

KEEP LEFT

DECEMBER
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of the
Young Socialists

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

HAROLD WILSON'S planned trip to President Nixon in Washington early next year can only condone the recently-exposed 'Pinkville' massacres.

As far as the Labour government is concerned, it's no change—since the 1964 election victory servile statements emitted by Wilson, Brown, Stewart and others have backed US Imperialism's genocidal war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

And the atrocities themselves are nothing new—'Pinkville' occurred over 18 months ago.

Significantly the Young Socialists issued a statement: 'We fight the same enemy' at that time, which said:

'High explosives, poison gas, the chemical destruction of crops, the obliteration of large cities, the senseless torture and murder of thousands of defenceless citizens, are the "pacification" methods of the so-called "free world" headed by the warlords in Washington.' ('The Newsletter' March 9, 1968.)

We have always been in the lead on the Vietnam question. Three years before the revisionist adventures in Grosvenor Square—when police brutally routed demonstrators away from the US Embassy—the Young Socialists held the first-ever demonstration against the war.

On July 18, 1965, we marched through London chanting 'Victory to the Vietcong'.

In December 1969, we continue our defence of the Vietnamese Revolution by demanding
STOP WILSON'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON.

The Prime Minister is only going to the White House as part of his regular pilgrimage to the shrine of the big money-lenders who control the Labour puppets on their purse strings, and, through their representative Nixon, control the puppet rulers in Saigon.

These same money men are the real warlords who control US policy in Vietnam.

After all, 'Pinkville' came at a period when they were under the greatest pressure.

As we were issuing our March 1968 statement, the world economy—particularly sterling and the dollar—was hit by a gold crisis.

This was worsened by the May-June events in France.

Just prior to that the Vietnamese themselves had exacerbated the crisis through the magnificent victories in their Tet offensive.

Rocked from all sides early in 1968 by international class action, the moneylenders really bared their teeth in the war, reverting to the horrors not seen since Hitler's SS did their worst to the European working class.

So now we hear of the early 1968 'Pinkville' massacre, with possibly more revelations to come.

At the same time in Britain (April 1968), all the 'lefts', revisionists and Stalinists were doing their 'thing' in Grosvenor Square, to the accompaniment of massive TV and press coverage.

Where are they now?

The 'lefts', in particular, remain silent about Wilson's visit.

Will they still be tight-lipped when the Tories, helped back to power by Labour's treacherous policies, begin repressive actions against British workers on behalf of big business?

We must begin now to forge an international unity between workers today in action in most European countries, the increasingly radicalized working class in the United States, and the Vietnamese workers and peasants, for an all-out struggle against the war and against the capitalist system that has kept it going for over 20 years.

In Britain we can step up this policy now by demanding:

**STOP WILSON'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON!
VICTORY TO THE VIETNAMESE WORKERS AND PEASANTS!**

Stop Wilson's visit to Washington! Defeat U.S. imperialism in Vietnam!



DEMONSTRATE SUNDAY JANUARY 11

ASSEMBLE: Speaker's Corner, Marble Arch at 2 p.m.

MARCH: via Oxford Street, Regent Street, Trafalgar Square past Downing Street

MEETING: Lyceum Ballroom, near Aldwych at 4 p.m.

YS NOTICE BOARD

Stop Wilson going to Washington

CLAPHAM Young Socialists passed the following resolution at their branch meeting on December 3 and agreed to fight for the maximum support amongst young workers, students and unemployed youth for the campaign against Wilson's visit to Washington.

'The slaughter of innocent men, women, children and babies by the United States army in Vietnam recalls the worst atrocities of the Nazis in occupied Europe.

'British labour can no more support US imperialism's genocide in Vietnam than it could support the massacres carried out by the Nazi SS.

'Considering the enormous damage done to the Labour movement by the continued co-operation of the British and American governments in the Vietnam war and the so-called defence of South-East Asia, we urge the leaderships of the trade unions and the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party to demand that Wilson's visit to Washington, which we consider a symbolic gesture to Nixon, should not take place.

'We also call upon the Labour cabinet to cancel Wilson's visit immediately.'

After the meeting Clapham YS members went outside the local tube station and collected signatures for a petition demanding the cancellation of Wilson's visit to Washington.



**Father
Christmas
was a big hit at
the
Young Socialists'
bazaar at
Canning Town
on Saturday
November 29**

Midlands weekend school

WEST MIDLANDS Young Socialists held their liveliest weekend school yet at the Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham on November 15 and 16.

After an opening by Peter Jeffries on the 'Workers Press' and the revolutionary party, in which he dealt with the role of Stalinism as a counter-revolutionary force, the school divided into discussion groups.

During these informal discussions a whole variety of questions were thrashed out.

One particularly important issue was the basis on which a struggle against Stalinism took place. The school brought out very clearly the historic nature of Stalinism as a counter-revolutionary force.

At a later stage in the discussion there was a sharp exchange on whether there was any basis for a debate with the fascists.

This kind of discussion and the issues raised were a very real reflection of the concrete tasks facing the working class in this period.

Central to the school was a principled struggle for Marxist theory against any tendency towards opportunism and other forms of idealism.

On the basis of such a struggle for political clarity the Young Socialists can develop as a revolutionary youth leadership.

BY SAM MCLEAN

LONDON RALLY

AS PART of the London Young Socialists' recruiting drive the South London branches held a highly successful rally and discotheque at the end of November.

Meeting at the Friars Hall, Blackfriars on November 16 they watched a showing of both the Young Socialists' film and one on the first publication of the Trotskyist daily 'Workers Press'.

There had been an intense campaign in the weeks before the rally with teams out recruiting and large numbers of new members were signed up into the YS.

Editor of Keep Left Aileen Jennings spoke on the growing hostility of the working class internationally to the war in Vietnam.

She explained that the working class in Britain and the workers and peasants in Vietnam shared a common enemy.

The fight against the Labour government and to build an alternative socialist leadership in Britain was a blow on behalf of the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial people all over the world.

BY RAY KINGSBURY

London Y.S. netball team make a challenge



During the autumn season Paddington Young Socialists set up a girls' netball team and challenged Camden Town YS to a match. Although most were new to the game it was very lively and the Paddington team won. In fact, so confident are the Paddington players that they are prepared to challenge any team in London to a game providing the weather is good.

National Film Competition Young Socialists

IN THE LONDON REGION, plans are in an advanced state for making two films for the film competition in January.

One is to be on the question of redundancy in the area.

The other is to be on schools and the crisis in education.

Young Socialists at the London Film School are planning to make a more general film on the crisis of capitalism and the implications of this crisis.

They also hope to experiment with an animation film showing what profit is, in con-

junction with students from the Central School of Art.

Some federations have plans for making their own films, but they will have to get a move on if they are to finish them in time.

Comrades should keep in mind that the laboratories can take up to two weeks to send back films, so all shooting should be completed by the second week in December.

Film already shot at Brighton and during the Swindon campaign will probably be kept for a film on YS activities.

BY MARTIN MAYER

First round goes to Southall

BY OUR FOOTBALL CORRESPONDENT

National Football Cup
First round:

Southall 5 South West 4
WORMWOOD SCRUBS,
after two days of rain, pro-

vided a very soft pitch for the first match in the national knock-out cup competition.

The red-shirted Southall team moved immediately into the attack down the centre but the solid half-back play of South West not only stopped them but gave them the opportunity, in the third minute, to move in for the first goal.

Southall at this stage switched the attack to the right-wing, and in opening up South West's defence equalized.

This ding-dong struggle continued for the whole of the first half, with every opportunity taken to score. At half-time the score was 3-3.

South West, playing in white shirts, were kicking against the wind in the second half and as a result found the going harder.

Southall were able to split the South West defence more often and with 15 minutes to go and 4-4 on the board either team could have won.

South West lost their opportunity by missing an open goal and Southall deservedly pushed the winning goal in with just 30 seconds to go.

Young Socialists' Tenth Annual Conference
Saturday and Sunday, April 11 and 12

in

GRAND HALL, THE SPA
SCARBOROUGH

Come to the annual conference and help to make YS policy on International, trade union and youth questions.

DANCE SATURDAY NIGHT TO TWO
TOP-LINE GROUPS

Cost of weekend including bed and breakfast,
dance and coach fare . . . approximately £4.

**JOIN THE
YOUNG SOCIALISTS AND
BOOK UP FOR
SCARBOROUGH NOW!**

Write to Shella Torrance, 186a Clapham High Street, SW4.

Start 1970 with

KEEP LEFT WEEKEND RALLY

Saturday and Sunday, January 10 and 11

Annual General Meeting and National Speaking Contest

on Saturday, January 10, 2.30 p.m.

at East India Hall, East India Dock Road, London, E14

DANCE 8 p.m. to 11 p.m. to

'THE CRESCENDOS' and 'THE ELEMENT OF TRUTH'

**Special appearance
LONG JOHN BALDRY**

SUNDAY, JANUARY 11 9.30 a.m.

FILM MAKING AND THE
YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Featuring: guest speakers . . . film shows . . . announcement on the winners of the National Film Competition

CLASSIC CINEMA, POND STREET, HAMPSTEAD, LONDON, NW3

DEMONSTRATION

For the defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam!

Stop Wilson going to Washington!

Assemble: Speakers' Corner, Marble Arch 2 p.m.

March: via Oxford Street to Trafalgar Square via Downing Street

Meeting: Lyceum Ballroom, near Aldwych 4 p.m.

Tickets 12s 6d each apply: Keep Left, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4
(Overnight accommodation included in 12s 6d)

North-East youth will not be condemned to this



WHILST the bankers applaud the Labour government's policy of creating unemployment, youth in South Shields express a bitter hatred for circumstances which condemn them to kicking their heels outside the local Youth Employment Office.

The latest figures published by the Department of Employment and Productivity reveal that unemployment stands at 20,055 — 5.1 per cent. Although this figure is lower than the summer total it is still one of the worst in the country.

Figures released two months ago showed that between mid-July and August 11 more than 2,600 people joined the dole queues. Many of them would have been school leavers.

The Tyneside total rocketed to 22,514, making the unemployment rate 5.7 per cent — the highest August total since the war.

Whilst the ruling class spent its holidays in the Bahamas or in the South of France some youth in South Shields were lucky if they had a holiday at all.

The North East region unemployed rose by 7,237 to 66,962 — excluding school leavers.

In a place like South Shields where unemployment means no money and that means nowhere to go except hanging around the streets, the youth congregate in the town centre.

Constantly harrassed by the law they flared up when a store manager ordered them to

keep clear from his shop entrance.

The police were called. They arrived on the scene and it is reported that the youth were pushed around.

A crowd of shoppers gathered round to protest, whilst youth resisted arrest.

It did not take long for the build-up of hatred and anger against the police to burst out again.

Following an incident where a young boy was picked up, allegedly for loitering, a crowd of youth followed the police to the local station and forcibly attempted to release their mate.

The same conditions prevail in North Shields, an old

seaport across the river from South Shields.

Here events took a sharp turn on a far greater scale. When police moved in to break up a crowd the reception was far from friendly.

Expressing their feelings quite openly the youth hurled missiles at the police. Nine people were arrested.

Years of unemployment, insecurity and intimidation were the ingredients for several nights of fighting against the police.

Such disturbances cannot be explained away as acts of hooliganism. They are the result of an enormous frustration which pervades the whole of the North East.

The general feeling, especially amongst the youth is that with no prospect of a job and with shortage of money thousands of young people face a very poor winter indeed.

