

Keep

LEFT

Official paper of the Young Socialists

THE REAL FACTS ABOUT THE SEAMEN'S STRIKE



IN the seamen's strike two definite sides have emerged — on the one side the forces of the state represented by Harold Wilson and the Labour government with the full backing of the bosses and the Tory press, who want the government to make a stand against the working class on the question of wage increases — on the other side is the seamen who represent the interests of the workers. The seamen's strike is a political strike in which the despicable role of the Labour government is fully exposed as being one of launching an attack against a section of militant workers in order to set a precedent for the passing of the Prices and Incomes Bill through Parliament.

FOR THE WORKING CLASS

The growing number of seamen on strike

Receive: £14 for a 56-hour week.

Only section of the working class in Britain who have to work a 56-hour week under penalty of an Act passed in 1894—the Merchant Shipping Act.

Work: Eight hours a day, seven days a week.

Subject to the rule of the Skipper — no redress under Shipping Act.

Working at sea in all weathers.

Militants witch-hunted by alleged political bias of ships' captains.

Bound to the company hand and foot.

FOR THE EMPLOYERS

Prime Minister Harold Wilson

Receives £14,000 a year

Hob-nobs with Royalty (in the picture he is sitting with Princess Marina and Lady Churchill at a Wimbledon Tennis Tournament.)

Friend of the International Bankers and Monopolists.

Advocate of legislation against the unions through the Prices and Incomes Bill



Vietnam—U.S. troops on top of volcano

Keep Left Correspondent

ALL Vietnam has exploded with full force in the face of the American occupation army.

For months the United States troops have been sitting on top of a rumbling volcano—now that volcano has boiled over into an eruption of fighting and angry demonstrations by the South Vietnamese.

Faced with the reactionary army generals of South Vietnam's President, Air Marshal Ky, who originally refused to allow elections in South Vietnam, workers and peasants, led by Buddhists, have demonstrated in most of the large cities.

In Da Nang Buddhists have used two of the main Pagodas as headquarters from which to fight government and United States troops.

Also in Hue anti-government forces had taken control.

Buddhist supporters and Vietcong fighters in Da Nang threatened to 'destroy immediately the airfield'—starting and supplying place of the army of Air Marshal Ky and Lieutenant-General Ngyen Van Thieu.

Whilst workers in the city of Da Nang fight it out however, Buddhist leaders are busy making representation to American Lieutenant-General Lewis Walt, Commander of the US Marine Third Amphibious Force asking him to intervene 'in order to save all our people of Da Nang'.

In true religious style the Buddhists have been carried away by the fervour and determination of the workers and peasants of South Vietnam and now, realising that things are getting serious, they are beginning to furiously back-pedal.

There is also the fact that elections will soon take place and the Buddhists, who want to keep out the communists, are without doubt stepping up their campaign at this point.

To ask an American army General to intervene in fighting is to invite the enemy in to take over. US troops did in fact recapture Da Nang but they are finding the job of taking over other strongholds far more difficult, especially Hue.

The immense feeling of hatred for the US intervention cannot be crystallised into a disciplined fighting force by Buddhist priests. Only the Vietcong has sustained an uncompromising stand against the Johnson government.

It is this strong force of the revolutionary workers and peasants which has kept the US troops on the edge of nervous tension in Saigon until it breaks out, as it did at the beginning of May, in a terrible half hour of slaughter.

In this incident four Vietnamese women and children died and 21 were injured after a mine exploded outside a tailor's shop. US servicemen in the area went wild in a burst of automatic fire which swept up and down the streets. At one stage the US were reported to have been exchanging shots with their own men.

Underlying such actions as these is the obvious instability of the American troops who do not know where the Vietcong will strike next even when they are in the comparative safety of their own strongholds.

(Continued on page 8)

BRUTAL SHOOTING OF U.S. SOCIALISTS young student killed

By a Keep Left Reporter

ON May 19 Leo Bernard, a 27-year-old student from Wayne State University, was murdered by an anti-communist killer.

He and two fellow students, Jan Garrett (20) and Walter Graham (19) were shot at by a gunman in the local Detroit headquarters—Debs Hall—of the Socialist Workers' party.

A one-time candidate for the Socialist Workers' Party in the 1964 Congress elections, Bernard was married on March 13 this year. Garrett is the Wayne County chairman of the Socialist Workers' Party and national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Graham is a Young Socialist Alliance member also.

The gunman, taxi driver Edward Waniolek, had announced earlier to his wife that he was 'going to kill some communists'.

When arrested following the shooting he made no protest. In fact police knew of his hatred for communists and the special investigation bureau had already been questioned by the United States Secret Service about Waniolek on March 4 this year.

He had apparently been to the South African Consulate in New York and declared both that he was armed and that New York was overrun by communists.

Both Jan Garrett and Walker Graham were rushed to hospital after they were wounded. Forty students offered their blood to the critically ill comrades. (Garrett was hit in the neck, thigh and groin and Graham was wounded in his chest, leg and neck.)

This action was not just the wild shots of some reactionary fanatic. What has been building up in Detroit is the same hysteria which culminated in the bomb-

ing of radical headquarters such as WEB Dubois Club offices in San Francisco and the bombing of the headquarters of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee.

Imperialism is terribly afraid of the growing forces of revolutionary youth, in America, in Vietnam, in Britain, throughout the world, and that fear was reflected through the wild gunfire of Waniolek.

This is the violence of a system which is in crisis; a crisis which produces Vietnam, the murder of Civil Rights fighters in Mississippi and the assassination of Black Nationalist leader Malcolm X.

What is behind this bloody murder of a young comrade is capitalism's hatred of revolutionary militants and the growing opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Leo Bernard was part of the world-wide movement of youth



BERNARD

against imperialism of which we as Young Socialists are a part. Bernard was not able to see the victory of his cause but we can and will! Keep Left wishes the comrades Garrett and Graham a speedy recovery.



GRAHAM



GARRETT

YS protest at jailing of Polish Trotskyists

PROTESTING against the secret trial and imprisonment of Polish teachers and students 100 Young Socialists and trade unionists marched to the Polish embassy on May 21. At a meeting held before the demonstration began the demonstrators voted to accept a resolution contained in a letter addressed to the Prime Minister of Poland, Wladislaw Gomulka, which was later handed to the second secretary at the Polish embassy, Mr. Jan Rabs.

