

# KEEP LEFT

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

YOUNG SOCIALISTS' ANSWER TO THE TORIES—



## MAGNIFICENT MAY DAY!

London Sunday May 3—Full report inside

# POLITICAL PROFILES

# JEAN JAURÈS

**PART ONE**  
From Vol 8 of Trotsky's works

A YEAR has passed since the death of the greatest man of the Third Republic.

Events the like of which history has not known have flooded up almost as if to wash away the blood of Jaurès by new blood, to divert attention away from him, and to overwhelm even his memory.

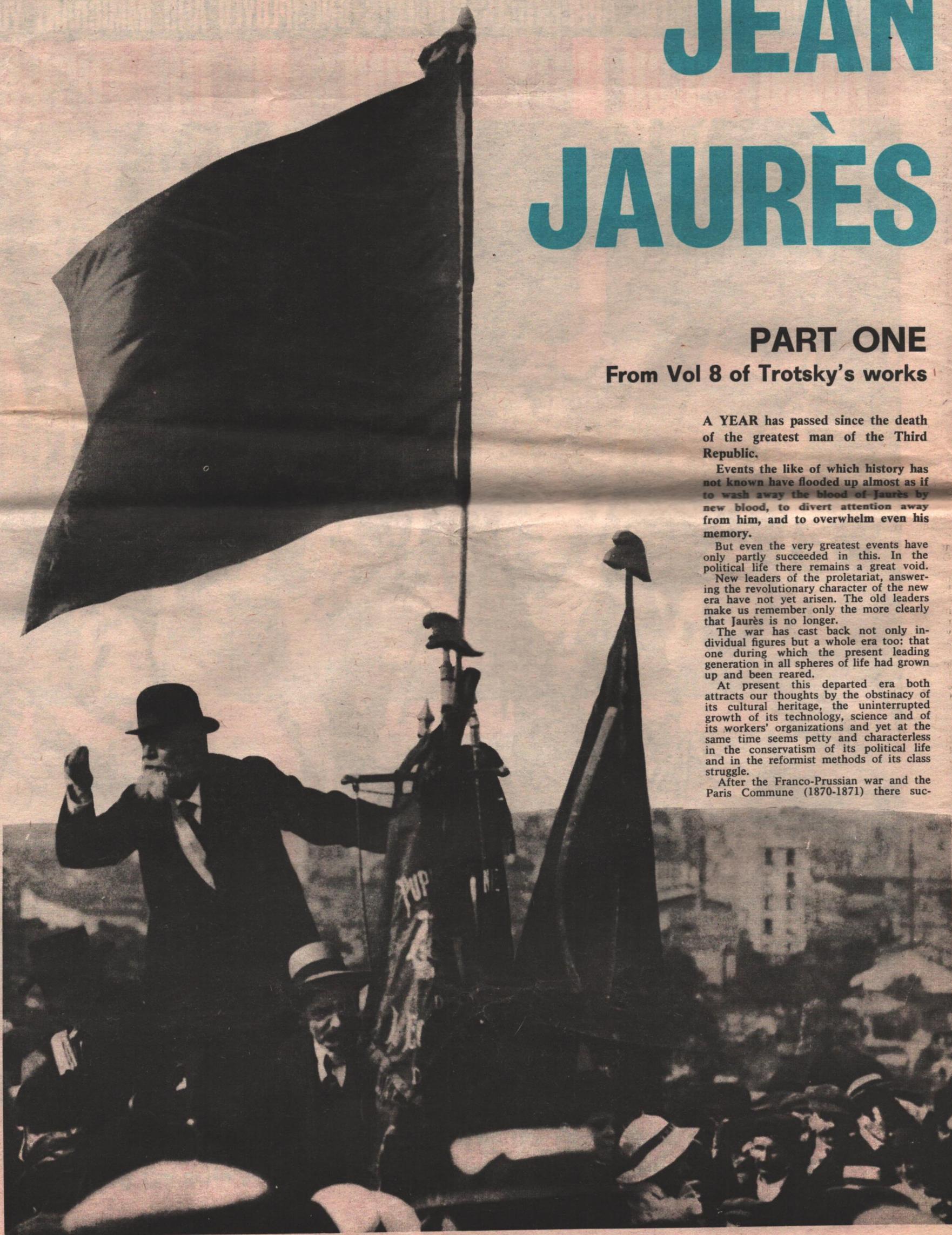
But even the very greatest events have only partly succeeded in this. In the political life there remains a great void.

New leaders of the proletariat, answering the revolutionary character of the new era have not yet arisen. The old leaders make us remember only the more clearly that Jaurès is no longer.

The war has cast back not only individual figures but a whole era too: that one during which the present leading generation in all spheres of life had grown up and been reared.

At present this departed era both attracts our thoughts by the obstinacy of its cultural heritage, the uninterrupted growth of its technology, science and of its workers' organizations and yet at the same time seems petty and characterless in the conservatism of its political life and in the reformist methods of its class struggle.

After the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune (1870-1871) there suc-



ceeded a period of armed peace and political reaction.

Europe, if one excludes Russia, knew neither war nor revolution. Capital developed on a mighty scale, outgrowing the framework of nation-states, overflowing into the remaining countries and subjugating colonies.

The working class built its trade unions and its socialist parties. However the whole of the proletariat struggle in this era was steeped in the spirit of reformism, of adaptation to the existing order, to the nation's industry and the nation's state power.

After the Paris Commune experience the European proletariat did not once pose the question of the conquest of political power in a practical—a revolutionary way.

This peaceful, 'organic' character of the era brought up a whole generation of proletarian leaders impregnated through and through with distrust towards the direct revolutionary mass struggle.

When the war broke out and the nation-state entered in the campaign with all its forces armed to the teeth, this generation set the majority of the 'socialist' leaders down on their knees without difficulty.

The era of the Second International has thus ended with the violent wrecking of the official socialist parties.

True they are still standing, as monuments to a past age supported indirectly, and forcefully too, by the governments. But the spirit of proletarian socialism has fled them and they are doomed to demolition.

The working masses who have in the past decades accepted ideas of socialism are now receiving their revolutionary test of fire.

We are entering upon a period of unprecedented revolutionary earthquakes. New organizations will be brought forward by the masses and new leaders will stand at their head.

## Outstanding

The two most outstanding representatives of the Second International have left the scene before the onset of the era of storms and earthquakes: they are Bebel and Jaurès.

Bebel died in ripe old age having said everything that he could have said. Jaurès was killed at the age of 55 in the full bloom of his creative energy.

A pacifist and sharp opponent of the policies of Russian diplomacy, Jaurès fought, up till his last minute, against French intervention in the war.

It was considered in certain circles that the war of 'liberation' could not commence its march other than by stepping over Jaurès' dead body.

And in June 1914 one Vilain, a miserable little reactionary, murdered Jaurès at a cafe table. Who was guiding Vilain? Only the French imperialists?

Would it not be possible after a diligent investigation to discover behind Vilain's back the hand also of Tsarist diplomacy?

This question has frequently been put in socialist circles. When the European revolution turns to the liquidation of the war it will reveal in its time the secret also of Jaurès' death . . .

Jaurès was born on September 3 1859 at Castres in the southern province of Languedoc from where many great men of France have come: Guizot, Auguste Comte, Lafayette, La Pérouse, Rivarol and others.

A mixture of numerous races, according to Rappaport's biography of Jaurès, had left a fortunate stamp on the geniuses of this locality which, as early as the Middle Ages, was the cradle of heresy and free-thinking.

Jaurès' parents' family belonged to the middle bourgeoisie and waged a constant struggle for existence.

Jaurès even required a sponsor in order for him to finish his studies at the university.

## Professor

In 1881 he finished his course at the école normale (training college). From 1881 to 1883 he was a teacher at the girls' lycée in Albi. He then moved to Toulouse university and was a professor there until 1885 when he was first elected a deputy in parliament.

He was then no more than 26. From that day right until his death Jaurès dissolves into the political struggle and merges with the life of the Third Republic.

Jaurès made his debut in parliament over the question of popular education. 'La Justice' (Justice) then the newspaper of the radical, Clemenceau, called Jaurès' first speech 'fine' and wished that the chamber might often hear 'the style, so eloquent and full of content'.

More than once subsequently Jaurès was to pounce down with the full force of his speech on the tiger, Clemenceau.

In this first period of his activity Jaurès was purely theoretically and not completely acquainted with socialism. But each new speech brought him yet closer to the workers' party.

The lack of ideals and the corruptness of the bourgeois parties repelled him irreconcilably.

From 1893 Jaurès finally adhered to the socialist movement and almost immediately took up one of the leading

places in European socialism. At the same time he became the most prominent figure in the political life of France.

In 1894 Jaurès came forward as the defender of his friend Gerault Richard, an unattractive figure, who had been brought to court for insulting the then president of the republic in the article 'Down with Casimir'.

In his speech to the court which was devoted entirely to political ends, Jaurès displayed against Casimir-Périer that terrible power of a spirit of action the name of which is hate.

In words imbued with mercilessness he characterized the president himself and his immediate forefathers, the users who would betray the bourgeoisie to the nobility, the nobility to the bourgeoisie, one dynasty to another, the monarchy to the republic, everyone together to each one as an individual, never betraying only itself.

The presiding judge at the court found it necessary to exclaim: 'Mr Jaurès, you are digressing too far . . . you are comparing Périer's house to a public house'.

Jaurès: 'I'm not comparing it, I think it's worse than one'. Gerault Richard was acquitted. A few days later Casimir-Périer resigned. Jaurès at once grew by a whole head in public opinion: everyone sensed the menacing force of this tribune.

## Stature

In the Dreyfus affair Jaurès revealed his full stature. At first as generally in all the critical occasions of his public life he passed through a period of doubt and weakness when he could be influenced both from the right and from the left.

Under the influence of Guesde and Vaillant, who treated the Dreyfus affair as a clash between capitalist cliques, of irrelevance to the proletariat, Jaurès hesitated to get involved in the 'affair'.

The firm example of Zola knocked him off his state of unstable equilibrium, infected him and carried him along.

Once brought into motion Jaurès now went through to the end. He was fond of saying about himself: 'Ago, quod ago'. (I do what I do.)

For Jaurès there was summarized and dramatized in the Dreyfus affair the fight against clericalism, against reaction, against parliamentary nepotism, against race hate and military hysteria, against backstage intrigues in the general staff, against the servility of the courts—against all the despicable forces that the powerful party of reaction could swing into motion to achieve its ends.

Jaurès came down upon the anti-Dreyfusite Méline who recently emerged again as a minister in the 'greater' Briand ministry with the full weight of his anger: 'Do you know what we are all suffering from, just what we shall perish from? And let me vouch personally for this: ever since this affair started we have all been dying of half-measures, omissions, double-talk, lies and cowardice. Yes of double-talk, lies and cowardice'.

Reinac tells us: 'He was no longer speaking, he roared, his face purple, his arms stretched out towards the ministers who protested and towards the right who howled.' This was Jaurès!

## Transitory

In 1899 Jaurès succeeded in proclaiming the unity of the socialist party. But it turned out to be transitory. The participation by the socialist Millerand in the ministry resulting from the left bloc policy blew unity apart and in 1900-1901 French socialism was once again split into two parties.

Jaurès headed one of them, the one which had produced Millerand from its ranks. By the essence of his views Jaurès had been and remained a reformist. But he possessed an astonishing capacity to adapt to the revolutionary tendencies in the movement.

He displayed this subsequently more than once.

Jaurès entered the party as a mature man with a developed idealist outlook. This did not prevent him placing his powerful neck—Jaurès was distinguished by his athletic build—under the yoke of organizational discipline, and more than once he had the occasion and the need to show that he knew how to obey as well as to give orders.

Upon returning from the international congress in Amsterdam, where the policy of dissolving the workers' party in the left bloc and participation in ministries was condemned, Jaurès openly snapped the thread of the policy of the bloc.

The then prime minister, the militant anti-cleric Combes, warned Jaurès that the rupture of the coalition would force him to leave the scene.

This did not stop Jaurès. Combes resigned. The unity of the party, merged out of the supporters of Jaurès and Guesde was secured.

From that moment onwards Jaurès' life, once and for all, merged with the life of the united party at whose head he stood.

Jaurès' murder was no accident. It formed the concluding link of a furious campaign of hate, calumny and slander which enemies of every hue waged against him.

'Whole libraries could be built up out of the slanders and attacks directed



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 fifth in our series of translations from the Russian of Trotsky's Works.

against Jaurès. 'Temps' (Time), France's most influential organ presented every day an article and sometimes two the same day aimed against this political tribune.

But they had mainly to attack his ideas and his methods of action: as a personality he remained almost invulnerable, even in France, where personal insinuation formed a powerful weapon in the political struggle.

They could not however get by without smears about German gold.

Jaurès died a poor man. On August 2 1914 'Temps' was obliged to acknowledge the 'absolute honesty' of its slain foe.

In the summer of 1915 I visited the now famous Café Croissant, two steps from the offices of 'L'Humanité', a typical Parisian cafe: a dirty sawdust-covered floor, leather settees, frayed chairs, marble-topped tables, a low ceiling, its own special wines and dishes, in short what only Paris has.

I was shown the small sofa by the window: on this spot the most brilliant son of modern France was killed by a shot from a revolver.

A bourgeois family background, school, parliamentary career, a bourgeois marriage, a daughter who was taken by her mother to Holy Communion, editorship of a paper, leadership of a parliamentary party—within this outwardly by no means heroic framework, there flowed a life of exceptional tension and of volcanic moral passion.

Jaurès at times called himself the dictator of French socialism and on certain occasions he was even called by the Right the dictator of the Republic.

It is beyond doubt that he played a role in French socialism second to no one. But there was nothing of the tyrant in his 'dictatorship'.