That is why the Young Socialists in the North East region are busy organizing the unemployed and the employed youth together behind a socialist policy.

Keep Left and the world's first Trotskyist daily paper 'Workers Press' champion the problems facing young people today in their fight against the police, the employers and unemployment.

We call for:

- * Full recreational facilities for young workers, including access to gymnasia, sports fields, clubs, swimming pools, cinemas and theatres.
- * All youth centres to be placed under the control of the youth themselves.
- * Premises to be made available to young workers where they can meet to discuss their problems, free from victimization and police intimidation.
- * Elected committees for young workers, trade unionists and tenants, in conjunction with local trades councils, to investigate all cases of police brutality against youth.
- * Nationalization of the recording companies, dance halls, bowling alleys and cinemas under the control of young workers' committees.

BY NORTH-EAST REGION REPORTING TEAM



An international conference of revolutionary youth in Autumn 1970

PREPARATIONS GO AHEAD!

THE international working class moves forward on the offensive against imperialism.

The capitalist class, which has the full backing of the treacherous working-class leaderships such as the Labour government in Britain and the Stalinists in France, becomes more and more desperate in the face of a major crisis of its system.

A massive world-wide movement against the war in Vietnam builds up, whilst the strike wave continues to sweep the whole of Europe and a renewed struggle of East European workers and students is developing.

1970, the Year of Lenin and Trotsky, is the year in which we prepare for an International Conference of Revolutionary Youth.

We are confident that thousands of youth will join us in the fight against imperialism. More than that, we are sure that these young people will have no truck with reformism or Stalinism, that they will join in the struggle to build a Marxist leadership.

All over Europe and in other parts of the world, including the United States, preparations for this conference will go ahead.

These preparations will be part of the struggle to build revolutionary youth movements to lead and theoretically arm the working class.

This work has begun in Ceylon, where the Trotskyist youth organization 'Revolutionary Communist Youth' held its second conference in Colombo in October.

Two hundred young workers, unemployed youth and students attended the con-



Delegates vote at the second conference of the Revolutionary Communist Youth in Colombo.

streets and a packed public meeting.

In France the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS) are preparing a massive assembly of thousands of youth in Paris, to be held in February 1970, to bring together young workers and students to discuss their demands and the means to win them.

This assembly will form a decisive step in the struggle to build a mass revolutionary youth movement in France by fighting to lead all sections of youth against the employers' and the government's attacks. It will be a historic event in the construction of an international revolutionary movement.

Our movement in Britain, which laid the basis for the world's first Trotskyist daily

betrayals of the Labour government.

Today, as this government joins hands with Nixon in supporting US imperialism's war in Vietnam, we launch a campaign to 'Stop Wilson going to Washington'.

This campaign, which will be waged in factories, union branches, colleges and universities will demand that Wilson's visit to see Nixon be cancelled, and will call for the victory of the Vietnamese peasants and workers and demand the withdrawal of all US troops.

The highpoint will be a national demonstration in London on January 11, 1970.

1970 will mark an historic step forward for the revolutionary youth movement.

We call on all members of the Young Socialists to make their contribution to

'The Queen was in ...

MONARCHISTS all over the country—or at least in the more backward Tory parts of it—were shocked at the news that the Royal Household is 'in the red'.

Many rushed to their piggy-banks the next morning to send their all to aid the stricken sovereign.

But a Buckingham Palace spokesman said that the Queen was returning their gifts—'she makes it a rule not to accept money from strangers', he said. The term 'in the red', of course, has to be interpreted somewhat loosely where the Royal Family is concerned.

With a personal fortune conservatively estimated at £60 million, the world's richest woman is hardly living in daily terror of a visit from the bailiff. When the 'Royal shop steward'—to give HRH Prince Philip the title bestowed on him by Communist Party chairman Dr Tony Chater—complains about lack of money, it is not lack of his own money he's complaining about, it's lack of ours.

Apparently the £475,000 milked annually from the working class as taxation and donated (tax-free) to keep these high-born parasites in the style to which they are accustomed is being

the Royal Yacht 'Britannia' and the Queen's Award to Industry, not to mention the corgis, the helicopters of the Queen's flight and the Royal Horse 'Stalin'.

On receipt of the ducal complaint, all manner of Royal boot-lickers sprang up like weeds on a dunghill to proclaim the virtues of monarchy (it's cheap—only half a million a year (!)—it's more stable than a president—it draws the tourists).

Notable friends of the Family in the Labour Party and trade union movement loyally sang the monarch's praises.

Altogether a display of loyal admiration which would not have been out of place in the heyday of the Byzantine empire, though even in those days it might have been thought a trifle excessive to send voluntary contributions to maintain the sovereign.

... the counting house!

world news ■ world news ■ world news ■ world news

Massive strike action by Italian workers:

A PRE-REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION

French rally against Gaullist thuggery

Special account from our reporter in France

ON DECEMBER 3 a meeting was held in Paris at the Mutualité as part of a campaign for the opening of a trial of the Gaullist thugs who attacked Jean-Pierre Speller, a 23-year-old printer, and two of his comrades, on April 26 of this year.

Witnesses have identified two of the attackers as sons of a Gaullist Cabinet Minister.

Comrade Speller is now blind in his left eye and has not been able to return to his job because of his injuries.

Seven months have passed and still nothing has been done.

As speakers pointed out, justice is not an abstract concept, but exists within a social context.

The 5,000 students and workers at the meeting applauded and cheered as militant organizations pledged their support for this campaign.

Militant resolutions poured in from factories in the Paris area and the speakers were constantly interrupted by chants of 'Justice for Speller', 'Working class unite' and 'Democratic liberties'.

Charles Berg of the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS) and chairman of the meeting, called for unity of the working class against fascist violence.

As Gérard Bloch of the Trotskyist Organization pointed out, the fight for democratic liberties is inseparable from the fight for socialism.

The Communist Party does not support this campaign; they claim it is a Trotskyist manoeuvre to gain support.

Its treacherous position on this campaign will only deepen its crisis.

The attack on Comrade Speller was an attack on the international working class and the campaign for the defence of democratic liberties and the immediate trial of his attackers must be supported by all workers and students.

Report by Peter Sylveire

'A PRE-REVOLUTIONARY situation' is how one government minister correctly described the events surrounding the massive strike action in Italy on November 19 in support of demands for more houses and better conditions.

20,000,000 workers stopped work causing widespread panic amongst the Italian bosses and their agents in the ruling Christian Democratic government.

Carlo Donat, ex-union leader, now Minister of Labour for the government, clearly showed his contempt for the revolutionary aspirations embodied in the strike when he appealed to employers to grant concessions 'to at least some of the workers' demands — even if only in their own long-term interests'.

OUTBURST

Donat also warned of an outburst to the right, by which he meant a military coup similar to that carried out by the Greek colonels in 1967.

This corresponds to rumours circulating in the Italian press. Indeed when Stalinists are courting Liberals with a view to forming coalitions workers should beware.

Seen in the light of the recent mutiny of the Milan police force, the possibility of such a coup getting off the ground is put into question.

It is doubtful whether the Italian bosses have sufficient control over their forces of oppression to mobilize them against the working class.

Although the trade union bureaucracies (Stalinist, centrist, catholic, and social-democratic) attempt a show of authority over the wave of strikes, the extent of their control is in reality very slight.



Italian workers battle with baton-swinging police

The real force behind the massive demonstrations and the violent clashes with the police is of course the working class, driven by material needs in the form of wages and better conditions.

It is not the miserliness of the Italian employers that prevents them from coughing up the demands of the workers but simply that they cannot afford it.

As Guido Carli, Governor of the Bank of Italy put it on November 14, the wage increases demanded by the unions cannot be granted without undermining the whole of the Italian economy including the value of the lire.

It is in this state that the

Italian employing class, represented by Agnelli of Fiat turned to the Pope for guidance. Needless to say the Vatican, itself an owner of Fiat shares, encouraged more brutal anti-working-class measures.

While the trade union bureaucracies continue to channel the revolutionary actions of the workers into merely union demands, the great might of the Italian working class dissipates itself in these purely reformist actions.

The accumulated pressure of strike upon strike has of course triggered off repercussions in the Communist Party.

The Stalinists in Italy, who have managed to build a size-

able nest for themselves from the support of some two million members, now find that these supporters are subject to the same forces driving other workers, and are less and less able to stomach the reformist claptrap dished up by the Italian CP.

SUSPENDED

Recently three leading party members were suspended from the central committee for hinting at revolutionary answers to the crisis.

In their publication 'Il Manifesto', they asked why the party leadership should persist with seeking coalitions with bourgeois governments when direct revolution was possible.

Italian workers must study their history—particularly the period of 1918-1922 when similar strike actions took place to those occurring today.

Reformist trade union leaders, after leading the Italian workers through endless futile protest strikes, left them exhausted on the doorstep of fascism.

SIGNAL

The struggles in Italy should be seen as a signal for British workers to prepare for similar struggles in this country. The time has come all over the world for Stalinism to be smashed along with its revisionist running-dogs.

Only in this way can the international working class get down to work preparing for its ultimate battle against the bourgeois states for power.

It is almost a year since the first walk-out heralded the massive strike movement now coming to a head in Italy.

Our contribution to the heroic determination of the Italian workers is to build a massive socialist youth movement supporting the Fourth International, the revolutionary leadership of the working class.

Portugal—Britain's oldest ally

WE CAN READ every day the hypocritical wailings in the press about the terrors of life in eastern Europe, but what of Britain's 'oldest ally'?

The truth about Portugal is never mentioned and only the most glossed-over facts are printed, in a press controlled by the interests of profit.

A mere 18 per cent of the population can vote for a National Assembly that can itself make no decisions.

Trade unions and strikes are both illegal, as are all parties except the fascist party, Uniao Nacional.

A secret police, trained by the Gestapo, terrorizes the people.

The present regime originated in a military coup in 1926. The succeeding years saw President Salazar construct a fascist party and state in order to hold down the conditions of the working class and pro-

For the capitalist class this has been successful. Average wages in manufacturing industries are £3 a week, whilst 40 per cent of the Portuguese adults remain illiterate.

movement

However a tremendous strike movement has developed this year, involving over 10,000 workers, despite the fact that each strike entails a fight against armed police.

It will be the victorious struggles of the working class which will end fascism in Portugal, not the pleas of the middle class for a return to democracy.

It is impossible to talk about Portugal without considering its colonies.

For hundreds of years Portugal has had possessions in Africa—Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. At the present time, wars of liberation are being waged against Portuguese colonialism.

tant aspect to mention.

The economies of all three colonies are run by forced labour.

Central to the existence of fascism in Portugal is its support from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The Portuguese colonial army, numbering 150,000, is fully equipped by NATO.

The Portuguese President Caetano relies on NATO to protect him in case of an uprising.

remember

It is important to remember that it was British interests which lay behind the coup which originally brought the present regime to power.

The Portuguese government's methods of torture, imprisonment and murder may only be equalled in their brutality by those of the Greek colonels' regime.

Suffice it to say that thousands of brave resistance fighters are held imprisoned for



Dictator Salazar

Here are only two: Jose Carlos, a cork worker, sentenced in 1964 to 10 years' gaol plus 'security measures' for organizing his fellow workers. ('Security measures' can prolong a sentence indefinitely.)

Pires Jorge is another worker, sentenced in 1961 to 10 1/2 years' gaol plus 'security measures'.

