

# KEEP LEFT

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

*February 1, 1970, sees Europe's biggest revolutionary youth rally — 10,000 at Le Bourget, Paris*



Sister organization  
of the  
Young Socialists

**FORWARD TO THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL!**

**BUILD THE MASS YOUNG SOCIALISTS!**

# ORDER OUT OF CHAOS

**GERMAN soldiers rush back to their homeland from those countries where the criminal will of the German aggressors hurled them.**

**Newly-fledged Polish troops attack them on the route, disarm, and then massacre them.**

The British, French and Americans have seized Germany by the throat and, with an eye on the clock, take her feverish pulse.

This does not stop them demanding from her government that the remains of German forces go to war with Soviet Russia to prevent her from liberating the lands occupied by German imperialism.

The Belgians, whose country was only yesterday crucified by German imperialism, today seize the whole German Rhineland.

The semi-mendicant Rumanians drained dry by their ruling embezzlers, whose capital is alternately the prey of the Germans and the Anglo-French, themselves seize Bessarabia, Transylvania and Bukovina.

## Bed of nails

American naval forces are sitting on a bed of nails up in our cold and hungry North trying to puzzle out why they were brought there.

On the streets of Berlin, which not long ago boasted its iron order, bloody waves of civil war are overflowing.

French troops have landed at Odessa, while at the same time very large areas of France herself are occupied by American, British, Australian and Canadian armies who treat the French like a colonial population.

Poland, resurrecting herself after a century and half's non-existence, with a delirious impatience engages in war with the Ukraine and Prussia and provokes Soviet Russia.

The American president Wilson roams across blood-drenched Europe as the highest representative of morality, as the Messiah of the American dollar, chastises, pardons and settles the destinies of nations.

## King of Italy

Everyone asks him in, invites him and pleads with him: the King of Italy, the perfidious governing Georgian Mensheviks, the humiliated and favour-begging Scheidemann, the moulting tiger of the French middle class, Clemenceau, the fireproof safes of the City of London and even the midwives of Switzerland.

Rolling up his trousers Wilson steps over the puddles of European blood and by the grace

which did well to place its last stake on the European lottery, unites the Yugoslavs with the Serbs, asks the price of the the Hapsburg crown, between two sniffs of tobacco rounds out Belgium at the expense of looted Germany and weighs up whether it would be possible to bring in orang-outangs and baboons to deliver Christian culture from Bolshevik barbarism.

Europe resembles a mad-house and it seems at first sight that even its inmates do not know for one half-hour at a time whom they are going to cut up and with whom they will fraternize.

But the one lesson that stands out irrefutably from the cloudy waves of this chaos is that of the criminal responsibility of the bourgeois world.

## Been prepared

Everything which is now happening in Europe has been prepared by the past centuries: by the economic regime, by state relations, by organized militarism, by the morality and philosophy of the ruling classes and by the religion of every priest.

The monarchy, nobility, church hierarchy, bureaucracy, bourgeoisie, professional intelligentsia, owners of wealth and rulers of states have all been preparing and have prepared those incomprehensible events which make the old 'cultured' Christian Europe so much like a mad-house.

The European 'chaos' is a chaos only in form; in essence higher laws of history find their expression there, destroying the old in order to create the new in its place.

With the aid of the same rifles the population of Europe is now fighting in the name of different tasks and programmes, answering different historical epochs. Basically they amount to three: imperialism, nationalism and communism.

## A scuffle

This war began as a scuffle between the great capitalist cultures for the seizure and division of the world and in this consists imperialism.

But in order to move the many-millioned masses into battle, to incite them against each other, and to keep up a spirit of hate and frenzy amongst them, 'ideas' or 'moods' were necessary which were close to the masses deceived and doomed to annihilation.

And as such a hypnotic agent at the disposal of the imperialist bandits the idea of nationalism presented itself.

The mutual link between people speaking one and the same language and belonging to one and the same nation has a great force.

This link was not felt when people lived a patriarchal life within their villages or provincial



Leon  
Trotsky

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.

It is fitting therefore that at the beginning of 1970, 'The Year of Lenin and Trotsky' (when we politically commemorate 100 years since the birth of Lenin and 30 years since Trotsky's murder at the hands of a Stalinist assassin), that we publish extracts of Trotsky's writings.

Here we print the second in our series of translations from the Russian of Trotsky's Works. It appeared in 1919 at the time of the imperialist war of intervention on Russia at the end of the First World War.

production developed, the more it united village with village and province with city, the more people drawn into its whirlpool learnt to value a common language—this great intermediary in material and spiritual relations.

Capitalism sought to assert itself above all on a national basis and gave birth to mighty national movements: in splintered Germany, dismembered Italy, torn-up Poland, in Austria-Hungary, amongst the Balkan Slavs, in Armenia.

## Revolutions

By means of revolutions and wars the European bourgeoisie had, in some places with rips and patches, solved a part of the national question.

A united Italy was created, a united Germany, without German-speaking Austria, though with dozens of kings.

The peoples of Russia were

world-wide means of communication, it had agents and servants speaking every tongue and it strove to plunder the peoples of the earth irrespective of their language, the colour of their skin or the religion of their priests.

While the middle and petty-bourgeoisie and also broad circles of the working class still breathed an atmosphere of national ideology, capitalism had, in its striving for world dominion, developed into imperialism.

The world-wide slaughter presented from the beginning a menacing picture of imperialism coupled with nationalism: the mighty clique of finance capital and heavy industry had succeeded in harnessing to its chariot all those feelings, passions and moods instilled by the link of nationality, the unity of tongue, common historical memories and above all common habitation within the nation-state.

perialism, without exception, takes under its command nationalist and chauvinist feelings and objectives pretending that it is serving and safeguarding them.

With this terrible psychological ammunition the great massacre has fed and sustained itself over four-and-a-half years.

But communism has appeared on the scene.

## First blow

In its time it too had arisen on national soil with the awakening of the workers' movement at the first though uncertain blow of the capitalist machine.

In communist teaching the proletariat counterposed itself to the bourgeoisie. And if the latter became imperialist and world-plundering, then the advanced proletariat became internationalist and world-uniting.

The imperialist bourgeoisie represents numerically a trifling



Russian workers and soldiers march through the streets with banners after the successful overthrow of the Kerensky government in the October Revolution. Trotsky said that such a victory could only be followed by the struggle to build, out of the ravages of war, a Federation of Socialist Republics in Europe.

clamped together in the steel vice of Tsarism. In Austria and the Balkans furious internecine strife continued between nations who were doomed to close cohabitation and were incapable of establishing peaceful forms of co-operation.

At the same time capitalism rapidly outgrew its national framework. The nation-state was merely a trampoline which was essential for making a leap.

Capital soon became a cosmopolitan force, at its disposal

Setting out on the high road to plunder, seizure and destruction the imperialists of each of the warring camps learnt how to ingrain the popular masses with the idea that it was a matter of a struggle for national independence and national culture.

## Ammunition

Just as the bankers and big manufacturers exploit the small shopkeepers and workers, so im-

minority of the peoples.

It has held on, ruled and reigned until now and with the aid of the ideas and moods of nationalism it has managed to hold the broad and petty-bourgeois working masses in its bondage.

The internationalist proletariat has been a minority at the opposite end of the scale.

It rightly hoped to break the majority of the people from the spiritual servitude of imperialism.

But right up till the last great

massacre of the peoples even the best and the most perceptive proletarian leaders had not suspected what strength the prejudices of the bourgeois state system and the habits of national conservatism still retained in the consciousness of the popular masses.

In July 1914 all this was revealed and it was, without exaggeration, the blackest month in world history not because the kings and stock merchants unleashed a war, but because they managed to dominate internally hundreds of millions of the masses of people, to deceive and enmesh them, hypnotize and psychologically involve them in their marauding exploits.

Internationalism, which through the decades had been the official banner of the powerful organization of the working class, seemed to have disappeared at once in the fire and smoke of the international carnage.

Then it reappeared sporadically like a dim flickering light from separate groups in different countries.

The learned and unlearned high-priests of the bourgeoisie attempted to depict these groups as dying remains of a Utopian sect. But the name of Zimmerwald had already rolled with an alarming echo throughout the bourgeois press.

The revolutionary internationalists went their own way. As a first task they provided themselves with a clear appraisal of what had happened.

### Long epoch

A long 'epoch' of peaceful bourgeois development with its everyday trade union struggles, reformist hairsplitting and petty parliamentary juggling had created a many-millioned organization topped out with opportunists, which placed mighty fetters on the proletariat's revolutionary energies.

By the force of historical events official Social-Democracy, which had been built under the sign of social revolution, had turned into the most counter-revolutionary force in Europe and the whole world.

It had knitted itself so closely into the national state, its parliament, ministers, and commissions and had become so familiar with its erstwhile foes, the parliamentary knaves of the bourgeoisie and the middle class, that at the start of the bloody catastrophe of the capitalist system it could see nothing be-

and purulent that had accumulated in the souls of the oppressed toiling masses during centuries of slavery.

It was clear to the party of revolutionary communism that this gigantic historical swindle would only be ended with the frightful crash of the reigning clique and their underlings.

In order to summon the masses to a military upsurge, readiness to self-sacrifice, in short to spend years in filthy, foul-smelling pits of trenches, it was necessary to give birth in their consciences to great hopes and monstrous illusions.

The disillusionment and bitterness of the masses inevitably had to assume forms proportionate to the scale of the deception.

The revolutionary internationalists (they were not yet then called communists) foresaw this and built their revolutionary tactic on this prediction: they 'set course' for the socialist revolution.

### Two minorities

Two conscious minorities, the imperialist and the internationalist, had declared a mortal struggle upon each other and before their struggle moved to the city streets in the form of an open civil war it had deepened in the consciousness of millions upon millions of toiling people.

This no longer consisted of parliamentary conflicts, which even in the best moments of parliamentarism had revealed an extremely limited power of instructive action.

Here the whole people, right to its dark and sluggish roots, was seized in the steel claws of militarism and was violently dragged right into the maelstrom of events.

Communism opposed imperialism and said: 'Now you are in practice demonstrating to the masses what you are like and what you are capable of, but my turn is coming next'.

The great match between imperialism and communism is not decided by paragraphs of reforms, parliamentary votes or strike decisions of trade unions.

Events are written with iron and each step of the struggle is stamped with blood. This alone had already decided that the outcome of the struggle between imperialism and communism would not be reached along the road of formal democracy.

**World capitalism imposes its brand of peace —Clemenceau, Wilson and Lloyd George after signing the Peace Treaty of Versailles at the end of the First World War in order to turn their attention to a fight against communism.**



fooled by the great lie of nationalism, and experiencing the most diverse and contradictory moods, who could not present themselves to imperialism nor less to communism and nor even to themselves as an authoritative third party.

Await and postpone a solution to the quarrel until such time as these confused intermediate masses recover their senses and could draw all the conclusions from the lessons of the war? How, in what way?

Artificial pauses are possible only in skirmishes between athletes, in the circus arena or on the tribune of parliament, but not in a civil war.

The greater the degree of tension in relationships, every disaster reached as a result of the imperialist war, the less objective possibility remains of bringing the struggle within the bounds of formal democracy or of a simultaneous universal count of hands.

'In this war you, imperialism, have shown what you are capable of, but now my turn has come: I will take power in my hands and I will show those masses who are still wavering and still confused what I am capable of, where I will lead them and what I will or can give them.'

Such was the slogan of the October uprising of communism and such is the meaning of that terrible war that the Spartacists have declared on the bourgeois

communism is already toasting its first victories and has every right not to fear any defeats, from under the volcanic soil there still leap forth the yellow tongues of the flames of nationalism.

Poland which was yesterday asphyxiated, dismembered, mutilated and bled white, today in the last and overdue drunken orgy of nationalism attempts to plunder Prussia, Galicia, Lithuania and Belorussia. And yet the Polish proletariat is already building its Soviets.

Serbian nationalism seeks a plunderous satisfaction for ancient humiliations and wounds on territory populated by Bulgarians.

Italy snatches Serbian provinces for itself.

The Czechs, who have scarcely broken free from the German-Hapsburg heel, intoxicated by the fleeting independence which the mighty cheaters of imperialism left them, violate the cities of German Bohemia and menace the Russians in Siberia.

The Czech communists sound the alarm. Events pile up on events.

### Map of Europe

The map of Europe is continuously changing, but the deepest changes occur in the consciousness of the masses.

That rifle which yesterday served nationalist imperialism today in the same hands serves the cause of the social revolution.

The American stock market which for a long time skilfully kindled the European blaze to give its bankers and industrialists the possibility of warming their hands in its flames despatches its chief salesman and its supreme broker, the honey-tongued rogue, Wilson, to examine more closely whether the matter hasn't gone too far.

Not so long ago the American millionaires were laughing into their shaven chins, rubbing their hands together: 'Europe has become a mad-house, Europe is exhausted, ruined, Europe is turning into a cemetery of the old culture; we shall pay a visit to its ruins, we shall buy up its best monuments, we shall invite the most august scions of all, the European dynasties, to tea: Europe's competition is disappearing, industrial life will come decisively over to us and the profits of the whole world will begin to flow into our American pockets.'

But now the malicious cackling is starting to stick in the throats of the stock market Yankees.

Out of the European chaos more and more commandingly and powerfully the idea of order, of a new, communist order, raises its head.

Amidst the turmoil and commotion of bloody clashes, whether imperialist, national or class in content, those peoples most backward in the revolutionary sense are slowly but unwaveringly drawing level with those who have already their first victories behind them.

Out of that prison of the peoples which Tsarist Russia was, a free federation of Soviet republics grows up before our

liberation of Riga, Vilnyus and Kharkov.

There is no other way out, no other road for the people of former Austria-Hungary and of the Balkan Peninsula.

Soviet Germany will join this family which within a month or two will embrace Soviet Italy and Soviet France.

To turn Europe into a federation of Soviet republics is the only conceivable solution to the needs of the national development of large and small peoples without prejudicing the centralist requirements of economic union first of Europe then of the whole world.

The bourgeois democrats have in their time dreamed of a United States of Europe.