He ruled without force: a man of great dimensions, with a mighty intellect, the temperament of a genius, an unequalled capacity for work and a voice with the ring of wonder, Jaurès occupied by force of circumstances the first place so way ahead of the second and the third that he could not have experienced the need to reinforce his position by means of backstage manipulation.

In this last sphere the great master Pierre Renaudel had already revealed himself as today's 'leader' of social-patriotism.

## Repelled

Breadth of character repelled Jaurès instinctively from any sort of sectarianism. After wavering one way and the other he gropingly came upon that point which seemed to him decisive at that particular moment.

Between this point of departure and his idealist constructions he would, without any effort of will, win over those points of view which complemented or limited his own, reconcile hostile tendencies, submerge contradictory arguments into a far from unapproachable unity.

He ruled in this way not only at the National Assemblies and in the tribune of parliament, where his unquenchable passion subdued the audience, but also at party congresses where he would dissolve the mutual opposition of the tendencies in diffuse perspectives and flexible formulas.

He was in essence an eclectic, but a brilliant one.

'Our duty is lofty and clear: always to propagate the idea, always to arouse and

to organize energy, always to hope, always to struggle until the final victory.'

The whole of Jaurès is expressed in this pattern of forces. His creative energy surges like a spring in every direction arousing and organizing energy and thrusting into struggle.

In Rappaport's accurate expression Jaurès radiated magnanimity and goodness.

Yet at the same time he possessed to the highest degree a talent for concentrated anger, not the sort that blinds and befuddles the brain and brings on political convulsions, but rather the sort which harnesses the will and prompts the sharpest descriptions and the most expressive epithets which immediately hit the mark.

We heard earlier his description of Périer. You should just leaf through his speeches and articles against the black heroes of the Dreyfus Affair!

## Characterized

This is how Jaurès characterized one of the least significant ones: 'G. Brunétier, who in literary history has tried his hand at inane structural systems, shaky and brittle, has at last found a refuge beneath the ponderous vaults of the church; now he is attempting to conceal personal bankruptcy of this sort by proclaiming the general bankruptcy of science and freedom.'

'Having sought in vain to extract from the depths something akin to thought he glorifies authority with his kind of magnificent self-degradation; having lost in the eyes of the younger generation any of the credit which he abused with the aid of his ability for empty generalizations on one occasion he wishes to deaden that free thought which has slid away from under him.'

Woe to him who fell under this heavy hand!

When he entered parliament in 1885 Jaurès took his seat on the benches of the moderate left. But his change to socialism was not a catastrophe or a leap. In the initial Jaurèsesque 'moderation' there were already huge sources of positive social humanism which readily developed in a socialist direction.

On the other hand his socialism never assumed a sharply delineated class character and never broke from the humanitarian and natural-historical premises which had been deeply implanted in French political thinking by the era of the Great Revolution.

In 1889 Jaurès addressed the deputies with these words: 'Surely the geniuses born of the French Revolution have not been exhausted? Surely you can find in the ideas of the revolution the means to provide an answer to all the questions which are arising and to all the problems which are posed?'

'Surely the revolution has preserved its virtue which is capable of giving us an answer to all the changing difficulties amongst which we have to pick our way?'

Here the idealism of the democrat remains still quite untouched by materialist criticism. In the days to come Jaurès was to gain a great deal from Marxism.

But the purely democratic underpinnings of his thinking were maintained until the end.

To be continued next month



German apprentice demonstrate

# Economic miracle for whom?

## WORLD NEWS IN BRIEF

### West German boom based on cheap apprentice labour

By our Foreign Correspondent

LENIN'S centenary celebrations have certainly been held with great pomp and show in Moscow.

The 79 foreign party delegates were entertained thoroughly by the Kremlin.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has betrayed every single principle of Leninism and murdered thousands of Bolsheviks in the past 30 years.

It now does the greatest service to imperialism by carrying on its reactionary existence in the name of Lenin.

The suppression of the Czechoslovak workers two years ago and the continuous silencing of the communist opposition within the Soviet Union is what the bureaucracy really celebrated on this occasion.

Peaceful co-existence with imperialism and 'socialism in one country' have nothing in common with revolutionary Leninism.

The struggle for the continuation of Leninism means a struggle under the banner of the Fourth International for the 'world October'.

SOUTH AFRICA'S semi-fascist state staged another one of its farcical 'elections' when the country's two million white voters went to the polls to an onlooking 16 million African workers who had no votes.

The challenge to Vorster's government came from an even more right-wing 'break-away' party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

The HNP has pledged to strengthen the apartheid regime and no doubt had the wholehearted support of British imperialism, which is after all, responsible historic-

### BY GARY GURMEET

ally for the creation of this racist dictatorship.

For imperialism the gold and diamond mines are more important than the welfare of the African workers.

The struggle of the colonial peoples, coupled with socialist revolution in the metropolitan countries will decisively deal a death blow to apartheid—a product of world imperialism.

THE ESCALATION of the war in Cambodia has led to some of the bitterest exchanges between the guerilla fighters and the imperialist puppet troops.

Local unarmed Vietnamese are being used by the right-wing regime in the so-called 'psychological warfare'.

Innocent civilians are marched at gun-point into Vietcong positions and then gunned down.

The recent massacre, when 400 or so bodies of Vietnamese were found floating down the river Mekong was the outcome of the CIA-instigated overthrow of 'neutralist' Sihanouk.

The US ruling class wanted someone more willing to obey their orders.

Faced with military defeat, Nixon is being forced to commit himself to the withdrawal of some troops in the 'near future'.

As atrocity after atrocity is revealed the world working class is decisively moving against the whole of the capitalist system, and Nixon knows it.



Nixon

RIOTS shook Port of Spain, Trinidad during demonstrations against the pro-imperialist government.

US warships were immediately sent to stand by before the riots developed into any real threat to the government and the imperialist interests in Trinidad.

Police fired a number of times to disperse crowds.

Around 150 of the 850-strong army had refused to fight the rioters, thus violating the state of emergency.

This unrest is typical of most of the ex-colonies which have achieved their 'independence'.

The colonial powers control the economy of these countries through the nationalist governments set up after independence.

Workers in these countries are beginning to see that their struggle is inseparably linked with all other workers in the world. 'Black Power' certainly has no place in that struggle.

CUT BACKS in expenditure on the space programme may well explain the near disaster of the recent US Apollo 13 mission.

Government changes have necessitated the shutting down of one of two mission control rooms at Houston and almost two-thirds of NASA employees are being made redundant.

This could only result in a drastic restriction of any extra safety measures being developed for future spacecraft.

The defect which led to the explosion of oxygen tank number two in Apollo 13 has proved to be a major structural fault.

The general quality accuracy and reliability of the 15 million parts is placed in the hands of contractors and sub-contractors, whose only interest is in the profit extracted.

What is very obviously called for here, in order to ensure planned, safe, space programmes is the complete nationalization of the aerospace industry.

THE post-war boom of the West German economy is often held up as a shining example of how well capitalism can work.

No strikes, continued growth and expansion, and a good standard of living, the Fleet Street papers say—if only our workers here could exercise the same self control then we would be in clover!

The hollowness of these claims has always been clear to those upon whose backs the so-called miracle was achieved.

First of all the German employers had to destroy all the enormously powerful trade union and political organizations—that was Hitler's function.

A lack of freedom still exists in Germany today. Many government functionaries were members of the Nazi regime. A few years ago laws were passed giving extraordinary powers to the government in case of an 'emergency'.

### SUSPENSION

These laws make possible the suspension of normal democratic rights.

In autumn 1969 millions of workers in Germany's biggest industrial area, the Ruhr, showed very clearly their dissatisfaction through an enormous wave of strikes.

The high and rising cost of living means that the 1969 unrest must continue.

The rapid reconstruction of German industry after the war was based on the super-exploitation of the youth and on immigrant workers, who now number one and a half million, from countries such as Italy and Spain.

Both these sections of workers are deprived of the right to organize themselves or to strike.

A recent article in the West German magazine 'Der Spiegel', highlighted the extreme forms that this exploitation of the youth takes.

The philosophy and regulations of an apprenticeship are taken in some instances from the middle ages, and in most others from the 19th century.

The apprentices' regulations in the Badish Aniline and Soda factory (BASF) are typical of the whole of West German industry. The apprentice should be trained to be obedient,

NATIONAL Guard Troops were out on patrol in New Haven, Connecticut, on Friday, May 1, as thousands of demonstrators assembled in the streets for a rally in support of Black Panthers awaiting trial on kidnapping charges.

should learn to treasure the value of a penny, should always think of his future, should not spend any more time in the washroom than is necessary, must tell his instructor when he is going to the toilet, and report back afterwards. . . . Regulations like these control the lives of 1.4 million German youth every year. One third of all youth take up apprenticeships.

The essential part of the training (for the employers) is complete subordination to the boss, and for the youth to 'learn their place'.

The clearest example of this is Siemens' electrical firm in Munich.

At the end of February, 133 apprentices protested against the training they were receiving, and published a document describing their apprenticeship.

This document contains examples of the outrageous way in which they were treated—an apprentice aged 14 was constantly pulled about the ear, until it tore and bled.

As a punishment, one supervisor placed an apprentice's hand in a vice and turned the vice until his hand bled.

Nine tenths of all apprentices are 'trained' in small firms that have no facilities for proper instruction, or indeed any trained instructors.

### ODD JOBS

They are forced to carry out any and all odd jobs that the foreman or boss pleases—everything from getting beer and sandwiches for the boss, to washing his car and changing his baby's nappies.

As one of the apprentices, a 19-year-old fitter, said: 'I'd make an ideal husband!'

Although the hours youth are allowed to work are limited by law, these are not implemented.

One-third of the apprentices in the Ruhr industrial area work overtime, often without any pay. In one area 16-18 year olds worked an average of 48-80 hours.

German youth are organizing against these conditions. The first national meeting of the Group of Revolutionary Youth and the Young Socialist Group took place at the end of February in Frankfurt, and laid down a fighting programme.

These problems of German youth are the problems of youth in all countries under capitalism. They cannot be solved by attempting to convince the employers to change their training schemes.

They will continue to use youth in their drive for profit, so long as they control and own the means of production.

The change for apprentices must come from the German youth organized in a mass revolutionary movement.

It will not come from the reformist class collaborators in the universities or in Brandt's government.



Men with no vote

# WORLD NEWS

## Price of the space race

By our Science Correspondent

'IT WAS really a mess . . . that's unbelievable' was how Apollo-13 commander Jim Lovell described the damage to the US astronauts' crippled space craft as the three exhausted space-men prepared for the last leg of their long limp home.

That was on Friday, April 17. For the first time since the explosion in oxygen tank number two in the early hours of the Tuesday morning shattered the service module and converted the command ship into a floating coffin, the astronauts—Jim Lovell, Fred Haise and John Swigert—were able to see the extent of the damage.

The explosion had blown a hole in the wall of the service module 13 feet by 5½ feet and debris was continually breaking off.

'Man, that's fantastic', said Mission Control at Houston.

On Saturday evening, watched by an estimated television audience of 600 million, the nightmare journey ended with the successful splashdown in the Pacific Ocean.

Throughout the entire mission, the press, television and radio, while giving 'full coverage' to the heroism, coolness, etc., of the astronauts, had little to say about the real reasons behind the explosion, which left the three men fighting for their lives 200,000 miles out in space.

At the time of the Apollo-8 journey round the moon in 1968, the 'Economist' journal made the following comments:

'[The US space programme] began as the answer to five infuriating years of Russian space firsts, from the first Sputnik to Yuri Gagarin's first orbit of the earth.

'It was authorized by a President Kennedy, smarting under the combined humiliation of this and his debacle at the Bay of Pigs [a US-backed attempt by Cuban exiles to overthrow Castro in 1961], and the object was to stand a man on the moon before the Russians did, and to wipe the technological smirk off their faces.'

### ACCIDENTS

To carry through Kennedy's programme, corners were cut and accidents followed.

In January 1967, astronauts Grissom, Chafee and White were incinerated beyond recognition when the oxygen atmosphere in their Apollo-1 capsule exploded during a 'routine' ground test.

This put the programme back for a year and the cost of making the necessary changes was 200 million dollars.

At its peak in 1966, the US space agency (NASA) was spending over six billion dollars a year and employing nearly half a million workers, not in the interests of a planned programme of space flights but to show that capitalism is 'better'.

As the economic recession began to take effect in the United States, the space programme was cut and cut again.

As one NASA official expressed it: 'The Nixon administration has not merely pared down NASA's budget to the bone. It has been hacking hunks out of the bone as well'.

To save cash, one of the control rooms at Houston has been shut down and two out of three NASA employees have either lost or are about to lose their jobs.

Resignations among top space officials were hushed up but demoralization is widespread.

Undoubtedly, it has been impossible to maintain the high-

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## Cambodia—



Kent University students flee from gas bombs thrown by National Guardsmen.

## a war on two fronts

BY KEEP LEFT EDITORIAL BOARD

ON MAY DAY 1970 8,000 US troops invaded Cambodia.

On Wednesday May 6 the US tanks captured the Cambodian town of Snoul after US air strikes destroyed 90 per cent of it.

While on the campus of Kent university, Ohio, US troops were in action again, killing four anti-war students and wounding a dozen more.

So Nixon is now fighting a war on two fronts against the peoples of South East Asia and all those who oppose US imperialism within the United States itself.

The deepening crisis of capitalism is the driving force behind both these developments.

The US ruling class has been forced into an economic corner.

Faced with a rapidly falling rate of profit, fiercer competition in the overseas markets and a rising offensive of the international working class, it lashes out in the only way imperialism knows: burning, looting and killing.

In order to maintain their profits the American employers have had to declare war on their own working class while simultaneously clashing with the interests of the Common Market, Britain and Japan.