The British labour movement must protest against this continued imprisonment and demand amnesty for political prisoners.

9.58 P.M. IN BRITAIN, November 24—splashdown in the Pacific for America's three astronauts — Charles 'Pete' Conrad, Alan Bean and Richard Gordon — after Apollo 12's fiery re-entry into the earth's atmosphere.

Behind them they leave a mission that, apart from a few minor difficulties (such as the lightning strike on launching and the failure of the colour television camera on the moon), has been an undoubted success.

Probably the most interesting parts of the mission were the second moon walk to Surveyor 3 (the robot spacecraft which soft-landed in 1967), the first live television pictures of a rendezvous and docking in moon orbit and the crashing of the lunar module Intrepid on to the moon's surface.

New questions

The crashing of Intrepid, in particular, has raised new questions about the structure of the moon's interior.

The shock-waves from the impact were picked up by the seismograph, which had been set up by the astronauts, and the information transmitted back to earth.

The seismograph is an instrument used for detecting earthquakes.

Much to the surprise of the US scientists, the shock waves went on for 30 minutes—over twice as long as had been expected.

One scientist said that it was like ringing a bell and finding the reverberations still coming after 30 minutes.

This means that the old theories about the constitution of the moon will have to be revised. It is thought that the

THE LATEST MOON SHOT Criticism and doubts from world science

By a Keep Left Correspondent

interior of the moon must be much colder and more solid than had been previously predicted.

The astronauts face 21 days in quarantine, like the Apollo 11 crew, to ensure that they have brought back no infection.

Meanwhile, there will be an extensive debriefing which started almost immediately after the splashdown. On this will depend the decision as to whether the third moon landing will go ahead as planned on March 12 next year.

At present there are no plans to change the four-month time gap between the Apollo 12, 13 and 14 missions although there has been mounting criticism of the haste with which the programme is being carried out.

Not enough

Many leading space scientists are of the opinion that there is not enough time between missions to incorporate possible improvements.

Yet in spite of this the American ruling class is forced more and more by the economic crisis to rely on the Apollo programme.

The Voyager programme,

which was to make unmanned landings on the planets, was cancelled and billions of dollars of equipment now lie in cold storage in various space centres throughout the United States with little hope of being used — hardware capable of being landed on the Martian surface by 1970, plans for a giant six-man space station with nuclear propulsion for a manned fly-by of Mars as early as 1978.

Roll in

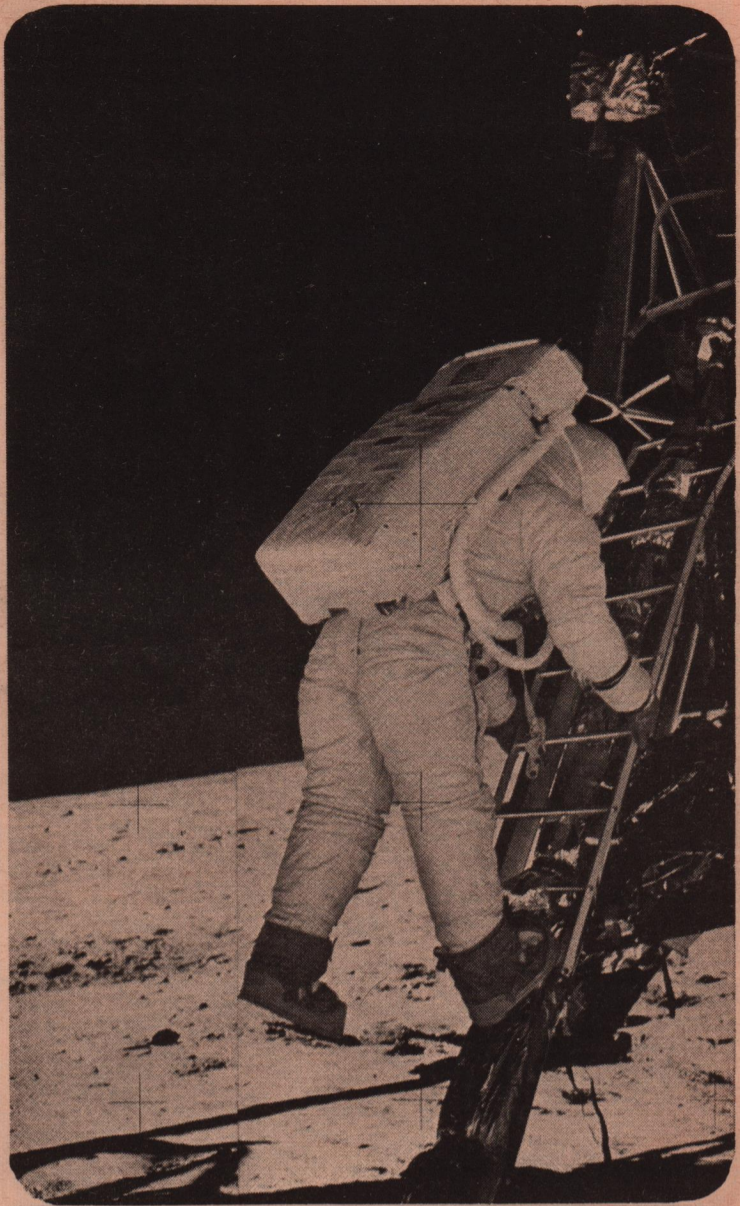
Nevertheless, for the big US corporations the profits continue to roll in with more in the offing.

Fortunes exchanged hands in America this summer as the result of photographs taken by the astronauts on the Apollo 9 flight.

These revealed the possibility of rich new bodies of ore below the earth's surface.

If US plans stay on course (and this is a big if), early in 1972 a new kind of satellite will fly for the first time.

From an orbit 22,000 miles up, the first earth resources technology satellite (ERTS) will survey the globe, photographing its entire surface in 18 days.



Most interesting part of the mission—the second moon walk.

ERTS will use three television cameras whose images can be combined into a single colour photograph, taken by visible or infra-red light.

This will lead to a commercial counterpart of a kind of satellite both the US and the Soviet Union have been flying for years.

'Spy-sats', or reconnaissance

satellites, have 'eyes' of quite incredible resolution which record for example the details of launchpad or airfield activity, even many minutes after take-off.

But they must return data very quickly, and need such intricacies as aircraft with nets to catch film they eject!

The large-scale use of infra-red photography opens up huge possibilities mainly because of its relation to two substances spread almost throughout the earth's surface.

One is water which absorbs infra-red strongly. Land masses and shoals of fish can easily be detected and also the difference between salt water and fresh water.

This could avert famine by detecting the first signs of saltiness that might threaten a large irrigation scheme.

The second substance is chlorophyll, common to all green plant life, which strongly reflects infra-red. When disease attacks a crop, however, even before it is apparent to the naked eye, changes take place which sharply reduce infra-red reflection.

Healthy crop

This appears on the film in blue, in contrast to a healthy crop which shows as red.

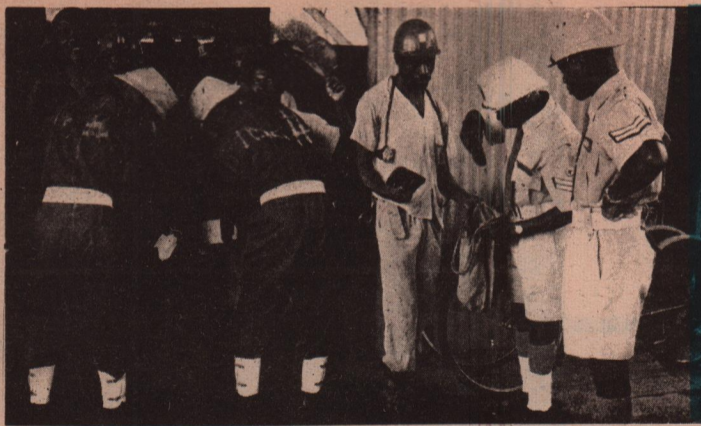
Obviously, the ERTS programme could be of tremendous benefit to mankind but while the profit motive dominates production, there can be no hope of a planned, integrated programme.

The capitalist nation state can only view satellite systems as a threat to 'national security', revealing information about military installations or vital mineral deposits.

Already satellite detection of cracks indicating oil in the Red Sea bed has caused considerable 'embarrassment' in the Middle East.

The programme of the Young Socialists shows the only way forward.

The proletarian revolution on an international scale will release mankind's productive forces from the grip of capital and begin the building of socialism, with science used in the service of man—not for his destruction.



WORLD NEWS ROUND-UP

By Hilary Baldwin

IN Czechoslovakia the Stalinist bureaucracy introduced more measures designed to try to crush the organized workers.

At the massive Skoda motor factory in Pilsen, the workers' council was forcibly discontinued because its existence 'objectively weakened the so-necessary leading role of the Communist Party'.

In the universities the authorities have stopped all courses in pure philosophy, sociology and history.

Emergency laws abolishing civil liberties introduced last August on the anniversary of the Soviet invasion are to stay.

These actions, coupled with the latest proposed state visits for the Husak regime, Pompidou and the Shah of Persia, are reminiscent of the darkest years under Stalin.

As the world economic crisis develops, the Stalinist bureaucracy and imperialism are forced to confront the world through one pair of eyes.

They share one common enemy which is the international working class grow-

ing daily conscious of its own power in both the capitalist countries and those dominated by bureaucracy.

IN THE recent Portuguese 'general election' all 130 seats went to the National Union Party.

There being only one legal party in Portugal, Dr Marcello Caetano's victory will not be taken seriously.

Recent information to come out of Portugal revealed that out of 9,500,000 people, only 1,800,000 have the right to vote.

40 per cent are prohibited from voting because they are unable to read or write.

Those candidates who tried to stand in opposition to the National Union Party were stopped on the grounds that their ideas were 'contrary to the established order'.

Out of the 14,000,000 living in Portuguese territory abroad, less than half can vote.

Salazar's fascist regime deceives no one with its election farces!

THE International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICTFU) published on November 19 signed statements by Spanish workers and students describing tortures undergone in prison in the Basque province of Vizcaya.

The prisoners, members of illegal trade unions and student movements, were beaten and clubbed by police and denied access to a lawyer.

The ICTFU, an anti-communist organization, has presented its report to the Fascist government of Franco, in the illusion that it will intervene in such cases.

It will not admit that the regime is totally behind the police attacks on the working-class movement in Spain.

Negotiations are currently taking place between Spain and the European Economic Community (EEC).

Britain is also pressing for entry to the EEC, and the British capitalist press has expressed anxiety that the uncomfortable issue of the Basque workers should be successfully hidden under the

carpet so that negotiations can proceed 'decently'.

ON NOVEMBER 14 Brigadier Andrew Dunlop, Rhodesian minister for Transport and Power announced that the strike of railway workers due to start on the following day was illegal.

He announced penalties of up to five years' imprisonment for strikers.

The workers affected are members of the all-white Amalgamated Engineering Union.