The resolution stated:

6 This protest demonstration of trade unionists and Young Socialists, meeting in London on May 21, 1966, condemns, as a bureaucratic attack on the international Communist movement, the imprisonment of Ludwig Hass, Karol Modzelewski, Kazimierz Badowski, Romauld Smiech, Kuron, and others. These student and teacher members of the Polish Workers' Party are charged with no crime, but only with issuing a pamphlet criticising their leaders. As Communists, this was their right and their duty. The Polish Workers' movement has, in the past, suffered much at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its policemen. We recall especially the murder in 1938 in Moscow of the entire leadership of the Polish Communist Party, and the imprisonment from 1949-1956 of Wladislaw Gomulka himself. Like these acts, the jailing of Hass and his comrades is an attack on the international working class and, as such, undermines the existence of the Polish workers' state itself in the face of imperialism. We demand that these men be released immediately and allowed to fight as communists for their principles. 9

In reporting back on the delegation to the embassy Comrade Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, said that he had explained that the demonstration was not hostile to Poland: that the youth and trade unionists disagreed with the demonstration held the previous Sunday in which the anti-Communist, pro-capitalist Polish Socialist Party took part.



WAS there anything in the May Budget of Mr. Callaghan for the working class? Nothing, in fact! The Budget will raise over £300,000,000 in extra taxation. These taxes will, in the main, have to be paid for by the working class.

The main proposal in the Budget was Callaghan's 'Selective Employment Tax'.

What is this? From September 1966 all employers will pay to the Government 25s. for every adult male worker they employ.

In the non-manufacturing section of the economy (that is the section not directly producing goods) they will get nothing back in exchange for these payments. On the other hand, in the manufacturing section, they will get back 32s. 6d. for each person employed.

Prices Increase

In other words they will get a gift of 7s. 6d. from the government for each person they employ.

What will this measure mean? In the first place, it will bring a sharp increase in prices. Employers faced with the 25s. tax and getting nothing back will put up their prices in order to recoup their losses.

£ Price control - fact or farce?

By a Keep Left Economics Correspondent

All sections of the economy must be hit: retail distribution, administrative services, transport charges (garage charges are expected to rise by 5s. an hour).

Rising prices will hit the pockets of millions of workers, especially youth, who have to exist on very low wages.

Secondly, it must mean rising unemployment. One way employers can avoid paying the 25s. is by sacking their workers.

This is especially so in building and construction (counted as a service in industry). Employers will drive to get rid of any 'surplus' labour in order to cut costs.

With rising unemployment, the bosses will be in a better position to hold down wages for those who work.

In the last few weeks there

have been increasing demands from the international banks for a tighter credit squeeze in this country—designed to increase the level of unemployment.

Thirdly, the 'Selective Employment Tax' means big hand-outs of money to the manufacturers: for the big man a 7s. 6d. gift for every man they employ means big money.

Imperial Chemicals Industries will, for example, get £2,000,000 in a full year; Ford Motors £1,000,000 and the British Motor Corporation £1,000,000.

Subsidy

This is a desperate attempt by the Labour government to subsidise exporters to bolster up the sagging balance of payments position. But there will, of course, be

no control over how this money is spent by the private monopolists.

Finally, what of the Prices and Incomes Bill which the Labour government wants to introduce? Labour is determined to press ahead with this anti-union legislation. This was made clear by Callaghan's Budget speech.

Wilson and company have always tried to present this as legislation to control both wages AND prices.

But nobody has said how price control is to be effective. How can Labour control the prices charged by the big monopolists when it refuses to nationalize any of the major industries?

Private firms fix their prices in order to maximise their profits so that they can keep up the battle, day in and day out, with their competitors.

Since Labour came into power prices have continued to increase despite all Mr. Brown's appeals for modernisation and restraint.

The latest example is the level of mortgage rates which rose to a new height immediately after the budget.

Smoke screen

All talk of 'price control' whilst capitalism remains is a smoke-screen to hide the real intentions of the Labour government which is to impose a wage freeze on the working class so that profits can rise and capitalism can be strengthened.

So nobody should be misled by this Budget. It is an attack on the standard of living of the working class, designed to bring rising unemployment and cuts in real wages.

LOS ANGELES



why Negro workers rebelled against the State in 1965

By Dave Longley

40% unemployed

8 hospitals

drop in wages

OF a total population of 576,000, over 50,000 in Watts, Los Angeles, are unemployed—not counting young workers from school, who cannot register as unemployed.

This in fact means 30 to 40 per cent of the working population, at least, is unemployed.

Wages of Negro workers are just over half of those of white workers, and the situation is getting worse.

Between 1960 and 1965, the average earnings of white families rose by 14 per cent, those of black families fell by 8 per cent.

In this period, the already exorbitant rents charged by absentee landlords for the dilapidated housing of the Negro areas went up by 14 per cent.

The entire Negro area of Los Angeles is served by only eight hospitals: that is only 454 beds for 576,000 people!

The white population has three times as many doctors as the Negroes. For every two white children who die at birth, five Negro children die.

NO SCHOOL

The education system for the Negroes ensures that their reading ability gets worse and one-quarter of all Negro six-year-olds are not even in any school at all.

But this is more than a picture of despair: it is a picture of how the US ruling class uses racialism to keep both black and white workers enslaved.

Everything is done to isolate black and white workers physically. Although only 14 per cent

of Negro families in Los Angeles own cars, as compared to 50 per cent of white families, the public transport in the Negro areas is almost non-existent, thus forcing the Negro workers to keep to themselves.

This fact is also used to increase the misery of the Negroes. They have to do their shopping in the area. So, this is where prices are highest in Los Angeles and quality is the worst!

Automation in US industry is eliminating jobs at an enormous rate. A general rise in unemployment is feared by the ruling class, because of retaliation that it would bring from the working class.

WHITE LABOUR

Thus they aim to make the blow fall first of all on the Negro worker, maintaining for as long as possible the relatively privileged position of the white worker, whilst isolating him from the Negro worker by the encouragement and fostering of racialism.

Los Angeles illustrates this clearly:

The Negro area, where unemployment is so heavy, is a factory area. Negroes suffer all the disadvantages of living in such an area, but are denied employment in these factories.