But even these measures are not enough.

The American employers desperately need to find new and as yet untapped sources of profit. Their hungry eyes now fall greedily on the richest prize in the world, the Chinese People's Republic.

The victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 was a bitter blow for world imperialism. But up till recent years the demand for a nuclear war on China has

been confined to ultra-right and fascist groups.

Now the conditions have changed. The post-war boom is finished. The American monopolists are confronted with the biggest stock market crisis since 1963.

Gloom and pessimism predominate in world banking circles in sharp contrast to the confidence and militancy of the international proletariat.

Today the fact that a whole section of the army high command are advocating such a policy, coupled with the recent revelation that nuclear devices are to be placed in the hands of private companies, represents a serious danger to the working class.

### SINISTER

In this light the escalation of the war into Cambodia takes on a much more sinister meaning. The safety of the Chinese workers' state is seriously threatened.

The massacre on the Kent University campus heralds a bitter clash between the US ruling class and the youth, who have been in the forefront of the movement against the Vietnam war.

Allied with the powerful US working class, student and working-class youth can spearhead the fight to smash Nixon's war machine and open the road to socialism in the United States.

By declaring war on the students, the American employers have unwittingly brought on to the historical arena the powerful American working class.

The American workers have not, up to now, been politically active on any large scale in the anti-war movement.

But the Kent massacres herald a decisive change in the con-

sciousness of millions of American workers and youth.

The US working class has a long history of violent class battles. In 1937 ten workers were shot in the Republican Steel Massacre. Today their children face the brutality of that same ruling class.

The US working class is rapidly awakening to the dangers which now confront it.

But the employers' strategy is an international one.

In France, the working class came out solidly behind the students who came under attack from de Gaulle; as more recently did the Mersey dockers, in defending students who were victimized for their political beliefs.

Attacks on intellectuals and students are merely a prelude for more vicious attacks on militants and revolutionaries in the trade unions.

Despite the employers' attempts to slur the students as 'rich, idle bums', and thus separate them from the working class, workers

in the US, France and Britain have decisively showed their class hatred for the employers' witch-hunts.

In Britain, the YS stands in the forefront of the fight to unite workers and students in the struggle to defeat imperialism by calling for workers' action against the Vietnam war.

When the Communist Party opposed the call of the Young Socialists for stopping Wilson's visit to Washington and for a May Day stoppage they were in fact strengthening imperialism and trying to head off the historical struggle against it.

But despite their treachery the solid action of the Mersey dockers showed that the defeat of imperialism and the defence of China lie in the revolutionary mobilization of the working class under the leadership of the Fourth International.

The Young Socialists has a great responsibility for winning thousands of young workers for strike action against Nixon's war.

## Militant teamsters in revolt

LORRY drivers all over the United States are in revolt against the sell-out wage settlement negotiated between their union leaders and the employers' association in Washington last month.

The leadership of the union—the Teamsters—after submitting a 96 per cent wage

demand, settled finally for far short of this: only 1.1 dollars an hour.

This has provoked a wave of strikes especially in the militant centres of Chicago and Los Angeles.

In Chicago, 6,000 members of local 299 struck work and set up picket lines demanding 1.65 dollars plus 42 cents an hour fringe benefits.

The Chicago strike hits right at the heart of the union's bureaucratic leadership as union president James Hoffa is also

president of this local. Chief negotiator Frank Fitzsimmons is the local's vice-president.

The local leaders have described the strike as 'unsanctioned and illegal'—a clear invitation to the police to take action against the pickets.

The local has been warned by the union's top leadership that any strike will be severely dealt with by the Teamsters' leaders.

In a leaflet put out by the militant unofficial leadership in the local, they say: 'We do not

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## New YS National Committee

# Number one on the Agenda - massive anti-Tory campaign

By Maureen Bambrick

AT ITS first meeting after the Scarborough conference the newly-elected Young Socialists National Committee laid out plans for a massive campaign to build the YS in the six months leading up to the anti-Tory Festival of Youth at Alexandra Palace on October 18.

The campaign will be on the basis of the policy decisions of the YS 10th Annual Conference held on April 11 and 12 this year.

To mobilize for this mass expansion of the YS the National Committee proposes, through training branch officers in every area, to ensure not only recruitment but political development as well.

The committee planned a comprehensive political and social programme for each region which includes week-end schools on the coast, rallies before this year's summer camp, sports days, swimming galas and regional demonstrations and rallies in August and September in preparation for the October 18 rally.

The camp will be the most important one we have ever held. The main syllabus for this year is to be 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution'.

National and Regional Committee members will have the responsibility of ensuring that all these activities, both social and political, are well organized so that they are enjoyable.

Regional targets for membership were agreed taking into account the continuously changing political situation and the fight waged by the present YS membership to turn the movement

out towards new layers of working-class youth.

In view of the acute political crisis in both Eire and Ulster the committee formulated extensive plans for the expansion of the Irish Young Socialists.

In relation to our monthly paper, Keep Left, it was agreed that the paper must be broadened out and newer members encouraged to write.

Regional correspondents will facilitate a regular supply of photographs and activities of the branches so that the life of the Young Socialists will be brought into the pages of our paper.

With the establishment of new branches and a massive recruitment drive up to the anti-Tory Festival of Youth, the subsequent boost to the sales of Keep Left will provide us with the basis for a weekly Keep Left—to be discussed at the Keep Left Annual General Meeting next year.

National officers were elected for the coming year. John Simmance (National Secretary), Gerry Budd (Chairman), and Peter Camm (Treasurer).

It was stressed that YS finances

are very important. As we are expecting a big increase in membership in the next six months new members' cards have been printed and are available on request as are leaflets, posters and literature for YS branches.

Films will be made during the summer months as part of a new competition following on from the very successful one held late in 1969.

This one will be judged at the Festival of Youth in October.

A new pamphlet will be produced on the draft resolution passed at the Scarborough conference to assist branches with recruitment. A sub-committee was elected to prepare this and it will be produced very soon.



The new Young Socialists National Committee elected at the Scarborough conference: Front row (l. to r.) Bruce Guthrie (E Midlands), G. Budd (NW), M. Bambrick (Middx), John Simmance (London), Errol Stocks (Scotland). Middle row (l. to r.) B. Diamant (W Yorks), D. Thompson (N Wales), P. Camm (S Region), D. Leafe (S Yorks), S. Caldwell (S Wales). Back row (l. to r.) N. Atkinson (NE), H. Kennedy (W Region).

## Middlesex region make plans

THE FIRST meeting of the recently-elected Middlesex Regional Committee laid out a full programme in the campaign against the Tories and to build a mass YS movement.

Rick Crust from North London was elected the new regional secretary and Charlie Skinner from Willesden is the new chairman.

A film committee was set up to organize shooting a new film later on this year. The theme is provisionally to be 'anti-Toryism'.

The summer programme includes a regional demonstration through Southall, a weekend school in Eastbourne, a sports day, a swimming gala, and a football tournament.

A number of day trips are planned to the coast and other places of interest.

The whole campaign will lead up to the anti-Tory Festival of Youth which is planned for October 18.

During the discussion to extend the YS, decisions were taken to set up at least three new branches in each federation before the end of May.

It was stressed that this expansion was required in line with the acute urgency and instability of the present political situation.

The regional committee will lead the fight in the area to increase the membership and to organize the educational and social programme in preparation for the decisive battle with the Tories.

## Major decisions taken at Scarborough conference

### A policy to keep the Tories out

THE CONFERENCE passed a number of composite resolutions setting out a series of political demands for the fight against the Tories and to build the Young Socialists.

These demands are summarised below:

- Vote Labour at the general election! No absentions! Keep the Tories out!
- Remove the Wilson leadership of the Labour Party. For an emergency Labour Party conference to fight for socialist policies!
- Nationalise the banks and insurance companies, engineering, docks, shipbuilding and all basic industries under workers control without compensation!
- Withdraw all British troops from overseas, including Northern Ireland! Break with NATO and all imperialist alliances!
- No to the Common Market! For the Socialist United States of Europe!
- No laws against the unions! Against all productivity deals and MDW!
- No state intervention in the unions!
- Repeal the Immigration Act! No restrictions on the entry of immigrants to Britain!
- An end to cuts in the health service, education, transport and housing. A halt to all further rent increases!

## Anti-Tory festival of youth planned

ONE of the most important decisions taken at the conference was to hold a mass Anti-Tory Festival of Youth on Sunday, October 18.

This could well take place on the eve of the General Election at which the return of a Tory government is threatened.

As the section at the end of Composite Resolution number one said:

'We must mobilize thousands of youth in big anti-Tory campaigns, leading up to a massive rally against the Tories at Alexandra Palace in October'.

The Festival, which will be by far the biggest ever organized by the YS, will be a rallying point for thousands of youth now coming forward and wanting to fight the Tories.

Alexandra Palace has already been booked for the Festival which will include speakers and top line entertainment.

The Festival, coupled with the redoubled campaign to build the mass YS over the coming months, shows that only the Young Socialists are making real and determined preparations to stop the return of the Tories.

## London Area Young Socialists



## WEEKEND SCHOOL

MAY 30/31

2.30 p.m. Saturday:

DAVID MERCER (playwright)  
to speak on Socialism and Culture

9.30 a.m. Sunday:

CLIFF SLAUGHTER (S.L.L.)  
to speak on Leninism today

WINTER GARDENS PAVILION  
EASTBOURNE

cost £2 10s includes hotel, fare and school  
FILMS ★ DISCOTHEQUE SAT EVENING

# YOUNG SOCIALISTS 10th ANNUAL CONFERENCE

## Scarborough April 11/12 1970

'KEEP the Tories out! Vote Labour and answer the plans of big business! Build the revolutionary youth international!' That was the inspiring keynote of the magnificent tenth annual conference of the Young Socialists in Scarborough's Grand Spa Hall on April 11 and 12.

This largest youth conference in Britain, with youth and trade unionists from all over Britain and fraternal delegates from Northern Ireland, W Germany, Greece and France, was a tremendous

indication of the political advances made by Trotskyism since the Young Socialists was founded ten years ago.

The Young Socialists, with an unequalled record of struggle on all the national and international questions facing the working class, is well on the way to the mass revolutionary youth movement in Britain.

The presence of 105 fraternal delegates from the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS), the Young Socialists'

sister organization, was a manifestation of the very powerful growth of Trotskyism among revolutionary youth in France.

An audience of more than 1,500—including 474 delegates, 135 fraternal delegates from overseas and 936 visitors—heard Aileen Jennings, editor Keep Left (circulation now 21,000) open the conference with a political report which stressed the revolutionary significance of the 1970s and the need to build the Trotskyist youth movement all over the world.

**THIS TENTH** annual conference of the Young Socialists meets in a period which has considerable revolutionary significance for young people all over the world.

The insoluble crisis of the capitalist system and bureaucracy has opened up the possibilities for the building of revolutionary leadership on a scale not known since the 1920s.

In this respect our annual conference this year is an historic one. We shall, all of us in the Young Socialists see many changes take place in the next 12 months and face fresh tasks and responsibilities in building the revolutionary youth movement.

The class struggle is emerging in all the major capitalist countries. All over the world, particularly amongst the youth there is a complete rejection of the future proposed by capitalism—a future of oppression, unemployment, the growth of militarism and racialism and the threat of world war.

Such hatred for imperialism is personified in the struggle of the young fighters in Vietnam and the rest of South-East Asia to rid their countries of US troops. Their continuous struggle has served to inspire our generation of youth in every country in the world.

In the last two years in particular, workers in North America, Europe and Japan have moved forward with youth in the lead to challenge the power of the capitalist state and of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Eastern Europe.

Capitalism has entered a crisis, a period of recession, which requires the massive destruction of productive forces, including the smashing and even physical annihilation of millions of workers.

But these plans must be carried out in the teeth of the struggle of a strong and confident working class and youth.

Particularly in Europe, the fighting capacity of the working class begins to explode, breaking beyond the controls of the Stalinist and reformist leaders, and right in the face of the inescapable pressure of the crisis upon the capitalists to attempt a large-scale defeat for the working class.

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In Britain the increases in the cost of living, the con-

tinuous spiral of prices and the resulting battle for increases in wages, and the growing unemployment are all factors which drive the working class in this country—the oldest capitalist country in the world—into fierce conflict with both their employers and the Labour government, which has declared itself as the hopeful saviour of capitalism ever since its election into power in 1964.

What is posed before the working class today is how can the class enemy, the employers and the Tory party be defeated in their plans to come back into office at the next general election to 'discipline the working class'?

Wilson and the Labour government have opened the

way for the return of the Tory party armed with a programme of legislation against the trade unions and anti-strike laws, increased police repression—particularly against the youth—unemployment, attacks on the health service and education and the enforced deportation of immigrant workers.

It is a measure of the betrayal of the Wilson government that the Tories have been able to openly announce their plans for the future.

Powellism and all that it stands for has become the declared policy of a large section of the Tory party—there is no veil over the intentions of the ruling class—their plans are there for all to see.

This open declaration on the part of the Tory party



**'Fresh tasks and responsibilities before revolutionary youth'— says 'Keep Left' editor Aileen Jennings**



Aileen Jennings

also means that the working class itself is becoming increasingly aware of what is involved in a struggle to prevent the Tories from returning to power.

The attacks on the trade unions and wages and working conditions have sharpened the class conflict in Britain.

Sections of workers who have not previously been engaged in struggle such as the garment workers, the teachers, nurses, and lower paid workers have demonstrated their growing militancy in no uncertain terms.

However we cannot be complacent—precisely because of the growing militancy within the British working class,

the Young Socialists, as the revolutionary youth movement in Britain, must consciously fight for a revolutionary perspective and programme if the working class is to successfully defeat Toryism.

