist policies.

Since November 10 I have been unemployed. The only jobs that are offered are for £3 or £4 a week and, as I am 16 years old, I am not old enough to get dole money.

This is the future the Labour government has for thousands of young people. Therefore we must go out and build a mass Young Socialists now.

Linda Chong, Kirkby YS.

Opposition in the unions

THERE may still be some people about who have illusions regarding those members of the British Communist Party who support the Chinese version of Stalinism.

I would like to give an example of what the politics of these people really consist of.

In my trade union branch of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, which has a number of supporters of the 'Chinese' wing as its members, a determined effort has been made to prevent Young

Socialists from fighting against the right wing.

The chairman of the branch has repeatedly made arbitrary decisions to prevent Young Socialists from expressing opinions, and in the case of one member who wished to bring up a blatant case of victimization by the employers, the meeting was deliberately closed 20 minutes early to prevent him from speaking.

This same chairman flouts the rules of the union even when the rule book is shown to him. He also invents rules of his own, not to be found in any rule book.

As for the others they have accused us of bringing young people into the branch to disrupt the meeting; they have sneered at us and yet they fail to fight the Wilson government in any way.

The lesson of this is clear. The defence of the trade union movement depends on principled politics which, it appears to me, can only be found in the Trotskyist movement.

Young Socialist and AEU member.

News from Paisley

WE have had a number of experiences in building a branch in Paisley, Scotland, which we want to relate for the benefit of Keep Left readers.

Following a number of meetings we started to hold our meetings in Fergusley, an area well known for its poor housing conditions, but we were forced to stop because the rent for the place went up from 17s. to 30s.

We then decided to build a branch in the town centre and started by electing a strong committee which could run a record hop in the town hall. This was attended by 70 or 80 youth. Attempts by some nationalist supporters to break up the record hop were unsuccessful.

One of our enemies in Paisley is the local Labour Party Young Socialists who completely support Wilson's policies. They hand out a paper, the front page of which implies 'join us and get a sports car and a pint'. Later we saw somebody tear the paper up because of its article on Hare Coarsing.

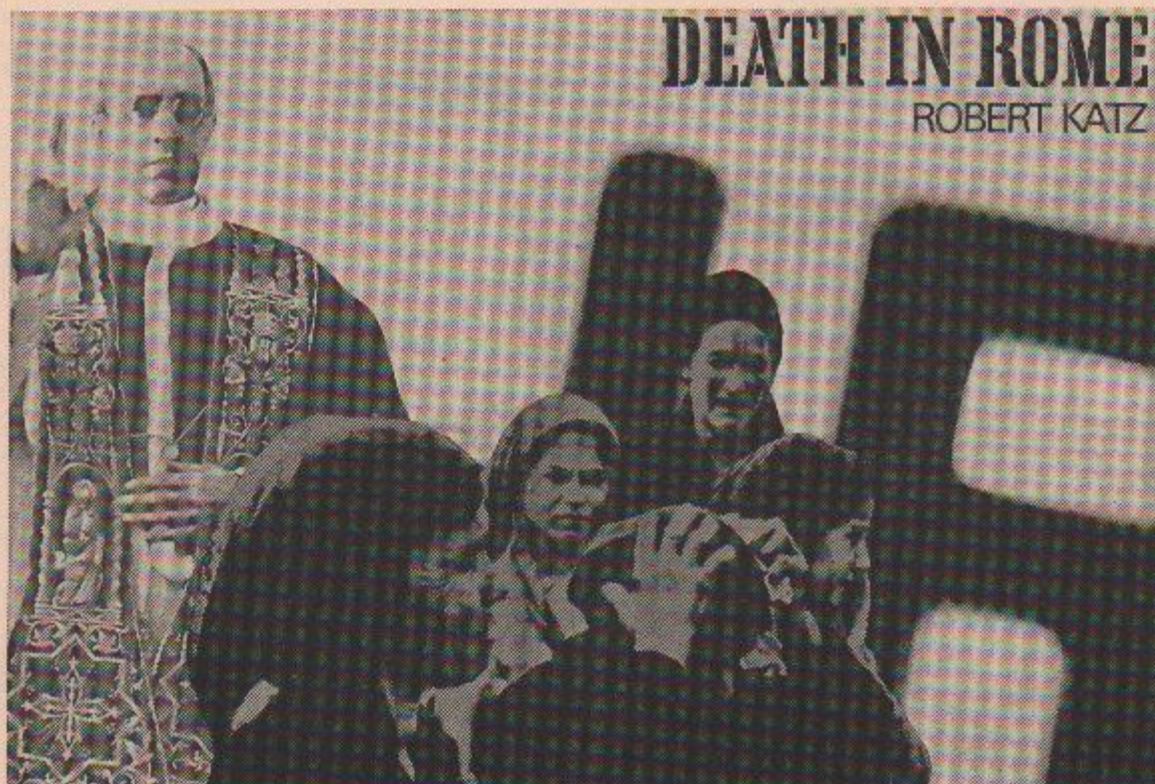
One of the big stores in Paisley, we have been told, sacks the young shop assistants after they have been working one year. They employ the girls at 15 and sack them at 16. We have also heard that a Labour Party member is on the board of directors.

