

Keep Left

UNITES APPRENTICES • YOUNG WORKERS STUDENTS • UNEMPLOYED AND IMMIGRANT YOUTH

SWINDON BY-ELECTION

FRANK WILLIS Young Socialists' parliamentary candidate for Swindon says:

Remember what happened in Germany when Hitler came to power in 1933. His first job was to destroy the

trade unions. He used anti-Semitism, just as the Tories are now using racialism, to divide the working class. This was an essential part of his attack on the trade unions. Once the trade unions were destroyed, then the door was opened for

large-scale wage cutting, a longer working day and, at a later date, World War II and slave labour camps. If we dismiss the terrible lesson of what happened in Germany in the 1930s we are living in a fools' paradise.

A VOTE

FOR

WILLIS



MEANS

'HANDS OFF UNIONS'



Keep Left

April 1969

The Young Socialists challenge the Y.C.L.

IN the long history of the struggle between Marxism and those who have attempted to revise it, the struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism ranks as the most outstanding difference within the international workers' movement.

For 30 years, the leaders of the British Communist Party and the Young Communist League, faithfully echoing Stalin, denounced the Trotskyists as fascists.

All this came to an end when, after Stalin's death in 1953, Khrushchev announced at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956 that gross injustice and crimes had been committed by Stalin.

Leaders such as Gollan, Ramelson and later Barney Davies of the Young Communist League, were then revealed as liars, who, having faithfully followed in the footsteps of Stalin, had deceived tens of thousands of youth and workers in Britain.

Within the Communist Party and the Young Communist League leadership today there is silence about their past.

They dare not open their mouths about Stalin's crimes which they supported. Completely lacking in political honesty and loyalty to the working class, they continue to carry on a scurrilous campaign behind the scenes against Trotskyism.

The work of clearing up the mess is left to a number of Communist Party right wingers such as Monty Johnstone (see January 1969 issue of Keep Left).

Recently the Young Socialists invited the Young Communist League to debate. Johnstone was too frightened to appear as a member of the Communist Party and speak on its behalf and in turn he wanted to restrict the debate to an abstract discussion on Trotsky's role.

In other words, he wanted to gag the debate, so his stooges in the YCL were unable to accept the Young Socialists' challenge.

Instead they revealed the pathetic remnants of Stalinism which today has reduced them to one of the smallest and most discredited youth groups in the working-class movement of Britain.

'Without revolutionary theory' says Lenin, 'there can be no revolutionary movement.' But a revolutionary theory depends above all on a faithful and objectively truthful examination of history. Without this there is no theory. That is why all those such as the YCL who try to cling to the Stalinist distortions of the past are unable to debate with the Young Socialists.

Recently, a number of books have appeared exposing the frame-up of Slansky and others in Czechoslovakia in the early 1950s.

Monty Johnstone supported this frame-up and defended it in the YCL paper 'Challenge'. But this contemptible man now remains silent. We ask him a question.

Why did you support the frame-up of Slansky and the frame-up of these leaders of the Bolshevik Party who were found 'guilty' in the Moscow Trials? Do not tell us that you made a mistake. Just tell us, please, what were the political reasons for this 'mistake'?

The Young Socialists will shortly be organizing a public meeting in the London area on the question of Stalin and Trotsky. We extend an invitation to all members of the YCL to come along and discuss this vital subject with us.

Trotskyism and Stalinism

IN January this year KEEP LEFT replied to an article on Trotskyism by Monty Johnstone which appeared in 'Cogito', the discussion journal of the Young Communist League.

Mr. Johnstone's article was a gross distortion of Trotskyism and all it has stood for in the fight against Stalinism and the Moscow Trials of the 1930s.

In a letter on January 7 from the Young Socialists' National Secretary Sheila Torrance to the Young Communist League Johnstone was challenged to a public debate.

Since then there has been a series of letters between the Young Socialists and the Young Communist League. Our challenge has not been answered and from this correspondence it is absolutely clear just what the position of Stalinism really is.

KEEP LEFT presents this correspondence and the minutes of a joint meeting between the Young Socialists and the Young Communist League on January 23 so that our readers can see for themselves.

Sheila Torrance,
Young Socialists,
186a Clapham High Street,
London, S.W.4.
January 16, 1969

Dear Comrade,
Thank you for your letter of January 7.

In principle, we accept your offer to publicly debate Trotskyism and we would like to suggest we arrange a meeting of say four comrades from each organization to organize the event.

If this is acceptable to you perhaps you could give me a ring.

Yours fraternally,
Pete Carter,
National Organizer.

Peter Carter,
Young Communist League,
16 King Street,
W.C.2.
January 20, 1969.

Dear Mr. Carter,
This is to confirm our telephone conversation regarding our meeting on Thursday, January 23.

I would like to propose that the meeting begins at 8 p.m. and is held at the George Public House, 57 Liverpool Road, N.1.

Please let me know if this is inconvenient.

Yours fraternally,
SHEILA TORRANCE
(National Secretary)

January 27, 1969.
Dear Mr. Carter,

Following our meeting on Thursday, January 23, I have now consulted the National Committee of the Young Socialists who have instructed me to write as follows:

1. It must be understood that it is the Young Socialists who have initiated the debate. As far as we are concerned the title for the debate must be 'Trotskyism and Stalinism' since it is absolutely impossible to discuss one without the other.

2. The speakers must represent their respective or-

ganizations and be prepared to speak on their behalf. Although the debate is being organized under the auspices of the Young Socialists and the Young Communist League, both G. Healy for the Young Socialists, and M. Johnstone for the Young Communist League, are adults and should be prepared to speak as follows:

G. Healy for the Socialist Labour League

M. Johnstone for the Communist Party.

My Committee is emphatic that this must not be a debate between individuals. It can only have fruitful results provided all the serious historical differences separating Trotskyism from Stalinism are dealt with as fully as time will allow. To discuss any kind of censorship of either of the speakers would be absolutely out of the question.

3. If the Young Communist League do not agree with these proposals, then we suggest they publish their own material and we will publish ours advertising the debate in the way we have outlined here.

There is absolutely no reason why the debate should not go on and we are looking forward to it.

A copy of our record of the meeting is enclosed.

Yours fraternally,
SHEILA TORRANCE
(National Secretary).

January 30, 1969.

Dear Sheila,

Thank you for your letter of January 27.

The contents of your letter will go before our National Committee which meets early in February.

Yours fraternally,
Pete Carter,
National Organizer.

February 17, 1969

Dear Miss Torrance,

The National Committee of the Young Communist League has accepted your challenge as announced in January Keep Left, which was 'Sheila

Torrance, National Secretary of the Young Socialists, informs Keep Left that Monty Johnstone is invited to a public debate on Trotskyism'.

We are ready to meet that challenge and put forward Monty Johnstone to debate, as the author of the articles in 'Cogito'.

Yours fraternally,
Pete Carter,
National Organizer.

February 20, 1969.

Dear Mr. Carter,

Thank you for your letter of February 17. I will now put the matter before the next meeting of our National Committee which is being held on the weekend March 1 and 2.

I would however, like a copy of the subsequent editions of 'Cogito', that is volumes two and three, in order to consider the matter fully. I would be obliged if you could forward them to me as soon as possible.

Could you also return a signed copy of the minutes of the joint Committee meeting that was held on January 23 if you consider it to be a correct record.

Yours fraternally,
SHEILA TORRANCE
(National Secretary).

February 21, 1969.

Dear Miss Torrance,

Thanks for your letter of February 20.

Issue No. 2 of 'Cogito' on Trotsky will not be ready till mid-March and No. 3 mid-April. When they are ready I will send them on.

Enclosed is signed copy of the Minutes.

Yours fraternally,
Pete Carter,

March 11, 1969

Dear Mr. Carter,

The National Committee of the Young Socialists has now considered your letter of February 17 and has instructed me to reply as follows:

The letter can only be interpreted as a deliberate evasion of the political questions which a public debate on Trotskyism and Stalinism would expose.

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Keep Left

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS
UNITED APPRENTICES • YOUNG WORKERS
STUDENTS • UNEMPLOYED AND IMMIGRANT YOUTH



Vol. 18 No. 1
January 1969
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Monty Johnstone— an apologist for Stalinism

KEEP LEFT publishes a reply
to the slanders against
TROTSKYISM (starting page 4)

LEON TROTSKY
founder of the
Fourth International - leader of the fight against
Stalinism - murdered by Stalin's agent in 1940

STOP PRESS—Stalin, Trotsky, National Secretary of the Young Socialist League, Leon Trotsky, and Monty Johnstone in London in 1938. Trotsky is on the left, Johnstone in the center, and Stalin on the right.

The meeting on January 22 between representatives of our two organizations was minuted, and made very clear the points agreed and those still to be settled. You signed those minutes. They include an agreement that M. Johnstone speak, not in his individual role as author of the 'Cogito' article, but for the Young Communist League, opposed by G. Healy for the Young Socialists.

Now you want to ignore this agreement by using a phrase from 'Keep Left'. Your only purpose can be to make it clear that you must avoid the debate at all costs and that you will break agreements in order to do so.

The only other political question involved in our original meeting was the title of the debate. You have continued to ignore our request for the title 'Trotskyism and Stalinism', and you continue even to reject the compromise solution which we put forward: that you advertise the debate as on 'Trotskyism' and we advertise it as on 'Trotskyism and Stalinism'.

It is clear to us that you have decided to place obstacles in the way of this debate. We re-affirm that if the original agreement can be restored, and if some agreement can be reached on the title, then we look forward to the debate. But your letter convinces us that the political issues involved make it impossible for you to accept a public debate with Trotskyists.

The Young Communist League and the Communist Party want to avoid the question of Stalinism because the whole of their own political nature is at stake. Take the mass murder of Bolsheviks in the Moscow Trials of 1936-1938. Johnstone has expressed the wish (in 'Cogito') that '... the Soviet Union will soon officially revise these trials. ...' The issue is not what Stalin's successors will write on the record but—what were the politics, the Stalinist politics, behind the Moscow Trials? What were the politics, the Stalinist politics, of the British Communist Party which praised these trials and executions? Neither Johnstone nor the Young Communist League and the Communist Party want to answer these questions. That is why the title 'Stalinism and Trotskyism' is rejected. That is why you have no answer to Robert Black's questions on

this matter in 'Keep Left' (January 1969). It is because you cannot explain this, and you cannot explain the reversal to white-washing Stalin in Russia in recent months, that you will not debate.

In August 1969 the Communist Party and the Young Communist League leadership condemned the Soviet march into Czechoslovakia. So long as you cannot explain the origins of this act of the Kremlin Stalinists, and of your subservience to the whole of their previous politics, your criticism on this question reflects a capitulation to 'democratic' middle-class opinion in Britain rather than any turn away from Stalinism.

For example, you do not and will not reply to the questions raised by Black: what about the Slansky trials? Now, Slansky's widow has revealed in detail the frame-up and the murder of Czech communists in 1952. No one in the Stalinist movement will now say Slansky and his comrades were guilty. But you must answer: what is your responsibility for the continuation of this Stalinist terror, by your support for it? What was the record of the Stalinist movement and of the Trotskyist movement on this matter?

This is why you must avoid the debate, because the essential question is the question of Stalinism and of Trotskyism's principled fight against it. Johnstone has been exposed, by Black, as the editor of 'Challenge' who not only condemned Slansky and his comrades, but advocated the extension to other countries of the methods used against them. And finally, he depicted the murder of Slansky as continuation of Stalin's correct struggle against Trotsky.

