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LEFT

**Official paper of the
Young Socialists**

**LONG LIVE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION
FORWARD TO THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION**



More and more it is the youth who come to the fore

NLF smashes US troops in latest offensive ...

by Pete Evans

RENEWAL of the offensive by the National Liberation Front especially in Saigon has slammed the myth of all those who said that the Tet offensive was a final fling.

The National Liberation Front continues to smash the American troops and each day it moves closer to an absolute military victory.

Since the Tet offensive it is clear that the NLF was regrouping its forces and politically consolidating its hold on the countryside and at the same time recruiting and organizing the workers in the towns.

Having forced the Americans to the negotiating table the NLF has strengthened its position by launching large-scale attacks throughout the length and breadth of Vietnam.

This most recent offensive, which began in the latter part of April, has been characterized by the high rate of destruction of US troops and apparatus. The NLF has destroyed scores of planes and tanks at the American bases.

Casualties are admitted to be the highest ever. Over 500 are said to be killed weekly. American claims for the NLF dead are falling in relation to the number of dead US soldiers.

In the renewed fighting in

Saigon not even the presidential palace is safe from attack by the NLF.

So far the sole contribution of the US and South Vietnamese troops has been to demolish whole areas of housing, thus increasing the hatred of the local population—on one occasion they even managed to kill officers on their own side.

The vital aspect of the fighting in Saigon is that it is not the main force of the NLF which is fighting but Saigon workers and youth, who will become the basis of the Revolutionary Councils being set up.

In the Northern Provinces the Americans have suffered their most shattering defeat. After fighting for two weeks to get control of the key supply route, they were able to hold it for just one week before being forced to retreat and now the Khe Sahn base is once more under daily bombardment.

It can be safely said that American troops are only safe when 50,000 feet up over territory where there are no AA guns.

Added to the present problems is the fact that enormous numbers of South Vietnamese troops desert each month—last year there was a total of 79,000.

More and more it is the youth who come to the fore in these great struggles. In both Vietnam and Western Europe the decisive role of the revolutionary leadership is becoming clear.

WORLD NEWS

Kennedy pays the price

by S. C. Murray
Washward Heath YS,
Birmingham.

THE Jordanian assassin of Kennedy was purely the product of years of humiliating injustice and oppression which the Arab masses have suffered at the hands of international imperialism, i.e. the brutal policies of the capitalist classes in Britain, USA, and of their loyal ally, the Zionist bourgeoisie of Israel, towards the Arab working class.

Essentially, these repressive policies over the last 20 years have taken the form of wars of conquest, backed by finance from the American ruling class, against Arab territory to enlarge the imperialist sphere of influence and control in the Middle East and to create an artificial state for Jews only.

Implicit in this policy was the driving out and subjugation of the natural Arab inhabitants by means of terror and intimidation and the importing into Palestine of hundreds of thousands of foreign Jews, who lived thousands of miles away. No wonder the Jewish Zionist bourgeoisie of Israel invite Enoch Powell to their state! Thus, when the Jordanian assassin struck at Kennedy, he was expressing the violent and explosive hatred of millions of Arab workers and peasants for imperialism and foreign domination.

Kennedy, one of the most clever and unrepentant spokesmen of imperialism, had a persistent record of arrogant disregard for the feelings and grievances of Arab workers and peasants. To gain the votes of the Jewish middle class in America, the ruthlessly ambitious and opportunist Kennedy had no compunction about making TV appearances and public speeches, only to ridicule the torment of Arab refugees in Palestine, and to make crude and deprecatory jokes about the Arab 'character'.

Now he has paid the price for it. If the capitalist class around the globe express sorrow for Kennedy's death—it is a warning

signal for the international working class. Yes, the ruling class may well shed tears—Kennedy was of rare value. Here was one of the few capitalist politicians left who could still pull wool over the eyes of the Negroes and idealistic middle-class youth, by promising substantial changes and reforms in capitalist society.

Even at this stage in the international capitalist crisis, he was still able to convince large sections of American youth that capitalism would be OK and would resolve its crisis if they put their faith in him.

Yes, Kennedy performed a special role. He was a focal point in preventing youth from turning to the politics of revolutionary socialism. Thus his necessity to the American ruling class. He had that remarkable value of being able to paint a gloss on imperialism and wrap tinsel around it with his carefully constructed and contrived facade of 'liberalism'.

Let us not forget that even though he was the paragon of capitalist 'liberalism'—this had not prevented him from:

(1) being one of the late Senator Joe McCarthy's closest allies in the days of the fierce anti-communist/socialist witchhunt in the early 1950s.

(2) nor from taking a leading part in a vicious anti-trade union campaign a few years ago—which resulted in union leaders being imprisoned.

(3) nor did it prevent this great 'progressive' from supporting his late brother's reactionary and criminal counter-revolutionary policy in Vietnam (i.e. in 1962, J. F. Kennedy was propping up, with one million dollars a day, the corrupt and completely discredited capitalist dictatorship of Diem which the Vietnamese workers and peasants were struggling to overthrow).

From this, it is not hard to discern that Bobby Kennedy was no friend of the international working class. In fact, he was anti-working-class to the core. Therefore, we urge young workers and students to disregard the mourning of the capitalist press and the ruling class.

No worker should become sentimental over this capitalist politician!

Blood-bath in Nigeria

BY NICK PECK

THE SAVAGE slaughter raging in Nigeria seems as far from a conclusion as do the so-called peace talks between the leaders of the Federal Republic and the break-away state of Biafra.

Reasons for the butchery are very simple and much more connected with the Young Socialists' activities than it might at first seem.

Nigeria was formerly a British colony and is one of the richest nations in Africa in terms of raw materials. Eight years ago the British employers had sufficient confidence in a clique of pro-west Nigerians to grant the country nominal independence, certain that the new national government would maintain the steady flow of profits in London—minus a few shillings tax, the price paid to avoid a revolutionary movement which might take the lot.

Other eyes had also been eagerly watching for independence and, once it was given, United States big business began to put out feelers, trying to find a way into Nigeria and cream off a large section of the country's natural wealth.

This policy culminated eight months ago in the break away of Biafra, an area rich in oil, with the full support of the United States.

Fundamentally it is the clash of imperialist rivalry that lies behind the blood-bath. But the issues have been obscured by the tribal warfare between the Ibos (Biafrans) and the Yorubas, Hausas (Federal troops)—a legacy of British rule since it was British imperialism which fostered tribal conflicts—in much the same way that racialism is used here in this country—to split up a force which would be invincible if it were united.

Reports from foreign journalists present in Nigeria are shallow descriptions of the undoubted horrors taking place, and self-pitying tales of the indignities they themselves are suffering (one was recently whipped and had his head shaved for disobeying an order from Colonel Adékunle, a Sandhurst-trained Federal officer).

It is a brutal, gory war, fought without principle and with no benefit for the men and families of either side whose blood is flowing because of it.

The crucial question is the unification of the working class and the peasants in a common fight for possession of Nigeria's wealth.

Only in this way can the tribesmen of Nigeria look forward to a future without war and bloodshed and this fight will need the support of the masses throughout Africa, and a revolutionary movement in the imperialist countries themselves.

Down with the war from which only imperialists benefit!

Build the revolutionary party for an end to imperialism all over the world!

IN Western Europe thousands of students fight to overthrow capitalism. In the workers' states of Eastern Europe they struggle to defend the nationalized property by removing the parasitic bureaucracy that wants to co-exist peacefully with imperialism.

FRANCE: Students sparked off the revolt of the workers against the de Gaulle dictatorship, with mass demonstrations against the Fouchet plan

and the occupation of several universities.

GERMANY: Thousands of students demonstrated during the month of May against the coalition government's Emergency Powers Bill. In Bonn workers and students marched 60,000 strong.

YUGOSLAVIA: Students seized the administrative building of Belgrade university after police had attacked their demonstration. They raised the red flag over the building and refused to move until their demands were met. They demand: democratisation of the Communist Party, the removal of police officials responsible for brutality, removal of editors of the

national papers, who, they say, lie about the students' aims, an end to unemployment and participation in decisions on university and educational policy.

One student told a 'Times' reporter: 'We are for social property and against all attempts to establish shareholder capitalist enterprises.' The students call on workers to support them.

ROME: The university was occupied for three days at the beginning of June by left-wing students. After repulsing attacks by fascist groups the students were eventually removed by police. There were also very big student demon-

strations in **MADRID** and **BRUSSELS** during May.

OXFORD: Hundreds of students demonstrated for and won the right to distribute political leaflets and pamphlets.

HORNSEY: Students took control of the Hornsey Art College, demanding student participation in management of the college, better facilities and changes in the academic courses.

At the **LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS** about three hundred students occupied part of the building in solidarity with the French workers and students at the end of May.



MAY DAY—YOUNG SOCIALISTS HAVE BIGGEST MARCH

ON MAY DAY 1968, the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League commanded the streets of central London.

Our march was the biggest, with 2,200 chanting behind ten huge floats prepared by YS artists.

The Labour Party 'rally' in Trafalgar Square was deserted and as the YS wheeled round the Square shouting slogans against Powell, calling on black and white to 'Unite and Fight', and demanding a fight against Wilson, the right wing was put to shame.

The Communist Party too could not attract its sup-

porters out to demonstrate on the most important date in the working-class calendar. Only a few hundred turned out. For the first time in the history of London May Days, Trotskyists outnumbered the social democrats and Stalinists put together.

Some Communist Party members who had been informed in the 'Morning Star' that theirs was the only march that day, took their place behind the hammers and sickles of the Fourth International before realising their mistake.

This was hardly surprising since, on the 'Guardian's' admission, the Trotskyists had the liveliest and most

colourful demonstration.

The floats carried slogans on racialism and the engineers' strike; make the 'left' MPs fight; nationalization of the basic industries; build the daily Newsletter; forward to the international youth conference; victory to the NLF in Vietnam; calling upon the Communist Party to repudiate the Moscow Trials of the 1930s; the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Marx's birth and 30 years since the foundation of the Fourth International.

Among the slogans carried on the demonstration were 'disembowel Powell', 'would you let your daughter marry Enoch Powell?' and 'deport the

bosses not the immigrants'.

After the march 1,750 attended a meeting in the Camden Town Hall to hear Aileen Jennings, Keep Left editor, Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, motor shop steward Reg Parsons and militant docker Larry Cavanagh.

All the speakers warned that the employers were becoming impatient with Wilson's slow attempts to depress living standards. They were looking for a strong man, a Bonapartist who would rule by decree. But the working class were also moving into action. Big class battles lay ahead. We had not long to prepare the new leadership required.

GLC rates increase—blow for sports fans

by Jim Delliston

YOUTH in the London area are beginning to suffer the consequences of the new Tory Greater London Council.

Since they took office in May 1967 the Tories have proposed to push up rents and rates by as much as 70 per cent. Now they have decided to double the charges for hiring football pitches and other recreational facilities.

It now costs 15s. for footballers to use a pitch and have a wash afterwards. South West London Federation of Young Socialists, who have used the GLC pitches regularly over the past number of years, sent a letter to the Park Superintendent demanding a full explanation of the increased charges.