We are going to do something about this scheme of temporary employment.

Our future plans for meetings until Christmas have all been worked out. The programme will include discussions on Morecambe and proposals for the social events of the YS. A football team has been started and we have organized a dance in Glasgow on Friday, December 22, which we are sure will be well attended.

Kenneth Moran, James Neil, Norman Bissell, Robert Allan, William Scott, Anne Cannon, William Letham.

Review



Catholic collusion in World War II

Death in Rome. By Robert Katz.
Published by Jonathan Cape at 30s.

ROBERT KATZ tells the story of the ingenuity and bravery of the Italian partisans during the months of the German occupation of Rome in 1944 and of one of the most brutal and horrifying fascist atrocities.

On March 23, 1944, a small group of partisans, disguised as street cleaners and passers-by attacked a column of German SS men who were marching through the Via Rasella in Rome and killed 33 without loss to their own ranks.

Directly, on orders from Hitler, the Nazis responded by killing, in cold blood, 335 men, mainly from the prisons, many of them innocent of any crime.

This mass murder was carried out on March 24 in the caves of Ardeatine, once the catacombs of the Christian martyrs in the period of the Roman Empire. The bodies were piled up as they were shot, and then the caves were sealed.

Greater proportions

Such events are brutal in themselves, but they assume much greater proportions when the actions of many of those directly or indirectly involved, are considered. Only the partisans themselves, mainly rank-and-file members of the Communist Party, acting heroically to rid their city of the dated fascists, emerge untainted and with full credit.

At the time of the events described in the book, the forces of the resistance were beginning to split up. The right-wing section of the movement wanted to dissociate themselves from the original attack in Via Rasella. In spite of this, Communist Party leader Togliatti, under instructions from Stalin, insisted on a continued unity with all groups, including monarchists and others who wanted to repudiate the heroes of Via Rasella.

In other words he refused to carry through to its conclusion the social revolution in Italy, to develop the heroic resistance against the Nazis into a victorious battle against capitalism. Certainly the opportunity was there amongst the proletariat.

The attitude of the Catholic church was also

very significant. What this book shows very clearly is that Pope Pius XII, through his contacts with the Nazis, was well aware that the reprisal of the Caves of Ardeatine was planned, and did nothing to stop it.

The Vatican paper 'L'Osservatore Romano' called the partisans, and not the Nazis, 'irresponsible elements'.

Partisan threat

What really worried the Vatican authorities was the threat which existed to the temporal power of the papacy, which the strength of the partisan movement represented. Pius negotiated with the Nazis, and not with the partisans, because the latter represented much more of a threat to his own position as a spiritual leader and a temporal sovereign of world importance.

He greeted the fascist victory in Spain in April 1939 with 'immense joy' and was as terrified, as was his secretary of State Maglione, of the 'Communist dangers which threatens the clergy of Rome in the event that the city passes from the hands of the Germans to that of the English'.

Amongst those who most closely worked in defence of the policy of covert collaboration with the Nazis was Giovanni Montini, the present Pope Paul VI.

But Pius need not have worried. Stalin and the Communist Party bureaucracy was ready to betray the struggles of the partisans as they were to oppose them. Despite this the heroes of Via Rasella fought on and the martyrs of the Caves of Ardeatine were butchered to death.