You do not want to answer on these questions, above all because you continue the opportunist policies of Stalin, despite apologetic remarks about Stalin's 'excesses'.

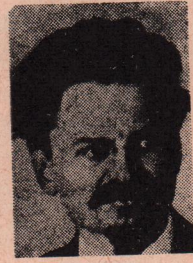
We must inform you that if the original conditions agreed are not returned to, and if the title is not changed to include 'Stalinism', we have no alternative but to go ahead and organize a public meeting with our own speakers, to which your members would be invited and at which they would be given the floor.

Yours fraternally,
SHEILA TORRANCE
(National Secretary).

MINUTES OF COMMITTEE MEETING HELD BETWEEN YOUNG SOCIALISTS AND YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE ON THURSDAY JANUARY 23. THE following decisions were agreed on Thursday, January 23, 1969, at a joint meeting of three representatives of the Young Communist League and four representatives of the Young Socialists.

1. There was no agreement on the title of the debate. The YCL representatives wanted the debate to be called 'Trotskyism'. The Young Socialists wanted the debate to be called 'Trotskyism and Stalinism'. After a long discussion, a proposal was put by the YS delegation that each organization advertise the debate in their own way. This proposal was rejected by the YCL delegation. It was therefore agreed that the YS delegation take back this position to their own organization and would contact the YCL in a few days.
2. It was agreed that there would be no restrictions on the contributions of the speakers at the debate. They would base their contributions on the subject matter in the articles in 'Cogito' by M. Johnstone and 'Keep Left' by R. Black.
3. It was agreed that the speakers be G. Healy for the Young Socialists and M. Johnstone for the Young Communist League.
4. The order of the debate would be: Each speaker would be allowed half an hour for their introductory speech. There would then be approximately one hour for discussion and then the collection. Speakers would be allowed twenty minutes each to reply. It would then be decided by toss of a coin who speaks first. The person who speaks first in the introductory speech would speak last in reply.
5. General discussion would be limited to members of our own organizations. The Chairman would choose an equal number of speakers from each organization to take part in the allotted time.
6. The Chairman was to be considered. There were proposals of Michael Foot, Eric Heffer, Christopher Hill, Ian Mikardo and Ernie Roberts.
7. It was agreed that the debate would begin at 7.30 p.m. on Friday, March 14. We would enquire into the possibility of hiring Beaver Hall or the large hall at Caxton Hall. These enquiries would be made by S. Torrance who would then contact P. Carter. It was agreed to book the hall from 7 p.m. to 11 p.m.
8. It was agreed to provide fifteen stewards, including two chief stewards, from each organization to be at the hall at 7 p.m.
9. It was agreed to share the expenditure and income. We would divide the tickets between the two organizations for sales purposes. The cost of a ticket should be 2s. 6d. All money at the door and the collection would be divided between the two organizations.
10. It was agreed that the Young Socialists arrange the printing of the tickets. Those who have tickets would be given preference at the entrance.
11. It was agreed that there be two literature stalls at the meeting.
signed
S. TORRANCE,
on behalf of the Young Socialists
PETE CARTER,
on behalf of Young Communist League.

50 years ago— The founding of the Communist International



IN Moscow on March 2, 1919, a world revolutionary movement was founded—the Third, Communist International

The foundations of the movement had already been carefully laid by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party in the early years of the First World War.

For on the outbreak of this bloody struggle between rival imperialist powers, the leaders of the socialist parties in Europe (organized in the Second International) had betrayed the cause of socialism.

Instead of taking advantage of the crisis caused by the war, the leaders of the Second International called upon the workers to work and fight for the imperialists.

August 1914 had proved to Lenin that the old International was hopelessly corrupted by 20 years of peaceful co-existence with the ruling classes of Europe.

A new International, thoroughly cleansed of all corruption and careerism, had to be built if the working class was to fight its way back onto the socialist path. Above all, the workers had to be won to a movement that would not sacrifice its principles for anything, no matter how high the price.

THREADS

In a series of anti-war conferences held in Switzerland and other neutral countries, Lenin and the Bolsheviks began to draw together the threads of this new, revolutionary International.

Even though the Russian Revolution of 1917 absorbed all the time and energy of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin and his comrades never lost heart in the struggle in Central and Western Europe. 1918 saw big struggles break out in Germany, Austria and Italy against the war.

By November 1918, the German, Hungarian and Austrian monarchies had been overthrown by workers' revolutions.

Only one thing was lacking to take these workers on to power as they had done in Russia a year earlier: that was a genuine revolutionary party.

The Founding Congress of the Third International began the struggle for revolutionary leadership in the West. By 1920, millions of workers had been drawn into or around the new International.

In France and Italy, the Communist Party was the main force. The old, discredited socialist parties were in decline. Given correct strategy and tactics, the next deep crisis would place the International at the head of the vast majority of the working class. The Revolution would then break free of its isolation in Russia, and

sweep through Germany to France and Britain.

That was the prospect in the early years of the Communist International. But the development of Stalinism inside the Bolshevik Party, the coming to power of Soviet bureaucracy, undermined the work of the International.

PURGED

After Lenin's death in January 1924, Stalin took hold of the leadership of the Communist International in the same way that he had ousted the genuine Bolsheviks in Russia—by manoeuvres, deceit, and the cultivation of a group of careerists loyal not to the revolution, but to their patron—Joseph Stalin.

By 1925, the International was largely purged of its best leaders. The reformist policy of 'socialism in one one country' had been forced onto all its sections.

That was really the beginning of the end; for once it was openly stated that Russia could build socialism without the aid of revolutions in other countries, what need had Stalin for a revolutionary movement in these other countries?

From being an instrument of world revolution, the International was turned into something completely different—a 'frontier guard' for the Soviet bureaucracy.

Stalin's line wrecked a series of revolutionary situations, from Britain in the 1926 General Strike to China.

In the end, its counter-revolutionary policies so demoralized the German workers that Hitler's Nazis were able to come to power in 1933 and smash up the entire German working-class movement. This tragic defeat finally convinced Trotsky that the Third International, like the Second before it, was useless.

Thus, like Lenin in 1914, Trotsky began preparations for the new International, which had its founding conference in September 1938.

INSPIRATION

It is from that movement, and its programme, that all the work of the Young Socialists draws its inspiration.

But nevertheless, we do not write off the Third International and its work. In its first five years, under the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek and Bukharin (all but Lenin being killed by Stalin) it developed forms of struggle, organization and tactics which were incorporated later by Trotsky in the programme of the Fourth International.

Fighting in the working-class movement as members of the Young Socialists, we pay tribute to those Marxists who fought and died for the Third International. Betrayed by Stalinism their cause is now ours.

Renewed struggle against two year-old regime

GREECE

By a
Greek
comrade

TODAY, if you open any travel magazine, you will be confronted by glossy adverts, extolling the beauties of Greece—'The New Place' as the ad-men call it.

You will read about the sunshine, the beauty-spots, the tavernas and 'the one thousand untold discoveries' to be made there.

Also untold, are such 'tourist attractions' as the barren islands where thousands of workers are exiled by the military regime which has ruled Greece since April 1967. Nor will you be told of the brutal whippings, tortures, legal frame-ups and murders of young workers, students and left-wing opponents of the dictatorship.

Culmination

The 1967 coup, carried out by a group of right-wing colonels, and supported by US imperialism, was the culmination point of a political crisis within the Greek ruling class, faced on the one hand with a sharply-rising international crisis and by an increasingly militant working class on the other.

Under these conditions, the capitalists first tried to get out of their difficulties by relying on the treacherous leaders of the working class, the Stalinists (EDA) to hold back and betray the workers' struggles. In exchange for dubious promises of 'democratization' and the release of communists held since the 1948 civil war, the EDA, controlling over 40 per cent of the voters and the strongest labour unions, actively campaigned for the return of the Centre Party of Papandreou.

The workers, told by the Stalinists that Papandreou's election was a 'victory for democracy', began immediately to claim their share of the 'benefits' of democracy with a flood of wage demands. Papandreou replied with state intervention in the unions, compulsory 'cooling-off' periods before strikes, using the police to smash disputes or conscripting workers to force a return to work and finally, reviving the exile camps once more.

He was actively aided by the EDA-controlled union bureauc-

racy which continually back-pedalled, urged the workers to 'moderation'. They sold out one struggle after the other.

By 1965, the workers' unrest spread to the ranks of the poorer peasants, who began to agitate and riot against the agricultural policies of the government which enslaved them to the banks through huge debts.

Control of the masses was rapidly slipping out of the hands of these treacherous leaders. The sacking of Papandreou by King Constantine triggered off a violent reaction from the working class, the extent of which completely terrified Papandreou and his Stalinist hangers-on.

For two-and-a-half months, hundreds of thousands of workers and youth took to the streets in a series of demonstrations which were increasingly adopting the slogans of the Trotskyists against the monarchy, and for elections to a constituent assembly.

Just as in France last year, the mighty Stalinist apparatus, which was unwilling to prepare and lead the workers' struggles against the capitalist state, was now thrown into a massive last-ditch attempt to drive the masses off the streets, 'in order not to provoke the right-wing and give an excuse for a dictatorship'.

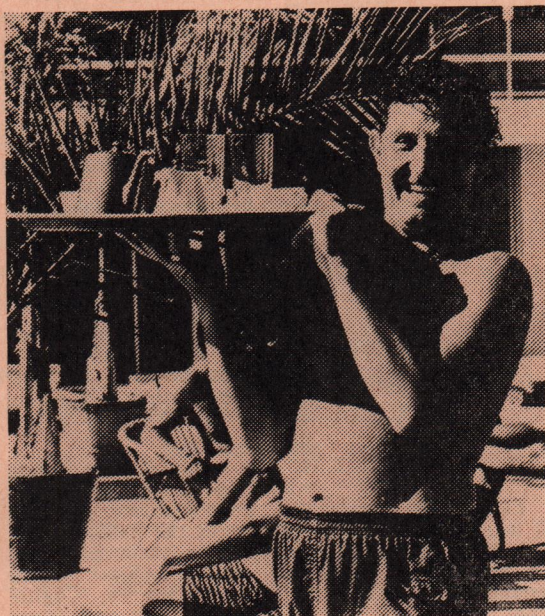
This attempt, which the very young, small organization of our Greek comrades (Workers' Vanguard) could not prevent, in fact, opened the doors wide to the colonels' dictatorship.

Treachery

By holding back the workers' struggle, by pushing the idea of reliance in the coming elections as the way to 'correct' the king's 'ill-advised' action, the Greek Stalinists committed their biggest act of political treachery since their open-armed welcome of the British imperialist troops in 1944, which preceded the butchering of the communist guerrilla army.

The dictatorship was a blow against the working class of Greece but not a decisive one. It has solved none of the problems created by the crisis. In fact, this Bonapartist regime is a transitory phenomenon, by which the ruling class hopes to gain the necessary time to prepare to meet the working class in the decisive battles that are coming in the future.

Continued page nine →



Gordon Bagier

WORLD NEWS

Public relations, MP's and the Greek colonels

By Rosemary Boxall

THE next government in Britain will, without a doubt, be extremely reactionary and dominated by the policies of Enoch Powell.

In order to attempt to completely smash and pauperize the working class it needs the assistance of the present Labour government.