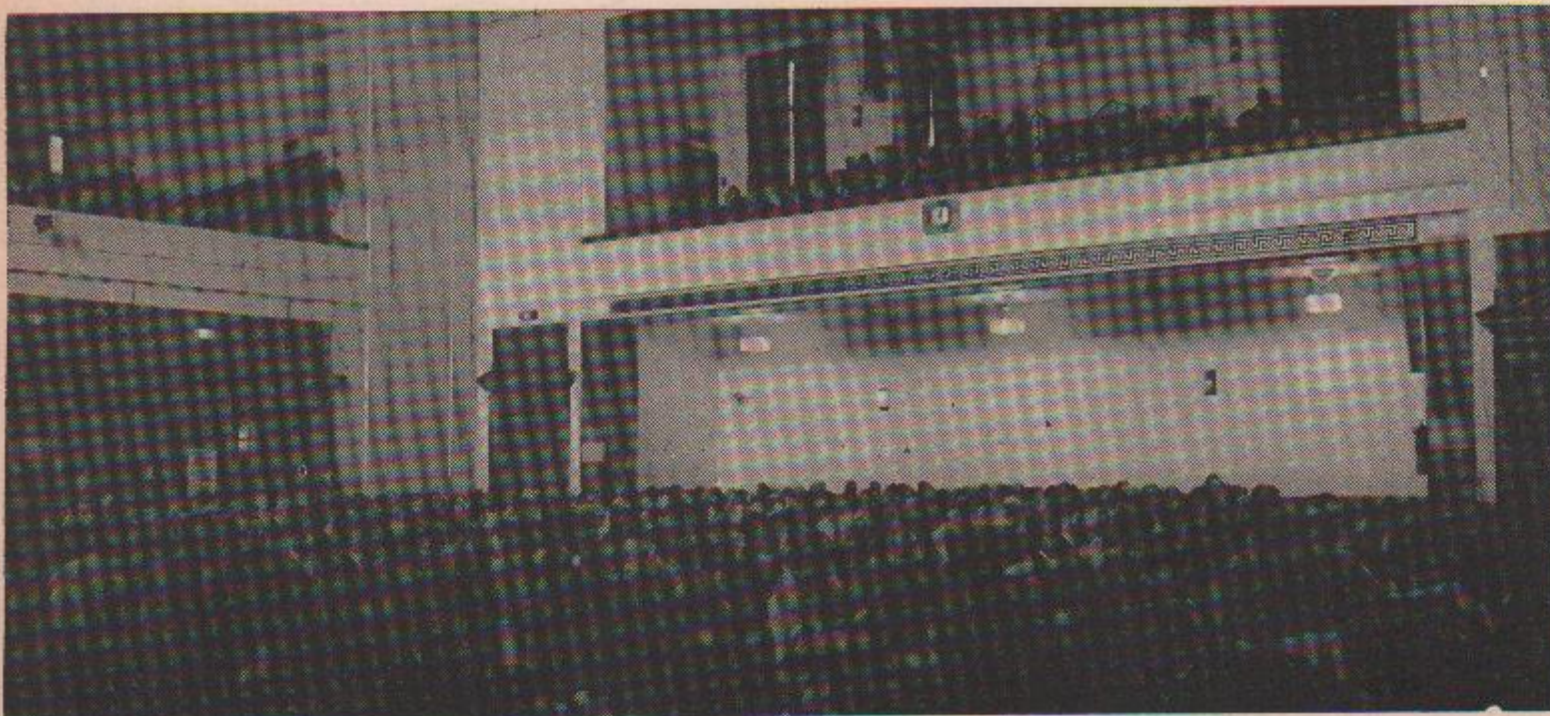
They were sent a curt reply stating that since the changing rooms and showers (lap of luxury for London youth?) had been installed the GLC thought the increase reasonable.

Other football clubs have also lodged the strongest possible protest against the colossal increase.

Young Socialist branches have also been affected by the increase in the cost of hiring rooms from the council. What once cost 6s. 6d. for an evening now costs 35s.

It is clear that the GLC cares nothing for providing cheap recreational facilities for London workers and their families. One wonders where all the money does go. It certainly does not appear to go towards slum clearance or better facilities as the Tories have cut back on both these. The answer is that it is going back to the banks—in huge interest payments.

This, alongside Wilson's wage freeze and a steady rise in prices, is designed to force down the living standards of the working class and to take away the few facilities they have for enjoyment and recreation.



Top: A section of the enormous demonstration marches down Charing Cross Road. Bottom: A huge audience listens to speakers at the Caxton Hall.

HAMBRO'S, one of the largest Merchant Banks in the City, are increasing their donation to the Tory Party from £1,000 to £10,000, it was announced by Mr. Jocelyn Hambro. He said it was 'in the best interests of the shareholders'. At the 1964 election big business journals like 'The Economist' called for the election of a Labour government. Now that anti-union laws are on the statute books, it is clear that some sections want the Tories back to carry on the attack on living standards more ruthlessly. Wilson has served their purposes well.



Some of the BMC workers at Oxford leave their factory to join the one-day token stoppage.

THREE MILLION ENGINEERS DEMAND

ON MAY 15 three million engineering workers came out on a one-day token strike called by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

The demands of the unions for a £2 all-

round pay increase and extra holidays had a tremendous response from engineers all over the country.

A demonstration through Central London of over 400 engineers chanting slogans of '£2 Now', 'Nationalize the

£2 NOW

by John Simmance

engineering industry' and calling for a prolonged engineering strike was warmly greeted by other sections of workers.

At a meeting of 400 engineers after a march through Southall, Middlesex, the Communist Party members who dominated the platform of the meeting refused to take a resolution from the floor calling on the leadership of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers to call a prolonged national strike until the demands were met, and to campaign for the nationalization of the engineering industry.

Instead Communist Party members submitted a vaguely-worded resolution giving support to any decision by the leadership. They know full well that the leadership of the AEF is dominated by the right wing.

It was this right wing which at the AEF National Committee Conference in Eastbourne attacked the call for a pro-

longed strike. Instead they carried the day on a resolution calling for a 'one-day token strike on May 15'.

The Communist Party knows this fact very well. But when it comes to a fight on whether the engineers should strike until their claim is met, the CP joins forces with the right wing.

All engineering workers must be wary of their leadership. Those who say it is not a political fight and retreat in the face of the right wing and the employers will only betray.

The engineers' fight is a political one against the Labour government, which has passed the Prices and Incomes Act of 1966 and is now passing another one with even tougher legislation against the trade unions.

The Labour government is the strong arm of the employers. It tries to take on the engineering workers in order to defeat and demoralize them.

This is why only a leadership which fights for the policy of the removal of Wilson and calls for the nationalization of the engineering industry and the banks under workers' control, without compensation, can lead the engineers to victory.

The Modern-day workhouse

By M. Y. Craig

TEENAGE apprentices at the Felden government training centre, Whitehouse, are angry about the removal of doors from toilets in their mill engineering and construction workshops.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Health and Social Security training branch confirmed that the doors had been removed. The intention was not to remove them permanently, but to cut down the size of the door, so that there would be a gap between the bottom of the door and the floor.

This, he said, was because the boys were tying down the ball cocks so that the cistern would overflow.

The apprentices, naturally enough, are angry. In a letter to the 'Belfast Telegraph' they say, 'We are not animals and have no right to be treated like them'.

One hundred of the apprentices refused, as a protest, to work after the afternoon tea-break, but were eventually persuaded to do so.

The rules of these modern-day workhouses are petty and restrictive.

Apprentices, especially in the engineering industry, are used by the employer as cheap labour. In many factories in Northern Ireland, where the percentage of apprentices is extremely high, the Labour government's wage freeze has hit these young workers very hard.

Apprentices must organize and fight on the following policies with the Young Socialists:

1. Three-year apprenticeships, not five.
2. A 38-hour week for all young workers.
3. A month's paid holiday.
4. Sixty per cent at 16 rising to 90 per cent at 20, of union rates for skilled men.
5. Training schemes to be run by the unions and apprentices.
6. Full day release for further education up to the age of 21, without loss of pay.
7. Full trade union rights, including the right to strike.
8. Scrap existing indentures, give all young workers a full training and apprenticeship.

Central to this fight is unity with adult workers in the fight for nationalization of the engineering and basic industries under workers' control. This can only be done by the building of a revolutionary party.

By Mark Jenkins

Tyneside apprentices say: 'No splitting'

By Hughie Nicol

TYNESIDE Junior Workers' Committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers unanimously passed a resolution on Thursday, May 16, drawing the attention of the Union's Executive Council to the decisions of the 1968 Youth Conference, in particular to Section 1, i.e. the Youth Charter. They demanded that this be included in the present negotiations with the employers.

The resolution went on to add that 'the present situation demands the maximum unity in the coming struggles against the employers and the state'.

'We deplore any attempts to split or isolate the youth from the adult trade unionists.'

The resolution demanded that 'in the event of any further

stoppage that the apprentices and junior workers be instructed, with the official backing of the union, to withdraw their labour'.

In the discussion on the resolution it was pointed out that in certain establishments on the Tyne apprentices were asked by the management to carry on working and in many cases they were doing jobs normally done by the men which they previously had not been doing, and this amounted to strike-breaking.

The apprentices felt that young workers could easily be intimidated by the foreman or supervisor to do this type of work as in many establishments apprentices were not organized within the union and really felt left out in the cold as far as this strike was concerned.

and Incomes Bill has been introduced in parliament.

The bill will give the government powers to freeze pay rises for 12 months instead of the present six. Pay rises based on increases in the cost of living will not be justified under the new act and will not be granted. The value of wages will therefore fall. Increases can only be granted for higher productivity — working harder.

The working class, in other words, must work harder for less wages. Unions can be taken before the courts for breaking the new laws.

When the bill came before parliament it was passed by 290 votes to 255—a government majority of 35. The same number of 'left' Labour MPs are estimated to have abstained, this means that they did not vote.

Had these 35 followed the example of Peter Jackson, the only Labour MP who voted against the bill, it would have been defeated. But their abstention allowed the bill to pass so that the bankers could have their new laws.

This brings us to an important conclusion. It is well known that Wilson and the right wing are responsible for the disastrous policies that led to Labour's massive defeat in the local council elections. It is well known that he intends to continue on the path of destroying the Labour Party and the trade unions.

But the 'lefts' refuse to fight for the leadership of the Party. They refuse to fight against Wilson, to remove him and his followers and the policies they stand for. They abstain. When the bill was before parliament,

they stood back and allowed Wilson to pass.

In other words Wilson relies on their abstention to continue with his policies.

As weeks pass, more and more unions are coming out in opposition to the Prices and Incomes Bill. By fighting inside and outside parliament and mobilizing growing union support, Wilson could be forced out of the leadership of the Party and a new leadership pledged to socialist policies installed. The wage-freeze laws could then be repealed.

The Young Socialists were in the forefront of the struggle against the bill right from 1965. So too we shall be in the forefront of the struggle to remove the Wilson leadership.