Our testimony to the heroism and sacrifice of these men and women will be our fight against the heirs of Stalinism, who refused to defend or avenge them.

Mr. Katz's book is important because it gives us an insight to the events which led to and followed the massacre at the caves and the dealings of the Roman Catholic church.

Michael Nolan

at the cinema with Rex Henry

Cool Hand Luke

Warner Bros-Seven Arts
starring Paul Newman

PAUL NEWMAN plays Luke, the square peg who will not fit into the hole allotted to him by society in the Southern States of America. The character is in the same mould as some of those Newman has portrayed in his previous films, but this fact does not at all lessen the quality of his performance.

Finding himself sentenced to two years' hard labour on a road gang for removing the heads of parking meters whilst under the influence, Luke moves from the laws and regulations of the outside world to the numbers and regimentation of prison life:

Don't call the prison governor Sir, call him captain. Forget this and you will spend a night in the box (solitary).

Captain's justice

You're given a number. Forget it and you will spend a night in the box.

Call the warden boss, or speak out of turn, and you will spend a night in the box.

The rules are simple and the law is final.

Second in command is a man who looks out from behind dark glasses and deals out the Captain's justice—a rifle butt and the 'box'. Here is a man who takes pride in the service of his master. He is the epitome of authority.

He is in charge of the road gang, from which Luke is to escape a first, second and third time.

Luke's mother dies and to ward off any ideas that he might have of breaking out he is locked away until after the funeral. This is what sets off Luke's escaping spree, much to the delight of the other prisoners, who have begun to idealize this challenger of authority.

There are many amusing scenes which typify and build up Luke's character. In one he downs a total of 50 eggs in one sitting as a result of a wager.

An individualist

The whole prison loses money but this only increases his following amongst the prisoners.

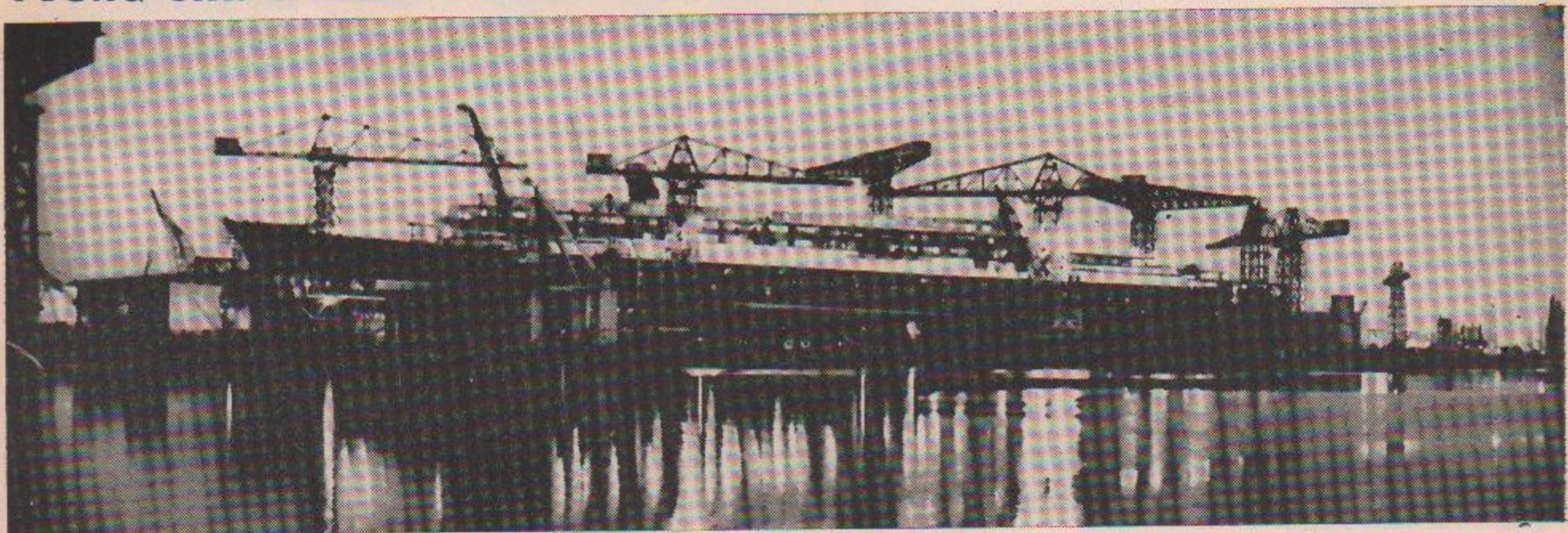
Luke is essentially a loner, an individualist who can't make sense of the rules and chooses to ignore them. He fights authority, but he fights hopelessly alone. And so even he is broken down. Eventually he is shot.