Factories recruit their labour from the white areas, workers commuting up to 40 miles to work every morning.

The excuse given by the ruling class is the low educational level of the Negroes.

Two points must be made: First: the educational level is the result of deliberate policy of the same people who use the excuse: the employers.

Second: what kind of education is needed to turn screws on a car assembly line, or to bolt a wheel into place?

The illusion of President Johnson's 'Great Society', of prosperity for certain layers of the US working class is only maintained on the basis of the deliberate degrading of the Negro workers.

In the riots that took place last year, many troops were sent into the area. Some of these guarded the shop keepers who have acted as leeches on the poverty-stricken population for so long.

But the biggest contingents went to guard the factories that cover the area—in case the riots would affect the jobs of the privileged layers of workers and upset the imperialist plan of divide and rule.

REBELLION

Tactics used in Los Angeles are the same the imperialists use all over the world. Wherever they can, they divide the working class, get worker to fight worker, create privileged and non-privileged layers, to make a worker forget that he has class interests.

Last year during America's 'long hot summer' workers in the Watts area of Los Angeles, refusing to stand for the cops, the bad housing and the second-rate jobs, rose up against the State.

A rebellion erupted and Negro workers fought it out with the US army in the streets. Their revolt was a true reflection of the tremendous cauldron which smoulders beneath the American facade of wealth and plenty.

The Watts Negroes showed the way in a battle which concerns class war not differences of so-called race, or religion.

SEAMEN'S STRIKE

'Prisoners in Noah's Ark'

'WE shall stand firm on the 40-hour week and we will not go back until we get it.' These very determined words were spoken by a young seaman picket at the Ensign Street strike headquarters at Tower Hill, London.

He and several others described to me the conditions under which seamen work and how this present strike is an expression of all the anger and frustration which has built up over the years.

Whilst George Woodcock, general secretary of the Trades Union Congress, lords it in Majorca with a £10-a-day room at the Hotel Formentor, seamen take up their daily position on picket duty and receive, at the end of the week, £3.

INQUIRY

At the same time Mr. Joe O'Hagan, general secretary of the National Union of Blastfurnacemen and this year's TUC Chairman; Hugh Clegg, member of the National Board for Prices and Incomes; Lord Pearson, a Lord Chief Justice of Appeal (chairman of the Court of Enquiry) and A. J. Stephen Brown, vice-president of the Confederation of British Industry sit on a court of inquiry set up by Ray Gunter, Minister of

Labour for the one purpose—planning a compromise. Seamen I interviewed were clear that the strike was not a question of facing the ship-owners alone.

'We are fighting the ship-owners, the leadership of the union and the Labour government in order to get what we want. Harold Wilson may have been a trade unionist once, but why does he now follow the pattern of the Tories?' one man justifiably asked.

SKIPPERS' LAW

'Men working on the land have had the 40-hour week for some time but we still have to work a 56-hour week. We exist on board ship under the rule of the skipper and what he says is law. You have to obey even if you think he is wrong.'

Apart from the 40-hour week and the miserable wages of £14, many men feel strongly about the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894 which is binding on all seamen.

Arising out of this Act there are a million and one grievances; so many, I was told, that if I wanted to hear all of them it would take all week.

Once he has signed a contract with a company the seaman is virtually enslaved with, as one seaman put it 'the skipper as the Lord of the Manor'.

A man who is ten minutes late reporting for duty can be fined a

day's wages. If, for some unavoidable reason he misses his ship, then he is fined and forfeits his belongings.

The whole thing was summed up in a phrase by one angry seaman: 'We are prisoners on Noah's Ark once we are at sea.'

Young boys of 17 who sign on for the sea say that the training they receive at places like the school in Gravesend are really only meant to discipline potential seamen. (Many of these very young seamen have been amongst the most diligent pickets down at the docks.)

In an interview with the Ensign Street strike committee, amid the sound of ringing telephones and the accepted bustle of a strike headquarters, members explained the hours worked at sea.

EIGHT-HOUR DAY

'We work watches of four-hour shifts—four hours on and eight hours off—which amounts to an eight-hour day throughout the week with no overtime pay for the week-end. The catering staff begin work at 6 a.m. and finish at 6 p.m. with a rest period between.'

'Wages average at £14 a week. A boy signing on at sea does not get that full rate until he has been at it for five years.'

Discipline, I was told, is very harsh on some ships, depending entirely on the man who captains the ship.

One member of the committee said he knew of a case in Jamaica where the men walked off their ship during a dispute and were forced back on by local police at the request of the skipper.

Most hated of all the measures taken by the captain is the writing of D/R* in the log book. This means that the captain refuses to make any report about the work of a particular seaman at the end of a voyage. Having such a record makes it almost impossible for the man concerned to find work on another ship.

MUST WIN

The feeling of most seamen is that this strike has brought out into the open the really bad conditions under which they work, conditions which would not be tolerated for one moment by the trade unions in the factories.

Above all, the men I spoke to were clear that they had to win: 'If the companies get what they want they can defy every seaman's issue once we are back on the ships and state exactly what our livelihood is going to be.'

In response to the Young Socialists' campaign in support of the strike one or two seamen have spoken to large meetings of youth in YS branches, explaining their case.

And members of the Young

* Declines Report.

Socialists have explained, and must continue to explain, all that is involved in this strike, which is no ordinary stoppage but one in which the state has made a definite intervention to try and crush it.

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MAY 25th LOBBY

Dockers, Seamen unite against

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The whole of the Merseyside docks stopped in support of the action, involving 7,678 men and 63 ships.

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Strange bedfellows

THERE is an old saying that in politics you meet strange bedfellows, but surely the spectacle of members of the state capitalist group of Tony Cliff cuddling up to the Stalinists in King Street is one of the strangest we have seen for a long time.

For those of our readers who are not yet initiated into the meaning of state capitalism, we would like to say that this is the group that considers the Soviet Union, China and all Eastern Europe as state capitalist countries and from this logically it follows that the Communist Parties are state capitalist parties.