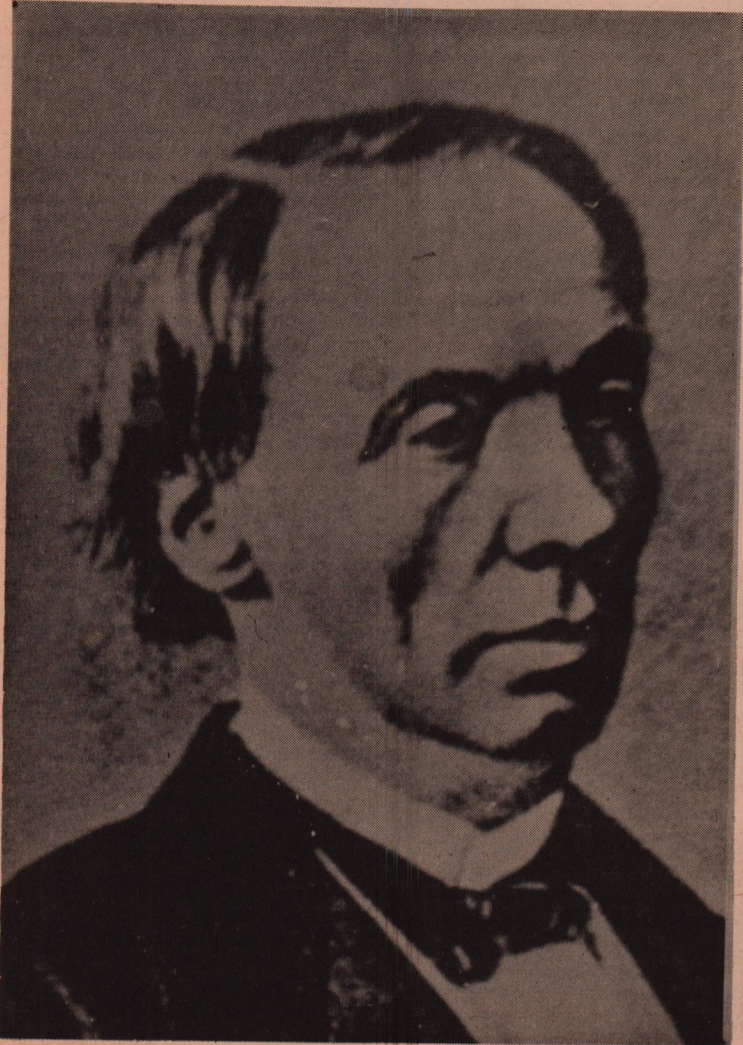
They have been operating with African railwaymen a 'work to rule' since November 1.

Under the new measure they can be suspended for seven days without pay.

The government's action shows clearly that its racialism and brutal repression of the African workers is part of a complete hatred for all sections of workers.

Wilson, a 'Labour' leader, negotiates with such men.

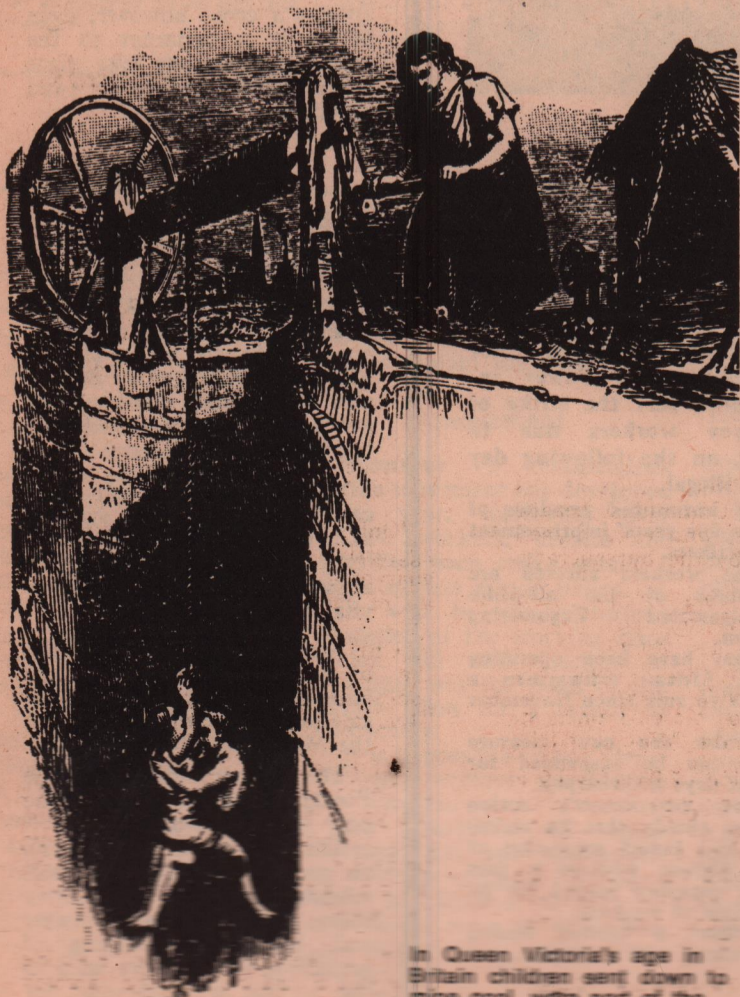
OWEN AND



Robert Owen

'UTOPIAN SOCIALISM'

Part four of 'Our Tradition' by I. McAlman



In Queen Victoria's age in Britain children sent down to mine coal, were part of the growth of exploitation.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION produced the modern industrial working class.

Herded together in factories and slums, this new social force became an object of fear and hatred for the industrialists and their lackeys in the middle class.

But from amongst the 'educated classes' a few individuals emerged who thought more deeply about the degradation and exploitation upon which capitalism was based and how it could be transformed. Among these was a man called Robert Owen.

Owen, a self-made industrialist, was in the words of Marx, a 'utopian socialist'. That is to say he saw the need for a new social system based upon common ownership of land and industry and co-operation to replace the vile grasping for profit which characterized capitalism.

But he could not grasp how this was to be brought about through the revolutionary action of the working class.

He saw the necessary end but could not understand the means to reach it.

Basic idea

Owen's basic idea was that 'man's character is made for him and not by him'.

Whereas contemporaries blamed the poverty of the working class upon their own supposedly criminal and lazy nature, Owen saw that all that was backward in the working class was caused by the social conditions in which they lived.

By changing these conditions men's characters could also be changed. It was not 'human nature' that was the cause of the ills of the world, but the system of capitalism itself.

Only a socialist society based upon co-operation rather than economic competition could create the conditions for advancing mankind culturally, morally and in all other ways.

Before grasping this point clearly Owen had tried more limited ways of changing men's characters.

In his cotton mills at New Lanark he established a 'model factory' where his workers were educated, clothed and housed much better than they were by other employers.

He especially believed that by a good education men's characters could be transformed.

Paternalism

In all of this he treated the workers as if they were little children. This paternalism, the belief that only he could show the working class the way to a new society remained at the centre of his thought.

The result was that he could not see the working class as an independent force that could change society. He believed that by propaganda he could convince members of the ruling class to see the need to establish socialism.

He even canvassed Queen Victoria and the Duke of Wellington for support for his schemes!

The ruling class was certainly not going to hand over its possessions because of a few good arguments.

This belief in the power of propaganda to make people see 'reason' remained with Owen all his life and even today some 'socialists' believe that by simply spreading their ideas they can create a socialist society.

Training

Marxists have quite clearly demonstrated that only through the training of a revolutionary leadership of the working class can socialism be attained.

Underlying this lay a refusal by Owen to face up to the realities of the class struggle. He saw his appeal as increasingly directed towards the working

class but aimed at overcoming class divisions and establishing a socialist society by peaceful means.

Hence his rejection of all political and especially revolutionary action.

Instead he tried to develop socialism within capitalism by establishing small communities based on the principles of common ownership.

He especially tried to do this in America, where he believed he could escape the contamination of capitalist-dominated Europe.

But all these schemes ended in chaos and collapse.

Like all subsequent efforts to establish 'communities' or 'communes' based on socialist principles within capitalism, they were doomed to failure.

The reality

For all such schemes are idealist, that is, they are established by people who try to ignore the realities of the class struggle and substitute trifling reformist plans which are soon swept away.

The limitations of Owen's thought can be understood as a product of the relative lack of political development of the working class at that stage.

When he first formulated his ideas, which he subsequently refused to alter, the working class had not yet emerged as a class-conscious force.

Hence his failure to grasp their power as a class to overthrow capitalism.

By the early 1830s however an enormous development of the working class had taken place. Betrayed by the Reform Act of 1832, they turned increasingly from political to industrial action.

To Owen with his belief in spreading socialism by example and propaganda, these ideas of class struggle were completely wrong.

This conflict helped to destroy the movement for a general union, already weakened by the attacks of the employers and the government.

Yet the effect of Owen's ideas were certainly not wholly negative. The vision of a socialist society had now entered the ranks of the working class. Many militant workers with Owenite ideas participated in Chartism and other working-class movements.

Although not now so optimistic about immediately establishing socialism, they spread their ideas and fought to advance the working class in various ways.

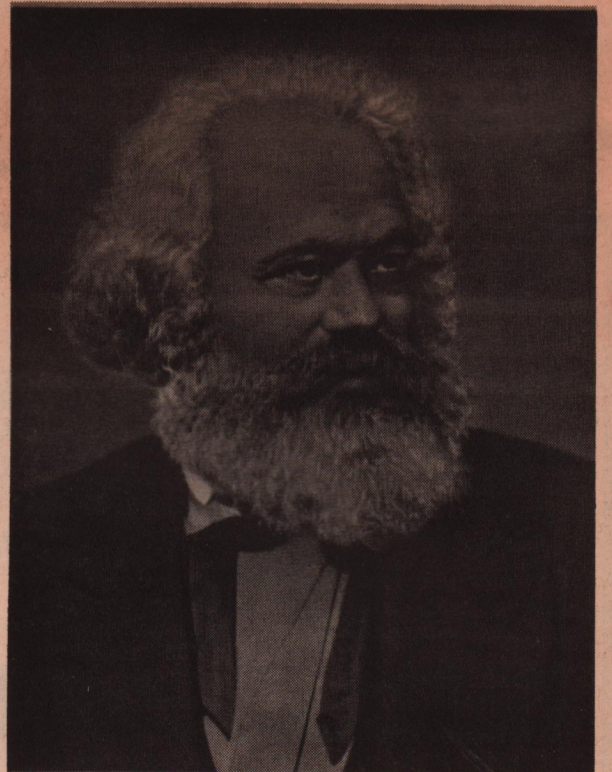
Thus Owenism gave the working class a goal and therefore a confidence to struggle they had not possessed before.

'Utopian socialism' was not solely a British idea. In France, thinkers such as Saint-Simon and Fourier put forward similar theories.

Although these ideas later played a reactionary role in holding back the working class, in their origin they marked an important advance in thought and Marx based his theory on these ideas, removing them from their idealist framework and setting them in the material world of the class struggle.

Overthrow

Only when rooted in historical materialism and the struggle of the working class could these ideas become the basis for overthrowing capitalism and establishing socialism.



Karl Marx, revolutionary economist, who recognized the power of the working class, described Owen as a 'utopian socialist'.

A rapid development of trade unionism took place. General unions were established, especially in the spinning and building trades, covering all of the workers in these industries and spreading throughout the country.

This culminated in the establishment of the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union in 1834 aimed at gathering all workers together in one great union.

The leaders of this union were men, like John Doherty, who were influenced deeply by Owen's ideas. However some of them came increasingly to realize that socialism could only be attained by the methods of class struggle conducted through trade unions.

Engels remarked that the trade unions were excellent schools of class warfare.

In grasping this, these leaders came into conflict with Owen who had set himself at the head of a movement of which he had no real understanding.

In the 1840s Frederick Engels remarked; 'English socialism arose with Owen, a manufacturer, and proceeds therefore with general consideration towards the bourgeoisie and great injustice towards the proletariat in its methods, although it culminates in demanding the abolition of class antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.'