These dreams found a hypocritical delayed response in the speeches of the French Social-Democrats in the early stages of the last war.

The bourgeoisie could not unite Europe as they counterposed to the unifying tendencies of economic development the dividing aims of national imperialism.

In order to unite the economy from the fetters of private property.

Only the dictatorship of the proletariat is capable of implementing the requirements of national development within its natural and legitimate frontiers and of co-ordinating nations in a unity of working co-operation: precisely such will be a federation of Soviet republics of Europe founded on the free self-determination of the nations populating it.

There is no other solution. This union will be directed against Britain if she lags behind the continent in her revolutionary development.

Together with a Soviet Britain the European federation will aim its blows against the imperialist dictatorship of North America for as long as the trans-Atlantic republic remains the Republic of the dollar—until the triumphant shrieks of the New York Stock Exchange turn to its death moan.

### Bloody chaos

Bloody chaos still stands over Europe. The old is coupled to the new.

Events jostle events and blood congeals on blood.

But from this chaos more and more firmly and bravely steps forward the idea of a communist order from which the bourgeoisie cannot be delivered by either its Versailles plots, its mercenary bands, its voluntary lackies of conciliation and social-patriotism or the great trans-Atlantic patron of all capitalist butchers.

Now it is not a spectre of communism which is haunting Europe as it was 72 years ago when the 'Communist Manifesto' was written: the ideas and hopes of the bourgeoisie have become spectres while communism marches through Europe in flesh and blood.

January 13, 1919.

Balashov.

Supplement to 'Pravda',

January 26, 1919.

As reprinted in L. Trotsky:



**The war of intervention on Russia after the revolution —the first US troops land in North Russia on September 1918.**

yond the danger to national 'unity'.

Instead of calling the proletarian masses on to the offensive against capitalism, it called them to the defence of the 'national' state.

This Social-Democracy of the Plekhanovs, the Tseretelis, Scheidemanns, Kautskys, Renaudels and the Longuets mobilized in the service of imperialism every national prejudice, every

Deciding fundamental questions of social development by means of universal suffrage must have meant in present conditions, when the questions were posed at point-blank range, cutting short the fight between mortal class enemies and appealing to a third party in the form of those intermediate and mainly petty-bourgeois masses who were, as yet, not involved in the struggle or who took part in it semi-

world in the streets of Berlin.

The imperialist massacre was solved by the civil war. The more the capitalist war has taught the workers to handle the rifle, the more decisively they began to use the rifle for their own aims.

However, the old bloodbath which is not yet finally liquidated here and there still sparks off new bloody clashes along national and state lines and threatens to burst forth into a new con-

**By Danny Vandonselar**

**NO GREATER** evidence of the death agony of capitalism, and the extent to which imperialism is prepared to maintain its profits, can be found than in Nigeria.

In 1948, when the national struggle for independence was at its height and workers were drawn into the struggle with a general strike and demonstrations, the imperialists, backed by a British Labour government, once again decided to carve up the country.

The aim was to weaken the working class and peasantry whose strength was reflected in the growing nationalist and trade union movements.

### DIVIDE

The three major tribes, Hausas in the North, Yorubas in the West and Ibos in the East were not uniform in their development of the social productive forces and the British 'divide-and-rule' government utilized this fact.

The Ibos, contained the most enterprising petty-bourgeois in the country with the Yorubas in a transitional stage with native bourgeoisie and aristocratic landowners amongst the ruling class.

The Hausas, however, were the most backward tribe with a semi-feudal ruling class to whom the British government gave the dominant political position in the country.

This imposition of the feudal lords on the rest of the country



## The real issues in Nigeria today

Nigerian workers vote during the 1964 general strike.

brought crisis after crisis with a struggle dominance by all three ruling classes.

The developing international crisis of capitalism has had its reflection in the pauperization, through massive rises in the cost of living and the lack of jobs, of sections of the workers and peasantry.

This posed big problems for the monopolies in Nigeria (ICI, Dunlop, Lever Bros, Nestles and the oil consortia) and their mouthpieces in the USA and British governments.

The question facing imperialism was to preserve their investments and thus to prolong their ability to extract super-profit from the

working class — whether this would be possible in a united or carved-up Nigeria.

On the basis of continued artificial separation of the Nigerian people into tribes there were a series of inter-tribal pogroms at the beginning of the 1950s which culminated in a massacre of huge numbers of Hausa people by the Ibos in 1953.

Since Nigeria was then a British colony the whole thing was hushed up by Whitehall.

The British government proceeded to appoint chiefs and when, in 1960, Nigeria was granted independence and given a Constitution based on regional-tribalism, the stage was set.

### POGROM

The Eastern region of Nigeria is an area rich in oil and it is this factor which lies at the root of the Biafra war.

Ojukwu used an anti-Ibo pogrom in 1966 as an excuse to form 'Biafra' to the great pleasure

of the oil companies who saw in this move an easily manoeuvrable separate state.

From that time onwards Biafra became the cause of every tin-pot do-gooder from the Red Cross right round to the Vatican.

Backing came from the French government, from Portugal, South Africa and Holland. The US government placed an embargo on arms to Nigeria.

Imperialism had found its 'cause celebre'.

A convenient curtain with which to hide the real basis of its super-exploitation in the African continent.

The role of the Stalinists in relation to Biafra only emphasizes their counter-revolutionary role.

Despite the fact that there was a massive general strike in Nigeria in 1964, the leadership of the banned, Stalinist, Socialist Workers Party declared there was no revolutionary situation in Africa and Nigeria and that to say so was 'adventurist'.

### DEMAND

As a concrete demand this leadership proposed 'the great need for a front of the army, workers, farmers, progressive businessmen who will command the respect of the nation and be in a position to formulate and effectively interpret government policies to the people'.

This kind of front proposed by the Stalinists is not new.

It is exactly what Stalin and Bukharin prescribed in their formula of 'bloc of the four classes' applied in China, which later led to the massacre of the Communists by Chiang Kai-shek's troops in 1927.

### BETRAYS

It betrays the working class by posing no independent line for the working class. Instead it ties it to the requirements of the ruling class.

The social democrats in the British Labour government serve imperialism in relation to Africa as the history of Nigeria shows.

So the future of the African people poses for the British working class, not the protest or screams of genocide from the hypocritical mouths of the middle class, but the building of the revolutionary Fourth International on the basis of the world struggle of the working class and a fight for the Federated Socialist Republic of Nigeria.

On this basis a struggle must be waged by the Nigerian working class not only against imperialist domination but also against its supporters, amongst them Nigeria's bourgeois nationalist leader General Gowon.



**A YOUNG BELGIAN** handcuffed himself to the balcony rail in a crowded Moscow theatre and shouted for the release of Grigorenko.

(Former Major-General Pyotr Grigorenko, a one-time leader of the Moscow dissident group, has been confined to a 'psychiatric institution'.)

This was the second of recent public protests against the imprisonment of Russian oppositionists.

Two days earlier two young Italians handcuffed themselves to a railing in a store and scattered leaflets.

The leaflets appealed for the release of four Soviet intellectuals, Valentin Moroz, a young historian; Yuri Galanskov, a writer; I. Gaboi, a poet and P. Kadyer, an intellectual.

These protests are only part of a growing resistance inside the Soviet Union against the persecution of Soviet dissidents and intellectuals.

**ABOUT 100 AFRICAN** workers from Ivry-sur-seine and Paris, went to their embassy to protest about their intolerable living conditions.

The workers had previously

houses after their electricity and water had been cut off because of their refusal to pay a 50 per cent rent increase.

Five Mali workers have already died from fumes from a stove at one of these houses at Aubervilliers, in the Paris suburbs.

Out of about 50,000 West Africans in France, around 80 per cent live in slums, cheap residences or in houses of the Ivry type.

The Communist Party-controlled municipality is said to have 'protested' against these conditions, whilst the employers' federation has called for tighter laws for immigrant workers.

**THE VELASCO** military regime has passed laws aimed at curtailing the freedom of the Peruvian press and silencing all opposition.

Three of Lima's six national dailies did not appear on January 17 and 18 in response to a two-day strike protesting against the law which declares that the press 'must be subject to respect for law,

of integral state security and national defence'.

This new law is the first made by the junta, which has already suspended parliament indefinitely. Its aim is to control the country's newspaper, radio and television activities.

This follows earlier moves designed to reframe the legal and economic basis of industry, banking and insurance. In short they are heading towards another Greece!

**THE MY LAI** case started at Fort Benning, Georgia, USA with the trial of Lieutenant William Calley, who is charged with the murder of over 100 Vietnamese civilians.

Tape recordings of helicopter pilots in the vicinity of the killing may be used as evidence against Calley.

In Da Nang Captain Robert Poolaw was acquitted of the murder of a North Vietnamese prisoner-of-war, despite the eye-witness account given by the captain's bodyguard.

The bodyguard, Edward Hendrix, was declared to be 'completely untrustworthy'.

These massacres are not exceptional or individual incidents.

**By Gary Gurmeet**

It is, as the 'Workers Press' of January 21 put it, 'the work of the capitalist system in mortal crisis, that to survive has to destroy entire peoples and lay waste to countries'.

In that respect the trials will not solve any of the problems confronting either the Vietnamese people or the American working class.

**BARRICADES** were put up in Milan on January 21 during the night when demonstrations against police charges on workers were held.

There has been massive action against the legal repressions all over the country.

In Milan the demonstration, which was called by the socialist student movement, was banned by the police and 33 people were arrested during the battle.

Shop floor organizers in the factories have had to take action independently of the

official union leadership, but the Communist Party has (not surprisingly) made no attempt to mobilize the workers on this issue.

**THREE MEN** have been charged by the US Federal Bureau of Investigation with the murder of Joseph Yablonski, his wife and daughter.

Joseph Yablonski, who was a United Mineworkers' Union official, was shot, together with his family, at his house in Pennsylvania in January.

A month earlier, after the UMW presidential elections, Yablonski had charged the president Tony Boyle with ballot-rigging and corrupt practices.

20,000 miners in Pennsylvania went on strike in protest against the murders.

The real criminals behind the murders must be brought to trial through an independent investigation by the rank and file miners of the union.

world news ★ world news ★ world news ★ world news

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BY P. SYLVEIRE

# STALINISM STEPS UP REPRESSION

THE CZECH Communist Party is to screen 1,600,000 of its members. This was decided at a recent Central Committee meeting. A body of 12 men has been elected to enforce the decision.

The majority of those affected will be trade unionists from the factories who make up most of the Party membership.

This is certainly the most brutal act of repression since the purge of the opposition begun after the Kremlin invasion of August 1968. It represents all-out war between the Stalinist regime and the Czech working class.

Preceding this attack by a fortnight was a series of mass arrests.

Within the space of a few days 1,740 people were arrested in swoops carried out by the police throughout the country.

Over 18,000 were arrested in Bohemia and Moravia alone. In Prague 300 were detained.

## 'Guilty'

Out of the total arrested, 301 were found guilty of 'crimes against property' and 48 were found guilty of 'crimes of violence'.

The extremity of these attacks, which is comparable to the work of Stalin in the 1930s, can be traced to the Stalinists' mounting frustration at having failed to suppress the militancy amongst workers.

The increasing number of repressive measures since the invasion—sweeping aside all pretence of democracy—has cleared up all the confusion put out by the middle class concerning the nature of the invasion.

Today the essence of the struggle is absolutely clear: the fight is on between the Czech working class and the Stalinist bureaucracy. Meanwhile the deposed leader Dubcek has dutifully taken up his ambassador's post in far-off Turkey.

The fact that Dubcek's capitulation to Moscow has reinforced solidarity in the factories highlights the preparedness of workers to accept the challenge thrown down by the Stalinist regime.

## Militancy

But militancy alone cannot defeat the forces of reaction now emanating from the Kremlin. Only a Marxist leadership can ensure the victory of the Czech working class.

Workers in Czechoslovakia must study their history, and draw lessons from their long experience of conflict with Stalinism. Following the years under the arch Stalinist Novotny, many pinned their hopes on the liberal reformist Dubcek.

The economic crisis of 1963 and the anxiety expressed by the growing militancy of the working class forced Novotny to afford concessions to the workers.

This was the beginning of a long drive, led by Dubcek, for higher wages and a relaxation of censorship in the press.

The success of this drive led to the removal of Novotny and the election of Dubcek as his successor in January 1968.

Freedom of speech was introduced for the first time in 20 years and the press was able to reveal the truth about Novotny's regime.

The fake trials and the purges were all exposed. Party officials were questioned on television.



End of 'Prague Spring' as Russian tanks roll through the streets in 1968.

by the Stalinist bureaucracy to maintain its privileges was revealed to the nation.

But Dubcek's days as a reformer were numbered. Already the economic crisis developing all over the world was causing the Soviet bureaucracy to tighten its grip on eastern Europe.

Reformism was doomed not only in Czechoslovakia, but in every major country in the world.

Professor Ota Sik, chief architect of the economic reforms of the Dubcek era, recently applied for political asylum in Switzerland.

Airing his views on Swiss radio on January 29, he expressed clearly the attitude of the middle class following the invasion:

'The faint hopes we still had that some of the ideas of the "Prague Spring" could survive

have completely faded. The present system is a typically reactionary system. I could not live under such conditions.' (My emphasis.)

On the other hand, the unbeaten strength of the international working class, despite all its setbacks in the form of betrayals, continues to dismay all the reactionary forces in the world—imperialist and Stalinist.

Only the Young Socialists are confident of the strength and power of the working class—from that power we will build a revolutionary party in Britain to reinforce the struggle of workers in Czechoslovakia.

- Forward to the political revolution in Czechoslovakia!
- Forward to the socialist revolution in Britain!

## Vietnam—Internationalism is key to

# struggle against imperialism

By Roger Horrocks

AT THE approach of the Tet holiday on February 5 Vietcong attacks on US and 'puppet' forces near Saigon reached a climax.

In America itself, Spiro Agnew openly talked of the victory of the National Liberation Front (NLF) over the South Vietnamese 'puppet' troops in 1970.

Sections of the corrupt South Vietnamese government are beginning to turn away from their president, Thieu, faced with the inevitability of NLF victory.