Trade union militancy alone cannot meet the dangers of a Powellite government. Nor are we simply asking the working class to come out on more strikes for higher wages—what we are saying to the working class is this:

You create the wealth of the capitalist system yet you live as hired labour for the employers. The answer to the crisis of the capitalist system lies in your hands—

● Continued on page 8

## Aileen Jennings from previous page

to take power away from the capitalists and establish the dictatorship of the working class.

For us this is the decisive question. We are living in an epoch of great social upheaval, of explosive change. Capitalism in its death agony will use any means at its disposal to hold onto power but first it must reckon with the international working class.

We are convinced that the working class can and will overthrow capitalism given the revolutionary leadership. That is why in 1964 we broke with and defeated reformism and social democracy on the eve of the general election when this present Labour government came to power.

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From that time onwards the Young Socialists have proceeded as an independent revolutionary youth movement pledged to fight for an understanding of Marxism and for a revolutionary programme within the working-class movement.

The working class are not following 'clever policies'. Today the British working class is fighting out in a prolonged and drawn-out way its own break with reformism and social democracy.

But these are enormous historical questions which will not be resolved overnight. Today the working class is posed with defending the gain it made in electing the Labour government by preventing the Tories' return to Parliament.

Having said that we must go further and say that the only effective preparation against the Tories is to fight against Wilson for socialist policies.

The Wilson government has shown the bankruptcy of reformism. It has proved itself incapable of exacting even the most minimum reforms from the employers. Instead it has been the willing tool of both British and international capital.

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It has turned round and attacked the working class through the Prices and Incomes Act, increased unemployment, increased rents, and increased cost of living.

In its foreign policy it has simply carried on where the Tories left off, giving support to Nixon and the US aggression in South East Asia, sending troops to Northern Ireland and Anguilla. Its relations with governments like the Greek fascist regime show just where Wilson stands.

Our struggle in the Young Socialists to expose this total bankruptcy and the real class nature of reformism has centred on the building of a mass youth movement and the launching of the Trotskyist daily Workers Press.

The Young Socialists attach the greatest importance to the appearance of the daily Trotskyist newspaper, Workers Press from September 1969.

It marks a great historical change for the revolutionary movement since our last national conference.

When we came out of the Labour Party in 1964, we consciously set the target of working for such a daily paper, in conjunction with the Socialist Labour League.

Young Socialists, inspired by the programme of Lenin and Trotsky, have provided the political forces and the material resources upon which the Workers Press is built. In 1970, 'the year of Lenin

and Trotsky', we pledge ourselves to renew and expand those forces.

The Workers Press is becoming the organizer of hundreds of thousands of workers in struggle. It is the most vital instrument of the construction of the revolutionary party. Providing a daily political lead, in the factories and trade unions it opens the political road for us to masses of young workers far beyond our previous scope.

The Workers Press provides the opportunity of a great quantitative as well as qualitative development of the Young Socialists' movement.

The launching of the Workers' Press marks a great achievement because it was fought for inside and outside our ranks consciously. It is a battle won. A battle in which the youth played a leading role and without whom today there would be no daily Trotskyist newspaper.

But we could never have won this victory without continuous struggle for Marxist theory against the backwardness of racialism, British insularity and anti-theory imposed by capitalist ideology.

We must fight as a disciplined revolutionary youth movement, one which takes seriously the building of revolutionary leadership of the working class.

We aren't interested in the protest of the moment, the latest 'happening' or doing our own thing for peace. We are conscious of the fact that a much greater historical task faces the working class. Our turn towards the trade unions is carried out on this basis.

The Young Socialists have been in the lead in the fight against Measured-Day Work and any form of productivity bargains on a principled basis of the defence of the gains won by the working class against the employers.

We will not, like the 'state capitalists' and the Communist Party, give up our long-term perspectives for superficial short-term and very questionable 'gains'. This has been our whole policy in helping to build the All Trades Unions Alliance.

Today after five years of a Labour government many youth are moving into political and industrial action for the first time. Our opportunities therefore are greater than ever before.

Precisely because we are entering struggles which will involve the broadest masses, including many who seem 'non-political', the YS must be able to create relations in the widest circles of youth, through recreational and sport activities and organizations, as well as in colourful demonstrations on all political questions.

The very depth of the capitalist crisis will bring into relation with the Young Socialists layers of youth who previously ignored politics and even trade unions.

In order to find a road to this youth we will need to combine the most principled political struggle with the broadest forms of activity.

As the economic and political class struggle strikes deeper and deeper into the masses it brings forward more 'backward' layers.

We must realize that in building this youth movement in Britain we are doing so as part of an international movement of youth.

## page

Thousands upon thousands of youth today are engaged in a struggle to get rid of capitalism—right on our own door-step in Ulster the youth fight it out against British troops.

They were led into a blind alley by the civil rights protesters. We have to tackle this question on the basis of uniting Protestant and Catholic young workers in the Youth Socialists to fight for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

Our answer must be the building of a revolutionary party to lead the working class to overthrow the ruling class in Northern Ireland.

1970 is 100 years after Lenin's birth and 30 years since Trotsky's assassination. For us it is the great year of building the revolutionary party internationally.

Northern Ireland is only one example of what is happening all over Europe today in France, Germany, and Italy.

We are very proud of the achievements of our comrades in the AJS at their rally of 10,000 held on February 1 at Le Bourget.

But it is not only in the capitalist countries that these changes are taking place. In Eastern Europe too, youth are in the lead in the fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Czechoslovakia 1968 was a landmark for the international working class—it showed quite clearly the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy in suppressing the working class and it pointed unmistakably to the building of the Fourth International founded by Trotsky in 1938.

Internationalism must be the keynote to building the mass Young Socialists. We have a great deal to be proud of today in the work of the Young Socialists, we must go forward to attract even larger layers of youth to build our youth movement—conference must put out a call for action this is our most urgent task!

Having said that, I think we must take warning seriously from developments in the student movement—we can see only too clearly where the period of protesting has ended in the universities—the last students' union conference saw Mr Jack Straw complete his opportunist climb to the top on the backs of all those who said the protest was the thing and there was no need for theory.

Straw is accepted at Downing Street—he has arrived, as they say.

This is the end of the middle class and their anti-Marxism. It must serve as a warning to us of the dangerous nature of opportunism—it plays right into the hands of the ruling class.

We are at war with Fabianism and 'left' phrasemongering so prevalent in the British universities.

We are concerned with educating Marxist revolutionaries to match the needs of the working class.

We are concerned with power, with the building of a mass Young Socialists and the international revolutionary youth movement and the Fourth International and that must be the clear, categorical message from this conference

# Young Socialists 10th Anniversary Conference

**'Youth in struggles to make victories for the working class'—says YS National Secretary Sheila Torrance**

THE DECISIONS taken at the conference, retiring National Committee secretary Sheila Torrance told delegates in summing up on Sunday afternoon, were some of the most historic in the history of the revolutionary youth movement internationally.

'Today marks the beginning of a new international youth movement', she said, 'following in the footsteps of the movement founded by the Communist International in 1920.'

But militancy alone, she warned, would not be enough:

'It's not enough to fight back against capitalism. We're in this struggle not to fight back but to win—to make vic-

tories for the international working class.'

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The following are extracts from the discussion on three of the main composite resolutions before the conference.

National Committee member John Simmance, welcoming delegates to the conference on Saturday, stressed that it was a rallying-point for the fight against Toryism.

'The task of the youth,' he said, 'is to prepare the revolutionary alternative to social democracy—which has proved over the last six years to be absolutely bankrupt.'

Extending a special welcome to the delegations which had travelled to the conference from the Young Socialists' sister organizations in France, Germany and Ireland, he explained that the big and important experiences made by these organizations particu-

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Delegates and visitors at the Young Socialists' tenth annual conference, held in the Grand Hall of Scarborough's Spa



Sheila Torrance

Kingston delegate Peter Beale spoke of the massive attacks facing the working class if the Tories were returned to political power.

'Behind the Tories', he said, 'are centuries of imperialism, colonialization and oppression.'

The capitalist class could no longer hold up the struggles of workers all over the world.

'They will use racialism to split the working class—just as they split Moslem from Hindu in India and are trying to split Protestant and Catholic in Ireland.'

The urgency of the need for revolutionary leadership was emphasized by Dartford delegate Doug McEwen.

'The events in Northern Ireland', he said, 'are like a crystal ball to the working class.'

Unemployment and the employers' attempts to split the working class, Southampton delegate Ed Lacey told the conference, could be placed in their proper perspective with a look at Northern Ireland.

Large numbers of the adult workers and youth had been thrown out of work and intimidated by the police.

The employers had tried to use a kind of religious racialism to divide the working class and then they had tried the troops—but neither were sufficient.

'The importance of this,' he said, 'is that racialism is not the decisive question.'

'The decisive question is leadership, the building of a revolutionary youth movement and of the revolutionary party.'

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With the Tories preparing behind the scenes—as Lieut.-Gen. Sir Ian Freeland's 'shoot to kill' statement had shown—the decisive question in both Britain and Ireland was the building of the Young Socialists.

Belfast delegate John McGee told the conference that the position of the Narland and Wolf shipyards typified the capitalist crisis.

It had employed—in 1960—20,000 workers and was reduced ten years later to 7,000.

During the 1967 liquidation crisis it had been £4 million in debt.

It still owed the same amount despite massive government loans, productivity dealing and the loss of 4,000 jobs in the period since then.

The Communist Party was prostrate in this situation. Only a fight for nationalization offered any solution.

The composite resolution on 'Trade Unions, Productivity Deals, Unemployment and Factory Closures' was moved by Bruce Guthrie of Leicester Young Socialists.

He told the conference that the Tory anti-union plans were motivated by the employers' fear of the organized strength of workers inside the trade unions.

The danger to workers' organizations was growing:

'Unemployment is at its highest point since 1940 and must rise further with the recession developing in the United States,' he said. 'The employers' strategy is to get workers to agree and operate productivity deals.'

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This, he pointed out, was quite simply an attempt to get workers inside the factories to work harder.

'The small—or even large—wage increases exchanged for productivity deals are rapidly swallowed up by rising prices.'

'Only the Young Socialists have led the struggle against productivity dealing.'

'The Communist Party and the International Socialism group have capitulated completely on this essential principle.'

Comrade Guthrie reviewed the history of the Young Socialists' fight against anti-union laws and productivity deals.

'We have had to fight throughout this period against massive hostility from the "lefts" and the Communist Party,' he said.

'Our policy is complete opposition to these deals and for the building of a revolutionary leadership to defeat the employers' plans.'

Engineering shop steward

Tom Hillier paid tribute to the work of the Young Socialists and the Workers Press in fighting productivity deals.

The management were trying to introduce the 'Big Brother' tele-control system at Acton.

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'There are Communist Party members and members of the International Socialism group at CAV', he said. 'But on no occasion have we seen any attack on these deals except in the Workers Press.'

'These groups have money, power and influence, but they are not using them to fight these dangers to the class.'

'You've done a tremendous job,' he told the conference. 'But there is a tremendous lot of work to be done in the future.'

'The Workers Press is a terrific weapon for the working class—a paper that speaks the truth and that doesn't pander to the backwardness of sections of the working class.'

'Only this paper can show the real nature of capitalism itself and show the alternative. That alternative is Marxism and to be a Marxist today you have to be a Trotskyist.'



Trevor Foreshaw

Doncaster delegate Trevor Foreshaw moved an addition to the section dealing with the mines.

The demands, he said, should be for a £30 minimum wage for all face-workers and for a seven-hour day. Surface-workers should get a £20 minimum wage for a seven-and-a-half-hour day.

Hours in both cases should be inclusive of meal-breaks.

Merseyside portworker Larry Cavanagh pointed out that the dockers there had put in what was probably the biggest wage claim in history—£60.

'The Tories', he warned, 'don't mind these wage claims—however big—but what they're afraid of is political action. This was why they were afraid of the Young Socialists, who were the only ones fighting for such action.'

● Continued on page 10

larly in France—showed the way for the Young Socialists.

'We think now,' he said, 'it will be possible to go forward in Britain from the conference with our theory and our perspectives to win the mass of the youth to Trotskyism.'

Moving a composite resolution on the fight to keep the Tories out, Port Talbot delegate Simon Caldwell insisted that the problems facing the working class could not be solved simply by strikes for higher wages, for the closed shop and against redundancies.

'Can anyone doubt today,' he asked, 'the very grave crisis now facing the employers—their rate of profit falling with great rapidity?'

The resignation of Harland and Wolff, chairman Sir John Mallabar—who had tried to blame the workers for last year's loss of almost £4 million—was simply the most recent indication of the employers' complete inability to solve their own crisis.

Capitalism could not be content simply to stand still, Simon Caldwell explained. 'They want a right-wing racist government in which they can use the Enoch Powells and the Patrick Walls in an attempt to put the working class back into the conditions of the 1930s.'

While the Young Socialists called on workers to vote Labour at the next general election and kick the Tories out, they knew it was not as simple as this.

The Wilson leadership had to be removed.

'In the next general election', Comrade Caldwell concluded, 'there will be an unprecedented movement towards revolutionary politics: the Tories are going to have one hell of a job on their hands.'

'We will be able to explain the need for the working class to take the power in a way and on a scale never seen before.'

# INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION

**MOVING** the composite resolution on the United Socialist States of Europe, AJS National Secretary Charles Berg stressed that the crisis of imperialism and the movement of the working class posed enormous tasks for the revolutionary vanguard and its youth movement.

He reviewed the struggles of the working class in the capitalist countries and Eastern Europe.

'The youth is the flame of the proletarian revolution,' he said, 'and the discussions here must be seen as part of building a truly mass revolutionary youth movement.'

Mergers and take-overs were taking place at a rapid rate internationally, West London delegate Peter Sylveire pointed out.