By 'English socialism' Engels meant the social-democratic ideas of the Labour Party which was later formed by the trade unions. That party drew on all that was reactionary in Owenism—its idealism.

Although occasionally mouthing slogans about socialism, social democrats do not begin from the struggle of the working class and so end up being wholehearted supporters of capitalism.

The Young Socialists must fight against all such false ideas. Inspired by Owen's vision of socialism they must take up the revolutionary struggle for Marxism to achieve the socialist revolution.

KEEP LEFT
SPECIAL

1970 WILL BE THE YEAR OF

NEXT YEAR will be commemorated by revolutionaries throughout the world as the year of **LENIN** and **TROTSKY**.

1970 is the year of two historic anniversaries: the birth of Vladimir Lenin on April 22, 1870, and the assassination of Leon Trotsky by a Stalinist agent on August 20, 1940.

1970 will also be a historic year for the Young Socialists, for as well as holding our 10th Annual Conference in Scarborough on April 11 and 12, we shall be preparing, along with our comrades in the French Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme, for an International Conference of Revolutionary Youth in the autumn.

On June 5 we shall take over the Alexandra Palace in London for a massive rally of youth. The theme will be: 'Forward to an international conference in the year of Lenin and Trotsky'.

It is fitting that representatives of the world's revolutionary youth should come together for the first time in western Europe in the year of Lenin and Trotsky, for both were firm advocates of the leading role of working-class youth in building the revolutionary movement.

Lenin's great contribution was the pioneering of the modern revolutionary Marxist party. Under its leadership, the Russian working class carried through the first successful socialist revolution in history.

But above all, Lenin's Bolshevik Party was a movement of the youth.

Middle teens

Revolutionary leaders such as Bukharin, Kamanev and Zinoviev were in their middle teens when they joined Lenin's party.

In fact the average age of the Bolshevik Party at the time of the 1917 revolution was around 21 years — a tribute to the thousands of working-class youth who rallied to the challenge of leadership when the whole of their class was faced with historic tasks.

And in the terrible war years preceding the 1917 revolution, when the whole movement seemed to endorse the treachery of the reformist leaders in supporting the imperialist blood-bath, revolutionary youth spoke out firmly and clearly against the war.

The stand taken by the League of Socialist Youth Organizations inspired Lenin in his struggle to construct a new, Communist International to replace the old organization so discredited by its support for the war.

Role of youth

Lenin's estimation of the role of youth in building the revolutionary party and the International retains all its force to this day:

'Adults who lay claim to lead and teach the workers, but actually mislead them, are one thing: against such people a ruthless struggle must be waged.

'Organizations of youth, however, which openly declare that they are still learning, that their main task is to train workers for the socialist parties, are quite another thing. Such people must be given every assistance.'

For the first time, youth were given pride of place in the workers'

movement. Lenin had no time for careerists and bureaucrats. His experiences in the Russian and international movement had convinced him that working-class youth was the life-blood of the revolutionary party.

Without the support of new generations of workers, the revolutionary party and the International would decay, and its Marxist theory turn into stale phrases.

Trotsky shared Lenin's political estimation of the role of youth. In his struggle to defend the Bolshevik Party from the growth of bureaucracy after the illness and death of Lenin, he turned to the youth as the force to re-activate the tired and dispirited layers of the Party.

When Stalin hit back at Trotsky,

his main blows were aimed at the youth, the Young Communist League and the students, who were purged time and again by the bureaucracy.

Only when the best of the youth had been broken, and the weakest corrupted, did the Stalinists feel secure enough to finally crush the remnants of Lenin's party, the 'old Bolsheviks', who were framed-up and executed in the Moscow trials.

The assassination of Trotsky by a Stalinist agent sent into the Fourth International has a double significance for the Young Socialists. It brought to an end the life of the last survivor of Lenin's Bolshevik Party who remained loyal to the revolution of 1917.

But it failed to prevent Trotsky making his greatest contribution to



Lenin and Trotsky in centre.

LENIN & TROTSKY

WE ARE proud to re-print on the next pages, from the world's first Trotskyist daily 'Workers Press', a letter of protest to the Soviet bureaucracy from surviving children of Bolsheviks murdered by Stalin, and Piotr Yakir's funeral oration at the grave of Alexis Kosterin. These historic pieces are of supreme importance to the Young Socialists as it prepares for the 'Year of Lenin and Trotsky'.

the struggle of the working class for socialism.

That contribution was his Marxist analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Only Trotsky was able to understand all the political implications of the rise of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, and explain scientifically the counter-revolutionary role of the bureaucracy in the struggles of the working class in the capitalist world.

It is Trotsky's theory of bureaucracy, his analysis of the leaderships within the working-class movement, corrupted and broken by the pressure of imperialism on the working class, that provides the only basis for revolutionary struggle against the traitors to the working class in Britain.

Trotsky showed that despite many important differences, Stalinist and Labour party bureaucracies share one thing in common — they both owe their privileges to positions of power within the working-class movement.

They can therefore only be defeated and driven out of the workers' movement by bringing the working class into action against them.

The struggle against bureaucracy, Stalinist and social-democratic, has to be a fight for alternative revolutionary leadership. It was on the basis of this Trotskyist analysis and theory that supporters of Keep Left were able to defeat the Labour Party bureaucracy between 1960 and 1964, and win the leadership of the Young Socialists even while it remained officially under the control of the right wing.

Trotsky's theory

That historic victory was achieved because Keep Left supporters, guided by the Socialist Labour League, worked on the basis of Trotsky's theory of bureaucracy, and the decisive role that the working class must play in breaking its grip on the labour movement.

The Leninist Party, armed with Trotsky's theory of bureaucracy, was therefore crucial in the founding of the Young Socialists as an independent revolutionary youth movement before the 1964 general election which brought Wilson to power.

That is why in our September 27 pre-election rally in London, we carried portraits of Lenin and Trotsky together with those of Marx and Engels.

Without Marxist theory (which today is Trotskyism) and its application to building the revolutionary party, there can be no mass Young Socialists.

This has been confirmed time and again by our ten-year struggle to build the YS both inside and outside the Labour Party.

Special emphasis

That is why in founding the Fourth International, Trotsky insisted that special emphasis be given to the key role of the youth.

The Transitional Programme of the Fourth International, adopted at its founding congress in 1938, called on youth to rally to its banner:

'The Fourth International pays particular attention to the young generation of workers. All of its policies strive to inspire the youth with belief in its own strength and in the future.

'Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can guarantee the preliminary successes in the struggle.

'Only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution. Thus it was, thus it will be.'

Let us ensure that 1970, the year of Lenin and Trotsky, will also be the year of revolutionary youth, the year not only of a really mass Young Socialists in Britain, but a revolutionary youth movement throughout the world.

This is the best, the most effective way youth can honour the memory and work of Lenin and Trotsky.

Surviving children of murdered Bolsheviks protest

STALINISM was built in the USSR by completely liquidating the Bolshevik Party, by massacring its militants from top to bottom, including the supporters of Stalin. From 1935 to 1938, for example, one million Russian militants were arrested, 600,000 were executed and 400,000 were deported.

Stalin and the bureaucracy had to liquidate almost the whole of the Bolshevik Party, from the Party branches to the Politburo, in order to consolidate its domination and exclude the proletariat from power.

The political revolution in the USSR requires, in particular, the renewal of this link with the past of Bolshevism that Stalinism tried to erase forever. That is why this document written in 1967 and published in 'Samizdat I' ('The Voice of the Communist Opposition in the USSR'), which evaded the Stalinist political police, is so important.

The signatories to this letter, all sons and daughters of the Bolshevik cadres assassinated by Stalin and the bureaucracy, represent by their names and by the contents of the letter a direct link with Bolshevism. Reflected in their names is the diversity and richness of the past.

Bukharin, member of the Politburo, leader of the Right Opposition; Antonov-Ovseyenko, responsible for the political leadership of the Red Army, member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1927; Radek, member of the Central Committee, advisor to the German Communist Party, member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1929; Petrovsky, People's Commissar for home affairs, member of the Central Committee, half-hearted supporter of Stalin at first; Shlyapnikov, member of the Central Committee, leader of the workers' opposition; Muralov, one of the leaders of the Moscow Soviet in October 1917; member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1931; Sapronov, leader of the so-called Democratic Centralism group, member of the Left Opposition in 1923; Piatnitsky, president of the railwaymen's union, member of the Central Committee, supporter of Stalin; Serebriakov, one of the three secretaries of the Central Committee in 1919, member of the Left Opposition from 1923 to 1928; Yenukidze, secretary of the executive committee of the Soviets, half-hearted supporter of Stalin; Berzin, colonel, commander of the Latvian regiment in 1917; Kalinin, member of the Politburo, president of the executive committee of Soviets, etc.

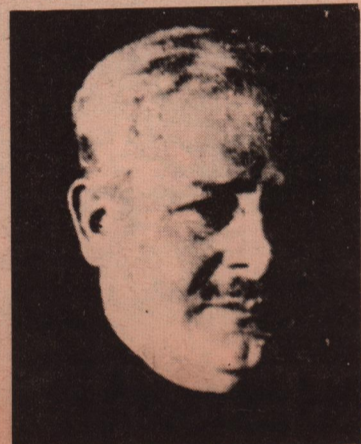
If the number of signatures isn't greater, it is because entire families, like that of Trotsky were assassinated. By this protest against the rehabilitation of Stalin, carried out today in the official organ of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the descendents of the assassinated Bolsheviks express the refusal of millions of workers and intellectuals to yield before the escalation of the rule of force, an escalation which follows naturally from the rehabilitation of the father of concentration camps and counter-revolutionary terror who the bold thinker, Roger Garaudy, in 1952 still called, 'Papa Stalin'.



A. Shlyapnikov



N. I. Bukharin



Yenukidze



N. I. Muralov



Karl Radek



To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR (CPSU) on behalf of the surviving children of the innocent communist victims of Stalin.

TODAY, in speeches, in the press, on television, the 'merits' of Stalin are praised. This represents a political revision of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU.

This troubles us deeply. And not only because our parents and ourselves were, like millions of others, victims of the criminal machine of Stalin. It saddens us to think that the betrayed masses were forced to consent to this arbitrary despotism.

This must not be repeated. The rebirth of the past brings communist ideas into question, discredits our system and legalizes the assassination of millions of innocent people.

All the attempts to whiten the black deeds of Stalin raise the danger of a repetition of the hideous tragedy that struck our Party, our people and the whole communist movement.

The tragedy of the Chinese events obliges all of us to outline necessary safeguards to prevent a repetition of similar catastrophes. Only revealing totally the crimes of Stalin and his supporters can generate movement, consciousness and indignation in all of society needed to destroy all the results of the Stalin cult and make the return of new

cults and new despotisms impossible.

How can one praise Stalin after all that our people and the international communist movement have suffered because of him?

This adulatory praise shackles our movement, weakens our ranks, destroys our power and makes the triumph of communism impossible.

We must celebrate the 50th anniversary of the great October revolution under the flags of the Party, bearing like a torch the immortal name of Lenin, the greatest democracy, collective control of society, control of society by society itself.

To unfurl these flags is the best homage we can pay to the men crushed by the diabolical cult of the individual.

On some of us today there is still an unjustified stigma. Others are doomed to oblivion.

History will bring them back into the heart of the Party, into the heart of the people.