The film makes no pretensions of being a criticism of the violence of either the police or the bosses who run the prisons, or the apparent absolute power of the governors of these prisons.

No answer or alternative is offered to Luke's lone battle, and, of course, we cannot expect one.

To go beyond the confines of individual protest is outside the scope of not only this film but the film industry as a whole, for film directors, producers and actors have to conform to rules as well, which are also simple but very final.

YOUNG SHIPWRIGHT TALKS TO KEEP LEFT



Fight Wilson policy and end shipyard sackings

EIGHTEEN-year-old Bill Orville is an apprentice shipwright. Two years ago, at the beginning of his training, he would probably have told you that a future in the shipyards was a secure proposition, but the recent policies of the Labour government have changed his thinking.

Normally Bill works from 7.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m., sometimes on dirty greasy oil tankers, sometimes in less unpleasant surroundings.

At the age of 17 he started with a wage of £4 3s. and now he gets £8. If there is plenty of work he can make his wages up to £13 with overtime. Otherwise he has to manage on his basic income.

Sometimes, working on the oil tankers Bill and his mates have to go underneath where the river mud is thick and slimy. More times than not their clothes finish up so filthy and rotten that they have to be thrown away. The apprentices don't get any extra pay for this type of work.

You might say that these conditions are things which trade union organization and a determined struggle could resolve, but there is something else which Bill and other apprentices have never had to face before—the threat of redundancy.

Geddes Report

When the Labour government brought in the Geddes Report on the shipbuilding industry and helped the employers to begin implementing it, they had one thought in mind—to cut the labour force and speed-up production in a drive to make shipbuilding competitive with the rest of the world.

In terms of jobs the bare facts are that at the moment there are 20,000 working on Tyneside — the employers only want 12,000.

This means that 8,000 men will be thrown on to already lengthening dole queues in the North-East.

Sometimes, if there is very little work, as much as 50 per cent of the men lose their jobs. Last month there was a case where everyone received notice so that the employers could avoid giving redundancy pay.

The Labour government's policies have affected the lives of Bill and his friends in other ways too.

Before the 1964 election Wilson and his cronies spouted a lot about a brave, new, technological age and providing a new horizon for the young. But the youth in Jarrow cannot be hoodwinked by that kind of talk. The town boasts one Bingo Hall,

ON THE SPOT INTERVIEW BY SHEILA TORRANCE

some coffee bars and a bowling alley.

Inevitably the only place where Bill and others of his age group can meet their friends, without having to spend a lot of money, is on the street.

'But the law makes sure you don't hang around too long and threats of being charged with breach of the peace are common-place,' says Bill.

However, he adds, 'It's no

good just moaning about the lack of facilities or sackings or low wages. To change the kind of society—capitalist society—which makes places like Jarrow dead towns to live in and gives no training or future for young people, we need a socialist youth movement which will challenge the employers and the Labour government and fight to build socialism'.

The Young Socialists, says Bill,

is the only movement with a programme which fights for apprentices like him. No other organization demands a basic rate of pay for apprentices and equal trade union negotiating rights with no night shift work.

Wilson, he adds, has nothing to offer the youth. The only answer as far as this 18-year-old apprentice is concerned is for the working class to recognize that every struggle now for

Liner under construction lies in dry dock. Work proceeds at night under floodlights.

wages and conditions is a political struggle.

'The lesson from the recent dock strike is definitely that no question is simply a trade union question,' he says.

'We have got to build a mass Young Socialists' movement which recruits from all industries to fight against Wilson and the employers.'

New chief

From page 3

These can only be decided by the construction of a revolutionary party. This was the main issue in the fight against Wilson in 1964.

