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THE BULLETIN

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for
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Letter to Readers

We have again included leaflets advertising the N.A.L.S.O. sponsored Summer School to be held in Hythe in September. Readers will notice the high quality of the list of speakers and the fact that New Left Review and Young Guard are also sponsoring the school. We understand that conditions at Hythe will be a big improvement on Kessingland. The school will give a valuable opportunity of bringing comrades from a different sectors of the movement together to discuss on a theoretical plane their attitudes towards world socialism. This year after the experience of the Young Socialist Annual Conference, Labour's youth movement finds itself in a turmoil and there is a general feeling of a lack of direction. This school can help to overcome some of the atomisation of the left especially if, as is likely, there is a greater emphasis on discussion groups which arrive at conclusions.

We urge all readers to do what they can to popularise the school and make it known to as wide a number of people as possible. We hope as many of our readers (of all ages) will go to the school and take their friends. We have a good supply of leaflets and anyone who can use a quantity should write in to us or to the address on the leaflet.

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160 THE CUBAN/SOVIET AGREEMENT: Sections of the capitalist press have interpreted the agreement signed between Castro and Khrushchov in Moscow on May 25th as meaning that Castro has firmly lined up with Khrushchov in the dispute in the world communist movement. Whilst it is true that Khrushchov will treat the agreement as a victory for himself over the Chinese, there is really nothing in the document to show that Castro's previous position has changed.

The statement is a diplomatic document in which points of agreement are emphasised. The Sino-Soviet dispute is not mentioned, neither directly nor through double-talk about Yugoslavia or Albania. Insofar as issues in the Sino-Soviet dispute are touched upon they are formulated in a non-polemical manner and are imprecise enough to cover both what Castro and Khrushchov have put forward in the past. The tone of the statement is hard when it refers to the attitude of the U.S. to Cuba. It says that the Declaration of Havana "correctly indicates the course of events" in Latin America. (Readers will remember Castro's statement that this declaration had been 'locked away in drawers' in certain countries.) It also mentions that in future the Soviet Union will pay more for Cuban sugar than was stipulated in the original agreement. The price of sugar has of course gone up since the agreements were concluded.

Cuba desires to return to normal relations with the United States, the statement says but it continues that both Cuba and the Soviet Union: "note that although the direct danger of a military intervention on Cuba was eliminated, the tension in the Caribbean still remains In the course of talks between comrades N.S. Khrushchov and Fidel Castro it was confirmed by the Soviet side that if an attack was made on Cuba in violation of the commitments undertaken by the United States President not to invade Cuba, the Soviet Union will fulfill its international duty to the fraternal Cuban people and will render it the necessary aid for the defence of the freedom and independence of the Cuban Republic with all the means at its disposal. The organisers of aggression should remember that an invasion of Cuba will place mankind before a devastating nuclear-missile war."

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN ALGERIA? Together with Cuba, Algeria continues to be one of the two focal points of the whole process of the colonial revolution. The complicated situation created by: (1) the inability of French imperialism to find a military solution to the war in Algeria; (2) the terrible devastation caused by the war and the deliberate destruction of all resources by the O.A.S.; (3) the structure and nature and of the F.L.N. which emerged in the absence of support for the revolution from the traditional workers' organisations of France; and (4) the extraordinary situation caused by the colons abandoning their properties in Algeria, has lead to a state of affairs which is full of problems, difficulties and exciting possibilities for the whole development of socialism. We have tried to keep our readers up to date with affairs in Algeria, but the small amount of space we can devote to this is a problem. It is with great pleasure, therefore, that we note a series of articles appearing in the Militant, during May and June on Algeria. These cover developments and perspectives in Algeria very comprehensively. In addition, friends of Algeria are organising various meetings and schools. One of the first of these will be a one-day school in Nottingham on June 23rd (Sunday) under the auspices of the South Notts. Federation of Young Socialists. All who can should attend, those who live too far away should help to organise a similar school in their area.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES. by a London T.U. correspondent.

Trades Councils call for more T.U. education.