'Left' abstention allows P and I Bill through

FOUR years of betrayal, wage freezing, tough budgets, rent rises, price increases and cuts in the health and other social services by the Labour government of Harold Wilson have not solved any of the problems of the capitalist class in Britain.

The pound is at its lowest point ever and faces second devaluation. The bankers demand that Wilson must now intensify the attacks on the living standards of the working class and tie the trade unions to the capitalist state.

That is why the new Prices

THE Young Socialists must build strong sections among organized youth in the trade unions.

All struggles on wages and working conditions are becoming more and more, political struggles against the state. In preparation for the fight to defeat legislation against the unions every effort must be made to recruit young apprentices and trade unionists into the Young Socialists.

The YS have made a very important beginning by leading the fight against the anti-trade-union legislation, while other tendencies denounced our campaigns as 'premature'. From this turn to the trade unions comes the budding of alternative leadership.

In continuing the campaign to 'make the "lefts" fight', the lessons of the fight against legislation, of the seamen's strike, and of the 1964 apprentices' strike must be learned by every member of the Young Socialists.

In the summer and autumn of 1964 a strong and militant movement of apprentices began to develop Direct Action Committees to fight the engineering employers for higher pay, shorter hours with a month's paid holiday, adequate training facilities and full negotiating rights. The Young Socialists expressed full support for these just demands and for the committees set up to secure action on them.

A small group of Stalinists, with the full backing of the Communist Party leadership, deliberately exploited this genuine feeling of militancy to call a strike which was nothing short of an adventure and easily defeated by the engineering employers.

With no prior preparation and no attempt to win support for the apprentices' demands from sympathetic Amalgamated Engineering Union convenors and stewards, the Stalinists made the completely irresponsible decision to call a national strike of all apprentices for November 2, 1964.

In the confusion created by this call, some apprentices responded under the impression that the strike enjoyed national support. Others felt that the time was not ripe for such action. Throughout, the Stalinists kept the strike artificially alive by giving false reports and false impressions to those apprentices who had still not joined the strike.

The defeat that ensued created widespread feelings of confusion and demoralization amongst those apprentices who had risked their jobs in the strike, and it was used by the engineering employers and the right-wing leaders of the AEU, led by Sir William Carron, to intimidate and attack apprentices.

These attacks cut off the apprentices and destroyed the possibilities of building a strong national organization with adequate finances and sufficient support from older workers to force a showdown with the engineering employers.

Such an experience must never be repeated. The first requirement is the training of a political leadership that is able to guard against the danger of adventurism and understands the role of Stalinism in the unions as a counter-revolutionary force.

In the apprentices' strike the Stalinists pursued an ultra-sectarian policy of calling a strike which could never have succeeded. Only six months later, at the AEU National Committee held in Blackpool, the Stalinists voted for a resolution expressing full support for the Wilson government whilst a lobby of apprentices organized by the Direct Action Committee waited outside.

Such tactics play into the hands of the employers. A resolute political struggle against the Stalinists is the pre-requisite of any genuine revolutionary work in the trade unions.

The Stalinists, helped by the 'State Capitalist' group, continued their treacherous policy through the campaigns on anti-trade-union legislation and the seamen's strike of 1966.

When the Lambeth Trades Council and the Young Socialists organized national lobbies of Parliament and national campaigns against the government's plans, the Stalinists and their helpers denounced us as 'sectarian' and said our campaign was 'premature'.

They misled workers by denouncing 'political interference' in trade union matters.

Then in the seamen's strike they helped prepare the defeat of the seamen by confining the struggle to 'industrial' issues. They worked to prevent solidarity action

Programme for the mass socialist youth movement

Adopted unanimously by 8th Annual conference of the Young Socialists April 6 & 7 1968

THE WITCH-HUNT AGAINST YOUTH

by dockers and paved the way for the sell-out of the strike.

Government control of wages and state action against strikes will not result automatically in a growth of revolutionary consciousness in the working class. A leftward turn in the trade unions is inevitable, but this will take varied forms, some phoney. Thousands of workers will take up industrial struggle in their disgust and anger against the politics of Wilson.

Stalinist and other syndicalist groups will work to channel this fight against a struggle to defeat Wilson. They will try to turn the workers and the youth against politics, when only a political solution is possible.

Only the Marxist strategy, tactics and education of the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League will provide a basis for struggle against these false leaders. We must fight to mobilize the growing anger and revolt of rank-and-file workers and Labour voters against the Labour government, and defeat all forms of syndicalism and anti-politics, peddled by opponents of Marxism.

The development of serious work in the trade unions is possible only from the point of view of the strategy of the Socialist Labour League for building an alternative political leadership for the working class.

The Young Socialists must also continue to fight on behalf of the old age pensioners, who are cynically rejected by the employing class and their right-wing Labour agents when a profit can no longer be made out of their labour.

Young workers experience in a similar way the harshness of a capitalist system which uses them as cheap labour, forces them to take dead-end jobs and threatens them with the dole queue.

This is why the youth take up the struggle of the old people against the employers, Tories and Labour traitors.

It is not a question of being sentimental about the sufferings of the old, but of developing a leadership that can end for ever the capitalist system and all the misery it brings to workers after they have done their stint in the factory.

The Young Socialists must mobilize youth to fight for the policies of the Socialist Labour League, uniting young and old workers in rejecting the old leaderships.

- Unity of the employed and unemployed!
- Independence of the trade unions from the state! Repeal the Prices and Incomes Act!
- Sliding scale of wages to keep pace with the cost of living!
- Abolition of business secrets! Open the books of the capitalists! Make the bosses pay!
- Suspend all interest payments which burden the nationalized industries! Workers' control of the mines, railways and docks!
- Nationalize the banks! Take the purse strings away from them!
- Freeze fares and rents! Nationalize land! End land speculation and private office building! Nationalize the building and building supplies industries!
- Nationalization, under workers' control, of all basic industries and of the docks!

Not only do the Tories and big business hate the youth and show a cynical disregard for their interests, they also fear them as the foremost fighters for socialism. Their most urgent need is to exclude all those young workers they oppress in so many ways, from any contact with politics. Above all, the youth must be kept away from the organized labour movement and the theory of socialism.

The Tories wage this struggle to exclude young workers from politics through their agents in the Labour Party, the right-wing Wilson leadership. It is this youth who are the foremost fighters against the betrayals of the Labour government.

In order to bring in measures to attack the working class, Wilson ensured that all opposition was removed from the Labour Party. This is the real meaning of the witch-hunt carried out against the Young Socialists when the movement was still part of the Labour Party. The expulsions, proscriptions and closures were an attempt to prevent the building of a mass socialist youth movement. These actions had the full backing of the Tories and the employers.

Similarly, the unanimous decision of the Fifth Annual Conference of the Young Socialists held at Morecambe, to continue the Young Socialists independently of the right-wing leadership of the Labour Party, was a serious blow against Toryism, and the most important step in preparing the working class to struggle against the Wilson government.

The measures of Transport House have effectively closed the Labour Party Young Socialists as a movement with any political life. At their last conference barely 300 delegates attended. This movement offers no attraction to youth who want to fight against capitalism.

For the state capitalist and Pabloite revisionists, who have no support whatever amongst working-class youth, the cowardly politics of buckling under to the attacks of the witch-hunters have nothing in common with the heroic and determined struggle against capitalism being waged by youth throughout the world.

We make this call to all members of the Labour Party Young Socialists: break from the destructive capitalist politics of Wilson and turn to the working class! The way to do this is by joining the Young Socialists in preparing the International Youth Conference and actively fighting in the trade unions to build an alternative socialist leadership.

Only a revolutionary programme for taking power from the capitalist class measures up to the courage and self-sacrifice of the young opponents of world capitalism. Youth provides the forces for parties of a new type—revolutionary parties which fight to abolish capitalism.

As the Labour government is discredited amongst the working class, the Communist Party is the main force to witch-hunt the Young Socialists in their fight for an alternative leadership.

They call the police to stop the YS demonstrating for victory for the National Liberation Front and an end to the war in Vietnam. They openly collaborate with the forces of the state. Under the cover of 'Unity of the Left' they attack the fight of the Young Socialists against the wage

freeze and forge a unity with the police.

They fought against the Young Socialists in the struggle against the trade union legislation and seriously split and weakened the working class. They actively helped in the betrayal of the seamen's strike.

We call on all members of the Communist Party who genuinely want to fight for socialism to join the Young Socialists and Socialist Labour League and fight for the demands of the Fourth International.

The Labour Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain must be rejected as instruments for the taking of working-class power. Their leaders are compromised a thousand times over with the capitalist establishment. Such parties are incapable of winning the youth.

The right-wing Labour leaders are not the only ones who witch-hunt the youth. The Young Communist League faces constant decline in its influence and support amongst young workers. Many of its members were expelled by the Party bureaucrats in King Street, without its Congress being allowed to discuss these expulsions. Many of those expelled were demanding that the party scrap its enslavement to the 'Parliamentary Road to Socialism', but the King Street bureaucrats stifled all discussion and opposition.

Leading Communist Party members in the unions play the game of the right wing. Their abdication of leadership at the Ford factory in Dagenham resulted in the sacking of 17 militant stewards. The betrayals at BMC, where the Stalinists accepted the sacking of over 12,000 car workers, flowed from the Communist Party's subservience to the Kremlin bureaucracy and the Labour government.

Paynter, secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, collaborates with the government in closing pits and condemns the miners for 'irresponsibility'.

The Communist Party's tactics in the Electrical Trades Union handed the union over to the reactionary clique around Cannon.

The Communist Party attacks militant dockers in the National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' Union ('Blue Union') who fight the Transport and General Workers' Union bureaucracy. The Stalinist 'unofficial' leader, Dash, took the lead in dividing dockers from seamen in the political strike of 1966.

No wonder its leaders share with the right-wing Labourites a record of witch-hunting youth!

Our fight for socialism is as dangerous to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Communist Parties and the Soviet Union as it is to the right-wing Labour leaders and their capitalist masters. We fight in solidarity with the young workers and students of Russia and Eastern Europe to defend the gains of the October Revolution of 1917, and at the same time defeat the bureaucracy which collaborates with the imperialists.

The charges which were levelled against those members who were expelled from the Labour Party at that time were that they were guilty of 'Trotskyism'. Identical charges were brought against those who were expelled from the Young Communist League. On the question of 'Trotskyism' there is complete agreement between Gollan and Wilson.

Why is this? Because it is in the ranks of the Fourth International, founded by Trotsky, that the youth will learn to wage the class struggle for socialism.

The Socialist Labour League, the British section of the Fourth International, has always fought to provide the working class with leadership in opposition to the betrayals of the Stalinists and social democrats. It supported the Young Socialists throughout their struggle against Wilson and the right wing.

This is the reason for the agreement between Wilson and Gollan. This is also the reason for the support and solidarity which this Young Socialist Conference pledges to the Fourth International and the Socialist Labour League!