On January 9 a general strike in Saigon showed that the working class in Vietnam is beginning to stir against the reactionary

The US Army is becoming more and more demoralized and close to mutiny.

After the Christmas Eve demonstration in Saigon by GIs against the war, a US soldier denounced military censorship over the American radio in Saigon, and was immediately removed from his post and threatened with court martial.

In the United States the trials of soldiers in connection with the My Lai massacre have continued—but significantly only soldiers below the rank of captain have been charged.

The American imperialists know too well that once investigations begin at a higher level, many workers and soldiers in the US will trace the guilt for the murders in Vietnam to the highest level—to the big capitalists themselves!

It is their system that is in mortal crisis today, which can only be kept going by wholesale destruction of people and countries.

## Significance

And so Wilson's visit to Washington on January 25 had particular significance—Wilson went to express his solidarity with Nixon and US imperialism, for he knows that he and his 'Labour' government must sink or swim with the American capitalist class.

So the Young Socialists deepened their campaign to 'Stop

fighting in every section of the working class and the trade unions, not as a pacifist 'protest' against the 'horror' of war, but as part of a fight for internationalism and Marxism.

The long historical development of British capitalism has been the basis for a tendency to conservatism and insularity in workers in Britain.

Today that capitalist development has turned into stagnation, and the working class comes under attack more and more by the employers.

## Interest

The YS stressed in the campaign that interest payments to the US directly paid for the atrocities and genocide against the Vietnamese people. This interest is obtained from the attacks on wages and conditions, the rising cost of living, and the attempts to destroy independent trade unions in Britain.

Although it was a hard political fight, the campaign by the YS has won thousands of signatures from trade unionists, shop stewards, Communist Party members, intellectuals, students and young workers.

Hundreds of trade union branches have passed resolutions supporting our campaign.

The demonstration on January 11 brought 1,500 workers and students on to the streets in class-solidarity with the Vietnamese people against Wilson, George

The press and television completely blacked out the demonstration, although on January 25 they shouted about the Downing Street 'punch-up' with the police by the Vietnam Solidarity Committee.

The serious, principled approach of the YS contrasted both with these wild adventures, and with the refusal of the Communist Party to support the campaign.

The Stalinist leadership wanted to put pressure on Wilson to put pressure on Nixon!

The Socialist Labour League has now called for a one-day strike on May 1 in solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

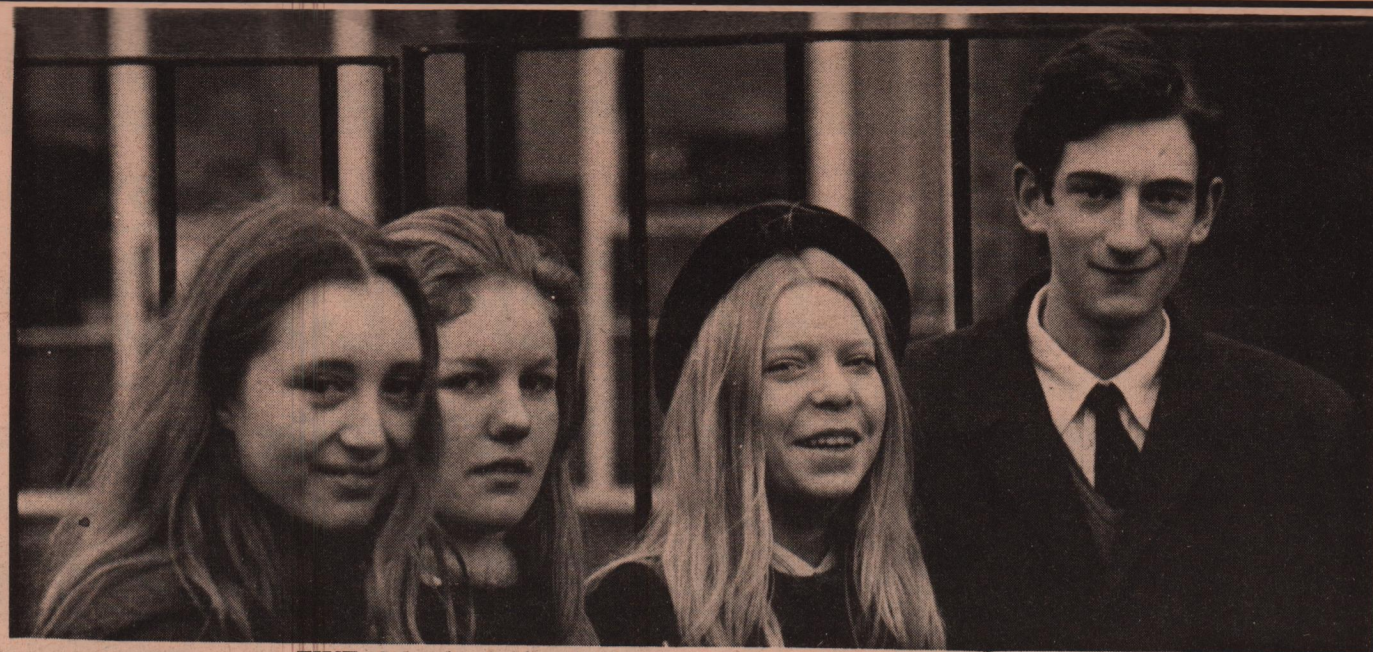
Every Young Socialist should support this extension of the campaign, and work in his factory and trade union branch to win workers to support this action.

## Campaign

The campaign on Vietnam does not stop with a petition, with a demonstration, or even with a strike.

It is part of our whole campaign internationally to destroy the capitalist system!

- All out on May 1!
- Victory to the Vietnamese workers and peasants!
- Out with Wilson and the Tories!
- For a workers' government



Four of the Dulwich five. From left to right: Lesley Kendall, Clare Robinson, Tanya Diprose and Jerry Balcombe. A campaign in the local trade unions can force their reinstatement.

## Chaos and violence at 'love scene'

By Maureen Bambrick

AT THE end of 1969 300,000 youth—mainly hippies and beatniks—attended the Altamont Rock festival just outside San Francisco.

Groups appearing were the Rolling Stones, the Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane.

The 'festivities', if one can use the term, were free. When things got underway the 'groovy' proceedings were supposed to have been filmed, the *piece de resistance* being a happy 'love scene'.

Chaos started when 24 hours before the concert was due to start the location was changed.

The new site was a stockcar race track which reportedly had insufficient facilities to deal with the mass of people. With no proper sanitation, a poor sound system and totally inadequate medical aid the scene was more like hell than a happy love one.

Four deaths occurred.

Employed as security guards for the sum of 500 dollars were the notorious Hells Angels.

They also managed to get supplies of 'speed', 'acid' and 'reds' (methedrine, LSD and cannabis resin).

The US Angels are far more violent and vicious than their British equivalents who acted as guards at the Stones' pop concert in London's Hyde Park last year.

The total result of this combination was disastrous. With 700 freak-outs and bad trips, the number of violence-induced injuries was very high.

Such a state of affairs is the very real outcome of the hippy generation and the middle-class, flower power movement.

And no matter how hard they try to escape, the real pressures of capitalism grow.

Idealism leads to reaction because it completely rejects the concept of working-class unity and discipline.

That is why sections of the middle class, in a given situation, become suitable fascist material. It is in this way that we can explain their alliance with the Hell's Angels.

It is the responsibility of the Young Socialists to fight against the degeneracy of idealism of the middle class.

We fight for the materialist outlook of scientific Marxism, which means the building of the revolutionary party to overthrow capitalism and its rotten reaction for once and for all.

FIVE Schools Action Union members from Kingsdale Comprehensive School in Dulwich, London, have been threatened with expulsion following their activities last year in support of its policies.

A meeting of the school governors on Saturday, January 31, which went on until 2 a.m. the following morning, proposed that the pupils were given until February 9 to ask the headmaster, Mr Rees, to be put on 'special report'—otherwise expulsion would follow.

The five—Jerry Balcombe (14), Stephen Morgan (14), Leslie Kendall (15), Tanya Diprose (16), and Clare Robinson (15)—told Keep Left that there was no question of their carrying out the governors' ruling which was carried only by the casting vote of Tory chairman, Mr Grant.

### Leafletting

Action was taken against them following the leafletting and picketing of the school on December 19—the last day of term—in support of a one-day strike and demonstration organized by SAU.

'Over 123 students stayed away on that day', said Jerry Balcombe, 'but this is usual for the last day of term. School usually breaks up at 3 p.m. and we certainly didn't miss any work.'

'The head sent out a letter asking for an explanation for the absences. About 40 parents didn't reply and yet we were the only ones to be punished.'

Although the Inner London Education Authority stated that there was no question of suspension or expulsion, the governors decided otherwise and issued their ultimatum.

'I was going to take a photograph of our parents coming out of the governors' meeting,' said Jerry, 'but when I saw

# Protest not the way to fight for reinstatement of Dulwich five

## Keep Left reporting team

their faces I forgot to. We didn't expect it.'

Richard Lugg, SAU's 18-year-old national secretary, admitted: 'We weren't expecting the governors' decision. We thought that sufficient "pressure" had been exerted.'

Although it became obvious from the beginning of the school term what was going to happen, the SAU announced its 'defence campaign' on the evening of February 3, only five days before the expulsions were to take place.

### Token

Such a campaign—including proposals for school strikes and a public meeting for February 13—could only amount to a token protest without hope of success.

The crisis of capitalism is now thrusting all layers of youth into action and this may take the form of rebelling against school authority but outside the development of revolutionary leadership for the working class, this must lead to defeat.

### Centre

This is at the centre of every campaign of the YS—not isolated protests and radical phrases, but the development

of Marxism through the struggle for power.

In all the 12 closely-worded pages of *Rebel* (Vol. 1, No. 2), the SAU magazine, the Labour government is not mentioned once.

Lots of fine-sounding demands but no struggle against a Labour government which is carrying through the attacks on education and are preparing the way for a Powellite government which will witch-hunt militants in the schools, universities and trade unions.

There must be a campaign in

the local trade union movement to have the five reinstated.

### Lessons

All youth at school must learn the lessons from these events.

To simply protest today when the employers are preparing massive attacks on the working class is to prepare for disaster.

Build the Young Socialists and fight for a socialist future for youth!

## AN IMPORTANT PAMPHLET—READ NOW!

# Early History of the Communist Party of Great Britain

BY

BRIAN PEARCE

Price: 2s. 6d.

(Reprinted from 'Labour Review' of July-August 1957 and January-February 1958)

Available from 186A Clapham High Street, SW4

## London Region plans for Scarborough campaign

AT A RECENT meeting, the London Regional Committee of the Young Socialists planned out the programme for the Region up to the Young Socialists' 10th Annual Conference on April 11 and 12.

The programme is a very lively one—including dances and discotheques in every area and film shows linked with a continued campaign to produce bigger and better films by members of the Young Socialists themselves.

A new feature of the programme is the Netball League from which we want to recruit

netball teams in all the areas and federations and start a full programme of matches and competitions in the coming months.

The first two matches have been arranged for Sunday, February 1 at Coram Fields, King Cross.

As the Young Socialists move towards the 10th Annual Conference, we prepare in a situation that is vastly different from that at the time of our first nine conferences.

We campaign today when thousands of workers all over the world are coming into massive struggles for higher wages and against continued threats on their standard of living.

Our campaign is also strengthened by the force which has been built in the last period by the Young

Socialists and the Socialist Labour League—the first daily Trotskyist paper 'Workers Press'.

These two factors together can give us a very firm basis from which we can widen our campaign in the coming months.

We aim to achieve the maximum discussion on our policy and perspectives before the Scarborough conference and in preparation for it.

Therefore, we have arranged to hold a London Regional Conference on Sunday, February 15.

Every YS branch has the right to propose one resolution.

Another high point of the programme is the Regional Rally, which will take place on Sunday, March 15, at Coram Fields Hall, King Cross starting at 1 p.m.

On the Agenda will be: five-a-side football, a netball tournament, film show followed by a meeting on the Scarborough conference and a dance.

At the rally we want to encourage as many new youth as possible to take part in the building of the Young Socialists and to take part in our 10th Annual Conference.

From now onwards, we shall turn the campaign out to thousands of new youth not only in London, but all over the country.

In fighting to understand the lessons of the most recent struggles, we must take the experiences from these struggles into the fight to prepare to make this year's conference the biggest ever.

By Sarah Hannigan

# A.J.S. alliance des jeunes pour le socialisme

## Young Socialists sister organization A.J.S. holds mass rally

KEEP LEFT REPORTER

TEN THOUSAND youth attended the Assembly called by the Young Socialists' French sister organization, the Alliance of Youth for Socialism (AJS), to organize youth for the revolutionary struggles now facing them.

Delegations of young workers, apprentices, students, teachers and unemployed youth from all over France submitted proposals to a Charter of Defence and United Action for youth in answer to the Gaullist government's White Book on youth, which attempted to cover up terrible living and working conditions.

The Charter will be a weapon in the hands of French youth fighting against capitalism and the Stalinist and trade union bureaucrats who betrayed the working class in the 1968 General Strike.

Charles Berg, AJS, national secretary, told the youth that they must never forget the lessons of the 1968 General Strike.