The Stalinists, of course, need no introduction. During the past 40 years they have falsified every history book that is possible so far as the Soviet Union is concerned. They brutally murdered, butchered and destroyed the most outstanding militants of Lenin's revolutionary party. During the Second World War they joined hands with Winston Churchill and denounced all those who in any way opposed the war. At the present moment they are the best advocates of peace with capitalist policies, which are in no way different from those of the Fabian Society.

Our readers will recall that during the long struggle within the Young Socialists against the right wing of the Labour Party, the state capitalists used to produce a youth paper called 'Young Guard'. The editor of this paper was one Mike Cafoor. Under his guidance the paper has just closed down for good and he, like the other state capitalists, is naturally turning to new fields to display his literary talents.

Now along comes the revamped 'Daily Worker', known as the 'Morning Star', Mr. Cafoor quickly jumps on the bandwagon with a feature article on votes at 18.

For the preparation for the June 22 lobby, another state capitalist, Mr. Geoff Carlson, quickly persuaded his factory (ENV shop stewards) to join hands with the Stalinists. What then, may our readers ask, lies behind this strange alliance? Very simple. The Stalinists are reformists in practice. They are busy today making overtures to the worst fake lefts in the Labour Party.

The main purpose is to build up an unprincipled alliance to fight the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League.

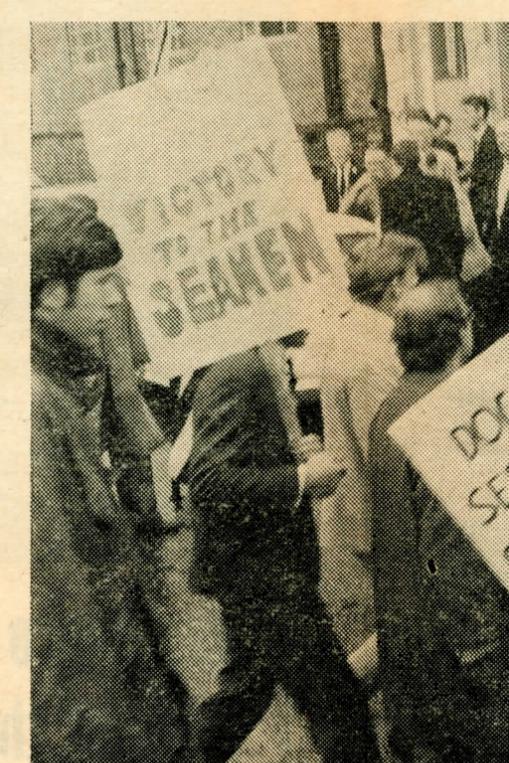
The state capitalists, of course, have always been close to these Labour Party fakers, so they do not find it too difficult to join hands with the Stalinist betrayers.

Mr. Tony Cliff, the leader of the state capitalist group, knows all about the history of the Stalinists, but he does not lift a little finger to discourage the activities of Carlson and Cafoor. The one thing Cliff will not do is support the struggle of the Marxists. He will support every opportunist under the sun before he does this. Small wonder 'Young Guard' had to close down, since it was thoroughly discredited.

The state capitalists prefer and will always prefer the political company of Stalinists and fake lefts.

This is one more lesson for the Young Socialists to take note of.

EDITORIAL



These slogans expressed

Noah's Ark'

by AILEEN JENNINGS

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They do this in preparation for an attack on the whole working class in Britain at the behest of the international bankers and monopolists.

PIOUS CP PHRASES

One other thing has come out clearly in this seamen's strike and that is that docker Jack Dash and seaman Gordon Norris of the Communist Party are not

going to lead anyone in a struggle against the Labour government or the state.

With pious phrases they urge the seamen and dockers not to take any 'unofficial' or 'irresponsible' action. Who is 'irresponsible'—the seamen who fight the battle of the whole working class in defence of the trade unions or the Labour government which threatened to bring in the navy to break the strike?

MAY 25th LOBBY

Dockers, Seamen and Young Socialists unite against the government's policy

By David Beech

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The united demonstration marched 1,100-strong through London—from Tower Hill to Waterloo—with the message:

Support the Seamen! Against the Devlin Report and anti-union legislation!

At the Houses of Parliament in the afternoon the numbers of

lobbyists swelled to 2,000 as more seamen joined those who had marched to question MPs on the day before the government introduced a State of Emergency.

SIGNIFICANT

This march was the most significant demonstration of the working class since the January 26 lobby of parliament against the government's proposed anti-trade union legislation, which had been called by the Lambeth Trades Council.

May 25 was certainly more politically significant in that it was led by the Young Socialists,

whose national committee had called the demonstration, and raised not only the proposed legislation, but also the seamen's strike and the dockers' struggle against the Devlin Report.

The youth, the most revolutionary section of the working class today, were able to unite representatives from all parts of the labour and trade union movement against capitalism and the anti-working-class policies carried out by capitalism's lackeys in the Labour government—Wilson and company.

Recognising the meaning of this, the youth insisted that their march be led by the banner of the Merseyside dockers (seen on this page), behind which dockers and seamen from all over the country marched.

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by AILEEN JENNINGS

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LOBBY

Seamen and Young Socialists March against the government's

policy

By David Beech

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stration when Communist Party members and officials from the National Union of Seamen persuaded some Liverpool seamen—with offers of free food, free travel across London and a possible lobby of Harold Wilson—to leave the YS march.

Despite these splitting tactics the YS will be joining the CP-organised June 22 lobby.

This followed a complete black-out by Fleet Street on any aspect of the YS campaign—apart from an 'Evening Standard' report of a YS leaflet. This report was hurriedly withdrawn from the paper's later editions.

But the march made things clear where the YS and the workers stood.

SLOGANS CHANTED

'Lift the Emergency—Fight for the Seamen's Victory!', 'Devlin Out—Nationalize the Docks!', 'Seamen, dockers—Unite and fight!', 'Hands off the Unions—Make the bosses pay!', were among many of the slogans continuously chanted by young and old as the march snaked its way through busy riverside streets.

In the lobby itself at Westminster nearly 20 MPs were asked questions about the seamen's strike, the State of Emergency, the anti-union legislation, and the docks.

As with previous experiences,

most MPs were found to be evasive. The only MP to make a concrete statement was Gerry Fitt, Republican Labour MP for West Belfast, who said he would vote against the Emergency

Powers if it was possible for one man to do so. He had been a seaman for 13 years.