YOUTH UNDER AUTOMATION

The programme for power is no pipe-dream of the future. It is founded firmly on the resolution of the enormous contradictions of the present, nowhere more blatantly revealed than in the United States. From 1951 to 1965 the number of computers, the basis of modern automation, increased from fewer than 100 to 22,500.

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'the programme for power is no pipe-dream of the future'

Keep Left

**We
support
French
Trotskyists**

June 1968

KEEP LEFT salutes the heroic and determined struggles of the French students and workers.

One thing is clear, whether or not the majority of strikers return to work this month: the events in France since May 3 have set rolling a new wave of the world socialist revolution begun by the Russian working class in 1917.

We have always defended Karl Marx's conception of 100 years ago that capitalism is a system in permanent crisis. This conception is once again clearly confirmed.

Not only that, but the struggles provoked by this crisis are every day shaking the whole capitalist system to its roots, and continually pose before the working class the task of taking power and establishing socialism.

The work of the Young Socialists, together with the sections of the Fourth International, to build up an alternative leadership in the working class to defeat the Stalinist and Labour traitors, is made more and more urgent.

In France these traitors are shown up in the starkest possible light.

The French Communist Party from the very start denounced in the most vicious terms the students and young workers who fought back against the police repressions in the streets of Paris.

Attempting to play down and disorganize the general strike, the Stalinists in many cases attempted to use physical violence against the young revolutionaries supporting Keep Left's sister paper 'Révoltes' and the members of the Federation of Revolutionary Students (FER).

The Stalinists now say that they will confine themselves to preparing for elections.

The French capitalists and de Gaulle make no similar promises. The troops and tanks moved around industrial centres on May 30 are still there.

Despite the Stalinists, the Trotskyists have been able to win considerable support in the working class and amongst the students. As the 'Guardian' stated on June 5, there is now a 'new power' in France—the power of the young revolutionary students and workers.

This power can be mobilised neither by the anarchists nor by the French associates of those revisionist groups who have always opposed the building of the Young Socialists.

From shouting and wailing that our break with the Labour traitors in 1964 was an 'adventure', these groups have now become the leading exponents of the art of the Sunday afternoon 'punch-up' with the Metropolitan Police.

But they have also tried to slander our comrades in France. We reject these slanders completely. KEEP LEFT is extremely proud of the work done by the French Trotskyists of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), of 'Révoltes' and of the FER to unite students with the working class and to fight the Stalinist betrayals.

That is why we are appealing to every single member and sympathiser of the Young Socialists to contribute to a big appeal fund in support of our French comrades. We want to raise £1,000 to aid their work and assist comrades injured in the battles with the police in Paris and other cities.

We are part of an international movement, and we know that the working class faces exactly the same struggle here.

KEEP LEFT appeals to every regional and federation committee of the Young Socialists to raise this money in every way possible over the next month. Every penny we receive for this fund from collections, donations and from profits on social activities will be sent to help the fight of 'Révoltes'.

LET US HAVE A BIG EFFORT.

REVOLUTION IN

BY RAY EFFORD



IN THE second week of May, with a demonstration in Paris of one million workers, the socialist revolution in Western Europe began.

The demonstration was followed by a strike which rapidly developed into the biggest general strike in history, involving the occupation of all the major industrial plants, railway yards, docks and stores.

Embracing every section of the working class and sections of the middle class, the strike included office workers, shop workers and even customs officials.

Despite the attempts of the press to make it appear that the strike was breaking up it entered its third week with almost the same strength as it had when it involved ten million.

Significantly the workers in the big Renault plant in the suburbs of Paris, which has been a focal point of the strike, rejected for the second time government offers and voted to continue the strike.

Secretary of the Federation of Revolutionary Students was brutally attacked by police (left). Renault workers applaud at meeting during occupation of factory (below).



FRANCE

It is clear that many workers will not be bought off by the small concessions the government is offering. They are determined to smash the Gaullist regime.

The great exhibition of the power of the working class which we are witnessing in France was initiated by the courageous struggles of the students.

But behind the struggles of both the workers and students is the history of de Gaulle's government and the international economic crisis.

De Gaulle was brought to power by the big French employers in 1958 in order to revitalize French capitalism, which was then faced with civil war and complete collapse.

De Gaulle's job was to modernize the French economy whilst holding down the conditions of the working class. The Communist Party refused then to organize any fight with the new regime, preferring his dictatorial rule to the establishment of a workers' government.

Clashes

Dictatorial rule was allowed to continue throughout the last ten years by the Communist Party, which sold out every struggle of the working class to prevent any confrontation with the regime. These struggles included big demonstrations and clashes with the police, especially in the period 1967-1968.

In June of last year, when de Gaulle openly assumed dictatorial powers, all the Communist Party could organize was a one-day general strike.

While giving their backing to



de Gaulle's foreign policy they strove to channel workers' militancy in a worthless fight for votes for a parliament which de Gaulle has treated with contempt ever since he came to power.

Having dissolved the parliament during the present general strike, de Gaulle only holds elections in order to give the Communist Party more scope to continue its betrayal.

The international economic crisis has disrupted the apparently stable rule of de Gaulle. Throughout 1967 and 1968 he has been forced to attack the conditions of the working class and especially the students and youth.

The removal of the welfare services was begun, unemployment was increased to 400,000, prices were forced up and plans laid to exclude working-class youth from university education by cutting the number of available places by two-thirds.

Coupled with the lack of jobs for qualified youth it was the latter proposal which brought the students into struggle.

Over the past year the students have been involved in an ever-increasing fight against the proposals of the government. In the course of this struggle there has been an increased questioning of the basic structure of capitalist society.

Thus the basis was already laid for the struggle of the students to adopt an insurrectional character alongside the workers.

Showdown

After students had occupied Nanterre University the government decided it was time for a showdown.

To give the students and workers a foretaste of what would happen if they challenged the state, Nanterre University was closed.

A protest meeting was held in the Sorbonne, the main Paris university, on May 2. This meeting was broken up by the police, student leaders were arrested and the Sorbonne closed. Street fighting rapidly broke out between students and police and soon 3,000 were involved.

The students' and lecturers' unions called for a strike and a demonstration which took place on May 6. Later that same day 15,000 students fought it out with the police, who used tear gas and brutally beat up all they could get their hands on.

The workers could see what measures of repression the state had in store for them and on Tuesday, May 7 the students were joined by many young workers on a demonstration of 50,000.

The Federation of Revolutionary Students (FER, the student movement based around Keep Left's sister paper in France, 'Révoltes'), who had fought all along to unite students with the workers in the factories, and who had given much of the political direction to the student struggles, now fought for a massive demonstration of students and workers on May 13.

They went with thousands of leaflets to the workers' districts.

The call met with a big response and coupled with the growing militancy of the workers against de Gaulle and his police thugs in the CRS, the Communist



Above: The hated riot police (CRS), protected by shields, fire tear gas grenades at students. Below: Police and students battle it out in the Latin Quarter.



Party, which had branded the student demonstrations as adventures, was forced at an emergency meeting of its Central Committee at 2 a.m. on Friday, May 10 to change its line and call a general strike and demonstration against police repression for May 13.

On the night of Friday, May 10, there occurred the famous barricade battle in which the brutality of the police exceeded anything previously seen. The CRS used tear gas, chlorine and concussion grenades and rifle butts.

Heroic though this battle was, the sad fact is that it was unnecessary. It was already clear that the students could only be successful in their struggle with the support of the working class, which by that time was forthcoming.

Leaders on the barricades, mainly anarchists, rejected this link with the working class and at 4 a.m., when their forces were seriously depleted and those that were left were very tired, they prepared to fight the police.

Meanwhile the FER, which had held a highly disciplined demonstration up to the barricades in an attempt to get the anarchists

to withdraw, set about preparing for the massive demonstration of the workers on the following Monday.

Over the weekend the government began to back down and, after the May 13 demonstration, it was in full flight before the situation.

Strike

The FER, 'Révoltes' and the French section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, grasped the situation and fought for massive strike action.

The workers stopped. The Communist Party, having hoped to gain control by jumping on the bandwagon, found it rapidly picking up speed as more and more factories came to a halt.

True to the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism, the French Communist Party, through the leadership of the CGT (Confédération Générale de Travail), began to negotiate with the government in order to try and channel the workers away from the question of power. They announced that there was no revolution and be-

gan secret talks with the government.

The workers under the leadership mainly of the youth rejected the negotiated concessions. It was not concessions but a workers' government they wanted.

The CGT leaders returned to the conference table, allowing the employers time to prepare for civil war.

De Gaulle dissolved parliament and brought his troops around Paris.

But big sections of the French workers are still resisting the attempts of the Stalinists to get a return to work—they refuse to fall for the trap of the general election promise.

From these sections, workers can be won to the programme of the Fourth International.

A revolutionary leadership can be built, especially from the young workers, which can counter the betrayals of the Stalinists, and at the same time by leading the French workers to power it can prevent the fascists from mobilizing all the filth to attack and destroy the working class.

The Young Socialists applaud the heroic struggles of the French workers and students for a socialist state, and give full sup-

continued on page 12 →

Programme for the mass socialist youth movement . . . from page 5

Improvements in their quality and economy are taking place rapidly. The automation of American industry to the extent now possible would eliminate millions of jobs, and scientists can already foresee a situation in which only 2 per cent of the labour force would be in employment. At the same time, nuclear energy places an unlimited source of energy at the disposal of mankind.

All these resources, revolutionary in their implications, are held in the stranglehold grip of a few giant monopolies. No ruling class in history has held such a parasitic position over the working population of the world as American big business and its European counterparts today.

To hold on to this power billions of dollars are invested each year in war. As the Gross National Product soars to an unprecedented level of 622 billion dollars and company profits increase by 13 billion dollars between 1961 and 1965, between 40 and 50 million people in the United States experience real poverty.

Automation, even at its present restricted rate of introduction, disposes of an average of 35,000 jobs every week. Those made redundant either go on the dole, or are forced to take jobs at much lower pay. The number of jobs available for young people gets less and less.

The new technology eliminates menial jobs like elevator operators, ditchdiggers and countermen, traditionally the lot of Negroes and poor whites. (70 per cent of all Negroes are in jobs of this sort.)

The growing shortage of semi-skilled and unskilled jobs takes place at a time when the teenage population is increasing rapidly. Twenty-six million below the age of 25 will enter the labour market in the 1960s compared with 19 million in the 1950s. It is practically impossible for young people to hold down a permanent job without a high school diploma, yet in the next few years 7½ million young people will enter the labour market without one!

In the South, three out of every five young Negroes have no high school education at all. In the last major depression, in 1958, half of those unemployed were from semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. In one year of slump 2½ million of these jobs were permanently destroyed—and at that time the introduction of automation had hardly started.

The events in Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago and other cities are only a pale reflection of the enormous social forces ready to explode after the next recession in the American economy. The mighty force of the American working class, now being expressed in big strike struggles, comes forward as the most revolutionary factor of all in world politics.