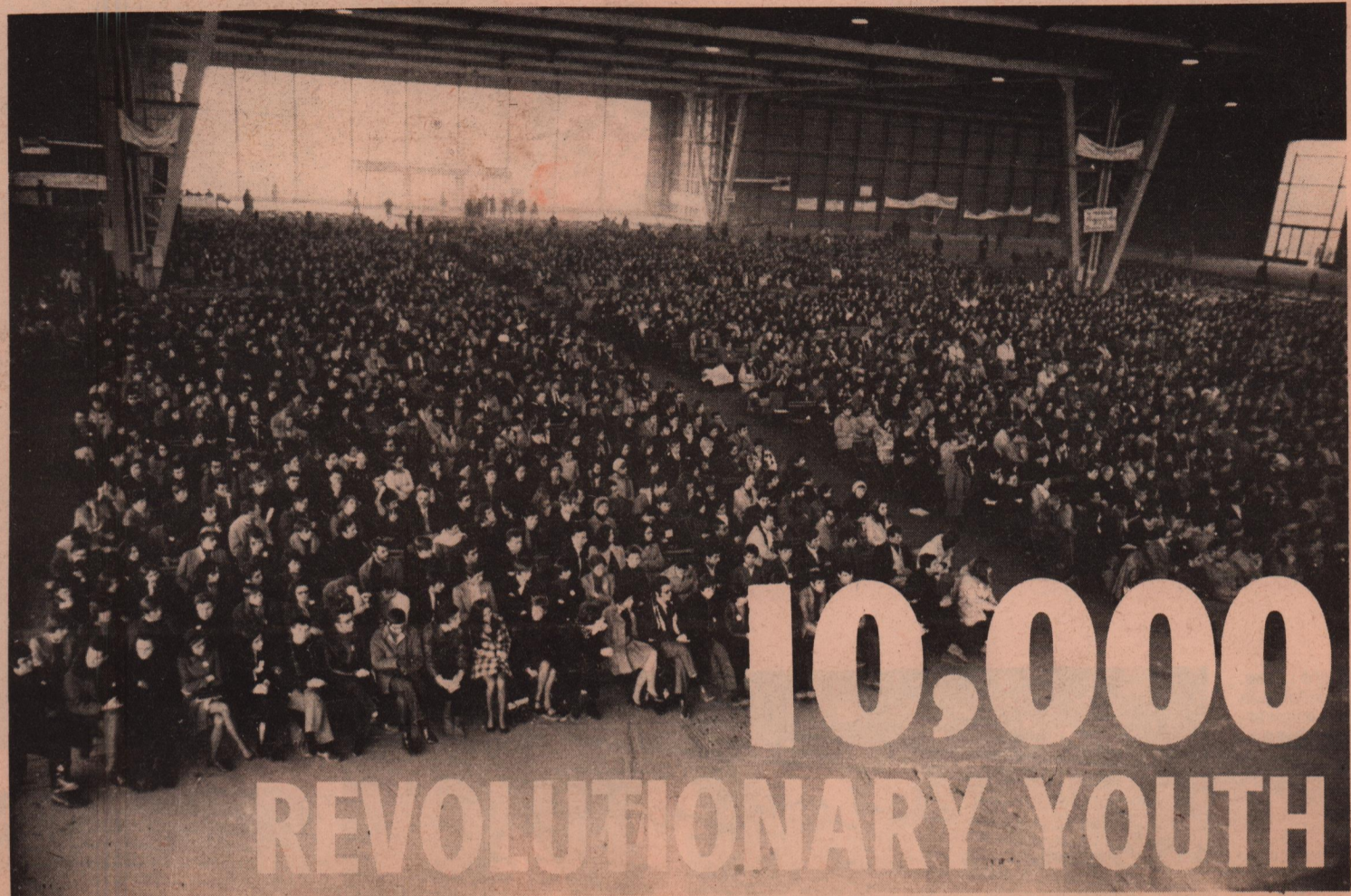
'We were ten million workers, students, teachers. We had the strength. . . . The state was vacillating we could see its disintegration. . . . What was lacking was the programme and the organization of a revolutionary party.'

But the 10,000 youth testified that they will not forget when they voted unanimously to fight to build the revolutionary international of youth under the flag of the Fourth International.

In spite of a leaflet issued by the local Stalinist leadership describing the AJS as 'having nothing to do with communism', many Young Communists attended the Assembly.

One young militant told of his expulsion from the Young Communists for calling on his comrades to participate in the Assembly.

Speakers from every section of



## at Le Bourget, near Paris

French youth described the attempts of the crisis-ridden French bourgeoisie to break youth's spirit, to divide youth off from the rest of society, to isolate youth.

'When the bosses sack us they think they are stopping revolution. . . . They are frightened because they know that when the working class is organized in the revolutionary party it cannot be defeated', said a young worker recently sacked from a Renault car factory because of his work for the Assembly.

An apprentice from St. Denis technical college described the administration's efforts to cut down the number of students in his college.

A school girl told of the bureaucratic teachers' union leaders who are trying to divide students and teachers.

'But students must unite with teachers and parents', she said.

Tougher and tougher exams, drastic cut-backs in the fields of study open to university students and little chance of employment even with a degree—one youth in four is already unemployed—was the picture outlined by a member of the AJS student section.

But adult and young workers are fighting back.

The decisive rejection by the gas and electricity workers of the



'Jeune Revolutionnaire'—youth paper of the AJS on sale along with plenty of other Marxist literature.

productivity deal accepted by the union leaderships 'shows that hundreds of union cadres are refusing their leaderships' policies', said Pierre Levasseur of the

Workers' Alliance (Alliance Ouvriere).

Students in schools, universities and technical colleges are organizing in spite of brutal

police and fascist attacks on their meetings.

Stephan Just of the Trotskyist Organization told the youth that they must unite with adult workers in the fight for socialism.

'Youth will be the impetus behind the reconstruction of the Fourth International', he said and 'with the reconstruction of the Fourth International the proletariat in this country will take power . . . the world proletariat will take power.'

The huge hall echoed with chants of 'Long live the Fourth International' and 'This is only the beginning, the AJS is going forward' when Comrade Just proclaimed:

'Capitalist society is condemned to death and we will be its gravediggers.'

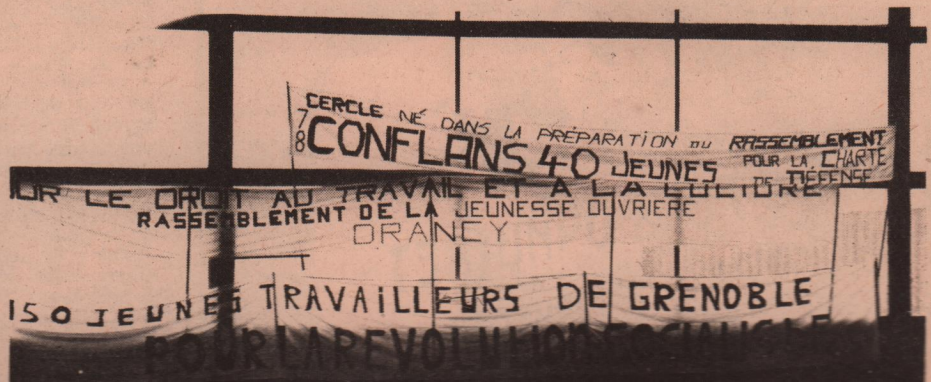
Fraternal greetings from the Young Socialists of Great Britain, from the USA, Germany and Greece heralded the Assembly as an enormous step forward in the struggle to build the revolutionary youth international.

Messages of support were sent to the striking miners of Spain and Sweden.

During the day 503 youth joined the AJS and 16,000 new francs were collected.

The resounding success of the AJS Assembly and the enthusiasm and fighting spirit of the youth who attended it confirm both the growing strength of the Trotskyist movement internationally and the urgency of our fight here in Britain to build the Young Socialists.

Below: Entrance to the massive hanger at Le Bourget airport where the rally took place. Below right: Banners of the delegations who travelled by coach from the provincial towns in France.

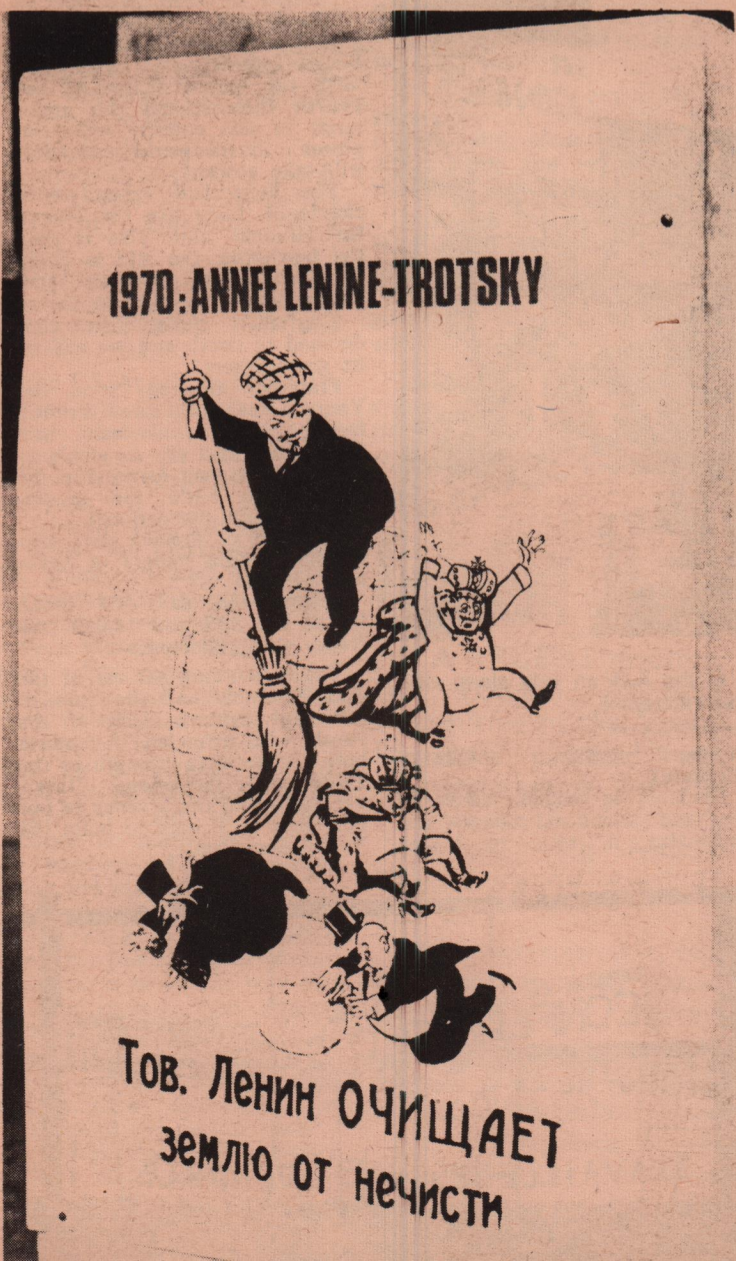


# FORWARD TO THE REVOLUTIONARY Y

Below : An attentive audience listens to the speeches. Right : 10,000 audience rises with fists raised to sing the 'International'.



Right : The popular AJS choir leads the singing of the 'International' at the end of the rally. Below : AJS poster for 1970.



## KEEP LEFT INTERVIEWS A CHARLES BERG

What do you think of the situation in France now after the mass strikes in Italy?

THE international situation is characterized by the simultaneous development of the mass strikes in Italy, towards political revolution in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, the Asturian miners' strike and the strike in Germany.

All these events confirm the analysis made by the AJS and the Young Socialists after the general strike in France and the development of the struggles in Prague—that we had entered a situation where the working class has taken the political initiative, a situation where all the struggles of the working class pose the question of who holds the power.

This is especially reflected in the present situation in France, where, since the fall of de Gaulle, we begin to see concretely the expression of the linked crisis of world imperialism and Stalinism.

The French bourgeoisie leans completely on the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies, but especially on the Stalinist bureaucracy.

At the same time the deepening crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy begins to lead towards the crumbling of the capitalist state. The path in front of the ruling class and the Stalinist bureaucracy becomes narrower and narrower.

The French working class senses that it can defeat this government. The political problem which is posed for the working-class vanguard and the AJS is the need to prepare the instrument organizationally and



Charles Berg, national secretary of the AJS talks to a

politically to enable the working class to carry out its historical tasks.

An essential element in the situation in France today is the extreme weakness of the government whilst the French bourgeoisie tries to reassure itself continuously by repeating that everything is 'all right'.

There is an old French proverb which says: 'Fear cannot evade danger'.

The situation is one where the masses begin today to try and learn the lessons of the general strike. They want to recapture the unity which caused the fall of de Gaulle, to develop and

formulate working-class solutions to capitalism's crisis.

**How is this situation reflected in the development of the AJS?**

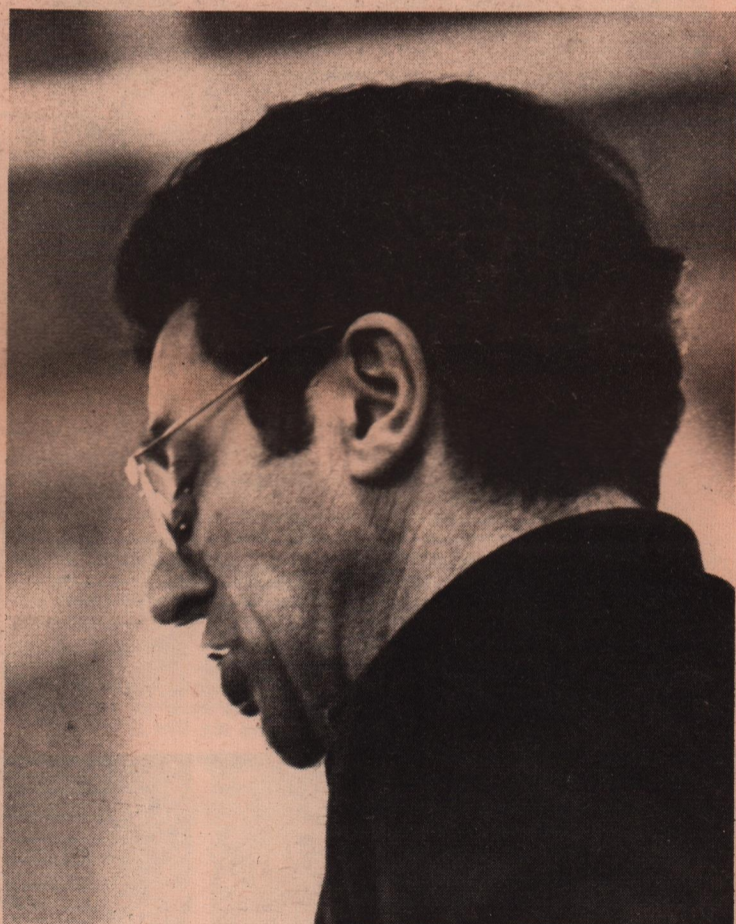
THIS general political situation reflects itself essentially amongst working-class and student youth.