Events in the last two years show clearly that this assistance will be forthcoming. In fact, so eager are some of the present Labour MPs to cover up for capitalism that they cannot wait until a Tory government comes to power.

'POPULAR'

Recently the connection, through a public relations firm, between the military dictatorship of Greece and Labour MP for Sunderland South Gordon Bagier has featured prominently in the British press.

After a visit to Greece in April 1968 he said the extreme right-wing regime of the Greek generals was more popular than he had been led to believe.

Bagier then accepted a £500 per year contract from the public relations firm of Maurice Fraser and Associates as parliamentary consultant.

This firm had only one account, according to Howard



Maurice Fraser

Preece (until the end of last year Chief Executive International Relations with Maurice Fraser and Associates) and this was to handle public relations for the Greek government.

The military dictatorship of Greece is trying to destroy physically the Greek working class. Thousands of trade unionists, socialist opponents of the government, and Trotskyists have been imprisoned and tortured.

Whilst he was on the payroll of Maurice Fraser's public relations firm, Gordon Bagier sat on leading Labour Party committees. His constituency has one of the highest levels of unemployment in the country.

But these are not just the actions of this or that MP, these are the depths to which the whole government sinks in its subservience to capitalism and its most reactionary governments.

Anguilla

By Ray Efford

A warning to British workers

THE despicable action taken by the Labour government in Anguilla shows yet again that they have no time for workers either in Britain or anywhere else in the world; their only interest is to carry out the wishes of their imperialist masters.

Afraid of the fragmentation of the West Indian states and the loss of control by the British government, the Labour leaders sent in paratroopers and London policemen to invade the tiny Caribbean island and bring it back firmly under British control.

The excuse for the invasion was based on Labour MP William Whitlock's allegation that 'gangster-type elements' were in control of the island.

Whitlock was the British representative sent to Anguilla. He claims he was forced to leave the island at gunpoint.

No resistance

No resistance was met by the invading forces and no trace of the so-called 'Mafia-type' organization has been found. The 30 London policemen, who have been searching for hidden caches of automatic weapons, have come across only a few antique rifles.

Leaflets were distributed to the Anguillians by helicopter saying that the invaders came as friends and no one was going to force the islanders to live under a government they disliked.

Nevertheless, the invading troops established Mr. Anthony Lee as Commissioner. He is now virtually dictator on the island.

But the Anguillians have shown that they are not taken in by the British government's hypocrisy. They held a demon-

stration calling on Lee to leave the island.

When the British paratroopers arrived at nearby Antigua prior to the invasion, they were greeted with boos and spitting—which was less than they deserved.

The British government is only too willing to suppress the Anguillians fighting for their independence, and yet it has compromised on the question of the white-supremacist Smith regime in Rhodesia.

Anguilla was lumped together, for convenience, with the islands of St. Kitts and Nevis under Robert Bradshaw's government.

No regard was given for the wishes and interests of the Anguillians, in spite of protestations to the contrary by the Labour government which has imposed a ruthless dictatorship over the islands.

'Anguilla desert'

Bradshaw owns a £8,000 Rolls Royce and yet the average income of a man in St. Kitts is £77 a year.

He is reported to have said: 'I will turn Anguilla into a desert.'

It was because Bradshaw refused to give anything to the Anguillians that they broke away from the Federation in 1967. The British invasion of Anguilla was carried out with Bradshaw's full approval.

The use of the London policemen and the military to suppress the Anguillians shows clearly the nature of the attacks now being contemplated by the ruling class against the working class.

For the capitalist class Anguilla provided a convenient test case. That is why the British trade union movement must take warning and fight without delay against the Labour leadership, replacing it with an alternative revolutionary one.

Timetable of Greek events

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| 1963 | Papandreou elected to government with the help of the Stalinists. |
| 1963-1965 | Increasing strikes, struggles and demonstrations. Peasant riots. |
| July 1965 | King ousts Papandreou. '80-day' demonstrations. Masses demand overthrow of King and Constituent Assembly. |
| 1965-1967 | Succession of 'puppet' governments imposed by King. |
| April 1967 | Colonels' coup on the eve of general elections. |
| January 1968 | Launching of 'Ora Tis Allagis', Greek revolutionary paper. |
| October 1968 | Huge abstention in cities during 'referendum'. |
| Nov. 3, 1968 | 600,000 on illegal anti-dictatorship demonstration. |

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What is 'left unity'?

Here is a letter from a member of the British Communist Party. Its author does not agree with the CP's policy and Keep Left is proud to open up its pages for the much-needed discussion raised by this comrade.

DEAR COMRADE,

DURING this period of the hastening decay of the world-wide capitalist system, when in order to safeguard the rate of profit wholesale attacks are being launched against the working class, we are faced with the question of making alliances with the so-called 'progressive left'.

This group of MPs and trade union leaders are usually characterized as being the 'left wing' of the labour movement, and do, for the most part, form the radical wing of the bourgeois social-democracy, and therefore are either in, or closely related to, the reformist Labour Party.

Whilst it cannot be denied that on certain specific issues Marxists can, and indeed should, form alliances with this section of the social-democracy, it is becoming apparent that certain sections of the revolutionary left(?) are making a fetish of these alliances.

Indeed the trend has gone as far as to substitute the building of alliances for the building of the revolutionary Marxist party in some respects, and it is even being suggested in some quarters that it will be possible to achieve the socialist transformation by this method.

As Marxist-Leninists we must be aware of the dangers involved in making alliances of this type when these are not made on the basis of the complete inviolability of theoretical principles.

VENTURE

History has proven that an unprincipled venture of this kind can only lead to a position where the party has to make compromise after compromise in order to sustain the alliance and we know that this compromise of theory can only lead to the decay of the party into a mere reformist organization.

Therefore, as Marxists we must view the present trend with a certain degree of apprehension, and we must be prepared to rally to the defence of Marxism

against the attacks of those who seek to make Marx prove their latest political position.

Indeed we must expose every deviation from the true Marxist theory as and when it arises, so that revisionism is unable to gain a stronghold. In this respect we must be especially watchful of those 'Marxists' who, masquerading under the cloak of the October Revolution, set out to revise Marx 'by the back door'.

Whether revisionism comes from the existing Communist Parties, or from sections of the social-democracy, it must be exposed at once and we must never let these revisers of Marxism feel that they are safe to get away with their misrepresentations.

It has always been the case that, in an era of sharpening class struggle, when more and more of the class-conscious workers are turning to Marxism, then certain political groups, and certain individuals within social-democracy, try to 'get in on the ground floor' as it were, by spouting all sorts of 'Marxist' phrases in order to gain influence over that section of the workers who are turning to Marxism.

It is also the case that certain individuals try to make Marxism fit into reformist patterns; the whole object of both exercises being to fool the workers and to lead them back once more into reformist lines.

Thus we have certain 'socialists' writing articles in the 'left-wing' press in which they set out to make Marx prove that it will be possible to achieve socialism through the ballot box. i.e., they try to change Marx from a revolutionary into a reformist.

In attempting to carry out this tactic they resort to the method of only quoting the 'young' Marx, and even this is out of context. Of course on this basis they are easily exposed.

SAFEGUARD

In order to safeguard Marxist theory effectively against the more subtle attacks of the revisionists of all kinds, it is absolutely vital for workers to study Marxism-Leninism in total and thoroughly so that we will arrive at a position where we can give a 'Marxist' analysis of all phenomena arising during the course of the development of the revolution.

Only in this way will workers be able to see revisionism, reformism, social-democracy and indeed all other phenomena in their true perspective within the class set-up.

Only in this way will it be possible to make a principled alliance on even the smallest issue. It can truly be said that a revolutionary Marxist party need look for no alliance outside of the working class, but if we are asked, and if it proves expedient, then let us make the alliance on a principled basis or not at all.

History has taught us of the essentially reactionary role played by social-democracy in general—the collapse of the Second International and the treacherous role of the social-democrats in subsequent revolutionary events should leave absolutely no doubt in our minds on this issue.

Generally, social-democracy merely acts as the faithful servant of the bourgeoisie, proving Engels' statement that 'even under the most favourable conditions for the working class, bourgeois social-democracy is still the best shell for capitalism'.

ALLIANCE

But what of individual social-democrats, or indeed groups of

social-democrats, who act somewhat differently from the social-democratic organization as a whole?

Are these rebels essentially different? If so, does their opposition to the policies of their own organization offer the prospect of an alliance that will provide the basis for an organization that can in fact lead the working class to socialism?

Or do these individuals vary from their compatriots merely by 'degree' and are they in fact essentially 'the loyal opposition' within the social-democratic camp?

The answer to this question is naturally very important to the working class, but it is absolutely vital to the revolutionary vanguard of that class.

Unless we are able to place this 'progressive' left in its true class perspective within the framework of the bourgeois state, then we run the risk of making allies of persons on behalf of the workers as a whole, when it may well be that in the final analysis these persons may turn out to be something very different.

If this eventuality did come about then we would be guilty of betraying our comrades, albeit unwillingly, but betraying them all the same.

Our contemporary experience of the Labour government obviously confirms the Marxist analysis of social-democracy completely. They have fulfilled their historical role as betrayers of the working class and loyal servants of capitalism, therefore the general theoretical analysis has been confirmed once more by concrete experience.

But what of the progressive left? What have they been doing?

The ready acceptance of the prices and incomes legislation, the weak opposition to the anti-trade union legislation, the refusal by the 'left' MPs to vote against the government on any issue when there is the slightest possibility of the government being defeated, the excusing of the working-class renegades.

All these things should make us suspicious of their claims to have to have socialist aspirations. As Marxists we should have no illusions on this score.

But there is something far more basic in determining the attitude of the progressive left, and herein lies one of the most profound differences between us.

DIFFERENCE

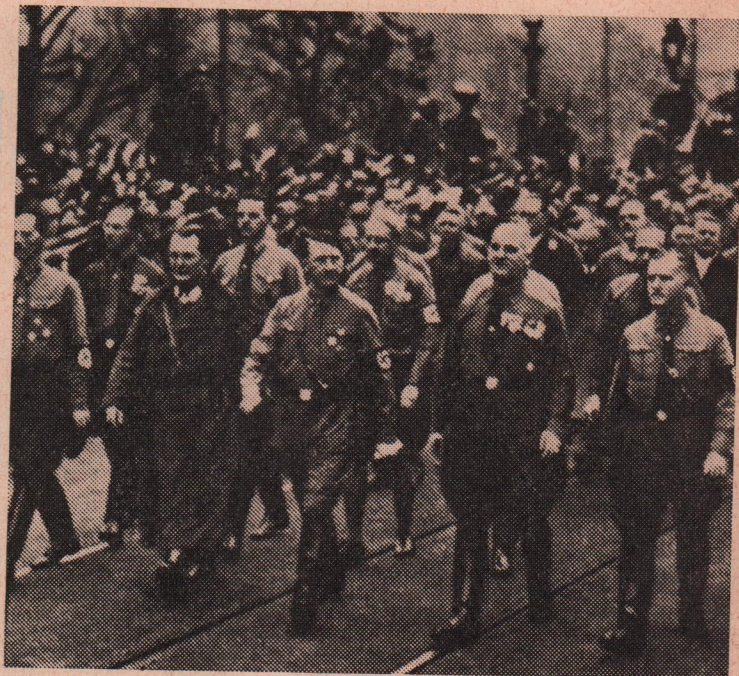
The difference of opinion lies in our attitude towards parliamentary democracy, and on this question the views of Marxists and social-democrats are irreconcilable.