The lobbyists went on later to a meeting in the Porchester Hall (reported on page 8).



The Merseyside dockers' banner heads the demonstration on May 25.



These slogans expressed the sentiments of the whole march.

Dockers stop the Merseyside on May 25th

LIVERPOOL dockers stopped a total of 63 ships on the Merseyside on May 25 in a one-day token stoppage.

With a total of 7,678 men out on strike the whole port was brought virtually to a standstill.

Liverpool men had voted at a mass meeting held three weeks previously to hold a one-day stoppage in sympathy with the Young Socialists lobby against the anti-trade union legislation and the implementation of the Devlin Report on the docks.

Liverpool dockers joined the Young Socialists in London on the march and lobby of Parliament after travelling down all night.

Such action by the Liverpool dockers is a tribute to the working-class solidarity fought for by the Young Socialists. By their action the Merseyside men have shown that there is tremendous response to the youth and that the Young Socialists policies did what no other organisation has done—stopped a port during the seamen's strike.

'... when the imperial mantle finally falls on the shoulders of Louis Bonaparte, the bronze statue of Napoleon will crash from the top of the Vendome Column'

Karl Marx, 1851

The Fall of Paris by Alistair Horne
Published by MacMillan, price 50s.
Reviewed by John Spencer



THE Paris Commune of 1871 is a great landmark in the history of our movement. For the first time the working class held the power for an appreciable length of time, and in an advanced country. The Commune was the first breakthrough in the world struggle of the working class against capitalism, and it had an enormous influence on the ideas and actions of the revolutionary movement.

The publication of this new history of the the Commune, *The Fall of Paris*, by Alistair Horne, which contains a large amount of new material on the Commune and the events, including the siege of Paris, which led up to it, is therefore an important event.

The workers of Paris in 1870 had a long history of struggle in the earlier revolutions, especially the revolution of 1848. They had fought in each of these revolutions only to see the fruits of these struggles usurped, first by the middle class and then by the big capitalists.

In 1870, then, when the bankrupt French emperor launched his disastrous war against Prussia which culminated in the crushing defeat of Sedan, the workers were prepared to defend Paris out of a sense of patriotism based on the idea that they were in this way defending their revolutionary traditions. The universal distribution of arms which was made necessary by the needs of the war meant that the majority of the arms in Paris fell into the hands of the workers.

The sufferings endured by the working class during the six-month siege stiffened their resolve to resist any attempt by the government to attack this position, and the ruling class for its part was far more afraid of the workers than of the Prussians and after the surrender it immediately began to operate plans to disarm them.

Disaster for Premier

The first step was to move regular troops into Paris to confiscate the cannon, the property of the workers' units of the National Guard, which had been saved from the Prussians at the time of the surrender. The move was a disaster for the premier. The soldiers fraternised with the workers and killed some of their officers. The government fled in panic to Versailles, a wealthy town some miles from Paris. Power had fallen into the hands of the working class.

The leaders of the workers were almost totally unprepared for the power which was now thrust upon them. Most of them looked back to the previous revolutions of 1848, 1830 and 1792 for their ideas on the nature of revolutions—many of them, like Blanqui and Delecluze, had fought in 1848.

They were devoted and fearless but their ideas were totally outdated. The only section of the Commune leadership who realized the historic significance of this great event were the supporters of the First International led by Marx and Engels.

For the first week of the Commune the leaders argued relatively insignificant issues and failed to take the initiative by marching on Versailles. The Commune was never to regain the initiative in the military sense.

Despite these grave disadvantages, however, the Commune undertook a vigorous programme of legislation which clearly showed its working-class character. The actions of the Commune in its short life give the lie completely to the peddlers of the 'parliamentary road to socialism'. The Commune elected its officers, it is true, but there the resemblance ends. The officials were subject to instant recall by the electors if they failed to carry out their mandates.

In addition, the officials were paid at the same rate as the workers who had elected them. This

measure at one stroke eliminated the place-seekers and careerists who had been so conspicuous under the old regime. The Commune placed the factories of the capitalists who had fled to Versailles under the control of the workers in those factories. It separated the Church from the state and nationalized all the Church properties. By abolishing the vast burdens of outstanding debt, the Commune won the support of the mass of the middle class in Paris.

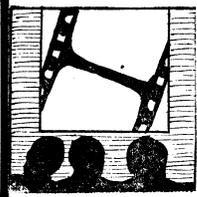
In other words, as Marx pointed out in his history of

the Commune 'The Civil War in France', the working class could not carry on with the old state machine—it had to be smashed and a new and revolutionary form of rule put in its place if the workers were to carry out their programme. In Marx's opinion this was the greatest contribution of the Commune.

The Commune was not able to carry a full programme of social measures into effect. The lack of a centralised leadership and the vacillations and unpre-

(Continued on page 8)

Cinema



with
**BOB
DICKENS**

DR ZHIVAGO

Starring: Omar Sharif, Julie Christie, Alec Guinness, Geraldine Chaplin, Ralph Richardson, Tom Courtney

Produced by Carlo Ponti Directed by David Lean

An MGM Picture

IT is ironical that American big business in the form of MGM should completely distort Pasternak's creation and independence of thought, the very thing he accused socialism of in his book *Dr. Zhivago*.

Pasternak's cry is for freedom of the individual, yet, as the film so clearly shows, art and the individual are completely subordinated to the box office.

The novel *Dr. Zhivago* has been adapted to suit the formula of the American epic film and the needs of the big name stars.

It is a lavish, wide-screen production launched with intense and vast publicity. We are presented with a plot depicting a string of fantastic coincidences in which one star appears after another speaking what must be the worst dialogue in the history of film making.

The book tells of Pasternak's feelings about the Russian Revolution through the mouth of the main character *Dr. Zhivago*.

Based on incidents

The centre of the film, however, is Lara, his lover, played by Julie Christie. Half the film is based on a few incidents involving her which are hardly mentioned in the book.

The book also tells how the revolution has smashed *Zhivago's* life as a bourgeois individual, how it has not fulfilled his hopes of a return to the 'peaceful' life of the nineteenth century.

In this way it brings out its political idea of opposition to the Russian Revolution and the dictatorship of the workers. It does this through exquisite description of nature reflecting the mood of *Zhivago*, to which the plot is a mere trimming.