Unemployment is increasing rapidly amongst young workers and selection (and exclusion) is being applied on a massive scale in the universities.

It is this which brings working-class youth into action, to resist and fight these attacks.



# OUTH INTERNATIONAL!



## A.J.S. SECRETARY RG

Today we begin to organize tens of thousands of apprentices, young workers from all industries, unemployed youth and students. This movement, which is not an organization of young Trotskyists but which is one of youth who are independent organizationally, begins to develop young worker cadres, who will be the leaders of the struggles where they work.

Right: Stephan Juste of the Trotskyist Organization for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International addresses the rally. Below: Living it up at the dance in the evening.

### What is the policy of the AJS in relation to France?

THE policy of the AJS can be explained by two examples:

1. The campaign we led for the opening of the Speller trial (one of our members, who was brutally attacked by right-wing Gaullist elements, lost an eye) was for the defence of democratic rights of the working class.

We fought for the concretizing of the united class front, to make the entire labour and working-class movement see this question as central for them.

In many areas in Paris and in the provinces CGT youth sections, CGT adult sections, Young Communist branches, youth branches of the socialist party, sections of the Force Ouvrière participated in the campaign for the Assembly of 5,000 people which took place at the Mutualité in Paris.

The Socialist Party, the 'Federation de l'Education Nationale' (with half a million members) and CGT officials spoke demanding the opening of the Speller trial.



Delegation at the rally.

The AJS intervenes today to mobilize under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky the political force necessary for the victorious battle of the French working class against the capitalist state and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

This is the meaning of the February 1 Assembly, which is the beginning of the fight to transform the AJS into a mass revolutionary youth organization.

Recently we established the AER (Alliance des Etudiants Revolutionnaires) which is the university arm of the AJS. It posed amongst students the problem of the socialist revolution.

Continued on page nine



# CHARLES BERG A.J.S. SECRETARY SPEAKS TO KEEP LEFT

From page nine

2. The Assembly on February 1, where, on the basis of our programme, under the banner of Bolshevism, the AJS comes forward as a mass youth movement which participates in the construction of the revolutionary party through mobilizing and organizing thousands of workers and youth in the Assembly, fighting for the united class front, fighting for the socialist revolution.

AJS members go forward to win younger generations under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky, beginning with the demands of youth, fighting to raise them to the level of the historic mission of the working class—the expropriation of the expropriators.

What do you hope to get out of the mass rally on February 1? What are your observations on the preparation for the International Conference of Revolutionary Youth?

THE aim of the Assembly is first of all to show that working-class and student youth have drawn the lessons of the General Strike: that is to organize themselves in an independent manner, to fight alongside the vanguard of the working class.

But naturally such an aim is

linked directly to our internationalist tasks.

The AJS sees the February 1 Assembly as a springboard for a massive struggle to be carried out on an international scale against imperialism and Stalinism, for the construction of an international revolutionary youth movement.

On February 1 thousands of young workers will re-affirm that the heritage of Liebknecht is not dead: they will commemorate the Year of Lenin and Trotsky by launching their force with our comrades in the Young Socialists and all other revolutionary youth on the face of this planet by raising the banner of Bolshevism, by building the international revolutionary youth movement.

Finally our aim is, from the February 1 Assembly, to bring forward a programme for exploited working class and student youth, demanding the only solution which is 'For a working-class, anti-capitalist government'.

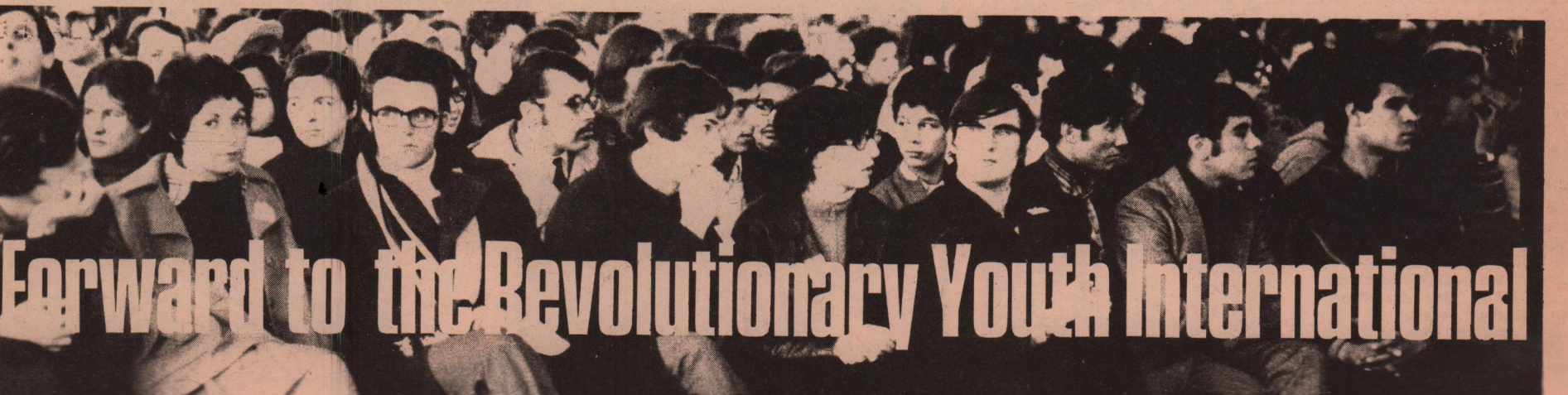
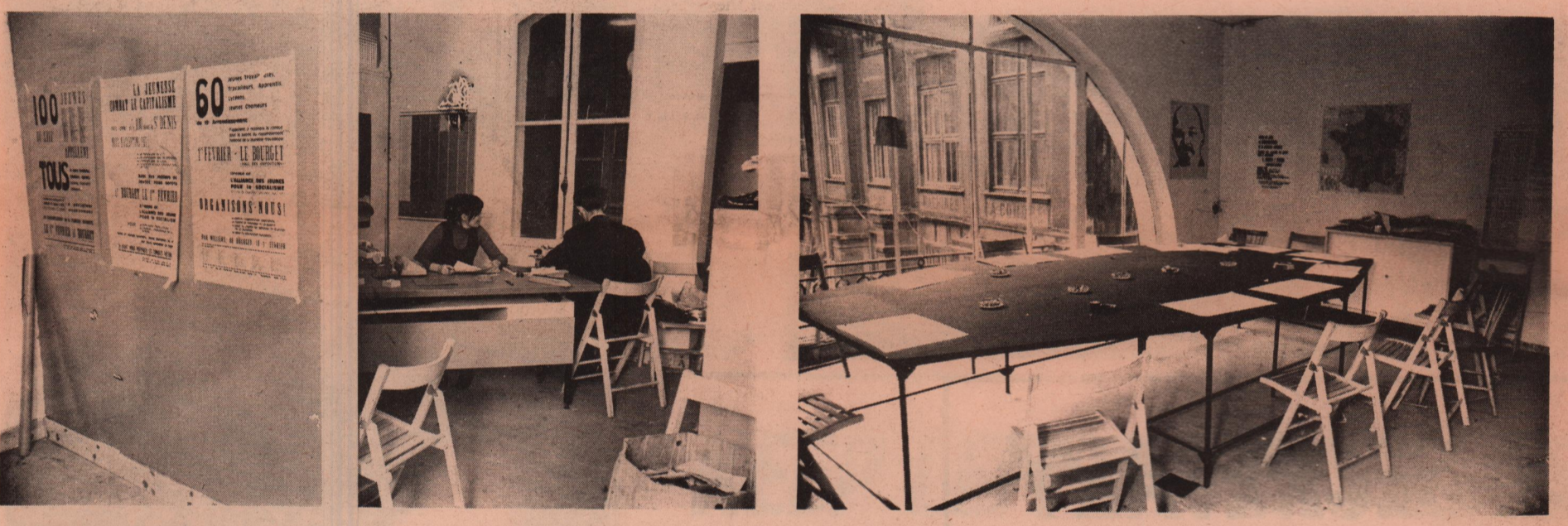
On the basis of these achievements, armed with this weapon, we will fight to impose a charter of action and defence of youth on all trade union organizations.

Thus the Assembly will show that the world unity of the class struggle requires the mobilization internationally of the forces of youth against imperialism and Stalinism.

Trotsky wrote that the youth could not be anything else but revolutionary—we will prove this on February 1. We will prove that this sentence keeps all its significance for us.



## A.J.S. opens new Paris headquarters



# YS NOTICE BOARD

## SOCCKER: LONDON REGIONAL COMPETITION

ON SUNDAY February 1, the final of the London Regional Knockout Competition was played at Hackney.

Winners of this match qualified for the national competition, and with this in mind it promised to be a hard fought match between the Croydon and Willesden sides.

From the outset, the Willesden team, though younger than their opponents, commanded the game.

They began to attack almost at once, and the first shot at goal came from Willesden's captain, John Barracks, after only eight minutes of play.

This seemed to rally the Croydon team who made their first attacking moves.

But Willesden's defence, proved too strong, and a well-placed clearing pass to Barracks gave the captain the first goal of the match.

Willessden's attack continued and was rewarded in the 16th

minute by an easy goal from Barracks after a fine cross from Hugh Blake on the left wing.

The first shot at goal from Croydon followed shortly after, but it went wide and gave away a goal kick. A long kick up the centre again gave the Willessden team the commanding position.

Barracks crossed to Carlton Martin from the right wing, and

### Willessden 14 Croydon 2

the latter shot from 25 yards out to give Willessden their third goal.

Croydon came back into the game at this point with a strong attack led by Dave Graham, but the Willessden defence was still impenetrable and remained so until shortly before half-time when a corner taken by Graham was put into the net by Croydon's Dave Sheldrake.

This Croydon goal acted as a warning to the Willessden team that their efforts could not be relaxed, and that despite their trailing score, Croydon could still prove to be dangerous.

Willessden's offensive began again and as a result, Blake scored twice more before half-time.

With the score now at 7-1, the Croydon team obviously would have to redouble their efforts if they were to get back into the match, and right from the kick-off in the second half, they made this effort.

After only four minutes of play, they were rewarded when

by Dave Eve, which passed only inches above the crossbar.

Sheldrake had two more shots at goal, but the Willessden goalie thwarted both these attempts.

Willessden's chance came now. Good use of the long ball combined with good passing gave them three more goals; two from Carlton Martin and one from Neville Bodell.

The Croydon team, however rallied with more attacks on the Willessden goal, but their play lacked the decisiveness to give them the much needed goals.

Despite all their efforts the Willessden team hammered home three more goals.

Although the final score was high (14-2) and there were adverse conditions, the game was a lively one throughout, enjoyed by both players and spectators.

It also showed that the next round of the competition between Willessden and the West Midlands will be another hard and keenly fought game.

# Decisive play brings Willessden victory

## NATIONAL FINAL Young Socialists knock-out FOOTBALL COMPETITION

Sunday, March 22  
Butts Stadium, Coventry  
kick-off 2 p.m.

## SPORTING CORNER

## IN THE 'BEST TRADITION'

BY PETE CANN

FOR MOST working class youth sport is the greatest pastime.

However if one reaches the top flight in sport the need for employers under capitalism to make more and more profits destroys or stagnates these sporting talents, or alternatively they are used for non-sporting ends.

The South African employing class exists on the brutal repression and exploitation of the 'non-Europeans' as they prefer to call them.

They use such instruments as their 'representative' sporting sides to maintain diplomatic links with other governments.

Many people wonder why the South African rugby team is playing over here with so many people opposed to the visit.

The Labour government will give you the answer. To them,

the employers come before the working class.

The giant South African mining companies come first. It is profit before sport. Apartheid is not only ignored by the Labour government but supported by them.

The government of South Africa uses cricket, rugby, golf, and tennis to maintain 'friendship' with Wilson. So no matter how much all these protesters demonstrate, chase across rugby pitches, tear up cricket fields and daub slogans on walls, the tours will still continue.

No doubt this summer all forms of the mass media will cover extensively the South African team cricket tour, not simply for the benefit of cricket fans but to show the British government's 'kind, cordial' reception to the South African regime's representatives in this country.

### Coverage

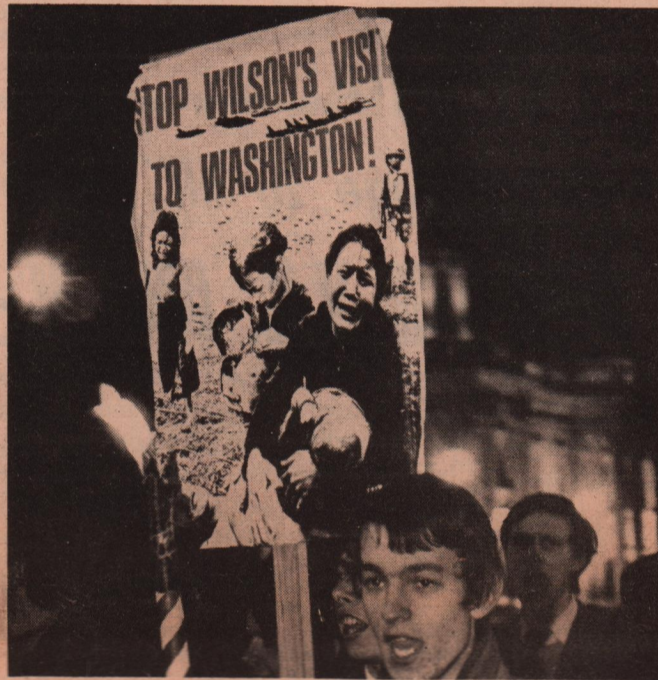
By showing extensive coverage of the South African teams apartheid is covered up for and the means by which the teams are selected is forgotten while both sides play their game in the best 'English' tradition.

In the same way the South African employers are carrying out that same 'English' tradition.

They have followed the same path as the British capitalist class have done for the past 250 years - ruthlessly repressing and exploiting the colonial peoples of the world.