But the working class, despite the employers' attempts to cut living standards and create a pool of unemployment, was at its most powerful and increasingly confident in its own strength.

The composite resolution on the United Socialist States of Europe was moved by Billy McAuslan of Glasgow Young Socialists. He told the conference that entry into the Common Market meant massive price increases, unemployment, wage cuts and the strengthening of the monopolies throughout Europe.

'When Wilson speaks of uniting all the peoples of Europe, he means the unity of the ruling class of Europe to attack the working class.'

In N Ireland young workers had refused to submit to the attacks of the state and the army. Workers were being brought up more and more against the need for international solidarity.

'The only solution for the European working class is the Socialist United States of Europe', Comrade McAuslan said. 'We are completely opposed to British entry into the Common Market.'

A speaker from the World-Wide Union of Ethiopian Students said that his union should affiliate to the Young Socialists.

'It is important we support in our union the international revolutionary youth movement,' he said. 'The revolution will never succeed in Ethiopia and the rest of the colonial and semi-colonial world without the overthrow of capitalist democracy in the advanced countries.'

The situation in Ethiopia, the speaker said, was explosive.

Opening the afternoon conference session, Dany Sylveire of the International Youth Commission of the Fourth International criticized some of the previous speakers, who she said, had tended simply to comment on the enormous upsurge in the international working class.

'The lesson of May-June in France, and all the international struggles of the working class, is that without a revolutionary leadership the class faces defeat,' she said. 'In Britain itself the experience of working-class struggle poses



Charles Berg

the need for an international movement.'

Entry into the Common Market, Comrade Sylveire warned, would be used by the monopolies to set workers in different countries against one another.

'The fight for the international youth movement has as its central pole of attraction the demand—which we have been discussing—for the United Socialist States of Europe.'

'The international movement can only build in battle against the Stalinists and the revisionists, on the basis of a fight for revolutionary principles.'

There must be no complacency about the enormous tasks facing the movement.

'Either we build this leadership or the working class faces massive defeats,' she concluded.

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The fraternal delegate from the Workers' International League of Greece moved an emergency resolution against the new wave of repressions of the Greek working class and revolutionary movement.

'The Greek Stalinists,' he said, 'are holding big campaigns to put pressure on capitalist governments to boycott the colonels' regime and have no relations with Greece. They are asking people not to take their holidays there.'

'But the Russian Stalinist government is building one of the biggest power stations ever built in Greece.'

'Power is channelled into Greece, when there is an industrial shortage of electricity, from the electric grid in Yugoslavia and other East European countries.'

'These are just two examples of the good relations between the Stalinists and the Greek regime.'

'The Stalinists cannot wage a fight even for the most simple democratic rights. This fight is connected absolutely with the struggle for alternative leadership against Stalinism—for workers' power and proletarian dictatorship in Greece.'

The conditions for building a revolutionary international youth movement have never been so favourable, the Greek delegate said.

'All the middle-class groups, who liquidated themselves in the "broad movement", are all completely bankrupt.'

'The break-up of the SDS in Germany shows how the middle-class run in all directions under the impacts of the crisis.'

'We must prepare for a showdown with capitalism and bureaucracy: a political showdown in E Europe and a complete showdown in the West.'

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Bringing fraternal greetings from the Young Socialists in Eire, Dublin delegate Dave Fry stressed that entry into the Common Market would be a bitter blow at the Irish workers and was designed only to strengthen the power of the giant industrial monopolies.



Dave Fry

Small farms and units of production would be completely swallowed up, the independence of small farmers would be destroyed and more and more workers driven to enforced emigration.

'The other side of this,' he went on, 'is that the Irish working class is now forced more and more into struggle alongside its brothers in Britain and Europe.'

'Such a situation is an enormous opportunity for building the revolutionary youth movement of the Fourth International in Ireland.'

Moving an emergency resolution on N Ireland, Belfast delegate George Craig stressed that struggle for democratic demands was a vital issue in a semi-colonial country.

While this appeared to be going on at the moment on two separate fronts the employers knew that the unity of all workers—led by a revolutionary party—would spell the death of imperialism. This unity could only be achieved on a revolutionary programme.

The fraternal delegate from the German Young Guard organization in greeting the conference pointed out that the fight for revolutionary theory in the cradle of Marxism had been halted for years by the treachery of Stalinism and Social-Democracy. This had made possible the victory of Hitler and the division of Germany after the war.

'The German working class has shown over the past years that it is no longer willing to accept this bureaucratic frame-work,' he said.

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Its struggles were now coming into line with the fight of the working class all over the world.

'The German bourgeoisie—one of the mightiest capitalist classes in the world—sees the solution of the so-called "German question" as not just the destruction of the gains of the working class in W and E Germany but as the destruction of all the conquests of the Russian Revolution of 1917.'

He called for the revolutionary reunification of Germany as an essential step to the Socialist United States of Europe.

Kilburn delegate Margaret O'Mara, moving a resolution on Vietnam, said that the Young Socialists had been inspired by the revolutionary struggles in South-East Asia.

British imperialism was directly involved in these struggles through its military base in Malaya, which the Tories intended to strengthen.



Margaret O'Mara

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Unlike the Communist Party, which had called for the implementation of the Geneva Accords, she stressed, the Young Socialists had fought from the very beginning for the military defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam.

'As Young Socialists,' stressed Willesden delegate B. Shoyikha during a discussion on Black Power, 'we are against racialism.'

The US Black Panthers based their organization on a racial division and the Young Socialists had to dissociate themselves from this.

**G. HEALY**  
**S.L.L.**  
**NATIONAL**  
**SECRETARY**

The conference had been a great inspiration to the Socialist Labour League, national secretary Gerry Healy said.

Commenting on press reports that the conference considered the revolution to be 'round the corner', he said he would like to make a suggestion and a mild recommendation to the press.

'It has been the practice in the press during the student revolt of the last few years to build up the leaders as great red communists. The press find it very difficult to give up the bogey they have built up.'

'Revolution cannot be made by anybody except the working class. If there is one thing clear from this conference it is that we are extremely close to all that is happening inside the working class.'

'We are in touch and intimately involved with the major struggles facing the workers' movement. We know because of this that revolution is not "round the corner".'

'The press, however, having built up that gentleman who started off as a Dwarf and ended up as a Mole, find it hard to live down.'

Comrade Healy spoke of the problems in the British working class—the slowness to appreciate Marxism and theory, the problem of theoretical backwardness. Nonetheless, he said, the unions were basic class organizations.

'When a Tory party leader says "We are going to sort out the unions", then the revolution is not at all as far away as the capitalist class might want to have us believe.'

'When the trade unions are up for "sorting out", at that moment the working class will see who are its friends and who are its enemies,' he said, to applause.

★

Turning to the question of Workers' Press, comrade Healy pointed out that the paper's application to join the Labour and Industrial Correspondents' Group had been turned down by 19 votes to 4.

'Pressure from capitalist ministers is responsible for this decision,' he said.

'Although they make jokes about us in their headlines they take very definite action from the beginning to keep us out.'

'It is a disgrace that the "Morning Star" should uphold the position of Fleet Street,' he went on.

'In its early days the "Daily Worker" was pushed from pillar to post. It had to fight every day of the week to exist.'

'You see where the peaceful road to socialism gets you. Today when they talk and act as Fabians they find themselves in the same camp as Fleet Street.'

'We are asking you to take up the rights of our paper. A censorship has been applied and that censorship must be removed.'

# Keep Left

May 1970

'VOTE Labour to keep the Tories out! Expose Wilson! Build the Socialist Labour League!' was the message of the joint League-Young Socialists banner which headed the magnificent May Day march through London reported elsewhere in this issue.

International workers' day was celebrated in this spirit and in the next six months—up to the anti-Tory rally at Alexandra Palace on October 18—this must be the keynote of all the Young Socialists' work.

Youth have a very special role to play in the battle against unemployment, the fight to defend the unions and the struggle against imperialism on a world scale. Thousands of young workers between the ages of 18 and 21 will be exercising their vote for the first time in this country's forthcoming General Election and we have a tremendous responsibility to explain the class issues involved.

We are confronted this time not with the 'you've never had it so good' Tories of the MacMillan era, but with a party dedicated to making the working class pay for the crisis of international capital—now deeper than at any time since the 1920s—with a union-bashing, immigrant-baiting, 'law and order' programme.

Nixon's escalation of the war in Indo-China and his murderous repressions against anti-war marchers in the United States itself strengthens these reactionary forces, but, conversely, each step forward by the working class and the revolutionary youth in the metropolitan centres of imperialism is a blow for the workers and peasants of Cambodia and Vietnam.

The May 1 strike of 10,000 Merseyside dockers was one such blow and May Day—with 2,000 young workers and adult trade unionists mobilized behind the programme of Trotskyism—another.

May Day also served notice that working-class youth have no intention of being trapped in the muddle-headed, reformist channels of middle-class protest being dug by the Communist Party, which fought bitterly against our demand that Wilson's January visit to Washington be stopped and our call for a May 1 strike against the war, and the revisionists.

Our perspective during the next six months must be the building of revolutionary youth sections of the Fourth International all over Europe on a really mass scale. Let us lay our plans now for the biggest-ever campaign to recruit more and more members into the Young Socialists.

- Build the revolutionary alternative to the Labour traitors!
- Forward to a massive anti-Tory rally in October and to the International Youth Conference!

## Space race

Continued from page 5

est level of quality in the space crafts' components, which total a staggering 15 million.

However, the inquiry which is now investigating Apollo-13's near-disaster is not likely to criticize the aerospace corporations, which have sucked 24 billion dollars out of the American working class over the last decade.

As with the 1967 disaster, there will be the minimum delay in dealing with the purely technical aspects of the 'malfunction' and it is possible that the Apollo-14 mission will proceed as planned in October.

That man will explore the solar system and even the stars is not in doubt. However, above all, it is a task which demands international planning and the mobilization of technical and financial resources which no nation can provide.

The rescue of the Apollo crew gives a small glimpse of what is possible. Some 50,000 technicians using 130 computers and working in various parts of the world collaborated in the task of bringing Lovell, Haise and Swigert back to earth—back to a planet where the private ownership of the means of production condemns the vast majority of mankind to poverty, death and the possibility of atomic annihilation.

These are the contradictions which face man in the period of the death agony of world imperialism.

The fear of the strength of the working class expressed in the decision to race for the moon,

will now be further increased by the launching of the first Chinese satellite only 20 years after the 1949 revolution and the growing offensive of the working class throughout Europe—both East and West.

ON APRIL 28 the newly-formed Cambridge YS branch held their first public meeting to commemorate the Centenary of Lenin's birth.

John Simmance, new National Secretary of the Young Socialists, addressed the meeting and stressed that the attacks on the working class today—whether by brutal oppression and massacre of workers and peasants in South East Asia or through rising unemployment and attacks on wages at home—were the direct result of the growing crisis in the capitalist system.

The only way forward for the working class today lay in an international struggle for power, in the fight to build a revolutionary party firmly based on the programme of Lenin and Trotsky.

The Young Socialists carried forward this struggle amongst the youth today. The YS placed itself under the banner of the Fourth International—the continuator of Leninism today—taking up Trotsky's fight against Stalinism and reformism.

The YS were proud of their history, particularly the part they had played in helping to establish the 'Workers Press', the first Trotskyist daily paper in the world.

They were determined to go on fighting for their principles whatever the opposition.

John Simmance took a clear stand on the important and controversial issues raised in the discussion that followed.

In particular he rejected the idea that workers in Cambridge were more backward politically and less prepared for the struggle than in most other areas.

Workers were well aware of the way in which the university had held down wages and prevented new industry from coming to the town.

Youth on the new council estates were denied even the most basic sports and social amenities while facilities in the university, such as playing fields, were unused for half the year.

However, militancy was growing amongst groups such as the university technicians and especially amongst the youth.

The previous weekend's canvassing in the town had revealed that many young workers fully realized the need to vote Labour at the next election to stop the return of the Tories.

The dangers of Britain's possible entry into the Common Market were clearly understood—only recently workers in a local electronics factory were threatened with redundancy when the firm planned to switch part of its production to Holland.

Comrade Simmance concluded by urging all those present to help build the Young Socialists in Cambridge and throughout East Anglia, and to take part in the May Day rally in London.

The conquest of power by the working class and the building of socialism will free science from its shackles.

Man will at last be freed from the day-to-day struggle for survival on earth and will develop the means of travelling to the farthest reaches of the universe.

While both the Soviet bureaucracy and the capitalist press join together in sneering at China's achievement, workers everywhere will gain great strength from this event.

Apollo-13 has revealed the bankruptcy of imperialism. China's satellite expresses mankind's potential under world socialism.

# New Cambridge YS branch holds first public meeting

MIDDLESEX REGION  
Coach outing to  
**SOUTHEND**  
Sunday May 17  
Approximate cost 12s Coaches leave from all areas.

MIDDLESEX REGION  
**REGIONAL RALLY**  
Sunday June 21  
at  
Hanwell Community Centre  
Five-a-side football, netball, films and a meeting  
followed by  
DISCOTHEQUE

WEST LONDON YOUNG SOCIALISTS  
Coach trip to  
**HASTINGS**  
Sunday May 17  
YS Members 11s 6d Tickets 13s  
Coaches leave: Kentish Town Station, 8.15.  
Kings Cross, 8.30. Stanley Arms, Victoria, 9.00.  
Ladbroke Grove Station, 8.15. Westbourne  
Park Station, 8.30. Edgware Road Station, 8.45.

TOTTENHAM YOUNG SOCIALISTS  
**DISCOTHEQUE**  
Tuesday May 19  
YMCA HALL, Tottenham High Road  
Admission 3s at the door.