The monument to the victims of Stalin's despotism promised by the 22nd Congress of the Party must be erected to mark the existence of the Soviet state for 50 years.

In these days of celebration, those who fought for a world October will be with us.

Their number cannot be counted: from the eminent leaders of the Party to the soldiers in the ranks of the revolution.

There is no place for the name of a despot on the flags of the Party.

We ask you to take notice of all that is written here and to see our letter as part of the struggle for communism. We hope this letter will allow an irreparable error to be avoided.

SIGNED BY

PIOTR YAKIR, son of E. A. Yakir.

L. PETROVSKY, son of P. G. Petrovsky and grandson of G. I. Petrovsky.

A. BOKI, daughter of G. I. Boki.

A. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO, son of V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko.

G. TROITSKAYA, daughter of Livchitz.

G. AKOULOV, son of I. A. Akoulov.

S. V. STANKOVA (Ossinskaya-Obolevskaya), daughter of communists.

G. POLECHTCHOUK, daughter of N. I. Muralov.

YU JIVLIOUK, son of communists.

V. TERLIN, daughter of M. S. Gorb.

Z. SEREBRIAKOVA, daughter of G. Serebriakova.

The serious crimes of Stalin make all positive judgement of his activity immoral. I am signing precisely this point: YU AIKHENWALD, son of a communist.

S. FEDOROVA, daughter of G. F. Fedorova.

J. KRIAPIVIANSKY, son of N. G. Kriapiviansky.

V. SCHMIDT, son of V. V. Schmidt.

YU LARIN (Bukharin), son of N. I. Bukharin and grandson of Yuri Larin.

S. K. RADEK, daughter of Karl Radek.

A. VSEVIATSKAYA, daughter of communists.

A. GASTEV, son of A. Gastev.

LARISSA BOGORAZ, daughter of a communist.

I. YAKIR, grand-daughter of I. E. Yakir and daughter of P. I. Yakir.

N. NETCHINCHTOHIKOV, son of a communist.

N. N. POPOV, son of N. Popov.

N. N. DEMTCHENKO, son of N. Demtchenko.

It is impossible to forget and to justify the crimes of Stalin in the name of any of his 'services'.

V. SCHVARTZSTEIN, son of a communist.

I. PIATNITSKY, son of O. A. Piatnitsky.

T. BAEVA, daughter of a communist.

R. IANSON, daughter of a communist.

YU SAPRONOV, son of T. V. Sapronov.

K. ZONBERG, son of a communist.

YU N. VAVILOV, son of the academician Nicolas Vavilov, president of the Vaskhnil.

V. BLUMFELD (Svitchis), son of a communist.

M. IVANOV (Kalinin), grandson of M. I. Kalinin.

I. A. SHLYAPNIKOVA, daughter of the friend of Lenin, A. Shlyapnikov.

V. YENUKIDZE, in the name of eight people of a family of Bolsheviks, crushed by Stalin.

ARIA REINGOLDOVNA DIMZE-BERZIN, daughter of R. I. Berzin.

T. SMILGA-POLOUIAN, daughter of communists.

L. ZAVADSKI, son of a communist.

YU KIM, son of a communist.



'The Stalinists attacked the Czechoslovak Communist Party with such fury because they saw in it a mortal danger for themselves personally. . . . Yakhimovitch commenting on the August 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact forces.

comrades who demonstrated in Red Square on August 25 with the slogans of support for Czechoslovakia, its people and government were arrested and beaten up?

This took place in the Year of the Rights of Man, and, what is more, in Red Square.

They must have reached the limit of fear and panic in order to turn on their own citizens, Soviet people. These demonstrators, Pavel Litvinov, Larissa Bogoraz - Daniel and others, were they not supporting a socialist state?

Perhaps, after all, they were supporting Franco, Salazar, the Greek military junta!!!

No, the Stalinists feel that the earth is slipping away beneath their feet, that the mortal hour which history has chosen for them is approaching. Their panic is that of condemned men, it is the panic of living corpses.

But it is necessary to be vigilant! They have in their hands today a powerful weapon, they have in their hands the levers of power, but their hands are frail. They are the hands of criminals.

Communists of the world, stop them before it is too late.

I do not base this upon a simple hypothesis, but upon my personal experience.

On September 27, five individuals carried out a search of my home because I was 'suspected of having stolen 19,000 roubles from the State Bank of the town of Yourmal'.

They went through my flat, they found some political literature concerning events in Czechoslovakia and took it away, including 'Pravda' and 'Izvestia', because comments had been written in the margin on some of the statements. There is no need for the least doubt that 'they' will now have material for a direct intervention of the KGB [i.e. the secret police] and for my arrest.¹



The examining magistrate asked me why I had been so long without working (since April 1 this year), I was sacked while on holiday (for the letter written to Suslov and addressed to the Central Committee).

Besides, I have not been given a registration permit to allow me to join my family.² Everybody knows that without this in the USSR one cannot obtain work even as a porter or be admitted to hospital.

What sort of hypocrisy is it to ask someone unemployed under these conditions: 'Why are you not working?' when it is obvious on whose orders the things just mentioned have been decided!



When a torrent of calumnies floods all our papers, when the fraternal Communist Party of the socialist republic of Czechoslovakia is also slandered, what does a further slander against the former chairman of a collective farm matter?

Those Communist Parties which support the CPSU in its crude mistakes render it, whether they want to or not, the worst of services: they contribute to deceiving the Soviet people, they weaken our country in practice, because they strengthen the adventurist elements within the leadership of the party and weaken the healthy and progressive elements.

We repeat: Come to your senses!

We repeat: Hands off Czechoslovakia!

We repeat: Free the political prisoners!

We repeat: LENINISM YES! STALINISM NO!

¹ Yakhimovitch was indeed arrested in March, 1969.

² This permit, the *propiska*, is required by anyone settling in a Soviet town and it is illegal not to possess one. Without it a

A spectre is haunting Europe: That of catastrophe

By I. A. Yakhimovitch

LENINISM YES! STALINISM NO!

THE following article was written by Ivan A. Yakhimovitch, former chairman of a collective farm in Latvia called 'the Young Guard' and a member of the Communist Party. In 1964 he became well known through the publication of excerpts from his diary in the youth paper 'Komsomolskaya Pravda'.

Early in 1968 he addressed a letter of protest to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union following the trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel which drew attention to discontent among the youth.

'It is stupid to see in them [the rebels and protesters] the enemies of the Soviet power', he wrote, 'and more than stupid to let them rot in prisons and

mock them. For the Party, such a line is equivalent to self-strangulation. Too bad for us if we are not capable of reaching an understanding with these young people. They will create inevitably a new party. Ideas cannot be murdered with bullets, prisons or exile. He who does not understand this is no politician, no Marxist.'

In June 1968 Yakhimovitch was dismissed from his post and condemned to unemployment. He took a stand against the intervention in Czechoslovakia and, in February 1969, he drew up and distributed with Grigorenko a leaflet concerning the suicide of the Czech student Jan Palach.

In March 1969 he was arrested and has not yet been brought to trial.

non-socialism, before the danger which it represents leads to catastrophe.

Whether the Stalinists are conscious of it or not, they fear their own people more than they fear the imperialists.

It is this fear alone which can explain the continuous brain-washing of large sections of the population, the use of methods of intimidation and blackmail, the rude violation of the Constitution, the extreme bureaucratization of the state, the immense network of

and concentration camps.

Is all this socialism?

Where did they get this policy from?

Marxist-Leninism did not put forward this type of 'socialism', it does not include such principles; it knows nothing of such ideas, this is what has to be admitted when all their screen of verbiage has been swept aside and the facts brought into the light of day.

No! a thousand times no!

This is why the 20th Con-

necessity to restore the norms and principles of Leninism.

This is why the whole communist world followed with such close attention and hope the process of democratization in Czechoslovakia.

And this is why the Stalinists attacked the Czechoslovak Communist Party with such fury, because they saw in it a mortal danger for themselves personally; they make a mockery of socialism and communism and of all their principles in order to save their own skins.

SINCE THE END of the Great Patriotic War our people has not known such an uncomfortable situation as that into which it was plunged by the events of August 21, 1968.

To occupy an allied socialist country solely because of a supposed counter-revolution, to occupy a country in which the leading role is played by the Communist Party, without its consent, with contempt for its wishes, is something which runs counter to all the moral conceptions of the Soviet people.

They desire peace and know how to appreciate the friendship and confidence of other peoples.

An old illness: fear, a stupor similar to paralysis, has gripped the souls of millions of men like a rebirth of the servile and degrading fear of the bloody night of Stalinism.

All that gang of Stalinists who have not and never had anything to do with Marxism-Leninism, but who, on the contrary, tended towards fascism, and who often used the methods of fascism, these Stalinists who Khrushchev relegated to the storehouses and corridors of history, considered that the time had come to take their revenge.

How much they resemble those thirsty for revenge in West Germany. They also camouflage themselves behind phoney slogans. They also hope to take revenge!

Can such brutal acts of interference in the affairs of a socialist state strengthen the communist movement? No!

Can they strengthen the authority of the Soviet Union? No! Stalinism has become the principal danger which threatens the unity and solidarity of all countries, the principal danger which threatens peace and progress.

It is undoubted that all Marxist-Leninists must unite their efforts to destroy Stalinism, to destroy this leftist

PIOTR YAKIR is an historian from Moscow and the son of Army Commander I. E. Yakir, who was assassinated by Stalin. Piotr himself, as the son of an 'enemy of the people', spent 17 years in a concentration camp from the age of 14 to the age of 31.

☆

MANY TRUE things have already been said about the dead man. I also loved him and I would like to speak about him without holding back.

I would like to recall my meetings and discussions with him; those meetings which now seem to have been so few and far between. At my last meeting with him I even arrived late.

I went to see him at his invitation; that was when it was most possible to have a conversation with him.

I won't take too much time away from those who are waiting their turn to share their sorrow with friends. I'll only describe one side of Alexis Kosterin, a side that I don't see in many of his generation. I want to talk about his fidelity to his ideals.

This fidelity he preserved pure and unshaken from his youth to the last sigh; to the last moment he raised his fist to ask for oxygen because he could no longer speak.

I know that among the millions of men ruthlessly wiped out by the Stalinist extermination machine, there were many—perhaps the majority—who, because they kept their faith in Marxism-Leninism, had to cross the Styx. [Traditionally the entry into Hell.]

But many of this generation survived. The majority of these survivors were not victims of repression. And all, all betrayed their ideals.

A few isolated men, crouching in their corners and holding their faith deep in their hearts do not change the appalling picture of the degeneracy of an entire generation.

Some of the representatives of this generation, of course, speak about 'sacred ideals' to which they swear fidelity but they serve the Stalinists faithfully, the Stalinists who mock ideals whatever they are.

Many of these flunkys hope to get a few scraps from the leftovers off the banquet table of our rulers. The Christian ethic calls such people Pharisees.

Others behave like this out of fear. They are repulsive hypocrites who in public praise and flatter the powerful and then turn around and criticize them in private confidences.

Some of them, having already fouled themselves like this, then don't hesitate to denounce their erstwhile and trusting confidantes when they sense danger.

Most of these people are fanatics and petty bourgeois.

They have never read the works of the creators of Marxist-Leninist theory; they are stuffed with prejudices and ready to dress up any drivel with the name of Marxism-Leninism, socialism, communism and other 'isms' in order to receive their credentials from the authorities.

They will support all the undertakings of those in power including exploits worthy of the Black Hundreds; they are

ready to do even better.