The Young Socialists were right and the Joan Lesters and Bessie Braddocks were wrong. The purpose of the Young Socialists is to proceed forthwith to build a mass YS movement for the purpose of preparing for real socialist power.

Pit closures will end whole communities

'What is my future as a young miner?' This is the question all youth in the pits are now asking.

And no wonder! Under plans recently announced by Lord Robens, £14,000 a year boss of the Coal Board, the labour force is to be slashed to 65,000 by 1980 from its present level of nearly 400,000.

Whole areas of the coalfields will virtually cease production. The Lancashire industry will be left with just one pit.

This vicious attack on the miners is part of Wilson's drive to modernize capitalism at the expense of the working class.

Too much capital is tied up in this declining industry. The employers, ever thirsty for profit, need to turn to newer, expanding industries in their desperate attempt to save the plight of the British capitalist economy.

Young miners like myself, and those who will soon be leaving school in the mining areas, will be hardest hit of all.

Most coalfields are one-industry areas. Whole communities are dependent on coal for a living. If the industry is run-down in South Wales, Scotland and Yorkshire, whole villages and towns will simply die. There

We don't want the 'Hungry '30s'

are no alternative jobs available in these areas.

Young people face, in this so-called modern 'technological age', the alternative of either the dole queue; long journeys into other towns, getting up at five in the morning and getting home at seven at night; or else leaving here altogether and taking their chances in some other part of the country.

This is the 'hungry thirties' with a vengeance.

Whilst this happens the old coal owners wax fat on the backs of the miners.

Massive interest payments have been handed out to these gentlemen and their friends in the City of London, all of whom have never done a stint on the night shift in a dark, damp tunnel with tons of earth above their heads.

What have we done to deserve this? You might well ask.

The miners have been the most loyal supporters of the

Labour Party and previous Labour governments. They have stood by through thick and thin. Now this is the return.

This is how Wilson follows up his appeals for 'loyalty'.

Where do we go from here? Our fathers and grandfathers always fought for nationalization of the coal industry by a Labour government.

This was their policy throughout the 1920's and the 1930's. In 1947 this aim was achieved.

How does my generation deal with the new crisis? We have a Labour government and the industry is nationalized.

Wilson, Brown and company represent the interests of the capitalist state. They are prepared to cut the miners to ribbons to defend capitalism.

We can make no progress under their leadership, that much is clear.

They have betrayed us once more after being voted into power six times in this century

by the working class.

How is the Communist Party any alternative? They have been in leading positions in the Miners' Union since the end of the war, and yet they have refused to fight the right wing.

In fact Will Paynter, general secretary of the union and a so-called 'Communist', told all miners earlier this year that it was useless to oppose closures as this would be involving the miners in a struggle against Wilson and company.

He attacked 'absenteeism' as the cause of the crisis in the industry, despite the fact that he knows that the National Coal Board figures give a wholly misleading position of the true facts.

What faces us as young miners then is clear. Only a new revolutionary leadership which is fighting for the nationalization of all the major industries and financial bodies under workers' control can solve any of the problems we face.

The economy as a whole could be planned and provision made for the orderly running of the industry without hardship to the miners.

This is the task of the Young Socialists and as a young miner I appeal to all other young miners to join this movement and fight for these aims.

Angels' win no surprise

Quarter Finals Young Socialists Knock-Out Cup

Canning Town 1
The Angels 2

HERE we saw a match of a standard that most teams attempt, but few attain.