Such is the mirror of the future which American capitalism holds up before the working class in the advanced capitalist countries. The explosive power of the basic contradiction between the mighty productive forces developed by modern capitalism and the private ownership of these means of production by a tiny clique of monopoly capitalists will be expressed not in the dry language of statistics, but in revolutionary struggles in every country in the world.

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

We intend to finish with the capitalist establishment, its wars, its secret diplomacy, its business secrets, its stock exchanges, unemployment, violence, evil and corruption. This is the programme of the Young Socialists, the programme of Trotskyism. Under the banner of the Fourth International, shoulder to shoulder with the Socialist Labour League, this programme will be fulfilled.

THE NEED FOR MARXIST THEORY

To build the Young Socialists into a mass revolutionary youth movement is to lay the foundations for the greatest transformation of society in human history. This task is impossible without the corresponding development of consciousness to the highest level yet achieved—in the Marxist method of dialectical materialism and its application to a scientific study of society.

This theory, the only true revolutionary theory in the period of world capitalism, was first elaborated by Marx and Engels, and later expanded and developed by Lenin and Trotsky. All members of the Young Socialists need to make a conscious

effort to master the method of Marxism and to break from all idealist forms of thinking which are particularly ingrained in Britain, where the labour movement is dominated by the middle-class politics of bureaucrats, careerists and opportunists of all varieties.

Britain has the oldest capitalist class in the world. Through its early position of dominance in world markets and the possession of an empire enslaving millions of colonial workers the ruling class in this country was able to buy off the militancy of large sections of skilled workers. This was the basis for the domination of the British labour movement by opportunists.

In this atmosphere, where everything seemed to be decided by compromise, deals and small adjustments through parliament, and where critical theoretical questions for the working class were kept in the background, there developed in Britain what Lenin called 'the English dislike of theory'.

The doctrine of the trade union and Labour leaders is that everything will be managed according to a few set routines. They think it better to hang on to the small concessions which capitalism grants from time to time, rather than risk fighting to end the system. For the bureaucrat there is the paid official's job with the prospect of entering Her Majesty's government as a minister; for the working class . . . perhaps a house and a job.

Marxism has nothing in common with this way of thinking, this so-called 'practical commonsense', which persuades people that the present way in which society is run is the only 'natural' way, and lays workers wide open to all kinds of false ideas about their role in society. Marxism teaches the workers that their only future under capitalism is to unite and organize to take power.

There can be no systematic reforms for the working class under capitalism. Reforms are only won through struggle and so long as capitalism continues they can only be temporary. The working class requires a scientific understanding of its



role in society, stripped of all the illusions that the ruling class tries to spread through its agents in the right-wing bureaucracy.

The employers themselves have no illusions when it is a question of preparing attacks on workers. They proceed in a highly-conscious and highly-organized manner. The consciousness corresponding to the requirements of the working class is revolutionary Marxism. Idealism, and the formal, mechanical thinking that goes with it, weakens the working class and leaves it unprepared in the face of the attacks of the employers.

Every recruit to the Young Socialists brings with him the method of thinking he has absorbed from his capitalist surroundings. Capitalist educational methods encourage the view that theory is quite separate from everyday practice.

A conscious effort is necessary if theory is to be seen as an instrument for probing and understanding this everyday practice for what it is: a class struggle, which all workers are forced to wage against the employing class and its state machinery.

Those young workers whose experience

leads them to rebel against the established order do so, in the first place, in individualistic, idealist ways. When they first join the Young Socialists, they tend to accept the ideas of socialism and Marxism without understanding the living connection between these ideas and the day-to-day work of building the Young Socialists.

Unless this tendency towards idealism is overcome, the building of the branches is either not taken seriously, or appears to consist of dull, routine tasks from which nothing is learned.

Young people can begin the transition from idealism to Marxism by taking part in a conscious and disciplined way in the work of the Young Socialists. This means fighting for its campaigns and activities in the struggles of the working class and studying the experience gained from this work, regularly following the latest political developments in the newspapers and making a constant study of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Only in the struggle to change reality can reality be correctly understood.

Militancy, courage, devotion and self-sacrifice are all qualities without which no revolutionary youth movement will ever be built. Taken by themselves, however, they are not sufficient for building a party that will take the working class to power.

Militant struggles against capitalism can on occasions register important victories for the working class. They can also result in bitter defeats in the absence of any overall theory to guide them. All the past defeats, as well as the victories, of the working class must be studied by Marxists as part of the systematic struggle for power. Otherwise the experience of the working class goes to waste.

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

Young Socialists today have a great historical opportunity for the development of Marxism. All the social conditions which strengthened reformism and theor-

etical backwardness in the British workers' movement are being destroyed by the development of world capitalism and the international class struggle.

In the course of rejecting the Labour leaders, the working class will advance in the struggle for power and the building of socialism. It is in this revolutionary preparation that Marxism is being developed, in struggle against all the enemies of Marxism like the Stalinists and revisionists.

MASS RECRUITMENT

Plans for massive recruitment to the Young Socialists are urgently needed in every area. All branches must be turned outwards to the thousands of young people not yet in politics. Films, sporting competitions, beat contests, dances and other popular activities must be featured in the programmes all year round.

Argument alone is not enough to win young people to socialism. Constant thought needs to be put into improving programmes of social and recreational activity. In this way the Young Socialists will be assured of winning the allegiance



and confidence of thousands of young people.

Special attention must be paid to recruiting school leavers and unemployed youth. YS branches must organize regular work around the youth employment exchanges and schools, in the fight to unite employed and unemployed youth.

The responsibilities of carrying out the social programme are important means of training more Young Socialists as leaders and branch officers. In addition, it is vital that regular political meetings are organized in which not only the most recent political events are discussed from the standpoint of our campaigns, but also talks and lectures are prepared on all aspects of the capitalist system and on all matters of interest to young people.

Education classes on the fundamental principles of socialism for new members, and more advanced classes on Marxist theory for those who wish to develop as leaders, should be a permanent feature in the political life of all branches. Members of the Socialist Labour League should be asked to assist with these classes. Students will take their place alongside young workers, learning from their struggles, and contributing their special knowledge to the fight for socialism.

In addition to increasing the membership of existing branches, the Federations and Regional Committees must establish more branches by training recruitment teams to go into new areas. These teams should be supplied with badges, Keep Lefts, leaflets and other publicity material. Area schools should be organized to prepare the political ground for this kind of activity.

Regional Committees should organize at least four week-end schools every year at seaside resorts or other surroundings where those taking part will be able to enjoy themselves. These schools will train new leaders and provide an opportunity for members from branches throughout the region to come together to discuss their experiences.

KEEP LEFT

The Eighth Annual Conference of Young Socialists calls upon all members to go into action on this programme and to build Keep Left as the revolutionary organ for youth. We must continue to expand both the size of the paper and its circulation, in order to guide and organize the growing struggles of youth on all questions.

The greater the scope of working-class struggle, the more we need a paper to educate and organize the youth, who will be in the forefront of the struggle. Keep Left will play a vital part in the building of the mass revolutionary youth movement. The international situation, and particularly the struggles of the working class against a Labour government serving capitalism, have never been so favourable for the achievement of this task. We go forward with confidence in the working class and the success of the struggle for socialism.

Talking to Ken Loach

A Keep Left Interview

IN THE WORLD of films there is perhaps the greatest tendency towards superficiality and banality. It is therefore refreshing to meet those working in such a profession whose approach is unassuming and completely dedicated to cinema as an art form, rather than a means of amassing profit.

Our meeting with 31-year-old director Ken Loach, whose first cinematic venture was 'Poor Cow', was all the more interesting because of its straightforwardness.

Ken Loach is a young man



with very forceful ideas about the role of films in the lives of cinema and television audiences.

He readily admits that it is cynicism towards the viewing public, interest in the purse strings and sheer boredom, rather than real interest, which all too often rules output on television and in the cinema.

Starting out as a law student at Oxford he became involved with the theatre whilst still at university. From there he went into repertory for three years—a very useful experience for a future director', he told us—and

also managed to get a couple of lines in 'That Was The Week That Was'.

His break into directing came with a crash course run by the BBC in which he spent a few hours behind the cameras. At the end of it he produced a half-hour play starring Tony Garnett, a young man who has since teamed up with Ken Loach on many films for television.

His first taste of professional directing came with 'Z Cars'.

'I was very inexperienced. Fortunately I was amongst experienced people who knew what

they were doing and they carried on with their job just as if I was not there.'

Ken admits that it was all rather terrifying as the show was going out live straight from the studio to the viewer, with no time to correct mistakes.

Still rather raw as a director he then went into another series; this time 'Diary of a Young Man'.

'It was full of stills and thought to be very new wave. I considered it as an extremely useful experience,' he commented.

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History of the TUC 1868-1968

Published by the Trades Union Congress Edited by Lionel Birch Price 12s. 6d.

IN many ways, the pictorial 'History of the TUC 1868-1968', published by the Trades Union Congress in association with Paul Hamlyn Ltd., is more remarkable for what it leaves out or slurs over than for what it actually contains.

Lavish illustration with photographs and line drawings from every period of the TUC's 100 years cannot conceal the inadequacies of the text, edited by 'Sunday Telegraph' columnist Lionel Birch and a team of TUC researchers.

Sections dealing with the 1926 General Strike, the role of the TUC in two world wars and 'the impact of the Russian Revolution on the British labour movement' suffer especially from attempts to skate over the surface in order to keep covered the real face of this bureaucratic body's attempts to tail behind, hold back and sell out the struggles of the working class.

The real significance of the enormous steps forward made by the working class in the formation of the trade unions and the Labour Party—in which the TUC played an important part—is missed, since the survey tends to concentrate on the way that, right from the start, conservative craft union and middle-class tendencies were able to hold sway in the leadership of the Congress and its General Council.

In particular the TUC always fought shy of becoming involved in strikes and other industrial disputes like the massive dock stoppages of 1889 and 1911.

Bitter attacks

Bitter attacks were of course made on this by the more militant trade unionists like Ayrshire miners' leader Keir Hardie, advocate and later first leader of an independent political party to represent Labour.

But the concentration of the Congress was fixed in the first period almost exclusively on consolidating the legal position of trade unions.

One year before the first Congress, a Royal Commission was set up to investigate trade unions. Trade unionists feared that it would plunge the movement back into the illegality of the early 1820s.