If there is one thing above all others that characterizes social-democracy and separates it from revolutionary Marxism, it is the social democrats' undying belief in the merits of parliamentary democracy and following from this their absolute opposition to the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

(It might also be said that they have an undying belief in themselves as the sole defenders of 'bourgeois freedom', but this is another matter.)

It can be truly said that socialism of the social-democrats, be they left or right, does not extend beyond the framework of parliamentary democracy. To them parliamentary democracy forms the basis of their whole philosophy and it conditions their attitude on all other subjects.

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Early days—Hitler, leader of the Nazi party, marches with Goering (left) in 1923. In 1928 they got less than one million votes, but in 1930 they polled 6.4 millions.

GERMANY 1918-1933

From stability to crisis

The second in a series by JOHN CRAWFORD on developments in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s and their comparison with the crisis in Britain today

IN THE years 1924-1928 the German Republic appeared to be very stable. Loans and investments by American banks poured in. The mark was fairly steady and business boomed.

The trade unions, which had lost members disastrously in the crisis of 1923, began to grow again and obtained some concessions for sections of workers.

It must be pointed out that the unions had, right at the start of the Weimar Republic, accepted compulsory state arbitration in wage settlements.

In this they shared the illusions in the nature of the state spread by the Social Democratic Party leaders. Although the SPD was not in the central government for most of this period, they controlled the Prussian state government and several city and local authorities.

Moreover, they supported the main lines of the government policy and declared complete confidence in the Weimar Constitution of 1919. This would ensure 'democracy' and the rights of the workers' movement.

Although the Communist Party made a lot of noise about revolution, it was in reality not very different in outlook from the social democrats.

In their own way the Stalinists helped to foster the illusions of workers in Weimar and democracy.

Beneath the surface, however, the class tensions of 1919-1923 were gaining strength. Hence monopolies in industry and banking were being formed.

In 1926, for example, the Stahlverein was founded. It controlled over half the produc-

tion of steel and steel products, as well as coal-mines, coke ovens and other industries.

In chemicals, I. G. Farben had become the biggest dye-producer in the world and dominated the fertilizer and textile production. Two firms, AEG and Siemens-Schuckert, controlled 80 per cent of electrical manufacture.

In 1928 four big banks dominated finance. By 1931, they had merged into two.

These were the real powers in Germany. The Weimar Republic was their property, whatever its democratic appearance.

In 1927, the mergers and 'rationalization' of industry began to lead to massive redundancies. Before the 1929 Wall Street crash of America, unemployment was up to 1,400,000.

Social democracy was the instrument of the monopolists within the ranks of the workers. A series of scandals, notably the Barmat affair in 1924, and the Shlarek case of 1929, revealed the extent of corruption amongst sections of the social-democratic officials and leaders.

The state machine itself, which pretended to be so 'impartial', was in essence under the control of the most reactionary forces. The army, the Reichswehr, was never controlled by the government and its financial state remained secret. The Civil Service was staffed by the same reactionary officials as under the Kaiser.

In 1928, the government of Stresemann fell and in the May elections the social democrats emerged as the largest force, with over 9,000,000 votes. A coalition was formed, with the social democrat Muller as Chancellor.

The Nazi vote was under 1,000,000, less than one third

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WITH its waters foul, its air polluted, its earth poisoned; with its old and sick treated like the used-up slave labour of the Krupp munitions factories in Germany; with its cities clogged by an hysterical glut of motor cars, its housing turning into slums at ever faster rates, its black people becoming daily more divided, its youth hourly more alienated, the richest capitalist country in the world presents a very contradictory face.

It celebrated Christmas, once a festival to assert that life was still strong even in the coldest days of bleak winter, by throwing several million dollars at the Moon. Precious dollars, threatened dollars, dollars for which all the capitalist nations of the world have been scrambling for decades. Dollars that Mr. Nixon will do anything to protect—anything. Dollars that represent the accumulated wealth of the United States. Wealth accumulated from the labour power of generations of workers; generations of workers exploited and underpaid. Workers bought off today, starved out yesterday and shot down tomorrow.

However much we may admire the technical achievement that put three men round the Moon and brought them back, we must ask what did they see? As Colonel Borman described it, the moon looked 'dead, like plaster of Paris'. Twenty thousand million dollars (£8,300 million) to see some dead plaster of Paris? The mission added very little, if anything, to what was already known about the Moon from the cheaper unmanned probes.

It will be said of course that enormous advantages will accrue to everyone from this investment—the so-called spin-off argument. Before he became Air Force Secretary, the deputy director of the American National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) put it: 'Space technology is the practice of established technical disciplines—materials, structures, fuels, propulsion, communications, data handling, power sources, etc.—at their newest frontiers'.

TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS

It is argued too, that such a vast undertaking also stimulates scientific and technological progress along a very broad front. What this comes to is the old argument that what is good for General Motors (Chryslers, Lockheeds, General Electric, Douglas and the 20,000 other capitalist enterprises involved) is good for America.

It is certainly good for some Americans. It is excellent for General Sarnoff of RCA, for Howard Hughes of Hughes Aircraft Corporation (who also virtually controls Las Vegas), for all the other giants with international interests to protect.

It is good too for the police to have available a sophisticated computer that can send information anywhere in the country within minutes (the nuclear weapons and space programmes have certainly speeded up the development of computers).

It is splendid for the military who get a big slice of the progress from this civilian programme and apply it to space projects of their own. Projects like the Manned Orbiting Laboratory (MOL) (a spy station in space and capable of carrying nuclear weapons); projects like improved launch vehicles to deliver atomic bombs and a vast network of exclusive military satellite communications.

NASA's estimated expenditure in 1968 was 4,600 million dollars (4.6 billions). A further 1,800 million dollars (1.8 billion) was spent on space by the Defence Department.

WHAT PRICE PROFIT? PART 2

Frank Cartwright's second article on capitalism's murder

And much of the two programmes are repetitive. The US Air Force spends millions on MOL whilst NASA develops a technique for using the first stage of the Saturn V rocket for a similar purpose.

As for other Americans . . . well, the skills of 400,000 workers, and the brains of 200 universities and research groups are involved. NASA itself acknowledges that over 1,500 faculty members, 2,000 graduate students and a further 3,600 students working for a higher degree are under their sponsorship. Some say as many as one third of all the new PhDs in America go into space or military research.

This is at a time when the USA is getting desperately short of doctors and teachers. And the private sector of American industry, not so much tied up in the space or military programme, is also complaining.

Since the beginning of the 1960s giants like Du Pont, Xerox, Minneapolis-Honeywell (as it was) have been consistently falling short in the recruiting drive for skilled and research workers. They are not small and all spend large amounts on research and development. Normally they would expect to attract talent easily. But they and many companies like them, report a growing shortage of available skills. The space and military programmes have got them. Clearly a lot is tied up in such a programme.

RICHEST COUNTRY

What is tied up cannot be fully estimated. But one thing is clear. The richest capitalist country in the world cannot meet its debts to the people, cannot provide them with decent housing, clean cities, pure water, unadulterated food, unpoisoned soil, proper medical care, a full education and

sustain its space and military programme at the same time.

In the Nazi sense it is still guns or butter, the Moon or sixpence. A permanent arms economy far from being stable is balanced on a very precarious perch. During World War II the US was able to increase both guns and butter. Enormous unused factory and manpower capacity, idle in the Great Depression of the 1930s, was taken up by the war effort. But there was a limit. Choices were made and they were for guns, rockets, nuclear weapons, airplanes, supersonic transporters . . . the whole sorry list.

The Department of Defence spent over 75 billion dollars last year. This year it will be over 80 billions. But then big stakes are involved—the struggle for world domination by the American capitalists. They must expand their control, their markets, their sources of productive forces and raw materials. And they intend to do it. In Vietnam it is £30 million a day. In Europe, virtual control of large sections of the economies. And the Moon must be conquered too.

One American professor put it this way, in a book published a couple of years ago. A minimum estimate of what would have to be spent extra by the American system if it is even to keep pace with its social decay, if it is, in other words, to do the minimum necessary to try to buy off the despair and growing consciousness of its poor and dispossessed, goes like this: 15 billion dollars a year to begin replacing slum housing in the big cities, eight billion dollars a year to develop even a small health service, ten billions a year to research on techniques in some basic industries not stimulated by the space programme (like house-building), at least two billions a year extra to stop the grosser erosion of natural resources in the country.

If one adds some moneys to be spent on water supply and waste disposal it comes out at about 76 billion dollars a year, bearing in a mind that this is a minimum and a very modest estimate. 76 billions a year. And the military budget this year is 80 billions. So it cannot be both.

To complete the picture, Britain is not even in the space race but we are short of at least 45,000 teachers; the number of doctors here for every million patients has fallen since 1961. We are short of houses, schools, and hospitals. And experts are warning that our own natural resources, like rivers, are coming into serious danger.

NASA is supposed to represent the US Congress' resolution that America's activities in space should be devoted to peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind. When Colonel Borman was interviewed at London Airport recently, during his public relations tour, he said: 'I'm sure all of us involved in the programme hope that we are doing something that some day may help everyone here on earth.'

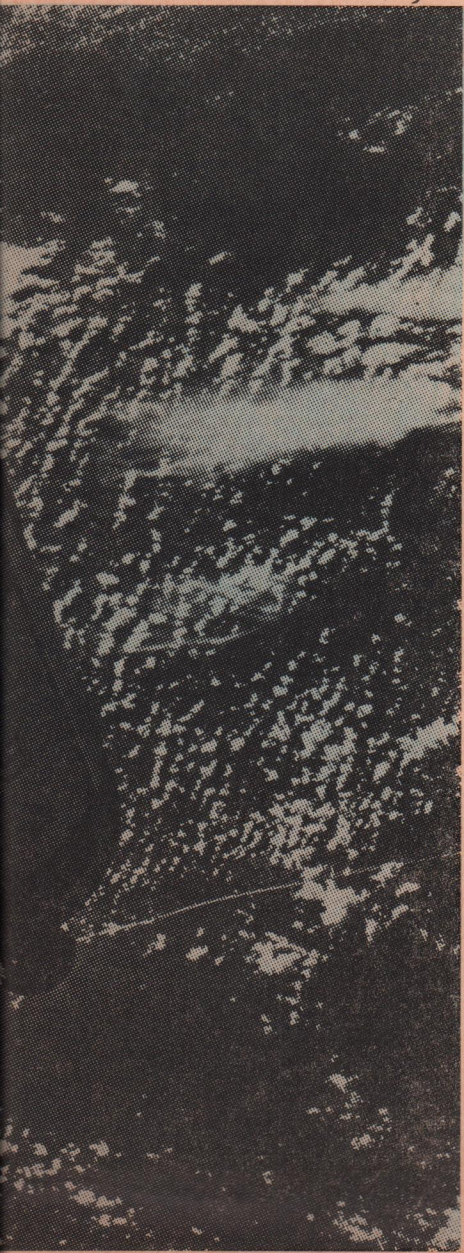
One can applaud his courage but not his naivety. To solve most of the world's existing problems we already have most of the technology necessary. What we don't have is an international socialism dedicated to applying it to truly human ends.

IMPRESSIVELY PRODUCTIVE

In communications work, for weather satellites, as aids to navigation, as tools for research into the nature of our atmosphere and surrounding space, as unmanned orbiting or landing probes to other planets, the American space programme has often been impressively productive.