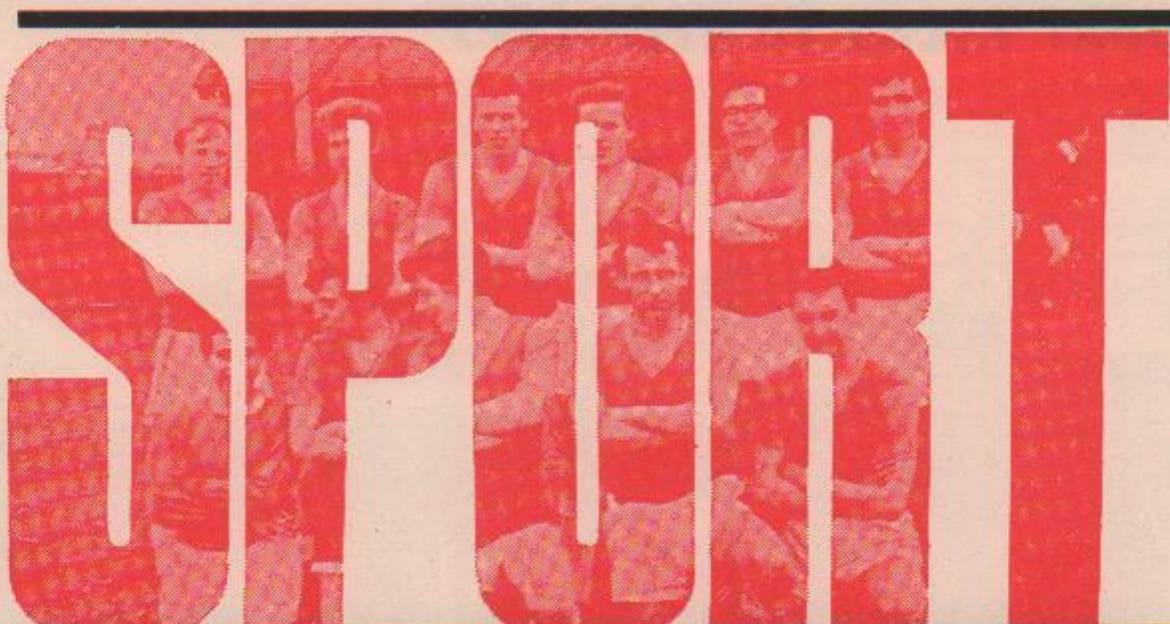
On this cold day and on a damp pitch the teams played a fast, hard game and sent their supporters home happy, having given them plenty to cheer about.

Canning Town has always been a strong, consistent side and it was they who started the fall of last season's champions, The Angels, in a 9-2 defeat. Was this game to be a repeat of that disaster for the Angels, we asked ourselves?

The Angels, still suffering from two disastrous defeats, had to pull through this tough test.

At the end of the first half The Angels had the edge on Canning Town. The defence gave nothing away and A. Stratford put them ahead with a goal that even surprised the Angels players. Goal-keeper E. Barlow was as safe as houses most of the time even when (and it was not often) The Angels' defence slipped a little.

The early stages of the second half brought Canning Town fighting back and when their centre forward equalized with a goal we all thought the brave Angels were going to repeat a disaster. But the side settled into a determined mood and it was no surprise when Malone scored the winner to put Angels into the lead.



Last 15 minutes clinch the game

By John Martin

N. London 8 East Ham 2
THE up and coming North London team beat East Ham in a well-played match that is not really reflected in the score of 8-2. Credit must be given to the determination of the East Ham team.

It was the last 15 minutes that really clinched the match for the North London team for it was in this period that they scored four goals. Up until then it could have gone either way.

North London are indeed a very fine side with no glaring weaknesses and they will be formidable opponents wherever they play. Their real strength lies in the forward line, where they have five eager players always looking for an opening.

East Ham, on the other hand, had two bad weaknesses. Although their goalie played very well in the second half, he is not normally played in that position and the forward line needed to take advantage of chances offered much more often.

Both teams have reached the London Knock-Out Cup semi-finals and if drawn against each other it will be interesting to see if the improving East Ham team is able to turn the tables on North London.

West Midlands YS Football League Results

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Bell Green 'A'	6	5	0	1	60	14	10
Washwood Heath	4	4	0	0	26	8	8
Balsall Heath	4	3	0	1	19	17	6
Bell Green 'B'	4	1	1	2	14	12	3
Handsworth	4	0	1	3	11	32	1
Canley 'B'	3	0	0	3	8	25	0
Canley 'A'	2	0	0	2	5	16	0
Oxford	1	0	0	1	1	15	0

Scottish region

THE selection for the Regional football team to play Scotland in the inter-regional contest is now approaching a climax with the two finalists, Sunderland and Jarrow very evenly matched.

In a league game they drew 5-5 with one another. The final will be played on December 17 on a neutral ground.

Jarrow, Sunderland and Newcastle East are all very strong teams and it should be a close finish for the top of the League this year.

The Stockton team, which has a number of very young players, gave the League leaders a fight when they were leading 2-0 up to half time. Because of their persistence they should field a strong team next season.