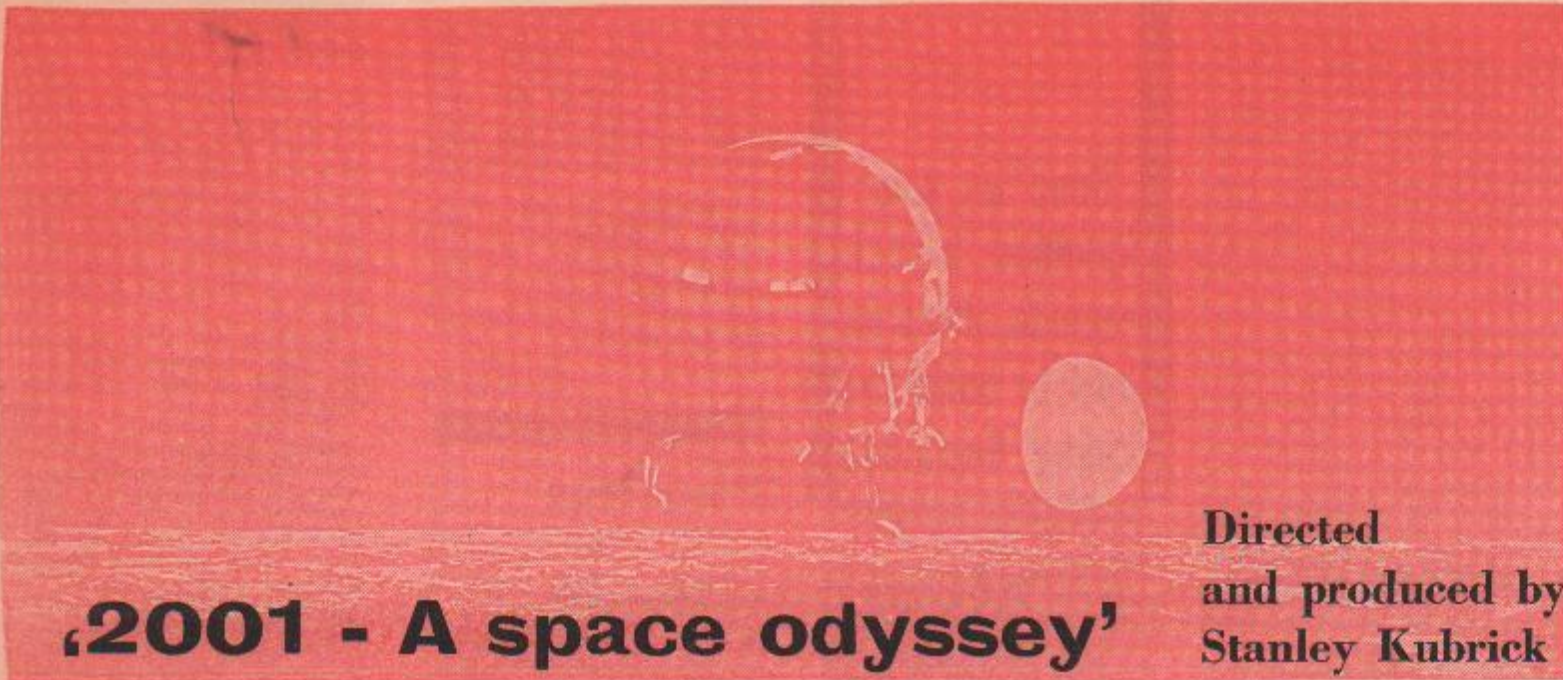
As the Queen and the knights of the TUC wine and dine at their centenary celebration in the City of London's Guildhall in June 1968, many trade unionists will remember that a Royal Commission again threatens legal penalties and restrictions on the trade union movement.

Resolutions passed by the 34 delegates (representing 118,000 workers) who met in the Manchester Mechanics' Institute in 1868 expressed the 'suspicion and disfavour' with which they regarded the imminent Royal Commission report, and pledged the Congress to securing the protection of trade union funds and the right to carry on picketing and other activities.

The repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which had prevented trade unionists giving effective organization to strike

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FILMS - FILMS - FILMS - FILMS



'2001 - A space odyssey'

Directed and produced by Stanley Kubrick

Reviewed by Martin Meyer

THIS remarkable film with its unforgettable mastery of the technological age and its stunning visual impact is based on three sections, the first of which shows the appearance of a strange object in the midst of the life of primeval ape-man.

A similar object is discovered during the main section of the film—this time on the moon in the year 2001, before an eventful journey to Jupiter.

Kubrick's final section is entitled 'Jupiter and beyond the infinite', in which the film's meaning seems to get lost in the

results of his fantastic imagination.

We had a foretaste of this film in Kubrick's 'Doctor Strangelove' where he showed an ability to depict life in the advanced technological age, where the interiors of the aircraft and the boardroom of the Pentagon were shown in perceptive detail.

In the new film technology is all-pervading, and even takes complete control at one point in the form of 'Hal', the rebellious computer.

The contradiction of the film is that all this technology exists in a framework of the most outdated political and social ideas. Kubrick puts years of research into this film; his space-ship is a futuristic marvel, and yet we find in the year 2001 Russian and American space scientists still existing in a cold war relationship, and an American scientist making the insulting statement that 'we

must protect humanity from "cultural shock"', in preparation for the discovery of some new civilisation.

The whole film in fact is totally unrelated to events on earth. Its scientific marvels exist in a vacuum—an accidental reflection of what actually happens to scientific achievement today under capitalism. Thus one gets the familiar bogey of machines taking over man, a subject which is one of the mainsprings of the plot in the film. No doubt it is on this basis that Kubrick takes off at the end of the film into psychedelic ravings (beyond the infinite).

Kubrick is obviously inspired by the tremendous power and potential of science, but because, as we know, science under capitalism is subject not to control by man for man's own use but to the uncontrollable laws of

capital, he descends from admiration into despair.

In 'Dr. Strangelove' science perverts man into self-destruction—in '2001' science leads man beyond the bounds of comprehension into the vast unknown, beyond the infinite, where some other civilisation may control man's destiny.

Kubrick's next step after that could be back to God and the supernatural—something which is already represented in the film in the enormous slabs of stone which periodically appear at each crucial point in man's development.

Unfortunately Mr. Kubrick leads us into blind alley so far as science is concerned. Why, with such a farsighted look at technological development does he have to be so shortsighted as to the corresponding social developments of man and the society in which he lives?

The struggle for working-class power in France

IN one of the most advanced capitalist countries in the world we now see the working class and students coming out on the streets of France and demonstrating against capitalism.

The students of France made the first move, they held sit-ins in a number of universities all over France and attacked the Fouchet plan, which means cuts in student grants, a permanent pool of unemployment, cuts in education and no jobs to go to when the students have left university.

Then the Revolutionary Students' Federation (FER) called for demonstrations on the streets of France, and immediately young workers came out on the streets in support of the other students.

The whole of the working class began to move. They started to take over factories and staged massive demonstrations.

The role of the Communist Party has been a treacherous one. When the first students' and young workers' demonstrations started the Communist Party told the rest of the working class that they were just out for an adventure with the police, but when the sections of the working class came out on strike and held demonstrations the Communist Party changed its tune and started to support the workers and students.

But they never called for revolution. De Gaulle proposed some reforms to the working class but they were refused and the Communist Party did not know what to do.

The only thing left for the Gaullist regime was to use force against the working class to bring about a return to work.

The French working class need a Trotskyist leadership and in France the only organization which can give that is the OCI (Organisation Communiste Internationaliste).

We can do the same as the French workers, and we must provide a leadership with the Young Socialists.

Long live the Fourth International!

Down with Stalinism and de Gaulle!

Steve Bower
Doncaster YS

France - the problem of leadership

THE revolutionary situation in France now puts paid to all those people of the 'left' who said that workers would not fight for an end to the rule of big business by revolutionary means; that they were too interested in their television and their cars to be bothered about revolution.

Clearly the problem now is not whether the working class will fight or not but who will lead that fight and on what programme.

These very people of the 'left' (state capitalists and pabloites), who say workers do not want revolution, condemned the revolutionary youth in the Labour Party as thugs when we intervened in the mods and rockers battles of 1963 and now move in on demonstrations organized by the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League to deliberately provoke fights with our members.

When we showed there was nothing doing they then went on to pick a fight with the police—a punch-up which the

capitalist mass media were able to use to isolate the students from the working class.

From these events we can see who are the thugs. These stupid acts of violence with the police on the law's terms have nothing to do with the struggles of the working class. They are the frantic manoeuvres of the middle class caught between the two massive forces in society—the ruling class and the working class.

Whilst they engage in stupid adventures, we must follow the revolutionary youth of France and use what little time we have at our disposal in Britain to patiently and carefully build the Young Socialists into a mass revolutionary youth movement.

The working class will fight. It will fight and win; given the leadership of the revolutionary party and a revolutionary programme.

Alan Wilson
Brightside YS

Public Meeting

SOME members of the Young Socialists were very fortunate in being able to attend the public meeting organized by the Socialist Labour League in London on June 2, on the French revolution.

We would like to express our complete solidarity with the workers in France who have waged a great struggle against the government of de Gaulle in recent weeks, and to state particularly our support for the young workers and students acting under the leadership of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, Révoltes, and the Federation of Revolutionary Students.

The only way we as young workers and Young Socialists can put this support into concrete terms is to prepare our movement for the socialist revolution in Britain, which the French workers have proved to be on the historical agenda now.

We intend, as a result of this decision, to take further our campaign to bring the policies of the Young Socialists into the everyday lives of young workers in the factories, to hold factory gate meetings and to fight to raise funds for our comrades in France, and in doing so, to show concretely to workers the meaning of our policies.

At the same time we intend to intervene in the universities and colleges in Newcastle in order to win students to the policies of the Young Socialists and to Marxist theory, and break them from the adventures and opportunism of middle-class revisionist politics.

The events in France have shown us beyond any doubt that the role of young workers in the struggles to come will be vital, and it is for this reason that we intend from this point onwards to work especially hard to build up the organization of the Young Socialists and to work through our own Federations and Regional Committees to ensure that the full and lively social programme we have planned for the summer and the demonstration we have called for July 6 are successful.

In our area the turn towards the factories and shipyards is crucial.

The Stalinists and other reformist leaderships in the engineering and shipbuilding industries will certainly try to do deals with the employers over the heads of the workers to make certain that the deadly serious decision of the employers to prop up the capitalist system in Britain is carried forward.

All those leaders are tied to the Kremlin bureaucracy which will be of no use to the bosses if it fails to control the revolutionary international working



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

class in the crisis of the capitalist system.

The Stalinists know that the choice is now between the dictatorship of the bosses and the dictatorship of the workers and they are resolved to put down the revolutionary workers on behalf of the employers.

This is the meaning of the French Communist Party's refusal to call for a central strike committee and their putting forward worn out 'left' leaders for yet another fake democratic government which can at any time be dissolved by the Gaullists.

We know now that the question of leadership for the working class depends entirely on us and on the Socialist Labour League and the International Committee of the Fourth International, to which we pledge our complete support.

Build the mass revolutionary youth movement!

Build the circulation of Keep Left, the only revolutionary youth paper in Britain!

Long live the French Socialist revolution!

Forward to the socialist revolution in Britain and to world socialism!
Newcastle East YS Member

'Solidarity' - For What?

IN the present upsurge of student and working-class actions all over Western Europe a number of 'left' groupings are seemingly brought to the surface.

One such group is the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (VSC). This organization originated from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. The leadership of the VSC is predominantly that of the Pabloites (a term used to describe one section of renegades from the Trotskyist movement, who helped the right wing to fight us when we were in the Labour Party) whose paper was 'The Week'.

Under their control the VSC has been joined by just about every pseudo-Marxist and anarchist grouping—notably the state-capitalist International Socialism (remarks above in brackets also apply to them), and the anarcho-syndicalist 'Solidarity' grouping.