But the decision to put most of the effort into getting a man on the Moon





drive for profit

by the end of this decade was a Cold War decision. It was taken by President Kennedy and had virtually no scientific justification. Seventy-five per cent of the space budget goes to the Apollo programme. In 1964 the American Association for the Advancement of Science report 'The Integrity of Science' put it like this:

'In general, scientific observations required for the planning of the manned landings are now assigned higher priorities than other studies which are of greater scientific interest but not essential to the development of the technology needed for the Apollo project. Therefore, the pattern for development of scientific research in space has been altered significantly by the essentially political decision to undertake the Apollo programme.'

'The procedure is seriously at variance with important precepts of scientific experimentation and technology. The preferable order of events is: basic scientific investigation, technological application based on the resultant basic knowledge, social use of the technological innovations. In the Apollo programme this sequence has been reversed, so that a programme for a particular technological achievement has been committed, even as to the date of its accomplishment, in advance of the orderly acquisition of the related basic knowledge. The Apollo programme, in its present form, does not appear to be based on the orderly, systematic extension of basic scientific investigation.'

And if anyone thinks that at least we will be able to solve the world population crisis by sending people off to other planets, it has been calculated than even to keep to the present levels we should have to be shipping out 60 million souls a year now. Since three men went to the Moon that's 20 million rockets a year like the Saturn V that sent them! And after all, capitalism is not altruism. It will be easier to gas them.

WHEN Young Socialists from the North Durham Federation began the campaign to build up their branch in Sunderland they met with a rapid and decisive response.

Young workers on Wearside are conscious of the treacherous role of Labour and trade union leaderships. The major industries there, mining and shipbuilding, are both contracting sharply. Adult male unemployment has risen to an all-time post-war high of over 10 per cent there, and in the past year only 18 apprenticeships have been made available by shipbuilding employers.

Exploitation in the one 'long-life' pit which now remains is fierce as production rates are forced up. Meanwhile the queues outside the youth dole lengthen into the empty street.

In this situation, Young Socialists, with a concrete programme for the fight against the Labour traitors and the capitalist system, found youth who were ready to fight.

contingent

Since a recruitment drive began Sunderland YS members have participated in a wide range of activities. They sent a strong contingent onto the demonstration held by the Young Socialist Student Society in Newcastle in support of the students at LSE. There they took part in a keen fight against anti-Marxist groups who had tried to hold back the fight for the demonstration.

Sunderland YS members elected their representatives to the Federation and Regional Committees and voted unanimously at the Regional Conference to carry forward the campaign for the YS National Conference in Morecambe.

Also at the Regional Conference, it was decided to hold a demonstration against unemployment in Sunderland. Young Socialist members are now working confidently through a systematic plan of Federation canvasses and have drafted leaflets for recruitment to it.

The youth know that they can rely on the support of the Tyne-side and Wearside Committees of the All Trades Unions Alliance, as they have regularly attended the public meetings held by the ATUA. Classes which have been held on subjects such as the wages struggle, the Donovan Report, and the trade unions in the present period have held a strong attraction for Sunderland youth. Recently they invited a leading shop steward and ATUA committee member to speak in the branch on the



YS in Sunderland

by our Reporting Team

government White Paper on the trade unions.

The campaign for the demonstration and collaboration with the ATUA were a powerful weapon in raising the consciousness of Sunderland YS members. It helped to bring home to them the need for a big national movement to unite apprentices and young workers with adult workers in a joint fight for the defence of trade unions. The Sunderland YS sent the largest delegation in the whole of the Region to the demonstration in London on February 23.

Now we will hear the story behind some leading members of the branch. It bears out the experience of young workers at first seeking, and then beginning to give leadership to others in the class struggle.

Branch chairman Jim: Aged 21; left school at 15; took a temporary factory job and then became a dustman for the Sunderland Corporation. James was and remains a union member. He told us the story of how he joined the YS.

leadership

The sacking of one worker on the job was the issue of a struggle between two unions in the yard, in which the union of which the worker was a member sought to defend him. The other union, whose leadership was more firmly entrenched and more right wing, refused the to carry out a fight in his defence, and in the ensuing dispute the management gained the upper hand and was able to sack several other men whom they considered to be 'troublemakers'.

Jim described how this experience showed him the need for a political leadership to defend the interests of the whole class and smash the power of the employers.

Jim has been unemployed since December and says the Employment Exchange has done nothing to get him a job. He receives £4 5s. 0d. a week dole, half of which goes for his board. When asked how he spent the other £2 2s. 6d. he commented, 'Most of it goes on fares—like to the Newcastle meetings (ATUA pub-

**Out
Recruiting-
Hughie
Nicol
National
Committee
member
with
Sunderland
YS.**

lic meetings), and of course I'm saving a bit for the YS annual conference at Morecambe.'

Branch treasurer Libby: Aged 17; left school at 15; Libby is unemployed, and there are seven children in her family. Only one member of her family is working and that one is working away. Her father, a corporation worker, was made redundant two years ago.

National Assistance, unemployment benefits and family allowance make up the family's combined income of £17. The rent for their council house is £3 15s. 1d. and virtually all the rest goes on food.

Libby has worked in Plessey's (light assembly) and has had minor clerical jobs, all of which she secured for herself. She tells the story of nearly all unemployed youth in Sunderland: help from the Youth Employment Bureau is no help at all.

no work

There is no work in Sunderland. 'The only answer for youth in Sunderland', says Libby, 'is to fight through demonstrations against the employers and Wilson. The best thing about the YS is that it's going to get him out.'

Social secretary Ann: Aged 17; left school at 15. **Branch member Jean,** aged 20.

Ann and Jean work in the same sweet factory in the Hendon district of Sunderland. They both took jobs there in desperation after long periods of unemployment (Jean had been on the dole for 32 weeks, after being sacked from her job in a clothing factory).

When she started there her weekly wage was £2 15s. 0d. The time soon arrived when more girls were employed at the factory than the management thought necessary, so several girls were told to work on complex machines for which they had had no training.

When they were unable to do the job satisfactorily they were given their cards.

Although the girls were members of the Tailoring and Garment Workers' Union, nothing was done by the shop steward to prevent this happening.

Ann and Jean eventually got jobs in the sweet factory, which is a non-union firm. Jean was put on 'bashing out' (knocking chocolate bars out of heavy moulds), which caused extremely painful swelling in her wrists and arms.

organization

The YS is now waging a campaign to bring union organization into the factory.

The two girls came to be interested in politics through reading copies of Keep Left which were brought into the factory. Ann says, 'The employers don't bother—they just sling the cards at you. The youth have to have an organization. I only wish I'd known about the YS earlier.'

Branch members Herbert, Joe and Dave:

Herbert and Joe are apprentice miners who work in the 'long-life' pit. 600 apprenticeships in mining were offered this year, apparently with a view to taking on younger workers who could stand the pace of the accelerated production in the coal mines, and sooner or later replace the older workers who couldn't.

They are transferred without notice from one job to another, given little training for the use of the machines, and spend much of their time doing odd jobs such as cleaning down conveyor belts.

Dave works for the Co-op. He

Continued on page ten →

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From page five

To the 'radical progressive' wing of the social-democracy, as to social-democracy as a whole, the winning of universal suffrage and the advent of the two-party system (i.e. two-party in the sense that one section supposedly represents capital and the other labour) is the highest point in the development of mankind and to them the winning of socialism is essentially an exercise in perfecting parliamentary democracy and can never be anything else.

Thus to the 'progressive left' socialism occupies a subordinate position in relation to parliamentary democracy and can never be pursued to the detriment of, or even independently of, parliamentary democracy.

As Marxists we must realize again that our difference with the social-democrats on this subject is absolutely irreconcilable (as far as we are concerned). To Marxists the advent of universal suffrage and the involvement of the working class in the processes of parliamentary democracy are merely stages in the political development of the working class.

Far from believing parliamentary democracy to be an end in itself (as even the most left and the most progressive of the social-democrats do), we believe it to be a means to an end—just one stage on the road to the overturn of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Far from believing parliamentary democracy to be the highest point in the political development of the working class, we accept the Marxist definition of parliamentary democracy, 'as an index of the maturity of the working class' (F. Engels) and accept the further Marxist position 'that in the modern state it cannot and never will be anything else' (F. Engels).

NO DOUBT

Therefore when the question arises of entering into alliance with the parliamentarians, be they 'progressive left' or otherwise, we must state our position on the above quite clearly for all to see, so that none can be in any doubt as to what our political principles are. In this way we will be safeguarding the theory which forms the foundations of the revolutionary party.

The undying belief in parliamentary democracy held by the reformist social-democrats, be they left or right, manifests itself most clearly in their claims that socialism can be won through the ballot box—by voting more 'progressive' MPs into parliament.

The fact that it is impossible to tell a 'progressive left' from any other kind of social-democrat does not seem to deter them in the slightest.

(For instance both Wilson and Castle were once part of this 'progressive left' group.)

This attitude is, of course, just the outward expression of their basic philosophy of 'parliamentary democracy first; socialism second', and in adopting this ballot-box policy they are merely running true to form. As Marxists we must expose the 'theoretical falseness' of this claim.

OBJECTIVE

The basic objective of all Marxists must be to arrive at a position where it will be possible to transfer economic and political power from one class to

another—from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat.

We know that never in history has any class given up its power peacefully to another class, this is an undeniable historical fact.

If the peaceful transfer of power has been impossible hitherto, we must know that the chance of a peaceful transfer of power today is one thousand times more impossible.

Apart from all the other considerations which make it almost impossible for the socialists to gain a majority in parliament when the elections are organized by the bourgeoisie, there is no doubt that if by some freak chance a majority were gained, the reactionaries would soon step outside the bounds of bourgeois legality to reverse the popular decision and safeguard the capitalist system.

In fact a majority would never be gained, for as soon as it appeared likely that it would happen the reactionaries would use every trick in the book to prevent that eventuality.

The rigging of the elections recently in British Guyana confirms this historical fact. Of course in the main they would resort to the old tactic of using their control over the mass media to discredit the socialist party.

The whole foundations of the bourgeois state are based on the violent suppression of one class by another and if in time of relative class peace this violence is concealed, Marxists at least should have no illusions on this score.

Our experiences, both historical and contemporary, show us that this thin veneer of peacefulness can soon be whipped off by the bourgeoisie when it suits them.

We need only refer to the events of France 1968 to confirm this Marxist position on this subject, as on all other subjects under discussion in this letter.

First we saw that the bourgeois state is essentially a violent state.

Second we saw that left unity is a myth.

Third we saw that the working class cannot come to power via the ballot box. If we did not learn these things from the revolutionary events in France 1968, then we learned nothing at all from that experience.

Therefore to shout the slogan of 'left unity' when this is not based on the inviolability of political principles, and to inform the workers that it is possible to win power through the ballot box when this is not so, is not only theoretically false from a Marxist point of view, it also actively assists the bourgeoisie to hold power and is, therefore, essentially a reactionary position.

DANGER

In adopting a policy of building a broad alliance there is, as stated before, the inherent danger of neglecting to build the revolutionary Marxist party. In fact, it may not be a case of neglecting to build the party, but being unable to build it.

We have already said that the compromises needed to sustain an unprincipled alliance tend to work against the building of a revolutionary party and they do in fact lead to a theoretical decay in the party.