Thus for coloured youth in South Africa the opportunities to play in competitive sport, international competitive sport, remain only a dream.

That is why we say that only under socialism will youth, for the first time, really enjoy sport to the full, using the opportunities to advance their skills and enjoy their leisure.



AFTER our highly successful 'Stop Wilson's Visit to Washington' campaign we are working with the Socialist Labour League to make May 1 a day of action against the Vietnam war.

With a torch held high a YS demonstrator (above) joins the chants on January 25—the day Wilson left Britain to visit Nixon. We mustered 700 for this Vietnam Solidarity Campaign-organized march, which was led by 600 from VSC and 15 other organizations.

Though their contingent went to Downing Street for a 'confrontation' with the police, we held a short meeting in a Whitehall side street before dispersing. There Workers Press editor Mike Banda said: 'We may not have stopped Wilson's visit, but we have begun a fight for internationalism in the working class which will not end here'.



## LEAGUE RESULTS

### WEST LONDON

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts.
Southall	4	3	0	1	15	14	6
West	6	3	0	3	13	15	6
Acton	7	3	0	4	19	27	6
Willessden	5	2	0	3	21	12	4
Watford	2	1	0	1	2	2	2

### EAST LONDON

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts.
N. Kent	6	4	0	2	45	24	8
Poplar	5	4	0	1	34	11	8
Dagenham	6	2	0	4	13	36	4
East Ham	2	1	0	1	2	2	2
Tottenham	4	1	0	3	5	13	2
Canning Town	3	1	0	2	4	17	2

### SOUTH LONDON

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts.
South West	10	7	1	2	60	26	15
South	5	3	1	1	22	13	7
N. Croydon	4	1	0	3	13	25	2
S. East	6	1	0	5	5	17	2

**Middlesex Region  
Young Socialists  
REGIONAL CONFERENCE**

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 22 11.30 a.m.  
Mohican House, Lillie Road, S.W.6  
Resolution from branches, election of new  
Regional Committee

**Young Socialists  
REGIONAL CONFERENCE**

in preparation for  
Scarborough  
Sunday, February 15 11.30 a.m.  
Coram Fields Hall, Kings Cross  
Resolutions from branches, election of new  
Regional Committee

**London Region  
Young Socialists  
RALLY**

Sunday, March 15, 1 p.m.  
Coram Fields Hall, Kings Cross  
five-a-side football competition ● netball  
tournament ● film show ● meeting on  
Scarborough Conference ●

TWO WEEKS before the National Conference of the Young Socialists in Scarborough on April 11 and 12, there will take place the conference of the 'Labour Party Young Socialists' (LPYS).

The Labour Party has now published a 'Charter for Young Workers', prepared by the LPYS National Committee for this conference.

Any young worker reading this document and noticing that it calls for hundreds of very good things (wage increases, trade training, better leisure facilities and even nationalization of big companies) should look back again at the front cover, which says:

'This document is intended to provide a basis for discussion and does not necessarily represent Labour Party policy.'

The Labour Party, while resting for its support on the trade unions and the working-class vote, is politically the servant of capitalism. Wilson's recent visit to Nixon is only the latest proof of this subservience.

Because of this, the Labour Party, despite repeated attempts, have never been able to build a youth movement.

Trying to scrape one together before the next General Election,

## Labour Party Y.S. 'Charter for Young Workers'

# Deliberate and cold-blooded deception



they now publish this 'Charter' to give a 'left' appearance.

The last attempt to get a Labour youth movement going (1960) ended in Keep Left winning the majority, taking the movement out of the Labour Party (1964) to fight on socialist policies and founding our present Young Socialists.

The so-called Labour Party Young Socialists is the rump that was left, deprived by the official

1964—Keep Left wins majority and stages massive rally in Trafalgar Square.

machine of all independence or national policy.

In putting together this 'Charter', the authors have shamelessly lifted sections out of the programme published for discussion at our Scarborough conference this year, but they take all socialist content out of the demands.

Under 'Youth and the trade unions', for example, they list the demands:

'Full union rights for apprentices (to organize, strike and negotiate). Youth delegations on all committees affecting youth. Young workers' committees to be set up in all factories to learn from and to fight side by side

with the shop-floor and trade union organizations of the working class. The right of shop stewards to address potential school-leavers about the trade unions.'

All very democratic!?

Compare it with the relevant section of the YS proposals, which repeats proposals carried at previous YS conferences:

'Young workers must be able to fight for these demands in their own right. Young trades unionists must, therefore, enjoy full negotiating rights.

'The union bureaucracy must be made to agree to the formation of young workers' committees to study the demands of youth and win the support of older workers in fighting for them.

'Such committees will be active in recruiting and educating young workers. The doors of the trade unions must be thrown wide open to youth; to this end we demand reduced dues for young workers.

'The union bureaucrats must be made to recruit to the appropriate unions all youth in low-paid jobs in the catering trades and unorganized youth in the sweat shops.

'We call on all young workers to support the struggle of the All Trades Unions Alliance on the fundamental question of building a revolutionary leadership in the unions.'

Note three things. First, the LPYS 'demands' are lifted from our programme. Second, the LPYS is putting forward left demands to win youth, but makes no reference to their own leaders in the Labour government and trade unions who have had the power for years to implement these and many other elementary demands.

And third, the whole question of trade unions as basic organizations to mobilize young workers for struggle is ignored.

Exactly the same judgement applies to the 'Charter's' proposal on apprenticeships, education, leisure, etc.

It is a deliberate and cold-blooded deception.

But our LPYS leaders, with a new 'left' face, are too well-trained to manage real fighting talk. In their introduction they say:

'... many of our demands may seem Utopian. We believe that only by asking for a lot can we achieve a little.'

These Oliver Twists of the 1970s do not think to warn their readers of the imminent return of a Tory government and a rapidly growing capitalist crisis.

They welcome the work done by the Labour government and thus conceal the fact that Wilson's policies have opened the door for the Tories.

Of course, they end with the usual pious rubbish about socialism and even demand 'public ownership of the monopolies, private banks and insurance companies, etc.'

But all this is relegated to some far-distant future:

'We believe that in the final analysis the owners of big industry cannot give a decent standard of living to the people. . . . The final answer to the problems of young workers . . . must be in using our organization to fight for a whole new society.'

Just one or two questions, gentlemen.

Why don't you explain why six years of Labour government has done **nothing** about this aim of socialism, and has worked against it?

Were not the Young Socialists correct to warn that this would happen and to lead a struggle against Wilson and his betrayers?

Many lessons have been learned since 1964. Nobody will be fooled by this Labour Party YS 'Charter for Young Workers'.

Young workers will look for a policy of struggle against the employers, against the return of the Tories, and for a new, revolutionary leadership against the Stalinists and Labour leaders.

This alternative programme and organization has been built up by the Young Socialists.

● Forward to the Scarborough Conference April 11 and 12.

## EDITORIAL

### A message to all young people

# JOIN THE Y.S. AND KEEP THE TORIES OUT!

AFTER nearly six years of Labour betrayals including wage-freezing, inflation, immigration control and two-and-a-half years of growing unemployment, the Tories are now preparing to come back into government with a vengeance.

The Tories are the traditional and hated enemies of the working class—no matter what the colour of our skin. For years Toryism has been another word for anti-unionism, retention of hanging, attacks against social services, the glorification of racial superiority and imperialism.

Now, having used the Wilson traitors to attack the working class, the Tories are moving in for the kill. This is their plan of attack as outlined by the Tory Shadow Cabinet.

**Taxation:** Soak the poor by increasing purchase tax, and introducing Value Added Tax. Enrich the bosses by cutting the rate of taxation on company profits. This would mean a bonanza for big business.

**Industrial Relations:** Change the trade union law so that trade unions can be taken to court for breach of contract in the event of a strike against the employer or even in sympathy with another group of workers.

This would open the door to compulsory arbitration of disputes and continuous harassment of unions by the courts. Wages will decline, conditions would worsen and productivity agreements would be imposed.

Protection of scabs in unofficial disputes would be guaranteed by law; picketing would become virtually impossible; the right of unions to fight for the closed-shop would be abolished.

**Employment:** The Tories are determined to increase unemployment—already over the 600,000 mark—by abolishing investment grants, by cutting import duties, slashing government expenditure on such things as schools and hospitals and repealing the Industrial Expansion Act.

**Cost of Living:** Cost of home-produced food will go up when Tories abolish agricultural subsidies to farmers. Costs of consumer goods and other necessities are bound to go up when indirect taxation is increased.

**Social Services:** These will be the hardest hit. The health services will have to depend on 'improvements in the economy', whatever that means.

Crossman's state pension scheme will be scrapped and private insurance schemes introduced. This will mean a bonanza for the pension funds of big corporations and little security for pensioners. Pensions will remain deplorably low.

**Immigration:** Immigrant workers look out! The Tories are going to put Commonwealth immigrants on the same footing as aliens. This will facilitate compulsory repatriation of unemployed immigrants in the event of an economic depression.

Special administrative action will be taken to make it even more difficult (sic) for Commonwealth immigrants to enter the country. This policy is bound to incite racism.

**Police:** What money the Tories save by starving the social services, they will use to finance the police on a lavish scale. Police forces will be strengthened like the CRS in France and increased in order to break strikes and political demonstrations like the de Gaulle government did and the Pompidou regime does at present.

At the same time the law on trespass will be extended to cover political demonstrations. This will open the door for new interpretations on the conspiracy laws enabling the state to arrest and detain people with little or no evidence.

These sinister measures are but a preparation for the imposition of a Powellite-Bonapartist dictatorship against the trade unions and working class.

**Housing:** Massive cuts are being contemplated. Treasury support would only be given to slum clearing and housing the old. Young couples looking for houses will find it well nigh impossible.

This is the ugly face of Toryism. Let's smash it before the Tories smash us. We are not alone in this struggle.

In France on February 1, 10,000 young people from our sister section, the AJS—the Youth Alliance for Socialism—participated in a mammoth rally to demonstrate their opposition against French imperialism and the degradation of youth under the rotten Fifth Republic.

They voted unanimously to struggle against French imperialism and Stalinism and for the establishment of socialism.

The Tories are the party of wealth, power, and privilege. It is obvious that as individuals, or in isolated groups, we cannot stop the Tories or defend ourselves effectively against their wretched policies.

Of course many of us who are over 18 will be able to vote for the first time and we urge all working class youth to vote against the Tories unhesitatingly in the next General Election.

But that is not enough. To defeat the Tories and throw Wilson out we need organization and a revolutionary policy. Only the organized struggle of hundreds of thousands of young workers, apprentices and students on a revolutionary policy will expose the right-wing traitors and prevent them from once again betraying the working class, if they are returned to Westminster.

Only by such a struggle through building the Young Socialists organization will we put an end to Toryism in Britain and—together with the adult workers—establish a socialist workers' government.

In 1968-1969 the French youth showed that they could defeat the hated General de Gaulle with an organized struggle. In 1970 our French comrades have demonstrated the possibility of organizing a mass young socialist movement, independent of the Stalinist traitors and 'socialist' fakers in France.

We say that in Britain too it can be done in 1970!

- The YS stands for the defence of the unions against both Wilson and Heath.
- We defend the immigrant workers against the racials and fascists.
- We are for the victory of the Vietnamese workers and farmers against US imperialism.
- We demand the immediate withdrawal of troops from Ulster.
- We are in the forefront of the struggle against the Tories. Our aim is to establish a socialist republic in Britain within a Socialist United States of Europe.

We say that not a single problem facing the working class youth can be solved without the nationalization of the banks, big business and land without compensation and under workers' control.

Join our struggle to get rid of Wilson and keep out the Tories by coming with us to the Tenth Annual Conference of the Young Socialists at Scarborough on April 11 and 12, 1970!

Join our campaign to demand that the trade union leaders call a strike in support of the Vietnamese revolution on May 1!

March with the thousands of Young Socialists and adult trade unionists against the Tories and Wilson on Sunday, May 3!

Demonstrate your solidarity with the international working class against capitalist dictatorship and imperialist wars and atrocities!

Help us work for an anti-Tory Festival of Youth on Sunday, July 5, at the Alexandra Palace!

Make it the largest gathering in the history of British socialist youth!

Join the Young Socialists NOW and fight with our French and German comrades to establish a Socialist Europe.

Keep the Tories out!

# Young teachers and the crisis in education

By a London teacher

ON JANUARY 27 teachers in 450 selected schools struck in their biggest action to date for a £135-a-year claim.

Six thousand of them were joined the next day by teachers from 32 schools in Yorkshire.

Feeling is running high amongst the young teachers in particular against the government's rejection of their claim.

Their determination, however, is fast being dissipated in a form of protest—selective striking.

Area strikes are being called for and should start at the beginning of February.

Half-day, selected schools and area strikes are really attempts to divert the teachers' struggle into the realm of protest. More and more schools, however, are demanding to be chosen and there has been a big increase in union membership.

Although they may still be some feeling that the teachers' struggle is separate they have been forced to fight as part of the working class.

But enthusiasm to fight is not enough. The threats both from the government and the Burnham Committee can only be answered by an all-out national indefinite strike to win the teachers' demands.

## Scapegoats

Mr Fred Jarvis, deputy general secretary of the National Union of Teachers, said to striking teachers in the North-East: 'We will not be the scapegoats of this incomes policy as we were of the last.'

'If your economic future depends on productivity, then productivity depends on an educated work-force. An educated work-force depends on teachers and teachers need to belong to a profession whose crucial importance is recognized and paid for.' (Teacher. NUT Journal.)

But productivity under capitalism means unemployment. How educated a work-force does this demand? Certainly not as many as were needed in the post-war boom years.

In the 1950s British capitalism was concerned with the low standards of education of its work-force. About a quarter of the 15 year-olds were unable to read adequately.

At the end of the 1950s and during the 1960s there were four major education reports advocating reforms at all levels of education—the Crowther Report 1959, the Newson Report 1963, the Robbins Report 1963 and the Plowden Report 1967.

Each report was widely publicized and recommended great improvements in the field of education. But what has been the result of these reports?

With the development of the economic crisis the reform programme has been pushed aside with huge cuts in education spending.