All this has been completely ignored or distorted in the film. The characters are ones with whom we are familiar from so many other epics.

It seems that *David Lean*, who was the guiding hand behind the 'Lawrence of Arabia' epic, has simply

transported his stereotypes—with different physical features—from the sands of the desert to the snowy wastes of Russia.

Zhivago is presented as having no feelings at all about the revolution or anything else, except Julie Christie.

The film's attack on the revolution is extremely crude—it was the fault of those subversive, slit-eyed 'Commie' agents who have infiltrated the ignorant workers and peasants. Another Vietnam, maybe?

Ignores actual events

It is only true to the book in that it completely ignores the actual events of the revolution.

It accuses the Bolshevik party of purges, imprisonments, atrocities and suppression of art, which were, in fact, the crimes of Stalin at a much later stage.

In fact it was the Stalinist bureaucracy in opposition to the revolution which suppressed Pasternak's book in the Soviet Union—an act which has only served the interests of bourgeois society.

Even as an example of the American-backed epic film, *Dr. Zhivago* is of an extremely low level. The stereotyped cardboard characters offer no chance for acting.

Omar Sharif, as *Zhivago*, came out of the entire three and a half hours with the same benign smile. It is impossible to imagine him as the poet he is supposed to portray.

Julie Christie, as Lara, replays 'Darling'.

Geraldine Chaplin almost fits as *Zhivago's* wife. Ralph Richardson is Tanya's aristocratic uncle, Alec Guinness a slit-eyed Communist Party member, and so on.

To compensate, only slightly, for all these weaknesses, *David Lean* has captured some attractive mountain scenery—Finnish, I believe—and the whole film is accompanied by a pleasing melodious, supposedly Russian, balalaika music.

We can only hope though that an American, or American-backed, producer does not decide to make a film of the events leading up to the Russian Revolution and the Revolution itself.

12-Page Keep Left

THE NEW 12-page edition of the Keep Left is just great. Publishing the Keep Left in its new form leaves room for longer and better articles. This will give it greater appeal amongst our members who want to know more about our association. It leaves more room for more attractive articles which could not be included before.

T. McGrattan,
Gorbals Young Socialists.

Budget

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT through its new Budget is going to attack the working class and especially the old-age pensions.

Employers will have to pay 25s. a week for men, and 10s. 6d. a week for boys as tax, but this will mean that the bosses will cut down on their staff because they will be paying this money. If you are not suitable you will be sacked.

This is what the Labour government wants—UNEMPLOYMENT!

Also the bosses will increase the cost of their goods to maintain profits. The cost of living will go up and this will hit the old-age pensioners, and the working class.

Our fight for the Seamen, and the unity of their strike proves to all workers that the Young Socialists were right to say that the working class must fight to defend their standard of living.

Crawley Young Socialists are determined to build a strong Young Socialist Branch in the area.

All workers who are now coming into struggle against the employers and the Wilson government must support the Young Socialists.

Already through successful dances we are beginning to build an alternative for the working class in Crawley.

A. Rose,
Crawley Young Socialists.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



Send us your opinions,
branch reports, ideas
on how to build the
Young Socialists

Shipyards

HERE, described below, is an example of fair play, or so-called co-operation with workers in a dispute.

Two men working in a ship's tank in poor conditions approached the management for danger money. They were turned down point blank and told to return to their job.

They did this but an explosion occurred killing both men. This immediately proved, too late, that they had a strong case in asking for danger money.

The widows and children of the men were not known to have received any allowance immediately after the accident.

The matter was taken up by the workers in the yard who pressed for a weekly pension for the widows. This was considered and a miserable 30s. was offered.

This angered the men and again they demanded more. On receiving negative replies the workers downed tools and went

Suggestions

THE KEEP LEFT committee for South Yorkshire has some suggestions for increasing the sales of the paper which it would like readers to consider.

1. The Keep Left should be sold outside bowling alleys, factories, dances, coffee bars, public houses and at Young Socialist meetings. (The best nights for most of these sales would be Friday or Saturday, for obvious reasons.) In house-to-house sales people who buy Keep Left should be asked if they want the paper regularly.

2. Each Keep Left representative should speak at their own Young Socialist meetings about the importance of Keep Left to the Young Socialist organisation. Also new members should be told about Keep Left and should be asked if they want the paper regularly.

Q.E.D. North East Shipbuilder.

out on strike for eight or nine days.

Each day the shop stewards attended meetings with the management to negotiate. From 30s. the management offered £2—no good, the men refused to go back.

After eight days of argument and strike a sum of £3 a week for each widow was accepted and the men returned to work.

It is firms like these that are now supporting the Geddes Report and the Devlin Committee. Everything a shipyard worker in the North East shipyards gets in wages and conditions is fought for bitterly.

The rate for the job, danger money, out of town allowance, overtime rates—nothing is given away by the managers. Everything has to be fought for.

Combine the Geddes Report and the anti-trade union legislation—what chance has the shipyard worker against these monopolies?

3. Dances should be held, the profits of which should go to Keep Left as donations.

4. Young Socialist members should be encouraged to write articles on such things as 'the conditions in the factory where I work', or 'is it necessary

Anarchism

David Gregory, Nottingham.

I REGRET that Comrade Spence's letter on the anarchists in the May issue of Keep Left is so generalised as to be wrong.

I must disagree with him on several issues.

Firstly his criticism of the Federation's leaflet calling on people not to vote as 'all parties betray': surely all three parties contesting Leyton were betrayers. So far as the leaflet went, admittedly not very far, this analysis was correct.

As Marxists we are aware that every class protects its own interests, just so does the leader class protect its interests so that it can rule and therefore the three major parties are all betrayers, they must betray and lie to continue at all.

It is not surprising that many workers ignore the three party election. I quote from the official

to spend seven years as an apprentice, three of which are spent making tea?'

5. The Keep Left committee should meet regularly at the beginning of each month to discuss and improve these methods of distribution.

organ of the United Secretariat in Great Britain: [Pabloite organisation of fake lefts].

'And those workers who abstain simply express their confidence that the class can defend its interests irrespective of electoral decision.'