SOUTH EAST LONDON FEDERATION  
Coach outing to  
**SOUTHEND**  
Sunday June 21  
Coaches leave: Elephant and Castle, 9.00.  
Oval Tube, 9.15. Brixton Town Hall, 9.30  
British Home Stores, Rye Lane 9.45. Catford  
Town Hall, 10.00.  
Fare approximately 10s.

DAGENHAM FEDERATION  
**DISCOTHEQUE**  
Hartley School, East Ham.  
Saturday May 16, 8.00 p.m.  
Admission 3s.

## Teamsters

Continued from page 5

trust or condone the actions of Fitzsimmons, McMaster [another union bureaucrat] and the rest of the scum that keeps selling the membership down the river. These people are professional sell-out artists. They would sell their souls for a shilling.'

In distant California, 10,000 drivers are on strike against the settlement, defying sackings, a temporary restraining order obtained from the courts by the employers, and the opposition of the official Teamster leadership.

They are demanding 10 days' sick leave a year with pay, and the full reinstatement of all drivers sacked during the strike.

The wages movement among the teamsters demonstrates very clearly that sections of workers in the United States are breaking with the established bureaucratic union leaderships and taking the first steps to the establishment of a new leadership.

With unemployment standing at 4.4 per cent and the Nixon government pressing for stringent anti-union laws, the US workers are fighting back with a deep-going wages offensive, creating a favourable situation for the work of our comrades in the Workers' League.

# MAY DAY— day of solidarity with international working class

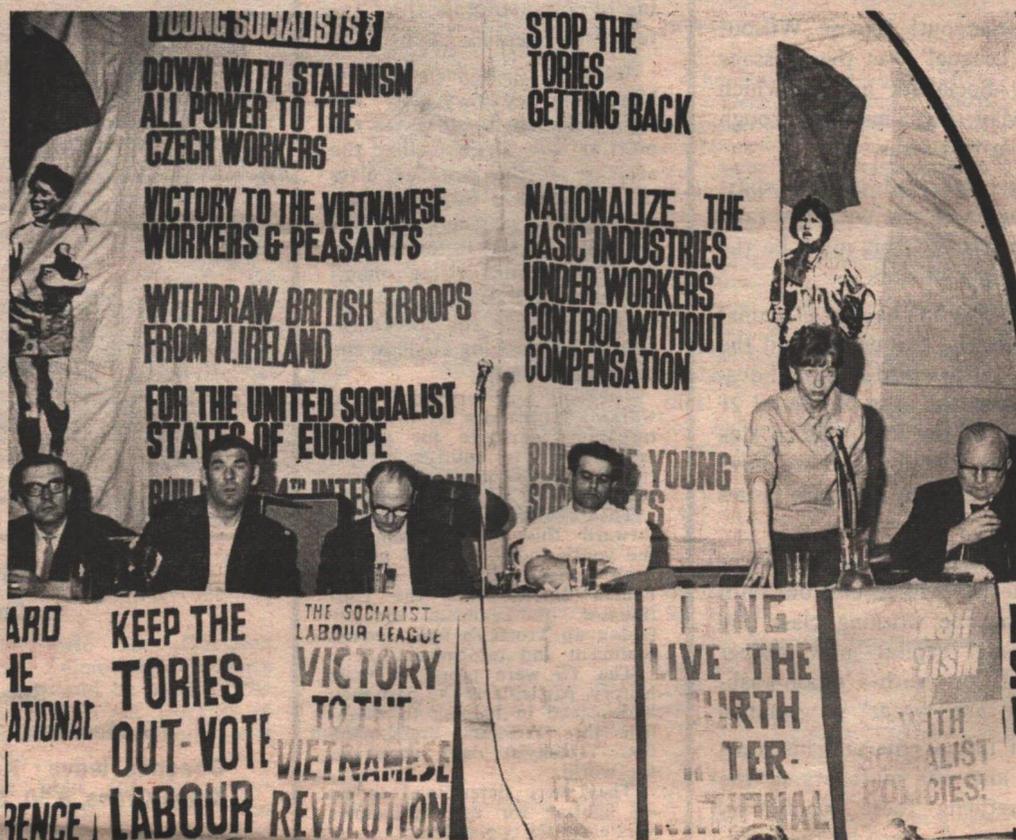
**YOUNG** workers, students and adult trade unionists from all over the country gathered on London's Charing Cross embankment on May 3 for what proved to be the most impressive and successful May Day demonstration yet organized by the Trotskyist movement in Britain.

Brilliant sunshine lit up the mass of 50 red flags which headed the march, the many red and white YS, All Trades Unions Alliance and Socialist Labour League branch banners and eight huge floats built by London YS members illustrating major points of policy.

Chanting slogans and singing the 'Internationale' the marchers **DEFIED** the vicious Tory-inspired witch-hunt built up in the Fleet Street press against YS member Rosemary Whippe during the previous five days.

**CHALLENGED** the Tories' plans for laws against the trade unions and

**STRUCK OUT** in solidarity with the workers' and peasants' struggle against US imperialism in South-East Asia.



John Simmance, YS National Secretary speaks at the Lyceum Theatre.

and we take it into the factories, onto the High Streets, amongst the youth.'

Michael Banda, editor of 'Workers Press', said that the major escalation of the war in Cambodia and Vietnam came at a time of a massive crisis in the United States.

'It is not just a question of reading "Capital", he said, 'we should also look at Wall Street. 692 corporations have suffered a 10 to 13 per cent drop in profits over the last quarter and the leading banks are saying that a collapse is imminent.'

Imperialism would not reform itself as the Stalinists and reformists hoped. It was based on oppression and super-exploitation.

'We were not taken in by "Vietnamization", he said. 'We stated that this would mean the Vietnamization of Laos and Cambodia.

'The logic of these steps are Bonapartism, fascism and the smashing of the trade unions. It strengthens the Tories in their attempts to return to power.'

The independent action of the working class could defeat US imperialism and its agencies. The fight was now for the United Socialist States of Europe.

## Confidence

Socialist Labour League national secretary Gerry Healy told the meeting that May Day should be celebrated in an atmosphere of confidence—'never on any previous May Day since the mid-1920s have we witnessed such an incredible crisis of the capitalist system.'

The capitalist class in crisis, he said, was very sharply aware of the growth of the revolutionary vanguard and it was this which lay behind last week's witch-hunt.

'One Sunday newspaper,' Comrade Healy revealed, 'offered £3,000 for an interview—all so that the Tories could justify their attack on the unions and frighten the middle class into voting for them.'

He appealed, in challenging Fleet Street to contradict the statement that had been issued through solicitors, to working journalists not to lend themselves to doing the Tories' dirty work in this way.

They had had some strange bedfellows.

Trotskyists had always opposed and fought witch-hunts against other sections of the labour movement—such as that against the Communist Party in the Electrical Trades Union.

## Desperate

In the case of Girling's, however, the CP had desperately tried to dissociate itself—although no one had accused it of anything—and one member of a group which claimed to be on the extreme left, well known in the student movement, had been in the offices of one Sunday newspaper 'making out a report on the Socialist Labour League.

'But the capitalist press,' Comrade Healy stressed, 'cannot stop the Socialist Labour League expressing its opinions.

'This movement is based on principle—Stalin couldn't destroy it. Hitler couldn't destroy it. Churchill couldn't destroy it and we're not going to stop now.

'Let's resolve that we're going to build this revolutionary party, increase the circulation of the "Workers Press", bring in more members and fight for working-class unity against the Tories!'

A veteran Trotskyist on a visit from the United States told Keep Left after the march:

'It's been worth all my 30 years in the movement just to take part in this with you today—keep up the good work!'

## Crocodile

The ageing and opportunist crocodile of a march scraped together by the Communist Party and its 'left' Labour Party and trade union friends was—politically—left standing, horrified and open-mouthed.

Silk-screened posters prepared by the same hard-working YS team that constructed the colourful and imaginatively-designed floats clustered in every section of the 2,000-strong demonstration:

'Smash Toryism with socialist

policies! 'Fight Wilson—build the Socialist Labour League! 'Down with Stalinism—ally of Franco and the Greek junta! 'Withdraw troops from Ulster! 'For a united socialist Ireland! 'Forward with the Young Socialists to a Socialist Britain! 'Down with the Common Market—forward to the socialist united states of Europe! 'Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution!'

Small wonder that the same Fleet Street newspapers which, less than 48 hours before, had been lying so barefacedly in their witch-hunt against Rosemary

Whippe chose distortion—combined with extensive coverage of the extreme right-wing Monday Club's tiny Trafalgar Square rally—as their main weapon the following day.

They, like the Stalinists, were scared to death!

## Meeting

Stressing the internationalism of the demonstration—which included a considerable number of immigrant youth and workers—at the packed Lyceum Theatre meeting which followed, newly-

elected Young Socialists national secretary John Simmance said:

'There is a dividing line today in Britain and Vietnam—on one side are the employers and their agents and on the other the working class.

'Youth is in the forefront of the struggle against racialism, against attempts to split the working class and against a Tory return—that's why they fear the youth, why there's a witch-hunt.

'The struggle to build this movement means the struggle to build the Fourth International

## 'The Damned'

Directed by:  
Luchino Visconti

Starring:  
Dirk Bogarde  
Ingrid Thulin  
Helmut Griem  
Helmut Berger

Distributed by:  
Warner Pathe

VISCONTI is one of the few directors who makes truly epic films.

He does not need the massed Roman legions or the eternal biblical orgies of the Hollywood 'epic film' kit. He has a far more powerful means at his disposal—an understanding of history drawn mainly from his studies of Marxism.

An aristocrat by birth, Visconti, along with many Italian intellectuals joined the Communist Resistance to Fascism in the 1930s and 1940s.

However, the Stalinist leadership of this movement trapped its followers in a blind alley of class-collaboration and big-power diplomacy which cut off the Italian working class from any independent revolutionary action.

The armed partisans were instructed to give up their arms.

The Communist Party joined the bourgeois coalition government and capitalism was restored.

The effect of this betrayal on Visconti was to reinforce his aristocrat's tendency to remain detached from the class struggle, to view history fatalistically—as a process which can be understood but not changed.

Thus the aristocratic view of capitalism dovetails into the Stalinist view—against the live Marxist view.

Thus, his films, while they show very clearly the class nature of society, in particular the way in which individuals reflect class forces (and in this he stands head and shoulders above most of his contemporaries) remain by and large pessimistic and lacking in any but the most vague perspective.

## DYNAMIC

In his most famous film, 'Rocco and his Brothers', which shows the disintegration of a Sicilian family who emigrate to Milan, we are left with the dynamic prospect that maybe the youngest brother, Luca who is ten, will live to see his homeland rise out of its poverty.

(Italian workers today, including southern workers, appear to be less patient than Visconti and the Stalinists!)

Visconti's latest film 'The Damned', deals with one of the

most decisive turning points in modern history—the period from the burning of the Reichstag in 1932 to the Night of the Long Knives in 1934.

These two events span the coming to power of Nazism and its consolidation as the General Staff of German big business.

The film shows little of the political events outside but shows how the different members of one of the leading families of German big business react to these events.

## RELATIONS

Those who still believe in democracy or who hanker after the paternalistic relations in industry are quietly but ruthlessly eliminated by those who see that only an out and out fascist regime will guarantee a docile labour force and adequate profits.

The most remarkable sequence in the film is the one showing the Night of the Long Knives itself in which the SA—the vast fascist army of Brownshirts who were used to crush the resistance of the working class and who believed in Hitler's demagogic talk of nationalism—are wiped out by the SS who stood four-square behind big business.

The utter degeneracy of the fascists is well shown. Half the SA are shot down blind drunk and dressed up in women's underwear.

## films · films · films · films

But this degeneracy is not confined to the SA. The film ends with all members of the family eliminated, leaving only Martin, the youngest who is a complete pervert—a transvestite and child violator—to enter the ranks of the SS and become one of the leaders of Germany.

As far as it goes the film is very convincing, but the main question is left out—how did fascism arise?

The film accepts the Stalinist lie of the 'collective guilt' of the Germans. This theory is of course a cover for the gross betrayal by Stalinism in confusing the German working class with its theory of 'social fascism'.

Fascism appears in the film as some outside force engulfing Germany. No resistance by the working class is shown or even suggested and no indication is given as to how fascism could have been prevented.

## PENALTY

This is the artistic penalty for a training in Stalinism.

The growing revolutionary tide in Italy gives the lie to this fatalism.

Fascism will not rise again and the working class will grasp its future in its hands provided the revolutionary Marxist party is built in the teeth of Stalinist opposition.

# LENIN, THE YOUTH AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

'THE middle-aged and the aged often do not know how to approach the youth, for the youth must of necessity advance to socialism in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances than their fathers.'

These words of warning applied least of all to their author—Lenin. The party that Lenin built and led—the Russian Bolshevik Party—was above all a party of the youth, of young workers in their middle and late 'teens.

Lenin himself joined the revolutionary movement when he was 18—but even this was late enough to earn him the nickname of 'the old man'.

Others—Zinoviev, Kamenev, Pyatakov and Bukharin (all murdered under the rule of Stalin)

were already seasoned revolutionaries before they were twenty.

An important side of Lenin's political genius lay in his ability to recruit and train young workers and students as party leaders.

He saw that without the fighting spirit—even the impetuosity—of the youth, the revolutionary party would lose its drive and gradually become isolated from the new generations of workers coming into the factories and trade unions.

As he said of the Youth International during the First World War.

'We stand for the complete independence of the Youth Leagues but also for complete freedom of comradely criticism of their errors! We must not flatter the youth.'

So Lenin saw the militancy of the youth not as something just to be admired, but a force requiring direction, organization, and above all, clear ideas, theory.

As he emphasized in his famous work 'What is to be Done?', the basis of the revolu-



Trotsky, Lenin and Kamenev in Red Square, Moscow

tionary party is not militancy, energy and enthusiasm, essential though all these qualities undoubtedly are.