The VSC, which has some influence with the middle-class youth in the universities, is a group which has to be fought against politically.

On October 22, 1967 and March 17 of this year there were organized demonstrations, the second one being the most significant. After giving out large numbers of leaflets these 'political cowboys' took part in what can only be described as an adventure in which they engaged the police for completely false reasons.

They called the demonstration for 'solidarity with the Vietnamese people'. But surely solidarity means building a revolutionary alternative to both social democracy and Stalinism in this country.

This means that we do not involve cadres with the police on terms dangerous for the movement. When the time comes we shall have to take them on, but we shall make sure the working class is with us.

Therefore the task of the Young Socialists is to build a mass working-class organization that will be able to attract middle-class university youth and break them from adventurism and anarchy.

B. Mills
Holloway YS

Postscript

I WOULD like to add a post-script to the 'Crompton-Parkinson Closure' article in March Keep Left.

We can now compare this closure with various others and see the methods the management and the Ministry of Labour used to prevent the unions from fighting the closure.

For some time before the closure rumours were denied only to be confirmed later as soon as the panic had died down.

A deputation went to the Ministry of Labour, where they were told 'very sorry'. Promises of a bonus and big redundancy payments were made (to keep the workers happy?).

As the closure draws near the 1,500 workers at the plant begin to get anxious. Their fears appear to be justified when, in spite of rumours that they are to be bought over by an American firm, the sports field is put up for sale.

The union however still hoped that all would be well in the end.

This last development is very similar to the way in which the

unions were effectively silenced during the closure of the South Wales coalfield—factories were promised in place of the pits.

The Stalinists produced a pathetic leaflet in relation to the Crompton Parkinson closure. Headed 'Oh what a pity', it had a membership form below. Some of these leaflets were even distributed to the local technical college which is known to be virtually the headquarters of the Young Tories!

They attempted to start a petition (with the Labour Party Young Socialists) to ask the Mayor to use his powers to get the council to employ the redundant workers.

But the council is so small it could not possibly employ 1,500 extra men. In any case what skilled engineer would sweep roads?

Council employment is arranged through the various departments and the committees, appeals are useless.

The Stalinists never even thought of a petition to the Minister of Labour.

This comedy has now finished as the Stalinists are preparing to fight in the council elections—two candidates in the Tory strongholds—none in the Labour wards (mustn't split the Labour vote!).

This is just one more example of the way in which capitalism works, helped by the Labour Party and the Stalinists. The Young Socialists must learn by their example so as to be able to recognise the tricks before they are played.

The only way to stop factory closures is to fight the government.

'The Labour government was the best thing that ever happened to capitalism in Britain' said one Crompton's worker when he heard what the Ministry of Labour had said.

Francis Roberts
Chelmsford

Illusions and Reality

D. OUTHWAITE, whose letter on drugs policy appeared in the May Keep Left, will not be with us long.

His views on drug taking are thoroughly reactionary and his method idealist to the core. He is hostile not just to our policy on drugs, but to Marxism.

Rejecting our class position on drugs, he begins from... the mind of the individual drug taker.

He says: 'A drug reveals situations which are relevant to one's own outlook and experience'... and further... 'The crucial factor is not the drug itself but the minds of the users outside the drug experience.'

This leads him to conclude: 'The adoption of drugs by a socialist who uses them properly would further his understanding of himself with regard to socialism.'

People who oppose this nonsense are in his opinion simply 'reiterating' the policy of the Young Socialists.

Mr. Outhwaite, we are not in the revolutionary movement to contemplate our navels 'with regard to socialism'.

Don't try to kid us that we can get a better 'understanding of ourselves' by taking drugs. The purpose of drugs is precisely to obliterate consciousness, to prevent understanding.

We understand very well what we are—products of capitalist society. Since the capitalist class owns the productive forces, we are obliged to sell our labour power to them. This labour power produces surplus value which the capitalist class appropriate for their own private purposes.

The 'individual mind' is a product of these objective

social relations and not a thing-in-itself. Since the capitalist class owns the means of production it dominates all spheres of social life. In particular, through the church, press, radio, TV, schools and universities it perpetuates its ideology—idealism of various forms.

The purpose of idealism is to detract attention from, to conceal this material exploitation of the working class. To create a false picture of the world. Young workers who reject the church and who are denied higher education are fed on a diet of pop-love and pills.

Real understanding can only be developed through a struggle to build the revolutionary party to overthrow capitalism. Part of this struggle involves mastering the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky on sociology, economics and, above all, philosophy.

To overthrow capitalism we must first see the world as it really is. We must begin with the struggle of the working class and the party which embodies the historical experience of these struggles.

Those who advocate the use of drugs reject this road. Instead they perpetuate the mystery of the 'individual' whose fathomless 'soul' can only be 'understood' with the aid of the needle and the 'sugar lump'.

The 'mystery' is only in their own heads. To us it is clear—they are victims of capitalist oppression, pedlars of idealism and pushers of anti-Marxism.

Mr. Outhwaite fears our line on drugs is 'not in the interests of political solidarity' and that 'it could be easily ridiculed by hostile political factions'.

Roughly translated this means: I think your line on drugs is ridiculous and if it is not changed I cannot be in political solidarity with you.

So be it. There is no room for the slightest concession on Marxist principles.

Mark Jenkins
Watford

Socialism is the only answer

ENOCH POWELL'S recent speech in Birmingham was not only an airing of his personal views, but a conscious attempt to split the working class. Big struggles by workers against the capitalist class which Powell represents are now coming up.

And indeed some backward sections of the working class have come out in support of Powell.

To protect themselves, immigrant workers might now consider joining the 'black power' movement, but this can only split the working class still further.

Socialists must be prepared to fight this split on the basis that it is capitalism and not immigration that causes unemployment, housing shortages, etc., and that Powell's methods—practised by white or coloured workers—will achieve nothing but defeats.

Socialism is the only answer. If workers do not realise this we could easily end up with another Hitler.

Kenneth Muller
Clapham Y.S.

Face of Reaction

DURING a recent spell of unemployment I undertook the difficult task of finding myself a job.

After visiting a number of different factories I came across the most reactionary personnel officer I could ever hope to meet.

After filing in the appli-

cation form he asked me why I left my last job. I told him that I had been asked to leave and gave him some vague reason as to why that had been the case.

The personnel officer's reply made me want to vomit. 'Well', he said, 'we only employ cheap coloured labour here. The wages are only £11 and it is a dirty job, carrying heavy loads. We wouldn't expect a white man to work in these conditions for such wages.'

He went on: 'I know you wouldn't want to work with them as the summer is coming on and the weather will be extremely hot.' His meaning was sickeningly obvious.

'You can have the job if you want it, but if you wait another week I shall probably have a white man's job by then.'

This is British capitalism and it stinks! It is high time a socialist society was formed. The Young Socialists are the only organized political force with a policy to defeat these racist bureaucrats and the Wilson government which has opened the door for the fascists.

John Monelley
Acton YS

Criticism of a criticism

THE CRITICISM of the film 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' in Keep Left, May 1968, seemed to me to be seriously deficient, and I would like to discuss what I think are its deficiencies.

I cannot argue about the reviewer's opinions of the film, because it has not yet appeared in Leeds, and I have not seen it.

Anyway, this particular film is irrelevant to my present purpose, and, evidently, is equally irrelevant to the reviewer, for, out of 12 paragraphs in the review, six consist of a historical investigation of the Crimean War, three of jibes at various film directors, and only three deal with the film itself.

Because of this imbalance, those of us who have never seen the film gain very little information.

The construction of the review, however, is symptomatic of a sterile critical method. The root of the matter is that the critic has approached the film in the wrong way.

He has attempted to analyse a film, a creative work, by analyzing the historical significance of the events it portrays.

This kind of investigation can be very valuable, and can shed much light on artistic work, but it is useless unless linked to an appreciation of art as art, and not merely as a product of historical circumstances.

The creation of paintings, novels, plays and films is, of course, affected by history but their artistic development is subjective, sub-conscious and obeys its own laws before those of history or economics.

'Art and history, though connected, do not overlap.' (This and other quotations I use are taken from Trotsky's speech on 'Class and Art', printed in 'Fourth International', July 1967.)

This failure to overlap can be illustrated by a brief examination of the reviewer's statement that the period of the Crimean War, being a time of great historical interest, contains plenty of material for a really good film.

For a good documentation certainly, but all the historical interest in the world need not confer artistic success on a play or film.

'Hamlet' deals with a man whose dominant characteristic is the inability to carry out a historically important task. Does this make 'Hamlet' a bad play?

A historical approach to art, then, is inadequate and this review demonstrates an inability to see art as 'a quite specific field of human endeavour'.

In fact, to regard creative efforts only as historical manifestations is 'to strike them out from the realm of art'.

A film should be reviewed as a film, as a part of a creative tradition, as an employment of a certain medium to achieve a creative object.

To devote half a review to a purely historical analysis displays lack of critical appreciation and a misapplication of Marxist theory.

Crispin A. Yelland
Leeds Young Socialist

Over-run with rats

I WOULD like to tell you about housing conditions in Glasgow, especially in Maryhill, where I live.

The house I am living in is over-run with rats. This is not just the case in my own home but in thousands of others as well.

I read in the papers recently about a young child who was bitten in the face by a rat whilst sleeping in her pram.

I think houses which are over-run with rats should be pulled down immediately.

Buildings in our street are over 90 years old so you will have a rough idea of what I am talking about.

The night there was a serious storm in Glasgow quite an amount of damage was done. Many chimneys have been blown down and we cannot get a fire lit in our room and at night it is very cold.

I think they should nationalize the housing industry and the banks so that we would be able to build more houses and have cheaper rents, because at the moment the rents are far too dear.

Marie Munro
Young Socialist

Working under the Geddes Report

I AM writing to the Keep Left as a shipyard worker and a member of the Young Socialists.

The yard I work in has just come into a new consortium, incorporating five shipyards. This was the beginning of the enforcement of the Geddes Report.

Discipline began by a clamp-down on time-keeping, with threats of sackings for unpunctuality. Then the bosses began shifting the apprentices from one part of the river to another. When the apprentices asked for travelling allowance they were given the alternative of either travelling further to work or being rendered unemployed.

The bosses were able to do this because of the no-strike agreements and sell-outs by the union leaders.

Administrators now do the sole job of taking charge of apprentices, who have to make out reports at the end of each day. At the end of the week they have to make out another report for the Industrial Training Board, saying what they have done for the whole week.

Apprentices are being exploited all the time. They work on piece work and turn out as much work as a journeyman, but whilst the journeyman gets £25 pay, the apprentice makes about £10 (£8 10s. to take home).

On top of this they also do work for other yards. By doing this piece work they are not really given adequate training and many of them have become disillusioned with their shop stewards and union executives over this sell-out on their conditions.

The role of the Young Socialists in this situation must be to go to the apprentices, discuss with them, argue with them, teach them and train them to be leaders in the upheaval that will arise in the not too distant future.