Result of the North-East Region Knock-Out
Jarrow 4, Newcastle East 3;

North and East London League positions up to November 27

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Canning Town	5	3	1	1	29	12	7
North London	4	3	0	1	31	8	6
North-East London	3	2	0	1	17	16	4
East Ham	3	1	1	1	12	16	3
Shoreditch	4	1	0	3	20	35	2
Dagenham	3	0	0	3	4	26	0

North-East YS Football League Table

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Jarrow	3	2	1	0	16	11	5
Newcastle East	3	2	0	1	19	4	4
Stockton	5	2	0	3	10	27	4
Sunderland	3	1	1	1	14	16	3
Wallsend	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
Newcastle West	1	0	0	1	0	1	0

From page 3 Preparation for Morecambe

to stand its own candidates in the next general election.

In dealing with the now very urgent problem of rising unemployment, there is a programme of six demands to unite the employed and unemployed workers.

- Unemployment benefit for all young unemployed workers paid at adult rates from the day they leave school.
- The opening of technical re-education centres under workers' control and paid for by big business.
- Re-open the shut-down factories under public ownership and workers' control.
- A full programme of public works (hospitals, schools, youth clubs, housing projects, swimming pools) paid at trade union rates under workers' management.
- Work-sharing without loss of pay.
- Trade unions to recruit and take responsibility for unemployed youth.

On the thorny question of education the National Committee states that education today is pathetically inadequate and the only answer to it is a system of

comprehensive education for all, the control of workers' organizations over technical education, the raising of the school-leaving age to 16, free access to science and culture for working class youth, student status with full maintenance grants for all school from the age of 16.

Pointing out the dangers of frustration arising from the waste of the talents, energies and enthusiasm of young workers the National Committee states categorically:

'The large-scale introduction of drugs by Bohemian and middle-class elements is a great danger to the working class. The Young Socialists oppose it with all their strength. No one connected with these drugs in any way will be tolerated in the Young Socialists.'

The importance of constant propaganda and campaigns against racialism is strongly stressed in the document and a call is made for:

- Repeal of the Immigration Act.
- Full rights for immigrant youth in relation to employment and leisure.
- Opposition to any government plans to conscript youth to

fight imperialist wars.

- Young Socialists, together with other organized workers, will organize and train British and immigrant youth together for the defence of their organizations against the fascists.

In the last year under the Labour government shortage of housing and increased rents have become the lot of the working class and the statement proposes the following demands on these very important questions:

- 100 per cent interest-free mortgages for housing.
- Rents to be fixed at a level young workers' families can afford.
- Step up the house-building programme out of the profits of the insurance companies and building societies.
- Nationalize the land, the building and building supplies industries.

One aspect of the work of the Young Socialists is its recruitment campaigns. The document gives details of many of the forthcoming events, particularly a National Sports Day and a National Football Contest.

But the basis for understand-

ing the need to build the Young Socialists and recruit on a mass scale lies in the education of YS members on the fundamental principles of Marxism. To further this development the statement proposes that Regional Committees should organize at least four week-end schools every year and provide opportunities for members from branches throughout the region to come together to discuss their experiences.

On the official paper Keep Left, the National Committee has this to say:

'Keep Left must become the organizer and the educator of the working-class youth. The international situation and the struggles of the working class mean that Keep Left has a vital role to play.

'Its pages must always be open to the opinions of young workers and give full expression to their writing talents. It must concern itself with the struggles of youth on all questions, unemployment, low wages, poor training facilities, apprenticeships and education.'

As a final explanation of the way in which the Young Socialists must prepare itself for revolutionary struggle, the last sec-

tion deals with 'The Need For Marxist Theory'. It explains that:

'Marxism teaches the workers that their only future under capitalism is to unite and organize to take power. There can be no systematic reforms for the working class under capitalism.

In conclusion the document states:

'The theory of the revolutionary party and the Fourth International embodies the whole past experience of the working class consciously worked over from the point of view of Marxism and the struggle for power. The Young Socialists must be the arena for introducing the basic principles of Marxism to young workers. This theory is further developed only in the revolutionary party, which is the Socialist Labour League.'

The statement has been circulated round all the branches of the Young Socialists and is open to amendment before the conference.