Education facilities for all trades unionists undertaking studies of importance to the movement were demanded by the Annual Conference of Trades Councils at Harrogate on May 26th. The Conference called for a TUC controlled education scheme to include long and short term courses, postal courses and branch lectures.

Mr. D. Winnard, secretary of the TUC educational trust, said the General Council of the TUC were trying to create services which for the first time would serve the educational interests of the movement. The Conference urged the government to legislate for education up to the age of 18.

Defeat for Gunter at T.S.S.A. Conference.

In spite of a fervent plea that freedom to associate carries with it the inherent right not to associate, transport clerks decided to press for a closed shop in nationalised transport. The plea was made by the president of the Transport Salaried Staffs' Association, Mr. Ray Gunter, MP, at the association's annual conference at Blackpool last week.

He was speaking against a motion to make union membership a condition of service. Members displayed far more heat than when they discussed the Beeching plan earlier in the day. Perhaps this was because the closed shop issue had been before the conference for 15 consecutive years and each year the majority against it has dwindled. Today members inflicted a heavy defeat on the executive on a major issue with a card vote 49,100-29,400 in favour of compulsory membership.

Mr. J. Mills (Buxton) led the attack. For years, he said, voluntary persuasion had been tried with such things as tea meetings and beauty demonstrations. But there was still a sizeable majority outside the association. Mr. H. Moore (Hull) said that out of 130,000 people in nationalised transport, there were 20,000 non-members. He declared "I want to be free from working with backsliders. You cannot fight the Beeching threat with this millstone around your neck."

Mr. Gunter, opposing for the executive, said certain principles were basic and should not change however much social patterns might alter. Compulsory membership would damage the moral fibre of the association and coerced members would be unreliable, he claimed.

The conference also rejected an amendment to permit non-members to pay contributions to the association's benevolent fund and passed the motion instructing the executive to press for union membership as a condition of service.

TUC Supports NEDC - worried by Scottish TUC.

The General Council of the TUC gave general endorsement on May 22nd to the reports of the National Economic Development Council, and welcoming its decision to establish joint planning commissions for particular industries. These will include representatives of employers and trades unions, and they will be asked both to collect information similar to that which NEDC got in its first industrial enquiry, and to secure the effective joint carrying out of the national plan.

The Council appointed Mr. Woodcock and Mr. Fred Hayday, its chairman, to have talks with the Scottish TUC about its tendency to be freer in its organisational contacts in Communist countries than is the British TUC. The Scots, whose constitution produces a more left-wing Congress and leadership, have exchanged visits with Russia and Czechoslovakia, and officials from either side have spoken on union platforms when visiting the other country.

West Germany lost 2,170,000 work days in the first five months of this year from strikes, according to the paper Die Welt. The highest figure since the end of the war was 1957 with 2,380,000 work days lost, 1963 is certain to beat this. Commodity prices have risen steadily since the beginning of the year. The cost of living index rose by three per cent in the first quarter and many trade unions had stepped up their struggles for higher wages.

BELGIAN WORKERS START NEW PROTEST CAMPAIGN AGAINST ANTI-STRIKE BILL.

As the Socialist-Catholic Government's Bill came up for debate before the Senate, the Belgian workers started a new nation-wide protest campaign with meetings and petitions. The Trade Union delegation of "Ateliers Germain" in Monceau, Hainaut Province, has sent a telegram to Henri Rollin, head of the Socialist group in the Senate, to express the workers' opposition to the Bill. Rollin received a similar message from workers in the big electric construction works at Charleroi.

In Perinnes-Lez-Binche, in the Central region, Communist and Socialist school teachers approved a resolution denouncing the Bill. Many Flemish workers, especially those working at the Antwerp dockyards, diamond cutting establishments, oil refineries, automobile assembly plants, etc., as well as thousands of dockers, expressed opposition to the anti-strike Bill.

ITALIAN CHEMICAL WORKERS STRIKE.