This means the fight to recruit them into the Young Socialists.

A Jarrow YS Member

The Fourth International

THE foundation of the Fourth International was because of the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism.

Every day in our work with the Young Socialists and in the trade unions, the British Communist Party has shown that they will betray in the same way as the French Communist Party is betraying the French workers.

In Southall at a trade union meeting, which I and other Young Socialists attended as delegates of our union branches, the local 'left' MP was asked by many workers, including Communist Party members, why he did not vote against Wilson and why he did not vote for his removal from the Labour Party.

The only defence for this MP's position came from the local leadership of the Communist Party.

An attack was made on the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League as sectarian and splitters.

When an amendment was made by us to the main resolution calling for the 'left' MPs to really fight and calling for a change from the boom-period trade unionism to revolutionary trade unionism we were defeated mainly because of the position of the Communist Party members.

All YS members should be members of their union and

should go to the union branch meeting and show the workers there is a real alternative to the Stalinists—this is a lesson we must draw from the present position in France.

Tony Richardson
Southall YS

Impressed with May Day

AS A very new branch we found a lot of difficulty in getting the money to come to May Day.

We managed to take six delegates, four of whom had never taken part in a demonstration of this type.

Everybody was very impressed with the organization and rally and we will have no difficulty in convincing those concerned to come to future activities of the Young Socialists.

Congratulations to all concerned.

George Scott,
Keep Left Organizer,
South Shields YS

Young Socialists' social programme in Southampton

FOR THE last three months we have been holding a weekly discotheque in Southampton as part of our programme to bring masses of youth into the Young Socialists.

About 50 young people including school leavers and young workers come along regularly to the discotheque. Our social programme also includes hikes in the New Forest and we are planning a trip to the coast.

A wide social programme is very important during this period in order to build up a mass youth movement. To do this we must bring thousands of young workers into the Young Socialists, many of whom will have had no previous interest in politics.

By bringing these young people around us through a variety of social activities we can fight to win them to our political programme.

It is very important to bring school leavers into the Young Socialists, for many of them will be unable to find employment when they leave school this summer.

From our social programme, particularly from the discotheque, several of these young people have come along to run political meetings and now take an active part in Keep Left sales and other activities.

It is necessary for us now to extend our social programme, to improve our discotheque and begin new activities, particularly sports, to bring many more young people around to build up our branch and fight to build a Marxist leadership.

Rosemary Boxall
Southampton YS

Crosswords?

I WOULD like to put forward a suggestion that we have a crossword puzzle in the Keep Left on political questions and current affairs.

The first winning entry you received could have a photograph published in the Keep Left or branches could try between them.

Exchange YS
Liverpool

révoltes

POUR LA CONSTRUCTION DE L'ORGANISATION RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE DE LA JEUNESSE

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Talking to Ken Loach



● From page 9

The years 1965-1966 opened up yet another field, the 'Wednesday Play'. He joined a small group of directors and producers who, as he put it, 'wanted to have a go'.

Disappointment came with the discovery that he and others had been channelled off into a 'high-brow' stream and isolated from the general viewing public that they wanted to reach.

Ken stressed quite strongly that this is perhaps the greatest danger in television; that a young and hopeful director, wanting to present something he thinks is of interest or importance, may quite easily become very cynical or simply disappear somewhere down the back corridors of the studios, only to be seen at some hour like midnight, when most of the public has gone to bed.

Ken Loach, however, was perhaps more fortunate than most. His direction of 'Up the Junction' for television received a certain amount of acclaim and most probably achieved a wide viewing.

Later this year he and producer Tony Garnett plan to present another television film, this time about life in Liverpool. This, he assured me, would interest readers of Keep Left, so watch out for it!

Last year he made his first film for release on the cinema circuit. Called 'Poor Cow', it was adapted from the novel of the same name by Nell Dunn.

It got a mixed reception from the reviewers. Ken Loach's own criticism is that it was far too pretty. 'The great disadvantage is that even a shabby block of flats looks cheerful in colour,' he explained.

'The film was not meant to be a story—rather a sympathetic portrait of a girl who survives even when everything goes against her.'

His preference for working in black and white is part of a general outlook which he has to the making of films.

He will work with an unknown actor rather than 'stars' because he likes his actors to be totally committed to the film, not thinking about whether their present part is going to be a good recommendation for the next job.

The next film promises to be interesting and controversial.

Running for 90 minutes and again in colour, it is an insight into the all-too-common predicament of a young lad at school, relegated to the 'C' stream, a reject of the selection process of the British educational system.

Taking Yorkshire as his location, Ken Loach sets his story against a background of a mining community. His young schoolboy trains a kestrel, which is eventually killed by his older brother.

His obvious sympathies for the problems of the working class are not confined to expression in film. He has been a member of the Labour Party for many years.

Now extremely critical of Wilson and his policies he says: 'In 1964 I and others were very enthusiastic about the new Labour government, but we allowed ourselves to be fooled instead of seeing it in its historical perspectives. Looking back now, it is very clear what they were preparing to do'.

Recent events in France, he says, 'were terrific'. 'It isn't a question of the working class being irresponsible because they want more. We must talk in terms of getting socialism.'

Because of his belief in a socialist future, he is emphatic about the dangers of the flower power philosophy and 'opting out'. 'It channels sections off right away from political action. One has to be in the fight,' he said.

Ken Loach is not just another 'angry young man'.

His refusal to be slotted into the conformity of the massive film-making industry makes him more than that.

I for one am sure he has much to contribute and I will not miss his next film.



THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS and the Socialist Labour League joined with the National Association of Labour Student Organizations to become the first section of the British labour movement to hold a demonstration in support of the workers and students in France.

The march on Friday, May 17, called by the NALSO executive was joined by students and Young Socialists from all over London. At a meeting in the Caxton Hall, where the main speaker was a young student comrade from Paris, it was unanimously agreed that a further demonstration should be held one week later.

Speaking on behalf of the Young Socialists, Sheila Torrance, the national secretary, urged for a massive campaign in the ensuing weeks.

On the following Sunday, May 26, the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League and large sections of trade unionists marched in a 1,000-strong demonstration from Malet Street to Wilton Street, near the French Embassy.

Before the march began, however, it was necessary to make a few points clear as to the purpose of the demonstration.

Anarchists, who had come, quite obviously, simply to have a punch-up, were told they could not march with the Young Socialists unless they were prepared to do so in a disciplined way and obey the instructions of the appointed stewards.

It was explained that the Young Socialists were not going to provoke a situation with the police. The state capitalists (International Socialism) had originally agreed to the terms of the march. But they rapidly changed their tune and lined up with the Pabloites (Vietnam Solidarity Committee) and anarchists in attempting to join the march. They attacked editor of The Newsletter, Mike Banda, and several stewards when they were told they could not do so.

The Young Socialists refused to answer the provocation by calling in the police. A cordon of our own stewards was formed between the Young Socialists' march and the anarchists and their 'friends' until the demonstration was under way.

At Knightsbridge a letter supporting the French workers and students and demanding that the ban on Cohn-Bendit be lifted and that police brutality cease was handed in at the French Embassy.

On June 2 a public meeting at the Beaver Hall heard a speaker from the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, French section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, explain the events in France and the new tasks facing the working class.

From this meeting an appeal was launched for the fund to assist the comrades in France, some of whom have been seriously wounded over the past few weeks.

JOIN THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

I wish to join/know more about the Young Socialists. Please send me details.

Name

Address

Post to Sheila Torrance, c/o 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

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Revolution in France

● From page 7

port to 'Révoltes', the FER and the OCI in their fight to build a leadership which at the head of the working class will defeat capitalism in France.

The effects of the struggle of the French workers will be enormous, especially in Britain.

The resultant weakening of the French economy will have disastrous effects on the pound. Wilson and his treacherous cohorts will be forced into making even bigger attacks on the working class—a working class which has just had a demonstration of the brutality of the capitalist state and the immense power of the working class in opposition to this.

The French workers have shown how the rotten policies of

the bureaucratic traitors can be defeated. They have blazed the revolutionary trail for the whole of the European working class.

The Young Socialists must prepare for the coming revolutionary struggles in Britain. Firstly we must assist financially the revolutionary socialist youth of France through the £1,000 fund.

Secondly we must build in Britain a mass Young Socialists which can take the lead in revolutionary struggles and destroy Stalinism and social democracy for good.

- Long live the French socialist revolution.
- Long live the FER and 'Révoltes'.
- Forward to the British Revolution.
- Forward to the mass international revolutionary youth movement.

National Committee condemns attack on 'Révoltes' and FER

Statement by the National Committee of the Young Socialists

THE National Committee of the Young Socialists protests in the strongest possible way at the action of the French government in making illegal the Marxist-Leninist Union of Communist Youth, the Federation of Revolutionary Students, the Communist Revolutionary

Youth, the 'Révoltes' youth group, the movement of March 22 and the Workers' Voice organization.

The Federation of Revolutionary Students and the 'Révoltes' youth group are sister organizations of the Young Socialists.

We pledge ourselves to do everything possible to mobilize the support of the Labour movement in Britain to force the Gaullist regime to reverse this dictatorial decision.

Sheila Torrance, National Secretary.

TUC

● From page 9

action, was a big breakthrough for the movement, but was the TUC's only major action for a period of 30 years.

After the 1901 Taff Vale judgement, which meant that a trade union could be sued and compelled to pay for any action undertaken by its officials, the Labour Representation Committee and the Parliamentary Committee of the TUC were forced to mobilize for the elections.

Fifty-four Labour and 'Liberal-Labour' candidates were returned in 1906.

Many excellent photographs from the history show the really mass character of the movement forcing the TUC and Labour leaders along at this period.

But the TUC was able to mislead millions of workers behind the capitalist class into two World Wars. On August 24, 1914 the Parliamentary Committee of the TUC voted in favour of all unions observing an 'industrial truce' for the duration of the war, and in 1939, besides unequivocally supporting the war, it played a major role in the imperialist war effort.

This policy of collaboration with the employers also characterizes the TUC leaders during 'peace'.

This is the 'theory' which lies behind its 'reluctant' support for the incomes policy today. As present TUC secretary George Woodcock puts it in his introduction to the history—'the TUC's assertion of a right to share in the government of the nation inevitably involved an obligation to assume some share of responsibility in implementing policies agreed with governments; and the fulfillment of this obligation inevitably tests the TUC's representative capacity'.

Such 'leaders' are caught between the demands of their members, and those of the employers who are always pressing to buy them off.

They are absolutely hostile to the working class taking history in its hands and overthrowing capitalist society.

This is why the section in the history on the Russian Revolution consists of a mere three paragraphs which never once mention the October revolution and the establishment of a Soviet government.

The TUC General Council's sell-out of the 1926 General Strike is explained away as the result of a technical disagreement between the Miners' Federation and the General Council, over who was entitled to negotiate a settlement.

The starting-point for a real history of the TUC must be the struggle of the Young Socialists to build a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions which will clear out these people and make the trade unions an instrument of the power of the working class to fight for socialism.