My other major disagreement is on the alleged abandoning of a class analysis by anarchists. This exists certainly, but it is a temporary reaction led by the middle class pseudo-intellectuals in the various Federations who centre themselves on the big universities and have no support whatsoever.

The anarchists may still be our friends if not companions; let us never forget the days when anarchists and Trotskyists stood, fought and died together against the Stalinists in Barcelona.

Unity with all our proletarian brothers!

Reply to David Gregory

Gary Spence,
East London.

TO REPLY briefly to the points made in David Gregory's letter to Keep Left.

(1) The Tories and the Liberals do not betray. They faithfully serve the capitalist class—the class which they represent. It is the Labour Party which betrays the class upon which it is based, the working class.

Despite the betrayals of the Labour government the working class in the recent election returned it to power with a vastly increased majority. The working class is advancing; it presses home its achievements in wages

struggles with a class vote for Labour in spite of betrayal.

(2) Gregory agrees that class analysis has been abandoned by the anarchists. But far from being a temporary phenomena the sharpening of the crisis will undoubtedly push these middle class people further to the right.

(3) The Anarchists in Spain joined the Catalonia government a few days before the fighting began. When the rank and file of the anarchist movement fought with the Trotskyists in Spain it was despite not because of their leadership.

Fraternal Greetings from our French Comrades

Young Socialists who attended the Young Socialists Annual Conference at Morecambe in April were particularly pleased to hear fraternal greetings from comrades of the French socialist youth movement 'Revoltes'. Because we have received many requests from our readers to publish their statement to the conference we are printing extracts from a translation below.

'A year ago, in Morecambe, we brought, for the first time, the fraternal greetings of the revolutionary youth of France to the British Young Socialists.

Today on behalf of the organisation of French revolutionary youth, of its paper 'Revoltes' and of its executive committee I bring again these most fraternal greetings.

They do not express any vague feeling but a full year of struggle, led by us, for the same ends as yours: to build a revolutionary organisation to overthrow capitalism and achieve socialism.

In order to resolve the huge contradictions accumulated inside imperialism since the Second World War, the bourgeoisie must strengthen its oppression over the

working class. It has gone forward on a world scale to a general attack against the proletarian position in Indonesia, Vietnam, Latin America, Africa, etc.

Every attempt of the working class to resist has been smashed down, thanks to the counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracy and thanks to the lack of international revolutionary leadership.

danger

In France, more particularly, the working class is facing a great danger. The bourgeoisie is about to smash the resistance of the workers and to liquidate more than a century of labour conquests. It is trying to destroy the labour movement and the trade unions.

The gravity of this situation is strengthened as the bureaucrats, especially the Stalinists, who are leading the majority of the French labour movement, refuse to organise the defence of the working people.

Worse, they take care to destroy the working class's capacity to struggle. The most striking example was given by the Stalinists and the reformists in

relation to the bourgeois candidate Mitterrand (who is more to the right than Jo Grimond) in the December presidential election.

'Revoltes' has been the only youth movement to campaign for a struggle against the reactionary laws of the bourgeoisie.

In the face of violent attacks by the capitalists, by the famous fifth plan and the subsequent reform of the education system, which plans over-exploitation, misery, unemployment for young people (700,000 unemployed by 1970) and the destruction of the unions, Revoltes publically expressed the interest of the working class as a whole, thus opening the perspectives for effective struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Independence of the trade unions from the state;

For the organisation of the general struggle of workers to defend their unions.

Against the attacks of the Fifth Plan.

To build a revolutionary organisation.

To hide their betrayal the leaders of the so-called Communist Party are pouring out rivers of slander on 'Revoltes', accusing us

of being fascists and paid by the police.

The policy of the bureaucrats of the French Communist Party is well known; last Thursday in Moscow at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU the secretary-general Waldeck-Rochet made the delegates applaud the name of De Gaulle.

At the same time as he was congratulating De Gaulle for his trip to Russia the communist local administration in a suburb of Paris sacked civil servants who were revolutionary militants of 'Revoltes'.

faculty strike

Two weeks ago revolutionary students led a strike in the faculty of Law and Economics. They were viciously attacked by the administration and by fascists.

The policy of the bureaucrats towards youth is a striking example of their capitulation before the bourgeois state. Today in Paris there is a Congress of the communist youth. But do not believe this meeting is something like your Congress.

Stalinists have split it into four; a conference for young girls, and

a conference for young countrymen. There is also a students' conference and a young workers' conference.

On the basis of its experience 'Revoltes' is now introducing a wide debate for the elaboration of an Action Platform for youth. We are beginning a perspective for a printed paper in October.

We very much hope that a delegation of the Young Socialists will be able to attend our next conference. We closely follow your struggle. Every victory of the Young Socialists is our victory. Every blow made against the bourgeoisie in Britain is a blow to imperialism.

It is not by chance that in the two very oldest capitalist countries the revolutionary youth movement is tremendously increasing. This measures the size of our responsibilities.

Comrades the struggle for socialism is the struggle to build a revolutionary leadership.

And as Trotsky wrote: 'Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of youth can guarantee the preliminary successes in the struggle; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of Revolution. Thus it will be.'

Seamen and dockers praise YS lobby

Keep Left Reporter

'ON behalf of all seamen, I want to say thank you very much.' This simple but sincere speech by a young seaman expressed the complete solidarity of the day's proceedings at the Porchester Hall meeting after the May 25 demonstration and lobby of parliament in support of the seamen.

He was one of two strikers who spoke to an audience of sailor colleagues, dockers, trade unionists, students, Young Communist League members and Young Socialists, whose national committee had called the demonstration and lobby.

The other sailor, from Liverpool, told the meeting: 'I have been on shore for three weeks and am staying at the sailors' home in London. I wish to show my appreciation of the Young Socialists today. The only thing I got from parliament today, from Mr. Heffer, was sympathy. We don't want sympathy, we want the shipowners to give us a 40-hour week.'

'I believe that the majority of seamen won't go back to sea if we don't get the 40-hour week and a rise in pay.'

Secretary of the Merseyside Portworkers' Committee Larry Cavanagh told the meeting that since the dockers had taken their decision on April 30 to come to London and fight the anti-trade union laws and amendments to the Dock Labour Scheme, they had been visiting factories and building sites for support.