All factories of the large Italian chemical monopoly "Montecatini" were paralysed on May 19th and May 30th by a nation-wide national strike of 48 hours' duration, according to a report from Rome. This was the first nation-wide strike in the last nine years. The strikers are demanding production bonuses, a supplementary monthly reward for summer vacations, and shorter working hours.

ITALIAN FARM WORKERS DEMAND AGRARIAN REFORM.

More than 15,000 Italian farm workers, sharecroppers and small farmers and landowners from all over the country attended in Rome on June 1st a mass rally for agrarian reform. A 10,000 strong demonstration for agrarian reform and in protest against the crisis of wine sale took place in Bari, in the Apulia region. Many similar demonstrations and rallies were held in Brindisi, Foggia, Potenza and other provinces in Southern Italy.

MOVEMENT FOR RIGHTS OF SPANISH WORKERS LAUNCHED.

Spanish workers have launched a movement for their rights in the last few months, according to a report in L'humanite on May 30th. They opposed the minimum daily wage of 60 pesetas fixed by the government and instead demanded 160 pesetas. The workers also opposed the collective contracts imposed on them by the industrial enterprises and the government. In Madrid workers in a number of industrial enterprises held one-day strikes or work-stoppages to protest against the management's plan to introduce speed-ups and to dismiss workers. They also demanded wage increases. Strikes and demonstrations were also held in Barcelona, Asturias, Vizcaya, Cordoba, Seville and Valencia and on the Canary Islands. 18,000 farm workers in Cadiz and in other areas also held strikes.

ADEN NATIONALISTS DEMAND END TO BRITISH DOMINATION.

4

Aden's Nationalist leaders in Sana, Capital of Yemen demanded on May 29th an end to British domination in the Aden areas and their unification with the Yemen Republic, according to a report from Sana. These leaders were Abdullah Asnag, Leader of the Aden People's Socialist Party, and several delegates from the "Aden Protectorates". They revealed that the British colonial authorities in Aden had recently increased persecution of the Aden nationalists, and demanded political rights for Aden nationalists. They raised these demands when testifying before a United Nations sub-committee delegated by the U.N. Commission on Colonies to examine the situation in Aden and the "Aden Protectorates". The U.N. Commission on Colonies decided in early May to send a sub-committee to Aden and the area despite United States and British votes against this. The sub-committee, later denied entry into the Aden areas by Britain, went to Cairo and there interviewed nationalists from the Southern Arabian Peninsula.

According to Cairo press reports during the sub-committee's stay in Cairo, Nasser Oragy, Spokesman of the Aden People's Socialist Party in Cairo, submitted a note to the committee demanding the termination of British domination of Aden and its adjoining territories, the dissolution of the Aden "Legislative Council", the withdrawal of the British military base and the unification of the Aden areas with Yemen. He pointed out the opposition by the Aden people to the British "Federation of Arab Emirates of the South".

More than 600 people demonstrated in Aden calling for the reunification of Aden with Yemen on May 30th. Demonstrations broke out simultaneously in four districts of the city. Steel helmeted police called out by the British Colonial Authorities used tear gas and baton charges to disperse the demonstrators.

BRITAIN INTERVENES WITH TROOPS IN ZANZIBAR ELECTIONS.

The 2nd Battalion of the Scots Guards is being sent from Kenya to Zanzibar to interfere with the elections which will take place at the beginning of July. This was revealed in a statement issued on May 29th by the British Colonial Authorities in Nairobi. Under the strong demands and pressure of the Zanzibar people, the British Government was compelled last month to agree that elections in Zanzibar would take place early in July and "internal self-government" would be introduced two weeks before polling day. A similar case of intervention in elections in Zanzibar occurred in June, 1961. On that occasion, riots were instigated by the British and troops sent in from Kenya and Tanganyika, many people being killed as a consequence and militants arrested.

BASUTOLAND MAGAZINE ALLEGES "PEACE CORPS" TO BE ESPIONAGE BODY.