These are the people who cried 'crucify him' to Pontius Pilate; the people who flood the streets of our cities and villages like a tidal wave, howling for the execution of the 'enemies of the people'.

This is how they dealt with Kosterin in his Party organization and in the Presidium of the Writers' Union.

How could one not be struck by the strength of this man's spirit; this man who preserved his convictions in the midst of this dark mass of people, gangrenous with prejudices and preconceived ideas; this man who preserved his convictions through the tortures of the 'house of Vaskov', the horrible Magadan where he was shut up in May 1938 and Kolyma concentration camp; preserved his convictions through 're-education' by the pharisees and hypocrites and the howls of the fanatics and petty bourgeoisie.

Looking at the life of this man one can only say, 'Truly, the men of October were a strong generation'.

I loved Alexis Kosterin because of his great spirit; I loved him as a citizen. An empathy which flowed from our somewhat shared destinies no doubt played a part too. But I loved him particularly for the clarity of his thought, for his fidelity to his ideas.

It's no secret that many who endured the same trials as Alexis Kosterin lost faith in the ideals they had fought for in their youth. They considered the ideas, and not only men, responsible for what happened to them.

Alexis Kosterin drew other lessons. When we were together he spoke to me like this:

✦ **Marxism-Leninism, no more than any other ideological system, is not totally pure nor genuine in all its parts. It carries with it the mark of the individuality of its creators—who were men and not gods—and of the period in which it was created—and we know times change.**

There is therefore nothing astonishing if men who specialize in this study find in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin all the quotations necessary to justify the blackest deeds of all the Stalins, Krushchevs and Brezhnevs.

It's a very easy thing to do in our country, given the method of quotation used here; a method that shatters the

Funeral oration at the grave of Alexis Kosterin

BY PIOTR YAKIR

thought expressed in a passage, not once but often into many fragments.

The quotation is often completed with statements entirely strange to the original text.

This is done with impunity because in our country no organ of the press would dare to contradict such falsifications. There are many volunteers ready to shovel out and distribute this pre-digested food.

This exploitation of the ideas and names sacred to our people has created the 'moral' base on which Stalinism in the past and neo-Stalinism today have developed. It's been difficult even for me to free myself of this hallucination.

For a long time I too thought that the policies carried out consciously to consolidate Stalin's personal dictatorship were a series of errors of 'detail' committed in the local and Central Committees. I fought against these 'errors' of 'detail' and 'deviations'.

I always emerged from these

struggles scarred and bruised but sometimes luck was with me and I threw myself into tilting at windmills again absolutely certain that this was exactly what my duty as a Party member consisted of.

It wasn't until after 1934, after the assassination of Kirov, that I started to have doubts. But the veil didn't finally fall from my eyes until the "house of Vaskov". It was only then that I understood that Marxism-Leninism had been buried in our country and Lenin's party destroyed.

I am leaving aside the question of whether or not his final conclusion is correct.

But I must bow before the integrity of this man, his purity, his courage and his incredible fortitude. Imagine a man convinced that in spite of the doctrine they profess, men who hold nothing sacred are leading this country.

Imagine that he knows that these leaders will stop at nothing to close the mouths of whoever tries to unmask them.

As if that were not enough, he also had endured the tortures of the 'house of Vaskov' and years at the Kolyma concentration camp!

If you have imagined all that then bow your head again to Alexis Kosterin. Without having time to heal from all he'd endured he intervened on behalf of the Chetchens and the Ingushes.

At once the pack of pharisees, hypocrites and fanatics fell on him. He was again expelled from the Party and he expected his arrest at any moment. A trial beyond comprehension for those who did not pass through 'the house of Vaskov' and Kolyma or through the other numerous camps in our country.

But Kosterin survived this new test.

There were communists who defended him, kept him out of prison and got him reinstated in the Party. I speak to all those militants, and above all to one communist whose name I won't give because I was not authorized to do so—he never forgot, to his last day.

Even after this terrible moral test, Alexis Kosterin entered into struggle for his ideals.

He intervened on behalf of the Germans in the Lower

Volga, on behalf of the Tartars of the Crimea and on behalf of other national minorities. He spoke out against the re-birth of Stalinism. . . .

But how can I enumerate all that this man with a half-broken heart but such a strong soul was able to do? He tried to make us, his friends and companions at arms, share his faith. I remember one of our conversations in which he countered our objections with the following arguments:

✦ Of course the so-called advanced capitalist countries have outstripped us in social development by an entire epoch. They have satisfied the material and spiritual needs of their citizens much better than we, they have guaranteed the free development of the individual better than we.

But have they attained the ideal?

Can a man whose life does not satisfy him whether because of birth or unhappy circumstances—can he hope to break out of the vicious circle in which he is caught?

Have they created equal conditions for the development of everyone?

Has misery and crime completely disappeared?

Have social, national, racial inequalities been liquidated?

What do you propose as an alternative to this system which we see is far from being perfect?

He was silent for several minutes then answered himself:

✦ The only alternative to this system and to Stalinist 'socialism' is Marxist-Leninist socialism, pulled out of the mud, regenerated and developing in liberty.

How full of joy he was at the birth of democracy in Czechoslovakia! Hearing the news about the process of democratization there, he burst out:

✦ You see! That's what I told you! There it is, the alternative to capitalism and to Stalinism!

He had complete confidence in the Czech Communist Party and the Czech people.

✦ But Czechoslovakia is not Russia! People there know what democracy is. They will not endure the barbarism forced on them for long. Stalin made a mistake.

After a pause he added ironically:

✦ He swallowed a delicacy that his barbaric stomach couldn't digest.

✦ Czechoslovakia is not Touva or Mongolia! It's an advanced European country with the richest democratic traditions. I think that little Czechoslovakia will have enough moral strength to sweep the whole socialist world along with it.

The Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia marked him deeply.

I believe this intervention brought the fatal end closer by putting too heavy a burden on his heart.

He followed the evolution of events in Czechoslovakia closely. He seemed to want to hold back the disease that was keeping him in his bed so that he could fly to this people he believed in and become a soldier in their ranks.

Until his death, until his last sigh, he believed in the victory of the Czechoslovak people because he believed in the strength of the ideas that illuminated the way they had taken and which had illuminated his whole life.

I bow once again before the strength of this incredible spirit, before his courage, and before this fidelity to his ideals. I ask you to join me.

I would like to be like him; I would like those close to me, family and friends, to be like him.

Kosterin continually intervened on behalf of national minorities



Kosterin continually spoke out against Stalinism and intervened on behalf of the Tartars, expelled from their lands by Stalin and still not allowed to return.

LENIN AND TROTSKY ADDRESS THE YOUTH



Letter from Leon Trotsky

From the youth publication
'Under the Banner' 1922

Reprinted from 'Young Socialist',
September 1969.

Dear Comrades,

The idea of publishing a journal to introduce progressive proletarian youth to the materialist conception of the world seems to me to be in the highest degree valuable and fruitful.

The older generation of workers and communists which is now playing the leading role in the party and in the country awoke to conscious political life ten, 15, 20 or more years ago.

Their thought started its critical work on the policeman, the time-keeper and the foreman, worked up to tsarism and capitalism, and then, most often in prison and exile, turned to questions of the philosophy of history and the scientific cognition of the world.

Thus, before the revolutionary proletarian reached the very import-

ant questions of the materialist explanation of historical development, he had already managed to accumulate a certain sum of ever-widening generalizations, from the particular to the general, on the basis of his own experience of life.

The young worker of the present day awakens in the environment of the Soviet state, which is itself a living criticism of the old world. The general conclusions which were given to the older generation of workers in struggle and which were reinforced in consciousness with the strong nails of personal experience are now received by the workers of the younger generation ready-made, directly from the hands of the state in which they live; from the hands of the party which rules this state.

This means, of course, a gigantic step forward in the sense of creating the conditions for further political and theoretical education of the toilers. But at the same time, on this incomparably higher historical level reached by the work of the older generation, there arise new problems and new difficulties for the generation of the young.

CONTRADICTION

The Soviet state is a living contradiction of the old world, of its social order, of its personal relations, of its outlooks and beliefs. But at the same time the Soviet state itself is still full of contradictions, gaps, lack of co-ordination, vague fermentation—in a word, of phenomena in which the inheritance of the past is interwoven with the shoots of the future.

In such a deeply transitional, critical, and unstable epoch as ours, the education of the proletarian vanguard requires serious and reliable theoretical foundations. To prevent the great events, mighty surges and ebbs, rapid changes of tasks and methods of the party and the state from disorganizing the consciousness of the young worker and from breaking down his will even before he crosses the threshold of his independent responsible work, it is necessary to arm his thought and his

will with the materialist attitude.

To arm his will, and not only his thought, we say, since in an epoch of great worldwide upheavals more than at any other time our will is capable not of collapsing, but of being tempered—but only on condition that it is supported by scientific understanding of the conditions and causes of historical development.

On the other hand, precisely in this kind of epoch of great change like ours—especially if it is prolonged, i.e., if the tempo of revolutionary events in the West turns out to be slower than might be hoped—it is very probable that attempts will be made by various idealistic and semi-idealistic philosophical schools and sects to gain control of the consciousness of the working youth.

Caught by events unawares—without previous rich experience of practical class struggle—the thought of the working youth may prove defenceless against the various doctrines of idealism, which are in essence a translation of religious dogmas into the language of sham philosophy.

All these schools, for all the variety of their idealistic, Kantian, empirio-critical and other appellations, amount in the last analysis to making consciousness, thought, cognition precede matter, and not the other way around.

The task of the materialist education of working youth consists in revealing to them the basic laws of historical development, and from these basic laws, the highest and most important one, namely the law which says that the consciousness of people is not a free, independent psychological process, but a function of the material economic basis, that is, it is conditioned by it and serves it.

The dependency of consciousness on class interests and relations, and of the latter on the economic organization, appears most plainly, most openly and most harshly in a revolutionary epoch. With this irreplaceable experience we must help working youth to strengthen in their consciousness the fundamentals of the Marxist method.

But this is not all. Human society itself, both by its historical roots and by its contemporary economy, extends into the world of natural history. We must see contemporary man as a link in the whole development which starts from the first tiny organic cell, which came in its turn from the laboratory of nature, where the physical and chemical properties of matter act.

He who has learned to look with a clear eye on the past of the whole world, including human society, the animal and vegetable kingdoms, the solar system and the endless systems around it, will not start to hunt for keys to the secrets of the universe in ancient 'holy books', those philosophical fairy tales of primitive infidelity.

And he who does not admit the existence of mystical heavenly forces, capable at will of intruding upon personal or social life and directing it to this side or that, who does not believe that want and suffering will find some kind of higher reward in other worlds, will stand with his legs firmer and stabler on our earth, will more boldly and more confidently seek support for his creative work in the material conditions of society.

OUTLOOK

The materialist world outlook does not only open a wide window on the whole universe, but it also strengthens the will. It is also the only thing which makes contemporary man a man. He still, it is true, depends on difficult material conditions but he already knows how to overcome them, and takes part consciously in the construction of the new society, based at once on the highest technical skill and the highest solidarity.

Giving proletarian youth a materialist education is a supreme task. And to your journal, which wants to take part in this work of education, I wish success with all my heart.

With communist and materialist greetings,

L. Trotsky.

February 27, 1922.

The tasks of the Youth Leagues

Extracts from Lenin's speech
at the third all-Russia
Young Communist League
Congress, October 2, 1920.