The events of France in 1968 must serve as a warning to all Marxists in this respect, for not only did they explode the myths of left unity and socialism via the ballot box, they also indicated what happens when there is not a revolutionary party in existence willing and able to live up to its historic role.

The 'reformist' French Communist Party was totally unable to give a decisive lead to the working class. Its leaders had already reached a position of class compromise and theoretical degeneration and were therefore 'counter-revolutionary' in their outlook.

Luckily the French working class were not wholly defeated and they may yet have another 'bite at the cherry'. But this is due rather to the weakness of the French bourgeoisie than to the strength of the working-class organizations.

But the French bourgeoisie learned their lesson well and they will take steps to remedy their weak position, and therefore if the French Communist Party is not radically transformed, or if on the other hand no other Marxist party arises to take over the leadership of the revolution, then the next time the defeat of the French workers may be more thorough and more long-lasting and this will not bode well for the world revolutionary movement.

Therefore, in the light of all that has been written in this letter it is apparent that we must work might and main to build the revolutionary party, and also to carry Marxism into the trade unions (which is really part of the same process).

EXPLOIT

The English bourgeoisie are far from weak and they will exploit every weakness on the part of the workers in order to defeat them. We must ensure that our party is not 'the weakest link in the chain of necessary conditions'.

In short, in the event of a revolutionary situation arising in Britain, we must be sure that we have a party that will indeed be able to live up to the task that history places before it.

Away then with all 'unprincipled' compromises and alliances.

Let us look for no other allies outside the working class.

Build the party on strong theoretical foundations.

Bring Marxism to more and more workers.

Educate, agitate, organize.

Only in this way will we deserve to be called Marxists.

Postscript

CONTINUING with the policy of 'left unity', Michael Foot, MP, visited the 'Morning Star' birthday rally. His speech on that occasion is printed in the 'Morning Star' on March 11 and the contents of that speech, despite claims to the contrary, are obviously designed to lay the foundations of some type of 'popular front' movement.

The speech is headlined 'Let's tear down the sectarian walls' and this title forms the theme of the whole speech. Mr. Foot asks 'those on the left' to tear down these walls without even saying where and what these 'sectarian walls' are.

The situation is very confusing indeed, for even if he did define exactly what and where this 'sectarian wall' is and if he pointed to this structure and said 'there it is, go and tear it down', those persons being addressed might look in the direction of his finger and only see a wall constructed of Marxist theoretical principles.

Then, of course, they would turn to Mr. Foot and say:

'But it is not a sectarian wall'

Continued on page nine →

letter - letter - letter - letter - letter -

- letter - letter - letter -

What is 'left unity'?

From page eight

it is a wall built to defend the principles of Marxism, and constructed by the thousands of true Marxist revolutionaries to protect Marxist theory against the attacks of the revisionists and opportunists'.

Then indeed they would look at Mr. Foot with a certain degree of suspicion, for it would be strange that someone who advocates united action in order to win the battle for socialism is asking them to destroy the very foundations on which the socialist army is built.

Then those previously addressed might turn to Mr. Foot and say, we too see a sectarian wall, and pointing, might say, there it is let us go and tear it down. Mr. Foot, looking in the direction of the pointing finger will say: 'But I don't see any sectarian wall. All I see is a wall constructed of the principles of parliamentary democracy and the everlasting benefits of English radical liberalism, built by the countless bourgeois middle-class liberals who fought so strongly against the "destructive" parts of Marxist doctrine such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, and who prevented this poison from reaching the minds of the working classes in order that they might be defended against their own excesses'.

'RISKS'

Then Mr. Foot might look at those he has come to join forces with and think to himself 'they don't want socialism based on the continuation of parliamentary democracy, they want socialism based on workers' councils, and workers' control, they want the dictatorship of the proletariat. Oh what risks they will be taking with "eternal" freedoms'.

Let us be quite clear about what Mr. Foot wants us to do.

He does not want us to tear down sectarian walls, in fact he wants his own 'sectarian wall' of the inviolability of bourgeois parliamentary democracy to remain exactly where it is.

What he really wants us to do is to abandon revolutionary Marxist theory in favour of bourgeois reformism.

SNIBE

When he says in the 'Morning Star' article: 'One of the legacies which Karl Marx left to the labour movement was an anthology of coruscating invective, and sometimes it seems to be the only thing of Marxism which some people want to

learn', he is not only trying to confuse the working-class people with highbrow language (he could have said 'using Marxist slogans to attack the social democrats'), but he is taking an unprincipled snipe at those Marxists who refuse to distort Marxism to fit the reformist values of the bourgeois social-democrats.

In short he is afraid to come out into the open to argue Marxism with Marxists, but instead tries to destroy Marxism whilst covering himself with the cloak of 'unity of the left before anything else'.

Mr. Foot should be wary of playing this game, for he should know only too well the dangers of making unprincipled alliances. In his introduction to the book marking the 21st anniversary of 'Tribune', 'Tribune' 21' he says the following:

COWARDICE

'Of course, all papers have their Achilles heels, their blind spots, or what less charitably may be called their streaks of cowardice. One was the Russian trials. We said nothing, or next to nothing, on the subject, refusing to join the Communist clique which hailed these infamies as triumphs of popular justice, by lamentably failing to assist H. N. Brailsford in "Reynolds News" as he stripped aside the curtain of lies and saved the honour of socialist journalism in the face of the inconvenient horror. Our excuse was that we, along with the Independent Labour Party, were engaged in a unity campaign with the Communists on the supreme issue of Spain and the international crisis . . .

' . . . Of course the excuse was a bad one. Let us hope we have learnt the moral which might be put in a maxim to be inscribed above every editorial chair: "Never funk the truly awkward issues; they are the very ones your readers most want to hear about. And if by chance they don't to hell with them!"'

UNPRINCIPLED

The news of the Russian trial was suppressed in order to sustain an unprincipled alliance. We all make mistakes, that is true. I admit that I have written to 'Tribune' on occasions when the subjects of my letters have not been backed up by any, or very little, theoretical knowledge.

Therefore many of my letters were merely Utopian in their content.

But at least we can study and try to learn, so that we will not continue to make these mistakes. But here we have Mr. Foot urging 'unity' and on the basis of what?

On the basis of ignoring theoretical principles under the banner of combatting sectarianism.

ARGUE

Mr. Foot I like you. I think you are a nice bloke. I believe you are completely sincere, wrong, but sincere all the same. Let us then argue as comrades, who are not afraid to defend their political principles in the open for all to see, instead of hiding them behind a lot of fine words about 'tearing down sectarian walls'.

A Communist Party Member.



Y.S. MARCH SUPPORTS FORD WORKERS

LONDON Young Socialists marched through Dagenham on March 22 in support of the Ford workers' pay demand, against the sell-out by the union leaders, and against the government White Paper 'In Place of Strife'.

Their slogans of 'Hands off the unions!' and 'Nationalize Ford's were the real expression of the thousands of Ford workers who fought for over three weeks against the attacks from the employers and the Labour government.

The Ford sell-out, carried out by the leadership of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundryworkers (proudly advertised by the Communist Party as a good agreement) has, as we warned, already opened the door for other companies to step in with penalty clause agreements - Vauxhall Motors, Smiths Industries, and AEC (Southall).

PRODUCTIVITY

The international crisis of capitalism is forcing the employers to increase exploitation (they call it 'productivity') by speeding up work considerably in exchange for an extra shilling or two a week.

To fight these attacks the working class needs a revolutionary leadership. We do not accept that capitalism is an eternal system and that we must work harder for the boss.

If the ruling class cannot continue we will nationalize industry and the banks under workers' control.

Centrists like Hugh Scanlon, AEF president, the Communist Party and the 'International Socialism' group talk a lot about workers' control, but in practice they aid the employers by accepting and encouraging productivity agreements.

To assist their betrayal these

tendencies constantly try to conceal the state's role in strikes.

Any class-conscious worker knows that all strikes today involve a fight against the Labour government and raise the question of taking power out of the hands of the capitalist class.

When strikes take place the first thing the 'lefts' do is deny that there is a political issue involved in order to prepare the basis for a sell-out.

The rejection in the High Court of the Ford company's injunction against the strike did not show that the British justice is 'just', but that the ruling class is unprepared at this stage to smash strikes—no court order would have driven the determined Ford's men back to work.

BETRAYAL

What did get the Ford workers back was the betrayal by their own trade union leadership—the stab in the back by the Stalinists and the centrists who worked hand in hand with the leader-

ship of the Electrical Trades Union, which had opposed the strike right from the very start.

Contrast this with the record of the Young Socialists and the All Trades Unions Alliance in the Ford's dispute.

Day after day we visited the factories explaining the importance of the strike, the class nature of the High Court decision and we fought inside the AEF to extend the strike to all other engineering workers.

Our demonstration fought for the interests of the Ford's men and the whole working class.

Already the old conditions have changed at Ford's and the struggle must break out in an even sharper form in the future.

The Young Socialists have to prepare for this and work throughout the whole of the engineering industry to recruit young workers and apprentices into the YS and to build the National Apprentices' and Junior Workers' Action Committee.

Renewed struggle

From page four

the events of Greece stand as a grave warning.

The Greek Trotskyists, basing themselves on the knowledge that the crisis will inevitably bring about renewed struggles and upheavals in the whole of Europe, are fighting day and night to build the revolutionary party of the Greek working class.

High on the agenda is the development of their paper 'Ora Tis Allagis', launched in January 1968, into a powerful revolutionary paper with its own printing apparatus.

Young workers and students in Britain can give valuable assistance to the working-class youth of Greece by fighting with the Young Socialists and Keep Left to defeat British capitalism, thus removing one of the big props of the murderous gang of Greek dictators.

Already, the signs of a renewed struggle of the masses are appearing. The huge abstention at the so-called 'referendum' last October and more recently, the giant demonstrations of 600,000 workers and youth in Athens during the funeral of Papandreu in November 1968 testify to the mood of the workers.

It is significant, that on that day, the police were absolutely powerless and unable to attack or interfere with the demonstration.

In the face of a worsening international capitalist crisis, when the most advanced capitalist countries are forced to make increasingly vicious attacks on the workers and their organizations;

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EDITOR'S POSTBAG

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BRITAIN
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Do they salve their pseudo-Marxist consciences by the two further policies which were unanimously approved by the Aberdeen conference for inclusion in the written constitution:

'The land and all material resources in Scotland belong to the people and shall be held subject to the constitution and the control of the National Assembly

'Access to hills and mountains is guaranteed where there is no serious interference with agriculture or forestry.'

Mr. Arthur Donaldson, chairman of the SNP, writing in last October's issue of the 'Symbol' states:

'The general attitude of the Scottish people and consequently of the people's party, like the SNP, is such that we shall always have private property with us, and interference with the ownership and use of such property will be at a minimum as long as the owners accept their responsibilities as fully as their privileges.'

From these three policies and official statements the Young Socialists will recognize the class role of this co-called people's party, under whatever guise it may masquerade, and we must combat this malignant growth in British politics with the same weapons that we use against Powellism.

J. McLaughlin
Elgin YS.

We will organize

THE strength of a union is of great benefit to the workers.

It assures them of a fair deal from the employers and this is why all unions must be defended. The Labour government and the Tories want the opposite, they want to smash the unions and to drive down the conditions of the working class.

The factory where we work in Sunderland is not organized and has no union, but we are fighting to change this.

This factory is a very old place and although modernized to the requirements of the bosses, it is still lacking many facilities as far as the workers are concerned.