"The U.S. Peace Corps is, in fact, an espionage body carrying on subversive activity in various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America," according to Makatollo, organ of the Cairo Office of the Basutoland Congress Party, in its latest issue. The magazine said that the U.S. Peace Corps supported subversive elements in undermining the peoples' struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Advantage of the need for technicians in the developing countries had been taken to send these "missionaries" to such countries.

5 U.S. CITY VOTES TO ABOLISH CIVIL DEFENCE.

The City Council of Portland, the biggest city in the State of Oregon, U.S.A. has voted to abolish the city's Civil Defence programme from July 1st. Opposition to the programme which has been going on for 13 years by City Commissioner Stanley Earl has argued that C.D. would be of no value in a nuclear war. Portland is the first city in the U.S.A. to abandon its civil defence exercises. The local C.D. organisation has \$1 million worth of equipment and occupies a building which cost \$650,000. It has 11 full-time employees. The Council voted to abolish the budget of \$109,656 for its Civil Defence agency in the coming year. It is expected that a co-ordinating committee for disaster relief will be formed with a budget of \$10,000.

WORKERS MANAGEMENT IN CUBA.From "Our Man in Havana".

Little has been written in the Socialist press about arrangements made in Cuba to ensure that workers in the various enterprises participate fully in the running of these establishments. Our judgement of the Cuban Workers' and Peasants' State, must clearly be arrived at on the basis of information on this subject. We are pleased to quote from correspondence received from a British worker in a Cuban Bus depot.

"At the end of Dec. 1962, the Union representatives for the year 1963-4 were elected. After a couple of months it was obvious to all that they were incompetent, and bad feeling was resulting. The workers called for a general assembly of the factory to settle the matter. Subsequently the Union committee was sacked. A group of five workers were elected to draw up a list of prospective candidates for a further election. This was done, and after the list had been presented, it was still possible to make objections or nominations. At the next factory assembly (a minimum of 75% attendance is necessary for business) a new union group was elected for the balance of the period.

"The point to note here is that it is not the union area body or the respective ministry (in this case, Transport), but the workers themselves, who are able to initiate and take this action. The new union leaders were mainly young and politically active. This is not an isolated instance. I know from comrades working under other ministries where factory leaderships have been brought before factory assemblies and severely criticised and asked to give explanations of their actions and orders.

"With this approach to work and administration and freedom of criticism, I can see only a bright future for Cuba. Note well that it is not only at the lower levels that this occurs. Remember how Escalante, Communist Party leader, and Secretary of the Government Coalition Party was publicly denounced for sectarianism and power-seeking after the success of the revolution".

1612 Pride of place was given in the May 31st issue of Peking Review to extracts from an article which appeared in "Zenei" (The Vanguard), the organ of the Central Committee of the Japanese C.P.. Written under the laborious title: "The Theories of Modern Revisionism Discard Completely the Class Viewpoint", it aspires to refute the book "The Theories of Modern Reform" by Seirin Ishido, a supporter of the "structural reform" theory advanced by Togliatti amongst others. The fact that the Japanese C.P. finds itself in relative harmony with the Chinese C.P. on this issue probably accounts for the choice turn of phrase which occurs, for instance, when describing a characteristic of the revisionist argument as ".....one which is only mimicry by half-learned apes." It seems as if we need to turn elsewhere for our reasoned rejection of revisionism, and the article generally tends to be little more than a tautology of basic Leninism.

Nonetheless, the emphasis is not based on caricatures of the arguments of the revisionist, instead basic positions re-postulated are the main form of argument. "The universal defence of peace and the fight against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism, are two sides of the same thing"; "the struggle for peace and the struggle for national independence support and complement each other." The charge is made that Ishido "deliberately" confuses the question of the historical mission of the working class with the present day question of supporting the fundamental demand of all the people to struggle against imperialism. The reply is that Ishido also negates the law of social development by placing on the same footing the fundamental communist question of the historical mission of the working class and the present day question (i.e. peace). Ishido's further mistake is to say that "organs of violence are something supplementary to proletarian dictatorship." The Japanese Central Committee replies with charges of "prettifying imperialism" to Ishido's contention that "if the proletariat builds up moral and ideological authority in the society, then it can carry out 'structural reform' of various state organs, and consequently those who control the machinery of the state will waver and become unable to use it. Everything will proceed peacefully and smoothly." They assert the 'Leninist' criterion for participation in the state apparatus: "We make use of the Parliament of the bourgeoisie for the purpose of overthrowing the rule of the enemy and establishing a people's democracy, this being essentially different from the reformist line of realising 'revolution' through the reform of the bourgeois parliament."