## Increase

The number of sub-standard schools and overcrowded classes is on the increase.

Young teachers coming into the profession rarely stay more than five years—who can blame them when the basic salary is £13 a week?

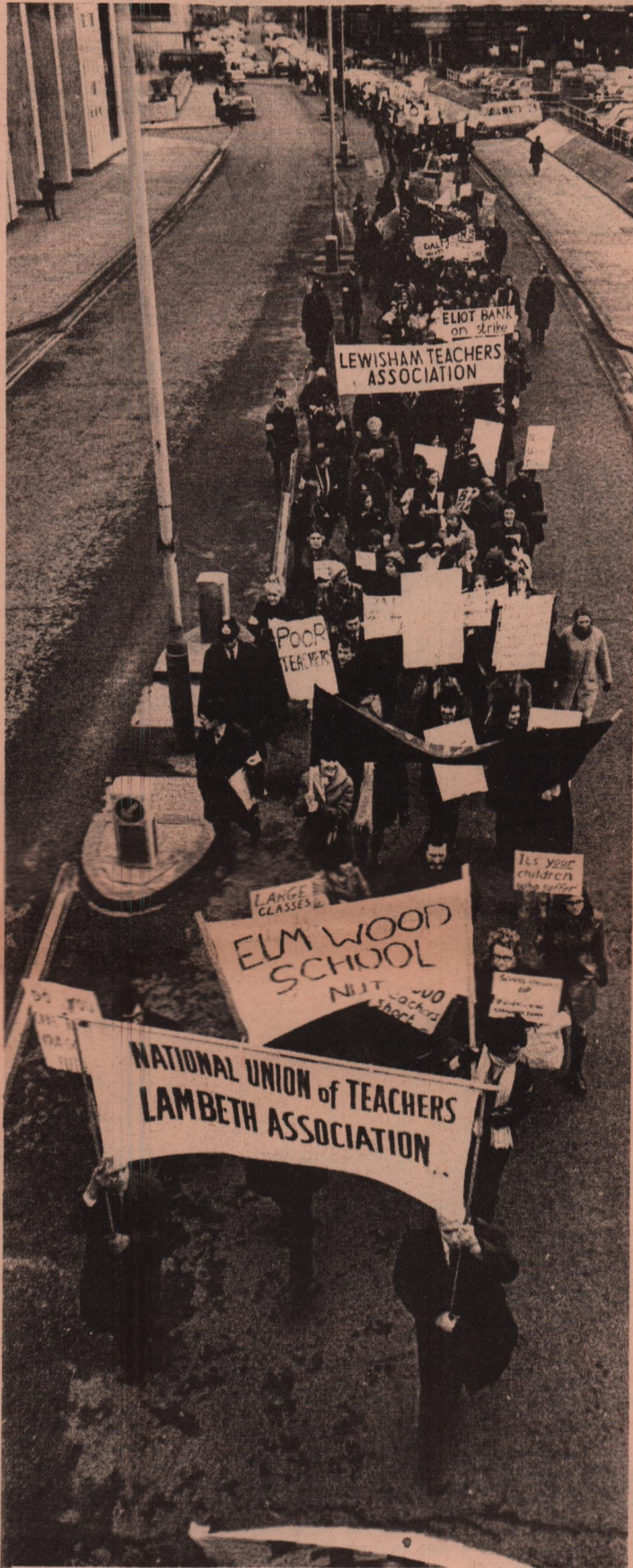
The Crowther Report said that the school-leaving age should be raised to 16 years. It called for extended courses for the older pupils (15 years and over).

It also recommended grants for pupils in the third year sixth and pupil-teacher ratios were to be kept down.

The school-leaving age has not yet been raised and nothing has been done to provide more teachers.

On the present basis, the raising of the school-leaving age can only mean larger classes in overcrowded conditions.

The Newson Report recommended that the school leaving



Striking teachers demonstrate in London.

by 1965. It also called for an increased use of audio-visual aids, such as television.

All those developments required an increase in the number of teachers, but at this time unemployment amongst qualified teachers was growing.

Targets proposed in the Robbins report for those students receiving higher education have been passed, but this does not vouch for the success of the report.

Everyone who wants a higher education and is qualified for it is not able to get it.

The Plowden Report was perhaps the most essential as it concerned the primary schools where there are large classes in old buildings.

Plans were made to improve conditions, both for the children and the teachers, and more use was to be made of part-time teachers.

All the plans for the proposed development of education have not been carried out.

problem: it is a class problem. Whilst the children of the ruling class attend public schools and sit in classes of 11 to 20, working-class children are condemned to classes of 40 and sometimes over.

So that the attack on education is an attack on the working class.

It is within this context that the extension of the teachers' struggle to national indefinite stoppage must be fought for.

Teachers have shown that they are prepared to fight with other workers both in Britain and internationally for decent wages.

In spite of all attempts by the leadership of the teachers' union, the Stalinists and the revisionists to channel the strike into a protest, the young teachers especially have shown that they will continue to resist all retreats.

Their unity with industrial workers in a fight against the Labour government and the employers is the only way that a full socialist education pro-

# FILM REVIEW

'Tell Them  
Willie Boy Is Here'  
Director Abraham Polonsky  
With Robert Redford, Anne  
Ross, Robert Blake and  
Susan Clark

**SPEAKING at a special meeting of the London Film School Young Socialists' Student Society, Abraham Polonsky related how, for 20 years, he was unable to make a film after his first masterpiece 'Force of Evil', because of the McCarthyite witch-hunt.**

McCarthyism swept the United States in the early 1950s at the height of the Cold War.

It was a witch-hunt against all opposition to the government with the aim of whipping up the maximum anti-communist hysteria.

Not only socialists but many artists trying to express ideas in their own way fell victim to these purges.

Some left the country. Others, like Polonsky, had their passports withdrawn and had to work under assumed names.

Yet some others were broken by the campaign and co-operated with the so-called Bureau of Un-American Activities.

They gave lists of names and so forth.

## Determination

Polonsky was not broken by McCarthyism. His 20-year struggle has evidently tinged him with a certain political cynicism, but his fierce determination to make his own films as he would has clearly been strengthened by it.

At last he has managed to make a new film, and it has been worth the wait.

'Willie Boy' shows how good drama can score over a documentary treatment.

It is based on a real story about a young Indian returning to an Indian reservation to take

his girl away. He is involved in a fight with her father and kills him.

He goes on the run with his girl, but is tracked down by the young sheriff who, while despising the crude Indian hunting ambitions of the old-timers, sees it as his job to get Willie Boy in order to prove himself.

A recent television documentary on the Indians in America (see Frank Cartwright's 'Workers Press' review November 25 1969) showed the struggle of Indians in history and today, but always from the outside.

This film gets right inside the character of Willie Boy, showing exactly what it is like to be a member of a subject people in the United States.

## Outstanding

The first half of the film is outstanding.

It weaves a subtle skein of relationships between Willie Boy and the white community. The latter all respect him, but some hate him, while others appear to be his friends.

The superb photography and subtle camera-work create some incredibly beautiful scenes.

The second half of the film, though still visually stunning and well thought out as a chase sequence, loses much of the subtleties of the first half.

It becomes almost a traditional chase. The motivation of the sheriff remains rather obscure and the other characters become fixed in their attitudes.

The end is all too predictable.

All the same, the film has the confident style of a master. It avoids the gimmicks of many recent films with their shimmering telephoto shots and their soft colours.

Polonsky controlled the film from the script to the editing and has given it a real unity of form and content.

He was clearly just flexing his muscles on this film. His next one will be a winner.

By Martin Mayer



# REVIEW BOOKS W ART

## The end of the Bourbon Monarchy

The Leopard  
By Giuseppe Di Lampedusa

Translated by  
Archibald Colquhoun  
William Collins Sons & Co.  
Fontana modern novels

A GOOD historical novel adds a new dimension to our understanding of the events which it describes.

'The Leopard', now available in paperback, is such a novel. It is set in Sicily in 1860, and describes a revolution from the view-point of an aristocrat, the Prince of Salina, known as the Leopard.

When Garibaldi lands in the island of Sicily, the prince becomes a member of a doomed class, a class about to lose most of its wealth and power to the new bourgeoisie.

1860 is the decisive year, the year in which Garibaldi lands on Sicily with his peasant army, overthrows the Bourbon monarchy, and goes on to conquer most of southern Italy.

From the beginning Fabrizio, the Leopard, recognizes that if his class is to survive at all it will have to make alliances with the bourgeoisie.

### Portrayal

There is an excellent portrayal of the contradictions in the Prince's character. He is very much aware of the traditions of the past, and is accustomed to wielding immense power. But his sensitivity and intelligence make him realize that change is inevitable, and that to survive at all the aristocracy must support this change.

The Prince is cynical and deeply pessimistic about the future. From the view-point of his class this pessimism is justified. 'Any palliative which may give us another hundred years of life is like eternity to us', he says, in justification of his actions.

As the book develops, so does the Prince's understanding of the changes which are taking place. At first he hopes that the changes will not be basic ones.

'If we want things to stay as they are, things will have to change . . .', says his nephew Tancredi as he goes to join Garibaldi's army.

But the Prince is surprised by the rapidity of events.

Lampedusa compares him to a traveller who thinks he is travelling in an old slow plane, and suddenly finds himself on a jet.

For example the Prince finds that a former peasant on his estates, Don Calogero, has become extremely wealthy and is in fact one of the new ruling class.

Marriage is a form of alliance; the Prince arranges for his penniless nephew Tancredi to marry Don Calogero's daughter. Outwardly Calogero still treats

cratic habits including that of washing. But in reality the relationship is completely altered, it is now one of equals.

Yet the Prince correctly realizes that in one sense the changes are less revolutionary than they seem, as there is a transfer of power from one ruling class to another.

Garibaldi over-ran Sicily and Italy with an army composed largely of peasants. But after the revolution the peasantry remained an exploited class.

An alliance between the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, as described in 'The Leopard' prevented Italy from becoming a republic. By the end of 1860 most of Italy was united under a liberal monarchy—Victor Emmanuel, the king of Piedmont in northern Italy.

### Concise

Against the hard background of the Sicilian extremes of flood and drought, unemployment and backwardness, Lampedusa writes smoothly and concisely of social change and its effects.

Perhaps only a Sicilian such as Lampedusa could understand his own society so well. He completely avoids any melodrama or over-emphasis which would weaken his description of revolutionary change.

Lampedusa does not attempt a full political analysis, this must be made by socialists reading his novel, but he does increase our understanding of a particular society in an age of revolutions.

By Mary Healy

### 'Good Morning, Brothers!'

By Jack Dash  
Published by  
Lawrence & Wishart 35s

IN HIS slim volume 'Good Morning, Brothers!', Jack Dash—who joined the Communist Party in 1936—does little else but recount a number of anecdotes.

On his activities as a Party member, spread over 33 years, he explains neither the major political events of these years nor his own development.

A few pages of the book are devoted to the old unofficial docks leaders—Ted Dickens, Albert Timothy, Wally Jones, Harry Constable and others—who had, as he says, 'integrity and loyalty to the men who elected them'.

These were men of some stature who emerged in a fight against a vicious trade union bureaucracy.

Dickens, Constable and Saunders were expelled from the Transport and General

## Fine examples in Polish art exhibition

but no focal point

by Cissy Lodge

ALTHOUGH the exhibition of Polish art at the Royal Academy contains many fine examples of painting, sculpture and crafts, the overall impression is that a focal point is lacking.

It is just a collection, and no real attempt is made to show the development of the culture of Poland as a whole.

The earliest art is the most impressive: a figure of an ox, made of sandstone in the tenth century, even though it is

damaged, shows great care in the handling of the stone, and a striving to express the patient look of a beast of burden.

The works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are marked by increasing mastery of the tools and instruments used to make goblets for kings and robes for priests.

Most of the painting and sculpture of this period was for the church: altar pieces, stained glass, and bible-illumination.

The picture of St. Eustace hunting, although it shows what is meant to be a heavenly vision has a strong feeling for the



Cock of the Cracow Marksmen's Brotherhood. Silver, made in 1565 for Sigismund II.

real appearance of rocks, trees, and distant landscape.

Poland never had a powerful monarchy; instead it was ruled by a group of nobles. In the art of the seventeenth century, this is made clear by the many fine portraits of lords and ladies.

After this period, the exhibition seems to crumble away into bits and pieces.

In the nineteenth century, the destiny of Poland became inextricably bound up with the whole of developing capitalism in Europe.

Polish art shared with Germany, a moodiness and melancholy, that expressed indirectly the frequent division of Poland.

The ruthless invasions of Poland by the capitalist armies deprived the country of the chance to develop its own culture.

Imperialist armies continued to slash up Poland in the twentieth century. Many artists expressed their agonized feelings and those of Poland as a whole.

### destruction

Bronislaw Linke's works show the bombing of Warsaw, and the utter destruction.

The low standard of the most recent works exhibited, means that the works of the best modern Polish artists were probably not selected.

The exhibition was arranged by the cultural representatives of the Polish government.

This is the same government of Stalinists which is now persecuting Jews on a mass scale, and which sent troops to keep down the Czech workers in 1968.

Is it likely that they would encourage the best artists?

The exhibition is closing on March 1. It is open from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. on weekdays, and 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. on Sunday.

In the March Keep Left there will be a review of the exhibition of Rodin's sculpture which has just opened at the Hayward Gallery.



Self-portrait J. Malczewski 1902.

## The Establishment man

Workers' Union and London dockers went on strike against their expulsion.

For a period, Harry Constable became—because of his support on the docks—the only docker working without a union card.

Dash came forward in the opposite direction to these leaders.

They developed their stature in organizing dockers around unofficial committees which fought the betrayals of the union leaders.

But Dash's committees have always confined their protests against the bureaucracy within very strict limits.

One of the few things Dash does recall is the petition the Unemployed Workers' Movement—of which he was a member—sent to the King, before the war.

Exactly the same number of pages are devoted to an account of how he addressed the '31 Club'—a club of 31 millionaires—as to the whole of the 1940-1944 war years.