In the winter the room where we work is very cold, the temperature dropped drastically below the level demanded by the Board or Trade.

When we complained, we were told we could go home if we wanted, but we need not bother coming back if we did.

The wages being paid to the young workers also leaves much to be desired.

Having been members of the Young Socialists for over a month and having been on the February 23 demonstration of the All Trades Unions Alliance, we are determined to get our factory organized to start this fight.

Ann and Jean,
Sunderland YS.

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

Clear the decks

THE Hull Young Socialists organized a very noisy, lively demonstration through the centre of the town on Saturday, March 8.

The main slogans were: Anti-union laws out! Wilson out! Wage freeze out! Socialism in! Defeat Devlin! Nationalize the docks!

The banners also called for better wages and conditions for apprentices (as outlined in the AEF youth charter), a fight against unemployment in Hull and elsewhere, victory to the Ford's workers and the nationalization of the basic industries under workers' control.

From the demonstration several new people signed up to go to the YS annual conference in Morecambe.

It is quite clear that Wilson will not change his policies. Defeating the anti-trade union laws means bringing down the Labour government. The working class has to clear the decks for a battle against the Tories, by removing from leadership those who stand for class compromise.

The Young Communist League and the Communist Party were asked to take part in the demonstration and absolutely refused.

They would not support the demands for the removal of the traitors in the leadership of the trade unions and the bringing down of the Labour government.

They said: 'The main question is to keep Wilson there to stop the Tories getting in'.

This means that they would sell out every struggle because the Labour government is taking the bosses' side more and more openly and every struggle against the employers is a political battle against the government.

The question is: will the Tories return on their terms or will they come back facing a working class strengthened by defeating the Labour traitors?

Support for the demonstration was given by a large meeting of the Socialist Society in Hull university despite the abstention of the 'International Socialism' group.

The committee, despite its ranting and raving about democracy, completely ignored the decision.

However, despite this sabotage, the demonstration was a great success. The attitude of all the so-called socialists to the demonstration shows that only the Young Socialists and the All Trades Unions Alliance are fighting for the working class.

Everyone else has some hope in the Labour government because they are all based on the same politics—reformism.

What is required now is a revolutionary alternative to Wilson and the Tories. Only the YS and the ATUA are preparing this. We have to do this in the face of the treachery to revolutionary Marxism of the Communist Party and the 'International Socialism' group.

The Communist Party is exposed as a traitor to the working class. Both the CP and the YCL spend their time producing explanations for their support for Wilson whilst the IS bolsters up the CP with a few more 'left' phrases.

Pat Allen,
Secretary, Hull YS.

In the dustbin of history

THE February edition of 'International', journal of the revisionists around the Pabloite Unified Secretariat group, is of interest to the Young Socialists and readers of Keep Left.

Under the heading, 'The Labour Party After Four Years of Wilsonism', the author attempts to evaluate the work of his own tendency over four years since 1964. The activities of this and other groups of revisionists who remained in the Labour Party, when the majority of the youth movement around Keep Left was under attack from the right wing, comprised acting as the assistants of the officials of Transport House in breaking up YS branches which supported Keep Left and emerging as provocateurs of the worst kind.

An unprincipled amalgam of the state capitalists and the Pabloites assisted the bureaucrats who were doing everything in their power to break the youth movement down.

While the majority of the YS National Committee were being expelled, these renegades sat on the right hand of the expellers and witch-hunters.

The campaigns against unemployment and the Tories in 1962-1963, together with a lively social programme in the branches which supported Keep Left, brought large numbers of youth around who could be educated in the fight for Marxist theory, i.e. against the right wing.

The response of the officials of the Labour Party to these layers of working-class youth was invariably extremely hostile. This was noticeably the

position of the revisionists who attacked the youth as being thugs, hooligans, etc.

Writing of their work in the Labour Party during this period the author of the editorial of the 'International' has this to say:

'A very large amount of our time was spent on work of a routine (!) nature in order to establish our credentials as loyal members of the party.'

This, we hardly need to add, is only too true! But now, after four years of crawling before the bureaucrats, they find that

'... any revolutionary Marxists who bury themselves in the Labour Party can expect to find themselves the object of contempt amongst revolutionary-minded young people'.

This is indeed a revelation coming from a tendency which accused the Socialist Labour League and its supporters four years ago of going into the political wilderness! The same gang of revisionists who condemned the Young Socialists for the fight against the bureaucrats now turn around and talk, as if in a critical manner, of people burying themselves in the Labour Party!

Then we are treated to the vision of the future, which, according to the 'International', means that...

'Our task remains to prepare for its eventuality (i.e. a split in the ranks of the social democracy) ... there is no likelihood of such a development immediately.'

Now we are able, after much literary gymnastics, to come to the conclusion that the real fight for the leadership of the working class will only come through a further indefinite period of work in the Labour Party! And this conclusion after the events in France!

The revisionists now find that 'the Labour Party Young Socialists has declined appreciably. In the latter field the 1968 conference was the smallest ever. It is likely that this year's LPYS conference will be smaller than ever.'

Meanwhile the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists prepare for the biggest Morecambe Conference and May Day demonstration ever.

The setting-up of the daily Newsletter, the first Trotskyist daily paper in history, is our answer to these renegades.

To those who accused the Young Socialists of going into the political wilderness when we left the Labour Party in 1964, we can now reply:

'And you, gentlemen, have chosen to go into the dustbin of history.'

The fight against youth

ENCOURAGED by the Labour government's backing of the employers' attacks on Ford and dock workers, Tories and employers throughout Britain are pushing ahead their preparations for a massive recession as part of the international trade war.

In Southampton, with its large docks and Ford plant, adult workers and youth are feeling the full force of these attacks. Under a Tory council they are beginning to find out exactly what the employers require.

The council intends to completely cut back youth facilities in this area. Preparations are being made to close down eight youth clubs and to make those now open five days a week close down on one night.

This is despite the fact that one youth club has 100 active members.

At a demonstration on March 1, 3,000 young people showed their complete opposition to the council's policies. Although the Young Socialists had done some campaigning in the local youth clubs for support for this demonstration, they were thrown off the march by the police and the organizers.

After the police had stopped the Young Socialists' contingent from marching, we decided to distribute our leaflets and sell the Keep Left during the demonstration. We explained to the youth that the council was not worried about raising the rates, as is shown by other areas, but that this was an offensive against the working class in Southampton, an area important to exports.

In this situation, with Powell and Paisley demanding far more vicious measures against the living standards we must fight back along the following demands:

- No youth club closures!
- Full recreational facilities under control of youth committees not vicars!
- Nationalization of the banks, the basic industries and entertainment!
- No police victimization of youth!
- Make the bosses pay, not the youth!

Malcolm King, Dick Clark
Southampton YS

Ownership of land

WE would like to draw attention to the Scottish Nationalist Party's policy on the ownership of land.

At their annual conference held in Aberdeen last year the Scottish Nationalist Party agreed unanimously that the written constitution of a self-governing Scotland must include the following policy:

'The right to own private property is challengeable only by due course of law and with fair compensation, and then only when the needs of the community clearly require precedence over the rights of the individual.'

This resolution can be seen clearly as a direct line of appeasement to the big landowners whom they hope to win over to nationalism. However, where does this policy place the Stalinists, the opportunists and the revisionists who have jumped on the bandwagon of separatism?

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Paper of the Workers' League USA
Room 8, 243 E.10. St. NYC 10003, USA

BOOK REVIEW

A criticism of Soviet bureaucracy

'ONE day in the life of Ivan Denisovich', by the same author, described the struggle of a Russian labour-camp prisoner to stay alive.

'The First Circle' describes life in a 'special prison' at Mavrino, where highly qualified prisoners carry out technological research. They are given enough food and warmth so they can work for 12 hours a day, seven days a week, on devices to increase the security of the Soviet bureaucracy.

One of the major tasks at Mavrino is to devise a scrambler so that suspects can be identified by their voices on the 'phone. Innokenty Volodin, a member of the diplomatic service, 'phones an eminent scientist to warn him that he is in danger of arrest. He is identified by the scrambler, and, at the end of the book, he is arrested.

The prisoners themselves have

more freedom to say what they think than people in the society outside. This is partly because they have less to lose, and partly because the authorities will tolerate verbal insubordination, provided that the work is produced quickly and Stalin is satisfied.

The chapters which describe Stalin are the most effective in the book. It is 1949, and Stalin is hidden away in the Kremlin, alone, ill, and convinced of the brilliance of his own decisions.

'All his best ideas came to him between midnight and four o'clock in the morning . . . how to introduce prison sentences for absenteeism, how to lengthen the working day and the working week . . . how to deport whole peoples to Siberia.'

He is suspicious of everyone around him, except for the most mediocre, and it is his suspicion which gives impetus to the work going on at Mavrino. In a sense, Stalin recognizes his own importance to the Soviet bureaucracy, which was seriously affected by his death.

Solzhenitsyn portrays him as very conscious of his own role—that of holding back social development and trying to make society as static and unchanging as possible.

Stalin sees his achievement as having ' . . . clamped down on everything—all movement had been stopped, the ebb and flow of human beings had been halted, everybody, all two hundred million of them, knew their place . . .'

His actions are taken primarily to preserve the existing system in which he, Stalin, as representative of the bureaucracy, is all powerful.

Much of the novel is spent in describing the relationships between the prisoners, arrested at different times and for different reasons.

They range from members of the Left Opposition (supporters of Leon Trotsky) to prisoners arrested immediately after the Second World War. A number of these had been imprisoned by the Germans, and, when they returned to Russia, were falsely



THE FIRST CIRCLE

By Alexander Solzhenitsyn

Published 1968 by Collins at 42s.

Review by MARY HEALY

charged with being German spies. 'Why else would they return to Russia?' asked their prosecutors, showing the suspicion and insecurity of the Russian bureaucracy.

Solzhenitsyn is now said to be generally recognized within Russia as the Soviet Union's leading writer, although his most recent novels are circulated only in typed form.

He is criticized, however, for his lack of 'socialist realism'; his opponents say that he is not optimistic enough about the future of Russian socialism. These opponents, as well as many of the people in the West who have praised Solzhenitsyn,

wrongly equate the success of Russian socialism with the survival of the Russian bureaucracy.

In his novels, Solzhenitsyn does not attack socialism—it is the Russian bureaucracy which he criticizes. But he cannot draw political conclusions about how this bureaucracy should be opposed.

Opposition is confined to the qualities and relationships of individual characters. But Solzhenitsyn's description of Russian society, and especially descriptions such as that of Stalin in 'The First Circle', can help to increase the understanding which Marxists have of that society and of the Soviet bureaucracy's role.

Spotlight on Sunderland

From page seven

left school at 16 with three 'O' Levels, because he knew the family needed the money, and after a few months he found a job.

All three of these young workers are convinced of the need to recruit apprentices for

the March 29 demonstration and want to see a big drive on the dole queues to bring out massive numbers of youth.

Eighteen-year-old dustman Bob: After a short period working as an apprentice miner in almost intolerable conditions, Bob went to London in the hope of finding a better life there. Many workers, young and adult, are encouraged to go South for work, sometimes being recruited by unscrupulous firms which give false descriptions of the jobs.