Mersey dockers had approached the Port of London liaison committee.

'Most of you have heard what the reaction of that committee

was. They ignored our appeal and called another lobby for June 22,' said Cavanagh.

He claimed that the right wing of the seamen's union had agreed in principle with the last offer of the shipowners.

'This is not surprising when we see the way they have demoralised pickets by telling their own members to cross the picket line and strip hatches.'

There was also an agreement with the Transport and General Workers' Union to discharge certain ships that came into the ports.

NO EXCUSE

'Some very young people, not yet even members of a trade union, have come a long way and paid their own fares because they have seen the seriousness of the situation facing the working class. There is no excuse for people who are supposed to be in the leadership of the working class going around strike-breaking,' commented Cavanagh.

A Sheffield shop steward also explained the role of Communist Party supporters in holding back the class struggle.

Because of the urgency of the

situation he had promised his committee's support for both the May 25 and the June 22 lobbies.

'Our convenor, a CP member, did not know what to say and finally said he agreed. But he said we did not have much time to organise. The treasurer said we did not have the money to support both, so we should support the lobby on June 22.'

LACK OF UNITY

It was put to the vote and the convenor's amendment was carried by 11 votes to 7.

'But there are 20 members on the committee, 10 of them are CP members, and they could only get 11 votes! One of their own members gave them a roasting about their lack of unity,' he said.

'Nevertheless, in spite of the dirty tactics, and seeing the size of the lobby, I think you have done a wonderful job,' he told the audience. 'It gives some idea of what it could have been without these splitting tactics.'

Earlier Dave Ashby, national chairman of the Young Socialists, had opened the meeting. He said: 'We were told that the prices and incomes policy is designed to bring benefits to this country, but no Bill which can fine workers, or jail them for going on strike, is in the interests of the working class.'

Since the Bill had been announced, Young Socialists had consistently campaigned against it. The lobby was the climax of that campaign.

SUPPORT

'The day before May Day, 2,000 dockers on Merseyside decided to support this lobby today. Therefore, all the stories which have come from Jack Dash and others all around the country about the premature way this demonstration was organised are slanders,' said Ashby.

The dockers voted to support the lobby on April 30. On May 9, the 'Morning Star' announced for the first time that Jack Dash and others were calling a lobby for June 22.

Said Ashby: 'We regarded this as a very dangerous attempt to split the efforts for May 25, but we said we were in favour of any attempt to defeat the anti-trade union legislation. We said we would support June 22.'

Because the YS has discussed the serious situation it had been able to choose the timely date of May 25—when seamen were caught up in struggle against the legislation via their demands.

challenge to their power cost 20,000 workers their lives and large areas of Paris were almost depopulated.

Although the Commune was defeated and the most active and advanced workers slaughtered, the Commune was not a failure. The lessons of the triumphs and mistakes of the Commune were very thoroughly absorbed by the Marxist movement and were seen as a part of the preparation of the world revolution. Marx's own views on the nature and form of the dictatorship of the workers were greatly enriched by his studies of the Paris events as has already been mentioned.

Lenin, Marx's great pupil, also drew on the experiences of the Commune in the preparations for the seizure of power in Russia. He drew the conclusion that the working class required a highly centralised revolutionary leadership which could make use of the

Magnificent MAY DAY



Young Socialists all over the country joined in May Day marches on Sunday, May 1. Supported by members of the Socialist Labour League the marchers raised demands for 'Victory for the Vietcong', 'Smash Smith—Arm the Africans', 'Throw out the Devlin Report—Nationalize the Docks', 'Anti-union laws—Out!'. With brightly decorated floats 1,000 Young Socialists and adults marched through London from the Thames Embankment to Hyde Park. In Leeds Young Socialists held one of the liveliest marches the city had ever seen with chants of 'LBJ, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today'.

July 23 to August 6th—Have the best holiday ever

COME CAMPING WITH THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN SUSSEX

Lectures and discussions on the history of the workers' movement and the building of a revolutionary party. Swimming, games, dancing. £6 15s. per week for adults.

Write to S. Torrance, 186A Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, for details.

VIETNAM—From page 2

Recent demonstrations in Saigon have served to stress the fact that support for the Vietcong, far from diminishing, is growing. Feeling against the Ky government is snowballing.

Johnson cannot be too happy either about his position in the United States. After bombing raids on Hanoi and Haiphong his government is again considering increasing its troop strength. The Pentagon is said to have plans ready to send 125,000 men, bringing the total in South Vietnam to 380,000.

If Gallup Polls are anything to go by Johnson's popularity is at a very low level. Only 54 per cent still approve of his whole policy as compared with 80 per cent in February 1964. Only 47 per cent support Vietnam policy.

In spite of Johnson's condemnation of 'Nervous Nellies' as he puts it, the fact remains that the war is costing billions of dollars and constitutes a drain on the economy. His 'war against poverty campaign'—a weak attempt to pacify US public opinion—has proved a farce. No intervention by the US has had so much opposition.

More and more workers, especially youth, see imperialism for what it is through the US occupation of South Vietnam—an organisation of butchers for the brutal preservation of the dollar and the suppression of the working class.

most advanced scientific theories and methods of struggle.

In order to carry this perspective into practice, he fought to build the Bolshevik Party, which drew on all these advanced theoretical conceptions.

Mr. Horne's book is not really clear on these points. He can see that the Commune was part of a revolutionary tradition, but he does not say who the bearers of that tradition are today. The Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League and their supporters in France and elsewhere are the standard bearers of the revolutionary traditions of the working class and it is in our fight to win power of the worker that we carry out the heroic legacy of the Paris fighters of 95 years ago.

BOOK REVIEW—From page 5

pared nature of the leaders to a number of errors which were decisive in its defeat.

In the first few days, the Commune did nothing to prevent the Versailles government from preparing its attack on Paris. Had the Commune marched on the capitalists in this period the outcome could have been very different. In addition they made no attempt to lay hands on the Bank of France and the capitalists were able to get time and money to prepare to attack Paris.

On May 13 the Versailles troops entered Paris by an undefended gate and there began a week of slaughter which surpassed anything previously seen in a civilised country. The defenders of the Commune and especially the youth, fought with a desperate heroism from behind barricades, in the streets and in the houses. The vengeance of the Versailles for this