The Yugoslavs are not forgotten. On this occasion, however, the language used to describe their 'renegade activities' is less harsh than perhaps the Chinese, rather than their pupils, would use. "The programme of League of Communists of Yugoslavia severs proletarian dictatorship from the political leadership of the proletariat, maintaining that bureaucracy is the inevitable outcome of proletarian dictatorship, and advocating the latter's abolition. Now Ishido advocates precisely abolishing proletarian dictatorship by changing it into political leadership." The reply to this imputation that Ishido supports the Yugoslavs (he probably does not) is that "the essence of proletarian dictatorship as pointed out by Lenin lies in the integration of suppression of the antagonistic classes by means of violence with education and the remoulding of the non-proletarian strata under conditions of true democracy as required by the people." Generally, the article is a hotch-potch of assertions and incantations, whose probable viability is hampered by the sneers and abuse unfortunately the rule of this sort of polemic.

1613

In Canada, Vancouver area New Democratic Party left-wingers have taken further steps to organise a permanent caucus in the party in preparation for forthcoming provincial and national conventions. In a meeting attended by 70 people, it was decided to: 'Elect a 14 man committee to prepare a draft socialist manifesto, a statement of aims for the left wing, to be brought before the next meeting of the caucus. Set up a 12 man committee to prepare as a project for the left-wing Einstein pamphlet "Why Socialism" for possible re-publication, to be sold throughout the movement. The committee will continue to function in an educational capacity.'

Jack Scott, of the bailermakers speaking on the project to republish Einstein's essay, said that if present trends in the party continue, "we will face a crisis in the very existence of the party...its' fate will rest in the hands of groups such as ours across the country". He took two statements - the recent CLC statement on defence, and Liberal Cabinet member Jack Davis's and compared them to show that basically there was no principled difference between them. "Socialists in the party", he said, "should fight for and take the lead in recruiting members to the party. They should try and establish individual membership clubs." He pointed to his own experience when he and a group of shift workers were refused a charter just because the views of the group were not acceptable to the provincial leadership.

The publication of Einstein's work and its circulation throughout the membership would raise discussion to a higher level. He called for a restatement of the NDP's position on nuclear weapons -- that the question was not one of not being able to afford them, but that opposition was for political reasons. "We are against all imperialist wars" he said. He urged a position of non-participation in the Organisation of American States and said that socialists should keep aware of the trend towards the Liberals in the party. Speaking on the need for a socialist manifesto for the left-wing, Hugh Clifford, NDP North Shore, said that those in the right-wing often accuse the left of upsetting harmony in the party. They are right, he said, "we upset the harmony of the grave.....". He added, "We want a manifesto we can nail to the mast -- an outline of broad principles". He proposed that the preamble to a socialist manifesto should be linked up with the Regina manifesto and should state that "capitalism....by no manner of adjustment and manipulation can continue to serve man's purpose...."

He said that a socialist manifesto should be based on three central concepts:

1. The inherence of unemployment in capitalism,
2. That the Cold War has its roots in the fight to control markets.
3. That war psychosis is part and parcel of a conspiracy to co-erce support from the workers for billion dollar armament industries.

Such a manifesto, he said, should "should appeal for support to all who believe that the time has come for far reaching changes in our economic and political institutions...."

The need for a pool of left-wing speakers was also discussed and a call was made for socialists to get themselves elected to club and constituency executives and as delegates to conventions, in order to broaden support and influence in the N.D.P.