Political answer

Enticed in these ways, many workers migrate towards London, only to find that the cost of living is high, work insecure and hard to find. Bob was one of these. Six months as a labourer on a building site in London was enough to convince him that there must be a political answer to the problems of the working class. 'I'm for the YS because it backs young workers up,' he says. 'This organization will see the working class all right—and take the power from the bosses.'

Students Brian and Rick, both aged 18:

Brian studies at the Sunderland Teacher Training College, and Rick at the South-East Northumberland Technical College. In separate ways their experience bears out the fact that pressures from capitalism create a need amongst students for revolutionary leadership.

Each of these two comrades actively sought out the correct leadership, investigating the policies of different organizations, reading and discussing. Rick was impressed by a YS Regional demonstration which took place in Newcastle last July. The demonstration had called for victory for both the engineers in their dispute and for the revolutionary French workers. He attended the public meeting afterwards, and there heard the policies of the YS presented. He joined straight away, worked first in the YS in Newcastle and then in Sunderland.

Brian first came into politics

in 1966 when he joined the Labour Party Young Socialists. The complete lack of revolutionary fight, or even elementary socialist consciousness, disgusted him and he then began to examine the policies of other organizations.

By 1968 he was convinced that a revolutionary challenge to the capitalist system was the only answer, and he attended the October Rally of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign in the hope that he would find the answer there. 'But we split up', he recalls, 'one group going to Hyde Park and one to Grosvenor Square. I went to Grosvenor Square. I tried to break through a police cordon. But I was conscious all the time of the fact that if I broke through I wouldn't know what to do next, or what good it was going to do. The whole thing seemed to come to nothing, so then I had a discussion with my brother in Leeds who by then had joined the YS.'

Build branch

Brian decided that on returning to college in Sunderland he would help to build the branch.

Both of these comrades have worked in their separate colleges for the construction of YS Student Societies, and both have met with hostility and bureaucratic repression from the college authorities. Brian and Rick have worked with Keep Left and laid the groundwork for recruitment to the YS in their colleges, and continue to carry on the fight for a YS organization there.

The reply of the Sunderland YS members to the attacks from the Tories and the Labour traitors is:

- End unemployment!
- No redundancies!
- Build the revolutionary organization for young workers!
- Fight for Keep Left and the daily Newsletter!
- Throw out Wilson and the Tories for good!
- Forward to workers' power and socialism!

Germany 1918-1933

From page five

of the Communist Party vote. Then came the economic crisis of 1929 which shook the whole of capitalism.

As unemployment rose, the banks began to put on the pressure for the cuts in government expenditure and especially in unemployment pay. In December 1929 they forced the sacking of the Finance Minister, Hilferding. By March 1930 the coalition had broken-up and it was succeeded by a right-wing government under Brüning. In September elections were called. The Nazi vote rose to 6.4 millions.

In Britain today, a social-democratic government holds office as an economic crisis approaches. Mergers and take-overs produce huge industrial and financial giants, whose demands increasingly decide the actions of Prime Minister Harold Wilson.

Behind the facade of parliamentary democracy, these forces seek new means of carrying out their political needs to smash the workers' movement. To point complacently to the differences between Britain in 1969 and Weimar Germany 1929 is to prepare disaster for the working-class movement internationally.

(Next month: How Hitler took power.)

THEATRE

THE RULING CLASS

Piccadilly, West End
By Peter Barnes

THIS is an amusing play, full of bizarre and entertaining episodes, and therefore much to be recommended now that Morecambe and Wise have been advised to keep off the violent slapstick comedy.

However, one comes away from the theatre with the definite feeling that the play has not got round to saying half the things that need saying about the ruling class.

The play shows us the insanity of a Duke, the fourteenth of his line, who at first is firmly convinced that he is God. His family see nothing unusual in this, for after all the English aristocracy stands at only one remove from divinity.

But what does disturb them is the doctrine of universal love that he preaches. This will not do at all, for a start it throws a scare amongst the ladies of the local Conservative Association, and the family decide to bring him back to reality by showing him another lunatic who thinks he is God. The Duke is now, in a certain sense, cured, for he no longer claims to be God. He becomes firmly convinced that he is Jack the Ripper.

Thinking this, he goes to the House of Lords and makes a bloodthirsty speech demanding the return of hanging and the birch which is wholeheartedly applauded by his relations. This sort of violent and dangerous insanity is, it appears, quite an asset for a Duke.

The trouble is that that has very little to do with the class that really rules this country.

Any position of authority held by the aristocracy here is held only with the permission of the class that owns capital and the means of production—the bourgeoisie.

Even if we assume that the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie have got together to divide the spoils of capitalism, the play is still unsatisfactory, for it never gets down to showing whom or what or how the fourteenth Duke rules.

After all, the only reason there is a ruling class is that society's wealth is unequally divided, and that one particular group has the lion's share, which it will defend at all costs.

All this is ignored by the author, who also misses the point about the relationship between the working class and the ruling class. The figure who seems to represent the working class is the old butler, who turns out to be quite a rebel: 'The Communists don't know I'm a Trotskyist and the Trots don't know I'm an anarchist'.

Unfortunately, all this revolt is a little pointless, for the butler has inherited £20,000 from the thirteenth Duke. He only stays with the family because, as he puts it, the British working class is spineless, and needs a master.

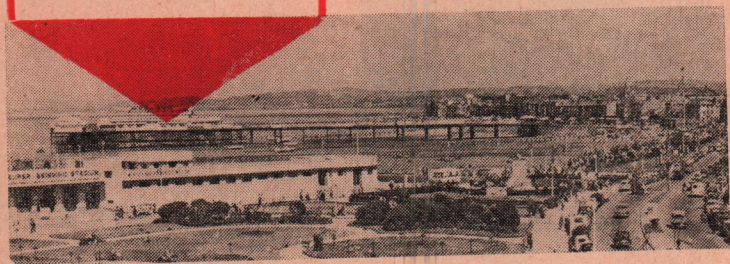
Barnes' play only shadow-boxes with its subject. Its treatment is terribly superficial, and the author does not bother to highlight those aspects of the ruling class which would really hurt. In fact, by confusing people, and spreading quite incorrect ideas about the real state of the class struggle, he renders the ruling class a not inconsiderable service.

RA

Morecambe conference prepares policies to

MAY'S
Keep Left
Will carry a report and photographs from the conference on Central Pier

FORGE AHEAD TO SOCIALISM



THE Ninth Annual Conference at Morecambe this year poses particularly sharply the role of the Young Socialists in the building of the revolutionary alternative leadership.

BY THE EDITOR

Why we are going by two A.E.I. apprentices

Q. WHY are you attending the Morecambe Conference of the Young Socialists?

A. I have come to Morecambe to discuss how the Young Socialists can build an alternative to the Labour government. I also want to know how I can take a stand in the trade union movement against the reformist leadership.

WHAT do you think of the Labour government's anti-strike laws?

I think these laws really show the nature of the government's policies. They know they can't gag the capitalists, so they do what every government does in times of crisis, put the chains on the working class.

These laws show what is in store for the working class in the future, with the Labour government making way for the Tories. A Tory government would make the White Paper, 'In Place of Strife' seem very weak indeed.

WHAT is happening at the AEI factory where you work?

Over the last two years the Willesden factory has been run down so the proposed closure was no shock. The management will not say when the factory is closing so we are all kept hanging on in an area where factory after factory is closing.

The union leadership in the factory is very weak. It will not fight the closure with any kind of action.

The 150 apprentices at the fac-

DURING the dispute over the engineers' wage claim in 1968 many young apprentices and junior workers, impressed with the fight we took up against the Labour government's anti-working-class policies, joined the Young Socialists.

This year they attend the Young Socialists' annual conference for the first time. They are just some of the thousands of young people now moving into action as a result of the danger the Labour government's actions have placed the working class in.

Two young apprentices from AEI in Willesden, London, are delegates to the Morecambe conference and, in this interview with YS National Committee member John Semance, they explain why they are at the conference and what they see as the perspective for all young workers in the future.

The Willesden factory is scheduled for closure and these young workers face a problem now common to many—redundancy.

tory are very confused about what is happening to their jobs. Some are hoping that the company will find them a job, but when the time comes they may lose their indentures.

WHAT do you think is the answer to the mergers and redundancies?

The only answer of course is nationalization under workers' control.

WHY are you attending the Morecambe Conference of the Young Socialists?

I want to find out more about the Young Socialists and their

policies and how they see the building of a revolutionary socialist party to fight Wilson and his anti-strike laws.

WHAT do you think of the Labour government's anti-strike laws?

I think if Wilson succeeds in bringing into force the White Paper, 'In Place of Strife', he will have won part of a massive battle against the working class—the very people he is supposed to support.

I think the White Paper should be opposed and I have urged all the apprentices I know to come here to this conference.

Wilson's anti-working-class policies were really brought home to me when £25,000,000 was lent to merge the GEC and AEI companies.

This has resulted in the proposed closure of AEI at Willesden and over 1,000 workers, including 150 apprentices will be out of work.

The company is not even obliged to find us another job or another company to take over our indentures.

First and second-year apprentices may stand a chance of continuing their time with some other firm and fifth-year lads will get their indentures early.

In my case, however, as a third-year craft apprentice, I will receive only a certificate of training which tells a prospective employer what sections I have worked on at AEI and the course I have been studying at college.

So at 19 years old, and as a third-year apprentice, my extra year spent at school studying for CSE and the three years training at AEI have been wasted.

Since the last annual conference of the Young Socialists rapid changes have taken place in the class struggle internationally. Events in France during May and June 1968 shook the whole of Europe.

Youth and workers in Czechoslovakia challenged the power of the Stalinist bureaucracy in August.

In Britain it has been a running battle by the working class against the employers and the Labour government for higher wages and against productivity schemes and speed-up.

DETERMINED

Workers at Ford's showed an iron determination to fight. For three weeks they held out, only to be betrayed by the spineless, reformist leadership of the centrists who were backed by the Stalinists.

What has characterized the struggle of the working class has been a giant step forward in the struggle against the capitalist class for power.

But what has also emerged very clearly from the past 12 months has been the decisive role of leadership in these struggles and the urgent necessity for the building of a revolutionary leadership in place of the social-democratic betrayers.

The betrayals of the Labour leadership have placed the working class in grave danger.

Only the most complacent would think otherwise after the massive abstention of Labour votes in the recent by-elections.

No one should underestimate the Enoch Powells of the Tory Party.

WAITING

They are waiting in the wings, politically speaking, in order to continue with the legislation against the trade union movement where the Labour government leaves off.

In Britain today is sharply reflected the mortal crisis of international capitalism. Every blow struck by the working class in the metropolitan countries is decisive.

What happens in Britain in this life-or-death struggle contributes to the downfall of capitalism and the defeat of its cover agents within the workers' movement, the bureaucracy, all over the world.

This is the situation we live in as Young Socialists.

FORGING AHEAD

We are the generation who will see the working class take power, who will make the revolution and defeat capitalism for ever.

Our Ninth Annual Conference at Morecambe takes its decisions on this basis.

The Young Socialists is forging ahead with its campaigns amongst the youth in the factories and the universities, its work in the trade unions and its participation in the Swindon by-election with candidate Frank Willis.

The Young Socialists are participating in the Swindon by-election in order to warn the working class of the dangers prepared for it by the Labour and trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists.

The Morecambe Conference poses great responsibilities.

We cannot sit back and contemplate. Everyone of the decisions taken must be a basis for the building of a leadership which will take the working class to power.

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Helpers for Swindon by-election WANTED

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