Its foundation is revolutionary theory, and that theory, Marxism, has to be mastered by every young worker taking his or her place in the front ranks of the workers' movement.

So the youth movement, while developing its own special activities and organization distinct from the revolutionary party, still bases itself on socialist theory and policies, and plays a decisive part in training new leaders for the working class as a whole.

It was the young workers and

sailors of Petrograd (now Leningrad) that stormed the Tsar's Winter Palace in October 1917, and bore the brunt of the Civil War against the landlords, capitalists and their imperialist backers.

But it was the Bolshevik Party, based on Marxist theory and the experiences of many generations of workers, that guided their struggles to final victory.

The Young Socialists carry on the revolutionary traditions established by the party of Lenin and Trotsky, both in our demonstrations, rallies and campaigns, in the political education programmes mapped out by the Federations, the Regions and the National Committee and in the features on socialist history and theory printed in 'Keep Left'.

Activity without political education and the training of leaders becomes a dull and blind routine. It leads to certain isolation and defeat.

It was no accident that Lenin placed more importance on theory and leadership than any other member of the Russian Marxist movement before 1917.

All too often in the past the hopes and the sacrifices of the youth have been betrayed by false leadership.

There is only one guarantee that this will not happen again, as Trotsky said in his famous speech to Soviet youth, 'Young People—Study Politics'.

Today that means joining the Young Socialists, and training yourselves as revolutionary fighters in the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky.

By Robert Black

## LENIN CENTENARY IN LONDON



In marked contrast to any other 'celebrations' the joint Socialist Labour League-Young Socialists Lenin Centenary meeting on Monday, April 20 was attended by an enthusiastic and intensely interested audience of 600.

So great was the response to the call for the meeting that many had to be turned away from the packed hall.

Held in the Caxton Hall, the tone of the meeting was set both by the extremely youthful audience and by the revolutionary banners around the hall.

Opening speaker Cliff

Slaughter of the SLL Central Committee stressed that the spectacular celebrations being held in Moscow were a cover for the betrayal of everything Lenin stood for.

'Stalinism, in fact, is the negation of everything Lenin fought for,' he said.

'A genuine workers' revolution in the tradition of Lenin rings the death knell for Stalinism just as surely as for capitalism.

'For Lenin the proletarian revolution lay at the centre of every task in this epoch. This continuity is the essence of our celebrations of this

centenary.'

Young Socialists' national secretary John Simmance told the meeting that the only future for young people was socialism.

'The struggle for socialism means to build the revolutionary party along the lines Lenin did,' he said.

Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, recalled that five years ago, on the 25th anniversary of Trotsky's assassination, the League had held a meeting in the same hall and called for a daily Trotskyist newspaper.

'We have carried out that dedication', he said. 'The way to commemorate Lenin is to bring the essence of Leninism in our actions. The 'Workers Press' is like a battery of well-trained guns turned every day against all those who want to impede that struggle.

'Once the working class sees that there is no way to defend the trade unions except by revolutionary means—at that point, the working class will break with every vestige of reformism and the revolutionary party will play its greatest role,' comrade Healy said.

THE release of Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis from jail in April is certainly a big victory for opponents of the country's junta regime.

Theodorakis himself said that there is still much to be done.

This is indeed true. There are hundreds of revolutionists in Greek jail who can only be freed by the international struggle of the working class to force the breaking off of all trading relations with Athens by the Soviet, Albanian and Chinese governments.

## Down with the Tories

EVENTS in recent years—in France in 1968 and the rest of Europe—have shown the real strength of the working class.

It has proved to me a real need for a youth international to unite all workers and students.

I agree with Charles Berg, national secretary of the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS) the coming struggle is one of internationalism against Stalinist betrayals of the working class and for the overthrow of bureaucracy.

Delegates from Northern Ireland told the Scarborough conference that all workers, Catholic and Protestant, must be united against the British troops against Paisley. And in Britain they must be united against Powell.

The working class is becoming more and more conscious every day.

Workers have been enslaved for a long time under the capitalist system. Machines under capitalism are a means of making profit.

Under the bosses' system the working day is lengthened whilst hundreds of thousands of workers are made redundant. An employer can easily replace one worker with another.

Militancy is not enough—'Unity is strength'. We must unite all workers; the car workers in Britain, the 20 million strikers in Italy, workers in France and workers in Germany with the youth for a United Socialist States of Europe.

Death to capitalism and imperialism in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

The millions of students and workers who demonstrated across the whole of the United States on October 15 1969 totalled 30 million—this year even more are expected to take part.

At its 10th annual conference in Scarborough the Young Socialists prepared the way to fight Toryism in Britain by going forward to a mass demonstration on May Day and an anti-Tory Festival of Youth on Sunday October 18 at Alexandra Palace.

To vote Labour will be to

keep the Tories out—the class enemy.

- Go forward to build the youth international.
- Go forward to the May Day demonstration and the anti-Tory festival.
- Down with capitalism.

**Bhupinder Gill**  
(Delegate to Scarborough)  
Hounslow YS

## An opinion on Scarborough

I WOULD like to express my opinion of the YS conference at Scarborough.

This was the first conference that I, along with many others, had attended.

The weekend was a great success from start to finish, with the Saturday-night dance giving everyone the chance to associate with comrades from different parts of the country, and indeed from many other countries.

The speeches at the conference, especially from the inexperienced youngsters, were of a really high standard.

I feel sure that this has won more youth to the YS movement, to keep the Tories out in the coming election.

**Mike Foster**  
Middlesbrough YS

## Fraternal greetings from Ireland

AS A fraternal delegate from the Irish Young Socialists, sister organization of the Young Socialists, I attended the recent national conference in Scarborough for the first time.

My comrades and I were very impressed by every aspect of the conference.

Most impressive was the high theoretical level of the comrades, especially the younger comrades who spoke.

As a visiting delegate another aspect pleased me. This was the stress laid on internationalism during all the discussion, even on topics that were predominantly British.

This held many lessons for us here in Ireland where we have to struggle constantly against insular nationalism in

ourselves, in the struggle against the various revisionist, Stalinist and reformist groups and in the working class as a whole.

The conference was very heartening for us in the Irish Young Socialists, which is still a very young organization and quite small.

It showed us the prospects which are in store for us if we are prepared to work hard to organize our movement.

In conclusion I pledge the Irish Young Socialists' support for the building of the Revolutionary Youth International, for the reconstruction of the Fourth International chiefly by building the Irish section and for the struggle to build the United Socialist States of Europe.

**Enda O'Callaghan**  
Dublin IYS

## Thank you

I WOULD like, through your excellent paper, to thank all the young people who stayed with me during the Scarborough conference.

They were ideal guests in every way and a credit to the movement.

Also my thanks to Mr White of Reading and Mr Bush from Coventry for giving me the pleasure of accommodating them.

Every good wish to Keep Left.

**Yours faithfully**  
**Mrs B. Kellet**  
Sea Breeze, Scarborough

## Enjoyed Scarborough

HAVING attended the Young Socialists conference at Scarborough last weekend, I must write to say how much I enjoyed it.

Having been a YS member for roughly three months I had a very good idea from our branch meetings of what the movement was about.

We went along regularly and we were told by a comrade of our branch just what was happening all over the world.

Therefore owing to the training in the YS we had a good idea of what to expect at the conference.

However, we did not expect such a high quality of speaking that was achieved at the conference.

The most outstanding part of the conference to me was how the delegates from all over the country came forward and expressed their personal views on a number of topics.

On the whole it was a most interesting and revealing conference.

Finally I must say: Long Live the Young Socialists and forward to the Fourth International!

Comrades unite to build a mass YS movement and keep the Tories out!

**Derek Weaver**  
Middlesbrough YS

## Views on the current situation

WE WOULD like to express our views on the current situation of the Young Socialists conference at Scarborough.

We looked through all papers and we watched the news programmes on television to see if there was a report on the Young Socialists' conference, as we had seen a report on the Labour Party Young Socialists conference at Morecambe (which had 150 people attend).

Our conference had at least ten times that number yet it was not reported. This is because the employing class sees the seriousness of the Young Socialists and their policies.

We were very impressed at the way in which the con-



ference was highly organized and the way the Young Socialists conducted themselves.

The fact that there was no conflict between black and white and the different nationalities shows the seriousness of the Young Socialists, as this is the traditional employers' method to split and confuse the working class.

In this way they try to confuse the working class and prevent them from seeing the real class enemy—the employers.

The Young Socialists unite all young workers no matter what colour, race, job or religion, in the fight against the employers.

We were also impressed at the way the Young Socialists did not allow any trouble with the police, although the police were there in force ready to intimidate or arrest any Young Socialists.

The ability of the Young Socialists to organize a weekend, the dance and the conference, gives us confidence of our ability to achieve our final goal—the kicking out of the Tories and the running of society by the youth and the workers.

**Louise Tebbath, Jackie Finch, Steffan Krawczyk, Sean Duffy, Patrick Michaels**  
Holbrooks YS, Coventry

## I am impressed

SINCE I joined the local Young Socialists' branch a month ago I have been impressed by the terrific interest and determination of the comrades concerning their political views.

I would say that the most impressive political occasion I have known was undoubtedly this year's annual conference at Scarborough.

Never before have I known so many of today's youth gathered together to determine their future and to unite to destroy the rotten framework of capitalist society.

During these hours of discussion and individual speeches given by the delegates, boredom was non-existent. Great interest was expressed by the youthful audience.

Socialist views were discussed among apprentices, students and young workers with frightening understanding and political concern.

I felt proud to be part of the growing youth movement.

It is not true that the youth of today don't care, we do and we plan to do something about it: in fact we have, and we are determined to proceed and re-shape the political status of this country in helping to create a United Socialist States of Europe with the full co-operation of European youth.

It isn't right that we should be denied recognition by the ruling class and that we should be outlawed as an irresponsible minority.

We are no longer a minority. Each year we show that in our rallies and our meetings.

We fight for our beliefs even though the capitalist bureaucracy stands in our way like a brick wall.

This cannot last, we are

going to increase rapidly in number in the next few years.

The attendance at the Scarborough conference undoubtedly exceeded 1,000; nearly twice as many members could not attend.

They cannot hold us back any longer, we will rock the foundations of the present society of parasites and smash the bureaucracy!

The time will come when the people realize their power and the time will come when they will know how to use it.

Long live Lenin and Trotsky!

**T. Garside**  
Stockton YS

## How to fight redundancy

I HAVE worked in an electrical factory in New Addington for two and a half years.

Because the profits are dropping the management is proposing to make a lot of the workers redundant.

Ten day-workers and 37 night-workers, many of whom have worked there for years, have already lost their jobs and worse is to come.

This is a result of speed-up and productivity deals which have been brought in—there are plans to bring in more speed-up—and the union, the Electrical Trades Union, has accepted all these things.

Selling Keep Left in the factory and fighting for support for the YS policies is the only way to fight these attacks.

It is this which has built up more understanding of the importance of building the YS into a leadership of the working class and what the employers will do if we do not build this leadership.

**Sheila Goddon**  
New Addington YS

## Socialism and the individual

THE question of individuals, the society we live in, and their connection with socialism to my mind is often misunderstood.

We are continually told through our lives that we as individuals are important; that we must strive to better ourselves to work at school, at college, and in the factories, to pass exams, get good jobs and gain promotion.

Everything is geared to make us compete against each other.

This is the start of the lies.

It is true life is a struggle; all living things have to fight to survive, they have to adapt and change and this life-struggle is initially one against nature, that can be observed through animals.

They have to be constantly alert to dangers, and have a daily battle for food and to protect their young.

Man started off in much the same situation, but having a larger brain it was possible for him to learn to use some forces of nature to his advantage; fire being the prime example.

In this man distinguishes himself from other animals and shows it is possible to use the very things he struggles against, to turn the tide.

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But this has not been followed through.

In this so-called civilized society, run by the capitalist elite, people are trained from birth to be in constant conflict with one another, over exam results, jobs, houses, university places; absolutely everything.

And this is solely because the repressive governing bodies want us to be so busy outwitting each other that we forget what we are, and how we were able to survive—by using our brains not against ourselves but the hostile world we live in.

But the capitalist system consciously does nothing to teach people the truth.

They use the rat-race competition for their own gains, to make bigger profits.

And as we madly try to grab more, to work harder and do each other down, we play right into their hands.

And by this the so-called individual in us, so carefully nurtured and glamourized, is prostituted and finally extinguished, until we become nothing more than ants.

So the only thing left to us in this stifling system to show our individuality and personalities is through material and outward things; how we dress, and wear our hair, what music we play; and what we are going to buy next. Again playing right into their hands.

And of course the profit-crazy society welcomes with open arms this falsely labelled 'freedom of expression'.

Tell me where is the freedom in this? There is no freedom in a capitalist society (and therefore no individualism).

Only when we have a complete and true socialist world will we obtain the beginnings of freedom, for freedom, like socialism is not something you say, 'I think we will have'.

It has to be fought for. Through socialism, when all resources are used for the good of everyone, true freedom will begin to develop and individuals emerge.

Only through the process of uniting in the fight for survival, initially in building world socialism, will man be able to rise above all other animals and the enslaved state

he is now in, and use all things to advantage.

I have heard it argued that in socialism the individual is unimportant and that anyway that is not the point. But I think it is exactly the point.

Surely the essence of socialism is freedom (and this in turn must mean true individual freedom, otherwise it is negated).

And surely nobody believes that everything is going to be suddenly rosy and happy when they have gained workers' control; and we all have cars and houses and lots to eat.

Material objects are fine, but only make for easier living not necessarily better living.

We are not fighting a revolution for cars and machines we are fighting for society. Which is made up of people who are (there is no denying it) individuals.