In these two-and-a-half pages he, naturally, says nothing about his party's opposition to the war until the Soviet Union was invaded.

What emerges with absolute clarity is that Dash and his

London liaison committee were pushed into the 1967 dock strike.

While Liverpool remained solidly on strike, the dockers in the Royal group were marched out . . . and then, after four days, marched in again.

Another four days later, six gangs walked off their jobs over what they considered to be a breach of the 'continuity rule'.

The employers refused to budge.

The liaison committee called a meeting and an overwhelming majority voted for a mass walk-out.

This was the beginning of an eight-week strike.

The Merseyside dockers won because they stuck fast for their demands and no one from the government or the trade union bureaucracy could shift the rank-and-file.

Dash himself describes the position on Merseyside:

'Meanwhile our northern brothers on the Merseyside were one solid block, 12,000 of them out to a man, determined there would be no return to work until their justifiable demands had been met; at each mass meeting in the Liverpool Sports Stadium, the

officials' promises to negotiate if the men would return to work were howled down.

'No compromise! All or none! We'll stay out for ever!'

Dash follows his description of the Merseyside dockers' 'no compromise' stand by telling us how he slipped away to see Frank Cousins in an attempt to 'arrive at a formula'.

Dash went alone to see Cousins because, he says, he did not want 'to embarrass the general secretary by making it seem like a demand that he recognize the liaison committee'.

Dash, who has just told us how the Merseyside men would not return until their demands were met, then gives his own terms for a return:

'We hoped to arrive at a formula that would be acceptable to the men and bring about a return to work based on trustworthy assurances that our justifiable grievances would be met.'

This was the very type of formula angrily booted out by

continued on page 16 →

Write us a letter. Give us your opinion. Tell us about your job, your area or your YS branch

We enjoy the YS!

WE ENJOY going to the Young Socialists because what they say is right and we think more should be done about it.

It is the only organization that fights for its ideas instead of just talking about them.

We think that only the Young Socialists is able to prove its right to leadership in the fight to overthrow capitalism.

Why should we be ruled by the capitalists? Why should our lives be ruled by people that care nothing about us?

The working class should be able to decide its own future and this is only possible under socialism.

Elaine Phillips  
Ruth Carter  
Enfield YS  
London.

Big wages struggles ahead

IT IS ALREADY clear that 1970 is going to surpass 1969 in the extent of wages struggles in the factories.

Workers in the Ford combine have put forward a demand for parity with the Midlands car workers—an increase of £10 a week.

Militant shop stewards have stated that they will fight for this even if they don't get official union backing.

It is obvious that the Ford management will try to resist this kind of claim. Union negotiators may be asked to accept further productivity schemes, such as three-shift working, extra 'penalty clauses', and more speed-up.

This pattern of big wage demands from the workers and resistance from the bosses will be the most important factor in the political developments which take place this year.

Because the employing class can only try to solve its economic crisis by attacking the working class, all union leaders will be faced with demands for productivity concessions and for the weakening of the power of the shop stewards.

The last two years have shown that these leaders invariably retreat in front of the employers.

The worst example of this was in October 1968 when the leadership of the Shipbuilding

Don't let the Tories back

WE CAN now see even more clearly, the role of Powellism in Britain.

Powell in trying to split and divide the working class is

acting, of course, on behalf of the entire ruling class.

They know very well that in order to bring in anti-working-class measures more easily they have to divide workers on whatever pretext they can find.

The employers' system is in deep crisis; from this crisis stems the need of the ruling class to step up its attacks on the working class in the form of increasing prices, productivity deals and unemployment.

Workers, however are not willing to accept such measures and are fighting back against them.

The employers hope that by trying to confine the working class to struggles amongst themselves, they will be able to turn the class away from the main issues that face it today.

The Young Socialists call for the unity of all workers, black and white, for a fight against the threat of a right-wing,

Powellite Tory government which will carry out even bigger attacks on the working class than the Wilson government.

To do this we must fight today to build the revolutionary party; the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League.

Forward with the Young Socialists in 1970, the year of Lenin and Trotsky!

Ron Davidson,  
Catford YS.

# EDITOR'S POSTBAG

## Unknown death

A selection of poetry by R. E. Jones of Coventry Young Socialist branch.

The night grows dark, there's no one about,  
no-one can hear his far, distant shout.  
He calls and calls, but all in vain,  
as he lies in the dirt, soaked with rain.

His mind and eyes are clouding fast.  
He knows each breath could be his last.  
People pass but no-one knows,  
about the thing whose heartbeat slows.

He gasps and chokes to get his breath,  
and knows full well he draws near death.  
At last death comes but no-one knows,  
It's the death of an ant and no-one cares about those.

Flashing bayonets, clenched teeth,  
smoking rubble, bodies beneath.  
Lifeless bodies, rotting limbs,  
buried where fallen, no prayers or hymns.

Falling debris, broken bones,  
weeping families, ruined homes.  
Pain-filled screams, frightened cries,  
a heart stops beating as another one dies.

Blinding flashes, thunder of steel,  
soldiers killing to turn fate's wheel.  
Kill or be killed, that's the law,  
ceaseless fighting, senseless war.

The ant stands for people in far-off  
countries, dying from hunger, war, etc.;  
The people who pass stand for the people  
who shut themselves from this fact.

and Engineering Unions, many of them with reputations as left militants, accepted the principle of productivity deals in the factories in exchange for 6s a week. The rank and file had been ready to strike for a £2 increase.

Because of the reformist ideology of the present union leadership they accept the employers' insistence that the working class must pay for the crisis of capitalism.

Only a revolutionary leadership which understands that the way to resolve the crisis of

capitalism is to destroy it, can win real gains for the working class in the future.

This is the chief lesson that must be learnt by the working class in 1970.

Young Socialists must take advantage of the sharpening class struggle this year to build this revolutionary leadership.

A young engineer  
Enfield YS.  
London.

Join up as a member of the YS

I THINK that the Young Socialists are right in what they are doing. I think it is correct to have tried to stop Wilson going to Washington to give more support to the war in Vietnam.

The only way we can organize is by getting more workers to join the Young Socialists to help us fight. And the only way we can do this is by planning more and more campaigns and marches.

Elena Franz  
North Kensington YS.

## Teaching shortage?

DESPITE the cries of the government that we are still short of teachers, there are now plans afoot to restrict the number of entrants into the Colleges of Education.

New students are going to be accepted only if they have both English and Mathematics at 'O' level.

This will drastically cut the number of women students and will also reduce the number of men who will be able to enter the teaching profession.

This is part of the government's plan to reduce the number of qualified teachers and to develop the use of teachers' aides.

The Labour government is intent on drastically reducing spending on education.

A young teacher

## Problem Head-teacher

FIVE GIRLS at a London school have been pulled up by the headmistress and told to leave the Young Socialists.

This followed an occasion when she saw the girls signing the Young Socialists' petition against Wilson's visit to Washington.

The headmistress told the girls (all 16-year-olds) that

they were too young to pay any attention to politics.

The girls, however, have continued to fight for the policies of the Young Socialists and they have recruited several new members to their local branch.

They have continued to build the YS branch in spite of the pressure from their headmistress who, like other bureaucrats, sees her privileged position threatened by the building of the revolutionary leadership to take the working class to power.

Member of East London Federation of Young Socialists

## A successful campaign!

THE Young Socialists' Stop Wilson Going to Washington campaign was an extremely successful one.

From the beginning it was centred on the working class and the response from the factories and trade union branches was very good.

However the campaign is not over. The National Committee of the Young Socialists must fight to extend this campaign into a really big movement against the treachery of the Wilson leadership.

It must be extended into all the major factories in this country and used to build the YS into a mass movement.

Sue Edwards  
Bermondsey YS

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Name .....

Address .....

Age..... Special interests.....

# 10th ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS



APRIL 11/12  
1970



100 years since Lenin's birth

30 years since Trotsky's death

## YEAR OF LENIN AND TROTSKY

LAST YEAR ONE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED DELEGATES ATTENDED OUR CONFERENCE. IT WAS A GREAT SUCCESS! THIS YEAR WE EXPECT EVEN MORE. COME ALONG TO THE MOST IMPORTANT CONFERENCE WE HAVE EVER HELD. DECIDE SOCIALIST POLICIES! BUILD THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS!

A weekend at

# SCARBOROUGH!

GRAND HALL, THE SPA.

### YOUR WEEKEND TIMETABLE APRIL 11/12

**FRIDAY 10 p.m.**—TRAVEL overnight to Scarborough from a social or discotheque in your local area, in luxury coaches on the motorways.

**SATURDAY 8 a.m.**—ARRIVE in Scarborough, leave your luggage in the hotel and look around.

**SATURDAY 2.30 p.m.**—ANNUAL CONFERENCE of the Young Socialists opens to discuss the socialist alternative to Wilson, building the All Trades Unions Alliance and the Workers Press.

**SATURDAY 8 p.m.**—CIVIC RECEPTION by the Mayor, free buffet and GRAND DANCE at the Spa Ballroom to The Element of Truth and another top line group.

**SATURDAY NIGHT**—Bed and breakfast in Scarborough's comfortable hotels.

**SUNDAY 9.30 a.m.**—CONFERENCE re-assembles to discuss the international struggles of youth and the building of an international youth movement. Delegates from different countries to attend.

**SUNDAY 5 p.m.**—RETURN by coach to build a massive Young Socialist movement to prepare for the struggles of the working class in 1970.

Dance to

'THE ELEMENT OF TRUTH'

and

another top-line Group

on

SATURDAY,  
11th APRIL, 1970

at

The Spa Ballroom  
Scarborough

at 8 p.m.

Coaches leaving from all areas. Cost approximately £4 includes bed and breakfast, fare, conference and dance on Saturday evening

BAR  
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Barry Mills??

I would like to come to the Conference/join the Young Socialists

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Deposit enclosed: £.....

Complete and send to: Sheila Torrance, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

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## Apprentices must fight back now against:

Redundancies  
Unemployment  
and  
Low wages

says John Simmance,  
young engineering  
worker and  
assistant YS  
secretary



ON MARCH 31 this year production at the Willesden switchgear factory of GEC-AEI will cease and the last of almost 2,000 workers will walk out of the gates.

The merger of GEC and AEI in 1967 and later with English Electric has made the biggest electronics monopoly in Britain.

Employing some 240,000 workers, with an estimated profit of £66,000,000 for 1969, this vast empire has made thousands redundant in the country.

In 1968, soon after the GEC-AEI merger 5,500 were sacked at AEI in Woolwich. A further 3,500 were made redundant in 1969 including men at the Willesden works.

Thousands of workers in the combine, including English Electric plants on Merseyside, are also reported to have had their notices.

The latest closure was the Morphy-Richardson factory in Orpington where 1,500 were employed.

Despite all the 'left' noises made by Labour MPs and the trade union bureaucrats about the effects of the redundancies, no action demanding the nationalization of the combine has been called for by the leadership of the labour movement.

In fact it has been the Labour government's Industrial Reorganization Corporation which has recommended the mergers, plus a government grant to back the combine.

The company's comment in 1969 was that the combine would have to be as 'fully competitive as possible in the world market'.

Today the mergers of such companies into enormous monopolies with the resultant sacking of thousands of workers, can only be seen as a direct result of the international crisis of capitalism.

Power is concentrated into fewer and fewer hands to appropriate as much profit as possible from the working class.

Hardest hit by the redundancies are the apprentices.

Keep Left and the Young Socialists have consistently fought against precisely these kind of attacks on young workers.

My fellow apprentices at AEI feel resentment at the fact that after the years of hard slogging during their training they may not be able to finish their apprenticeships.

Twenty-year-old David Barnes, a fourth-year apprentice, said he doubted if he would be able to finish his apprenticeship. He had applied for jobs but received no answer yet.

Charlie Diam said he thought that since the factory was closing down the management should find them alternative employment.

One of the problems, they both agreed, was that if they did accept any job in engineering it would mean getting less money.

In Willesden over 10,000 workers in the last few years have been sacked because of factory closures.

December's national unemployment figures went up by 55,000 to 628,000.

With the Labour government's policy of using unemployment to hold down workers' wages, at the demand of the international bankers, young apprentices face

the possibility that they will not be able to learn a trade and that instead they will find themselves in the dole queues.

When I asked the remaining apprentices in my section what they thought about nationalization under workers' control as the only solution to redundancies and unemployment I found general agreement.

Young apprentices must fight back now against redundancies. The Tories have declared their intention of fighting the unions by bringing in anti-strike laws if they are returned to office after a general election as part of their attack on the living standards of the working class.

The time to prepare is now! We must campaign amongst all apprentices and young workers around the Young Socialists programme:

- The right of all youth to learn a trade and improve their technical qualifications.
- The organization of training courses for young workers in factories or groups of factories, paid for by the employers and under workers' control.
- Hours of craft training to be taken out of the working week and paid for at regular rates.
- Re-open the shut-down factories under public ownership and workers' control.
- A full programme of public works (hospitals, schools, youth clubs, housing projects, swimming pools) paid at trade union rates under workers' management.
- Work-sharing without loss of pay.
- Trade unions to recruit and take responsibility of unemployed youth.
- Political struggle in the trade unions for policies of nationalization under workers' control as the answer to unemployment.
- Equal pay for equal work.
- Forbidding of all work not connected with the apprenticeship.
- Prohibition of night work and arduous, unhealthy tasks.
- Workers' control over the use of young labour.

Help us to organize the mass Young Socialists to overthrow the capitalist system of super-exploitation and unemployment and build a socialist one.

## Establishment Man

● Continued from page 14

the Merseyside men when put up by their officials.

A formula was drawn up for the setting-up of an inquiry after an immediate return to work.

Dash says he informed Cousins and O'Leary, the T&GWU national docks secretary 'that I would take it back to the liaison committee, but warned them that I had no hope of its acceptance'.

From then on, it was the old routine:

'The liaison committee decided once more to approach the Establishment, to march once again to the Minister of Labour and the Prime Minister.'

One week after his meeting with Cousins, the London men were led back with nothing.

Dash ends his book with his own 'obituary', written by himself, appropriately enough, for a BBC television programme.