1614 We are reproducing below an editorial from the Financial Times of the 28th May, concerning the recent decisions of various Trade Union leaders to call off scheduled strikes. We do this as a contribution to discussions seeking to analyse the reasons for this.

"Organised labour is passing uneasily through a period of change. It seems unlikely that the annual trade union conferences, which are in full swing at present, will succeed this year in defining attitudes or even expressing a common mood. Take as an obvious striking example of what is happening, the motor industry. On one hand, practically every firm in the country is being troubled or has been troubled by unofficial strikes. On the other, the members of the Transport and General Workers Union employed at Fords have just refused to strike over the 17 dismissed trouble makers whom the management is unwilling to re-instate. Which of these attitudes, a readiness to strike on trivial pretexts, or a rejection of militancy, is more representative ?

"The behaviour of the Ford workers is probably more representative and is certainly more significant. The T.G.W.U. has led the other unions from the beginning in an opposition on principle to the Ford management's attitude; if it had come out wholeheartedly now in favour of a strike, some of the other 21 would have been ready to follow. But a majority of the Ford workers in favour of a strike could not be found, even among the 20% of T.G.W.U. workers who attended Sunday's meeting. It is not difficult to suggest reasons for this failure - boredom with a long record of sterile disputes, the approach of the summer holidays, a wish to make the most out of the motor boom while it lasts. But it is a public and important repudiation of conventional militancy by ordinary members of T.G.W.U. as members of the engineering unions showed last year in refusing to strike for a substantial increase in pay.

"It may well be Mr. Frank Cousins and Mr. William Carron were both secretly relieved at the result of their votes: it is not pleasant for a union leader to call a strike which, he suspects, will only be given half-hearted support by his members. Official strikes seem definitely to be out of fashion for the moment. Even the exceptional case of the railwaymen fits into a general pattern - considerable pressure was brought on the railwaymen by other union leaders to drop their threat of a strike, and they did so with an obvious relief as soon as concessions were offered. The reluctance to strike may be due to the effect of recent unemployment, but it is also partly due, without much doubt to the approach of a general election.

"The unions have always said that they could work more easily with Labour. The possibility that this declaration may soon be tested makes for a subdued mood. There seems little point at the moment in making rude noises about Conservative attempts to introduce an incomes policy. The present tendency to call for long-term contracts, better redundancy treatment and shorter working hours instead of immediate and substantial wage increases is one symptom of a change in the industrial climate. A more important symptom is the T.U.C. decision to review the purposes and structure of the union movement in the 60's.

"The practical result of this review will be painful: the idea of having one union per industry has already been rejected, and there is not much enthusiasm about the idea for mergers between unions and the transfer of greater power over members to the T.U.C. The question raised by the spate of unofficial strikes in the motor industry is how far union leaders will be able, whatever the colour of government, to reconcile an incomes policy with control of their members."

1615 A SUMMER SCHOOL FOR STUDENTS AND
YOUNG SOCIALISTS

WORLD SOCIALISM—

RETROSPECTS AND PROSPECTS

Speakers will include:

ROBIN BLACKBURN
TONY CLIFF
KEN COATES
HENRY COLLINS
ISAAC DEUTSCHER
PABLO FERNANDEZ
JOHN HUGHES
ERNEST MANDEL
RALPH MILIBAND
TOM NAIRN
PETER WORSLEY
LELIO BASSO
ALASDAIR MacINTYRE

The school will be held from
September 7th-13th, 1963, at the
Holiday Fellowship Youth Guest
House, Hythe, Kent.

It is jointly sponsored by The
New Left Review, the National
Association of Labour Student
Organisations and Young Guard
a journal of the Young Socialists.

A contingent of Young Socialists
from several European Countries
have been invited. There will be
a film festival.

The cost of the full six days will be £6 or £2/5/0 for the weekend.
Please send £1 deposit to . . .

Chris Arthur, 41 Bramcote Drive, Beeston, Nottingham

I wish to attend the Hythe School (name)

Home Address

.....

.....

University Address

.....