Let me say again I do not mean the old, exploited, individuals of capitalism, who will fall along with their masters, but the new, free individuals who will start to breathe and grow and flourish with socialism.

So I am back where I started—the individual is important.

And the only way to realize this importance is in the fight for freedom and (the birth of true individualism and recognition of potential) through the principle of Marxism.

Jane Athron  
Kentish Town YS

### 'Bovver' the Tories

THE RECENT press blow-up about violence amongst youth has been, as is to be expected of the capitalist papers, greatly magnified and used to encourage the so-called 'Paki-bashing' wave.

It is above all an indication of the redundancy of these papers to use such instances to drive the wedge of racialism deeper amongst the youth.

The Tories, in this pre-election period are anxious to whip up the most reactionary and backward ideas in order

to carry through their proposed 'clamp-down' on the whole of the working class.

They rely for their support on some of the extremely backward layers who respond to their call for stricter immigration laws and repatriation.

It is a false and utterly unrealistic idea that immigrant workers are to blame for the deterioration in the standard of living, which is what the Tories advocate.

The blame lies on the shoulders of the Tories and their collaborators in the Labour party.

The 'skinheads' who are associated with this violence form a large part of the working-class youth.

After spending five years in the murderous routine and uselessness of secondary modern schools these youth find their future full of the hysterical glut of machines and factory floors.

London's East End, the venue of these 'bashings' is one of the poorest and worst-looking-after places in England.

Having been deprived of a decent life, these youth acquire a violent attitude towards their environment.

The developing violence is therefore a creation of rising unemployment, bad housing, almost non-existent youth facilities and cut-backs in the educational programme.

In Northern Ireland the youth, who live in much worse conditions, are very aggressive towards the existence of imperialist troops.

Ulster youth have united on many occasions to show their opposition to the common enemy, in spite of efforts to create religious barriers between them.

Tribalism, racialism and religion have all served the Tories before in their history of brutal colonial repression.

The decision of the Pakistani Workers' Union to organize and form 'defence squads' can be equally dangerous and develop into the most reactionary anti-working-class ideas.

The decision to organize separately is in fact a capitulation to white racialism.

The YS opposes all the racist attacks made by these youth and calls on all youth to unite against racialism and backwardness on a class basis.

Northern Ireland is a warning to all working-class youth.

Working-class youth united against attacks on living standards can present the Tories with the biggest spot of 'bovver'.

Gary Gurmeet  
Southall

### The role of 'progressive' music

THE GREAT clash between the two divisions of pop music—bubblegum (and reggae) and 'progressive', is not as is commonly believed, purely a question of taste.

This difference is not to be ignored when looking at the class struggle.

Pop music, like any other mass medium, places powerful forces in the hands of the bourgeoisie, to split and confuse middle- and working-class youth.

'Commercial' simplicity and repetition breeds the narrow-mindedness and backwardness of the skinhead who is now fed on a steady diet of reggae.

The very fact that most of the reggae is a primitive jungle rhythm, that it doesn't really say anything, is an indication of the backwardness it propagates.

But let us look at the state of the so-called 'progressive' movement—meaning that part of the pop music which has developed.

It contains and caters for all the ideals and contradictions of the middle class.

The effect of the growing crisis of capitalism has always been best shown in this very reactionary and impressionist strata of society.

In the late 1950s, Britain and America began to feel the presence of the post-war

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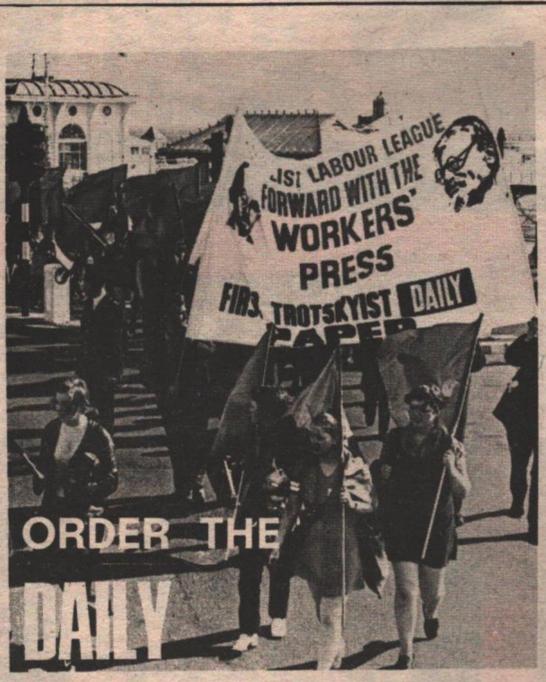
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past year or so, and the popular music papers are full of quotes by 'leaders' like Frank Zappa and John Lennon, who set out to attack the establishment and are now mostly fully paid up members of it.

For these people to say that they represent the cultural aspect of a present day 'revolution' is not only a farce, it reveals the total bankruptcy of the whole middle-class movement which is collapsing in the face of the capitalist crisis.

(This was shown especially at the recent CND 'Festival of Life', supported largely by the Communist Party).

The only way forward for young people today is to join the Young Socialists and fight for a revolutionary party of youth to lead the working class against the capitalist system, which hides behind and controls these blown-up cardboard puppets.

Join the Young Socialists! For the nationalization of dance halls, recording companies and clubs under control of young workers and trade unions!

Forward to the International Youth Conference! Steve Small  
Hayes YS

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'beat generation' with its bebop, escapist marijuana and literary exponents Kerouac and Ginsberg.

The middle-class Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, founded by Bertrand Russell, found many beatniks in its ranks in Britain—protesting (but doing little else) about the bomb.

This was coming at a time when Britain was experiencing the boom period, with its many concessions, like television, which bred a lot of apathy.

The early sixties heralded the arrival of the Beatles and the Mersey Sound—the giant new money spinner which showed the capitalists the vast opportunities for exploitation of working-class youth.

Thousands of pounds were poured through clubs, dance-halls, recording companies and clothing firms into the coffers of big business—and quite a lot into the pockets of the new teen idols as well.

But this appointed elite began to find that money and fame were not enough. The system, which they had at first tried to ridicule with their long hair and jokes had got them firmly in its clutches.

(This was shown clearly when the Beatles were awarded the MBE for services to British exports.)

Some groups sought an escape through psychedelic drugs or mysticism. And so, in 1967, came a whole torrent of flower power, drop outs, LSD trips and extreme decadence and fantasy.

The new hippie underground had something new to say. It rejected all the values of the established order.

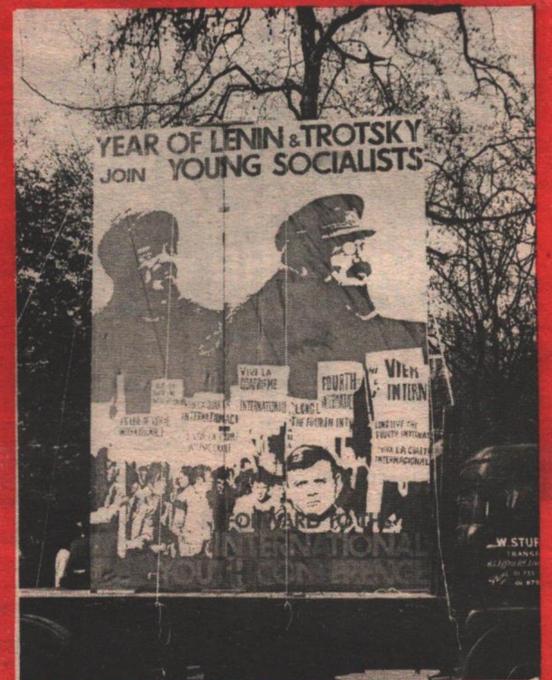
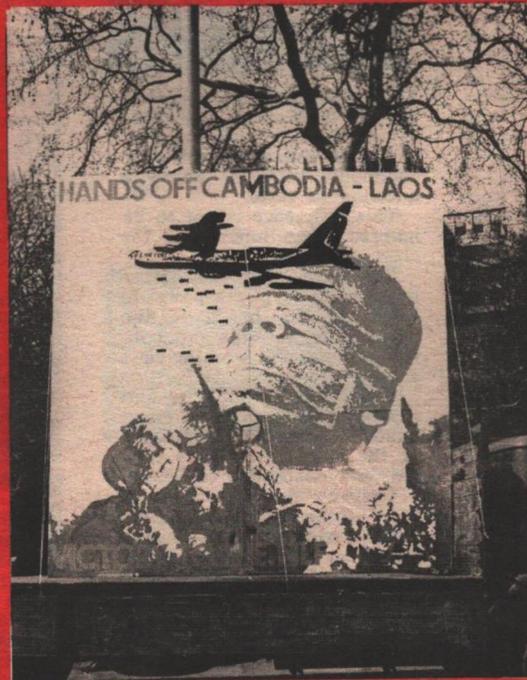
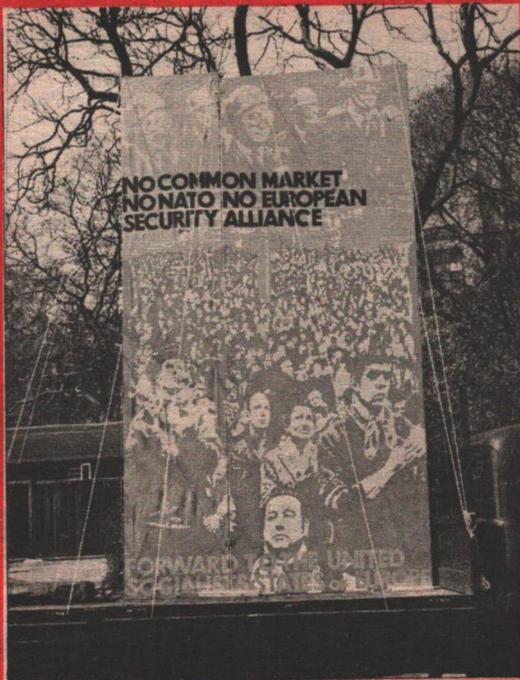
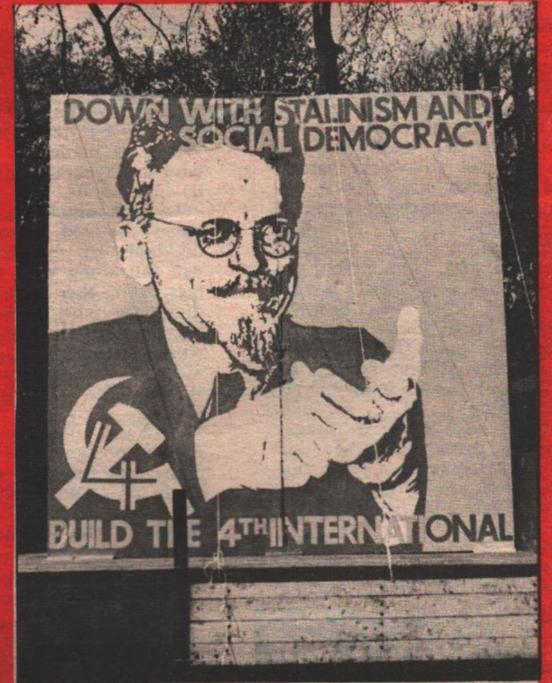
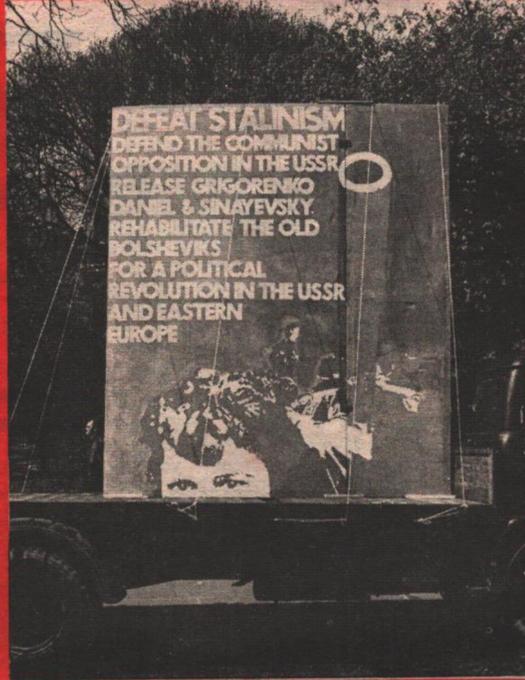
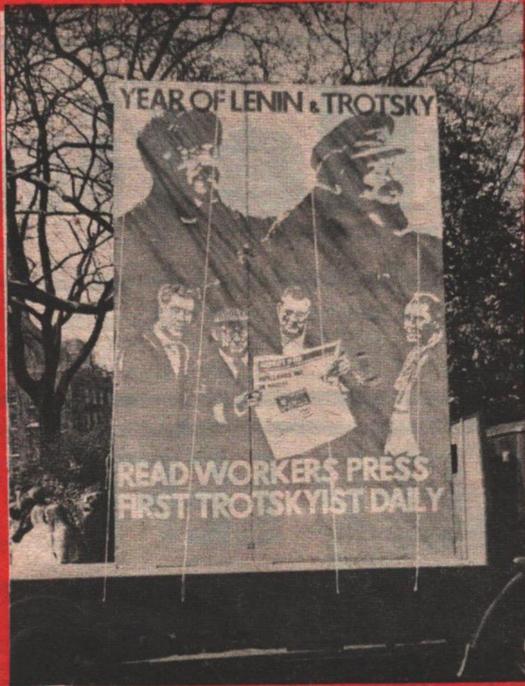
Its followers, the hippies, the students, the beautiful people of the middle class fought for it to be recognized as valid.

It has been recognized by capitalism. Dragged to the surface, where it now stands dazed and blinded by the daylight of public demand and commercial exploitation.

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