Today I would like to talk on the fundamental tasks of the Young Communist League and, in this connection, on what the youth organizations in a socialist republic should be like in general.

It is all the more necessary to dwell on this question because in a certain sense it may be said that it is the youth that will be faced with the actual task of creating a communist society. For it is clear that the generation of working people brought up in capitalist society can, at best, accomplish the task of destroying the foundations of the old, the capitalist way of life, which was built on exploitation.

At best it will be able to accomplish the tasks of creating a social system that will help the proletariat and the working classes to retain power and lay a firm foundation, which can be built on only by a generation that is starting to work under the new conditions, in a situation in which relations based on the exploitation of man by man no longer exist.

And so, in dealing from this angle with the tasks confronting the youth, I must say that the tasks of the youth in general, and of the Young Communist Leagues and all other organizations in particular,

might be summed up in a single word: learn.

Of course, this is only a 'single word'. It does not reply to the principal and most essential questions: what to learn, and how to learn? And the whole point here is that, with the transformation of the old, capitalist society, the upbringing, training and education of the new generations that will create the communist society cannot be conducted on the old lines.

The teaching, training and education of the youth must proceed from the material that has been left to us by the old society. We can build communism only on the basis of the totality of knowledge, organizations and institutions, only by using the stock of human forces and means that have been left to us by the old society. Only by radically remoulding the teaching, organization and training of the youth shall we be able to ensure that the efforts of the younger generation will result in the creation of a society that will be unlike the old society, i.e., in the creation of a communist society.

That is why we must deal in detail with the question of what we should teach the youth and how the youth should learn if it really wants to justify the name of communist youth, and how it should be trained so as to be able to complete and consummate what we have started.

I must say that the first and most natural reply would seem to be that the Youth League, and the youth in general, who want to advance to communism, should learn communism.

But this reply—'learn communism'—is too general. What do we need in order to learn communism? What must be singled out from the sum of general knowledge so as to acquire a knowledge of communism?

Here a number of dangers arise, which very often manifest themselves whenever the task of learning communism is presented incorrectly, or when it is interpreted in too one-sided a manner.

Naturally, the first thought that enters one's mind is that learning communism means assimilating the sum of knowledge that is contained in communist manuals, pamphlets and books.

But such a definition of the study of communism would be too crude and inadequate. If the study of communism consisted solely in assimilating what is contained in communist books and pamphlets, we might all too easily obtain communist text-jugglers or braggarts, and this would very often do us harm, because such people, after learning by rote what is set forth in communist books and pamphlets, would prove incapable of combining the various branches of knowledge, and would be unable to act in the way communism really demands.

MISFORTUNE

One of the greatest evils and misfortunes left to us by the old, capitalist society is the complete rift between books and practical life; we have had books explaining everything in the best possible manner, yet in most cases these books contained the most pernicious and hypocritical lies, a false description of capitalist society.

That is why it would be most mistaken merely to assimilate book knowledge about communism. No longer do our speeches and articles merely reiterate what used to be said about communism, because our speeches and articles are connected with our daily work in all fields.



Without work and without struggle, book knowledge of communism obtained from communist pamphlets and works is absolutely worthless, for it would continue the old separation of theory and practice, the old rift which was the most pernicious feature of the old, bourgeois society.

It would be still more dangerous to set about assimilating only communist slogans. Had we not realized this danger in time, and had we not directed all our efforts to averting this danger, the half million or million young men and women who would have called themselves Communists after studying communism in this way would only greatly prejudice the cause of communism.

The question arises: how is all this to be blended for the study of communism? What must we take from the old schools, from the old kind of science? It was the declared aim of the old type of school to produce men with an all-round education, to teach the sciences in general.

'Genteel' methods are no longer valid—if we want to win we will have to fight ...

says young London teacher

'10,000 TEACHERS marched through London yesterday determined to force the Burnham Committee's derisory £50 offer back down the throats of the management panel and win their £135-a-year demand.' (Workers Press November 21 1969).

AS workers all over the world are thrown into conflict with the employers, fighting for a decent standard of living, so are the teachers.

They now realize that 'genteel' methods are no longer valid and if they want to win their pay claim they will have to fight.

The cost of living has risen rapidly over the last few years and in spite of the increase in pay earlier this year teachers now find themselves worse off than they were two years ago.

Is it any wonder that they turned down the meagre £50 offered by the Burnham Committee? They have now followed the example of other low-paid workers by resorting to strike action.

Those who feel that teachers will not fight are sadly mistaken. On November 20 we saw the biggest demonstration of any one section of workers since 1926.

Without leadership however this militant wave amongst teachers will be channelled simply into a form of protest. The National Union of Teachers' leadership has shown already that it is not prepared to go far enough.

By selecting schools for a two-week stoppage from December 1, the executive showed that it was not prepared to fight all the way.

When the teacher members



A section of the young teachers who marched in London on November 21.

A growing feeling for more decisive action

of the All Trades Unions Alliance carried banners calling for a national strike on the demonstration in London, officials tried to stop them.

None of the so-called 'left' groups called for mass national action.

There is however a growing feeling, particularly amongst young teachers, that half-day strikes and selective school strikes are going to prove insufficient.

BORNE OUT

This is borne out by the fact that 5,000 schools applied to go out on strike. (The executive selected only 300).

The Communist Party, in the face of this growing militancy, has said the time is not ripe and in this way they actively prepare for the teachers' defeat.

In the period we are now

facing there is no place for protests from the 'lefts'. The time has come for teachers to prepare for national action in order to defeat the executive and win their claim.

Militancy in itself is not enough, nor is an increase in trade union consciousness. They are both a big step forward for the teachers but the struggle must be linked with those of other workers.

The teachers themselves were united in action—the NUT and the National Association of Schoolmasters fought together.

Few parents, as the capitalist press makes out, think that the teachers are jeopardizing the children's safety.

As a young teacher myself I would like to say that we are not only fighting for more money but against cuts in education expenditure (which means unemployment, espe-

cially amongst young teachers).

We are against a system which gives children old school buildings, outdated equipment and forces them into oversize classes.

To ensure a decent education for children it requires a struggle against capitalism.

FEW REFORMS

The boom period is over. Education under the present system is stifled.

What has been the result of the education reports of the late 50s and early 60s?

Few reforms have been implemented.

The teachers must realize that their struggle is a fight against the government's incomes policy. They must organize with other workers and prepare for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

15-YEAR-OLD George Davies, Chairman of the Newcastle West YS branch asks :

Who's to blame?

DANGER is part of a miner's life but it is something with which his children have to live as well.

At the end of October disaster struck a small mining village known as Nelson's Village near Cramlington in the North East of England.

A family of nine were digging for coal at the site of an open seam, a spot where many villagers got their fuel free.

Two of the children, Peter Lonsdale (8) and his sister Mary (13) were buried alive when a bank under which they were digging gave way and collapsed on top of them.

Villagers rushed to the scene and scraped the clay away from the two children with their bare hands.

One child received the kiss of life. Both were taken to Newcastle General Hospital for emergency treatment.

WARNINGS

There have been repeated warnings about the danger of this particular coal site but the question which arises is who is to blame for such a disaster?

Is it the Coal Board who bear a deep responsibility still for the death toll of Aberfan in Wales, or is it the council who are fully aware of the position?

There has got to be someone in authority who could prevent these tragedies happening.

Does there always have to be death or injury before something serious is done?

Another question which we must surely raise is: why is it that in a mining village workers are reduced to picking coal out of an open site?

It raises more clearly than ever that only workers' control of the nationalized coal industry without compensation can provide the answer to either danger and death or coal at a price no one can buy.

Anna Athow reports on latest university developments

THE MOOD inside the London colleges is more serious than last year.

Many students, whipped into the big protest demonstration on Vietnam in October 1968, and into the London School of Economics escapade, are thinking again.

Largely student-based revisionist groups led students along completely opportunistic lines into dead-end protests against Wilson or adventurist confrontations with the authorities.

At the beginning of this term, the surface euphoria having died away, these revisionists were in crisis.

In contrast to this the Young Socialist Student Societies took into the universities a Marxist analysis of imperialism and an understanding of the revolutionary role of the working class.

We fought consistently on our independent Trotskyist programme and sought to bring to students the experiences of the Young Socialists

and the Socialist Labour League in the labour and youth movements.

We continued our consistent work this term in a changed political situation.

The linked crisis of imperialism and Stalinism has deepened. The Labour government's policies are more openly anti-working class and anti-student.

Most significant is the massive rise of the working class in western Europe. They have moved into enormous industrial and political struggles.

Prepare

'Workers Press', the first daily Trotskyist paper, was brought out by the Socialist Labour League in line with these developments.

Its task is to prepare the revolutionary leadership of the working class for the taking of power.

It has already made a tremendous impact in the universities.

Serious students, attracted to socialism but perplexed by the futility of adventurism,

protest or purely student activity, find an answer in this weapon of the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists.

The paper, coupled with the Keep Left, has attracted new layers of students.

In London we have recruited from all sections: Labourites fed up with Wilson's policies, foreign students from the Middle East, India and other countries, art students, film students, science students and some from the Communist Party.

The Young Socialists Student Societies have built up steady sales of the 'Workers Press' and the Keep Left in all the London universities.

Above all the daily paper has played a very important role in breaking the isolation of the student movement from the working class and posing a real political relationship.

Not alliance, assistance or 'detonation' but a struggle for Marxist theory through the building of a revolutionary party.

In order to recruit new members to the YSSS we have held regular meetings on such questions as Northern Ireland, Stalinism, and the basic prin-

ciples and perspectives of Marxism.

New students work with us both in selling the 'Workers Press' and 'Marxist', our theoretical magazine, in the university and in recruiting with Keep Left in the local Young Socialists' branches.

Currently a group of film students are planning to enter the Young Socialists' national film competition.

Meeting

On November 19 London students campaigned for a meeting on the 'Workers Press', which was held at University College.

It featured the professionally-made films of the Young Socialists and the 'Workers Press'.

Speakers were Mike Banda (Editor of 'Workers Press') and Sheila Torrance, National Secretary of the Young Socialists.

Similar meetings have been held in other universities up and down the country.

Mike Banda emphasized the necessity for students to study Marxist theory as the basis for

BOOK REVIEW PAGE



Svetlana Alliluyeva

Factually revealing but confused

Reviewed by
Karen Blick

DEVLIN—no theory for the students



N. Ireland students march for civil rights

Bernadette Devlin's book is interesting because she gives an account of the student movement in Northern Ireland throughout the recent period of the upsurge of the working class.

She reviews in it her own development from a non-political spectator at the first Civil Rights demonstration in August 1968, through the demonstration in Derry on October 5, to the setting up of People's Democracy in Queen's University soon afterwards.

The autobiography is interesting because it is an honest documentation of the events and developments within the student movement during the period.

From it we can analyse the trends in the movement and understand its nature.

The biggest and most glaring weakness that emerges from the autobiography is the almost total lack of any theory with regard to the understanding of the class forces in society. Bernadette Devlin tells us herself that her first feeling was one of dissatisfaction with the system.

This is quite all right as far as it goes. Many people, however, are dissatisfied with the system; the vast majority of the working class for instance. The task facing the class today is one of building a revolutionary leadership that can overthrow the system which is at the root of all the discontent.

To do this the working class needs a leadership which is prepared theoretically. Bernadette Devlin analyses the situation from the level of

consciousness that she herself has reached.

She does not see the need to understand events in view of the historical lessons that have already been learned by the working class in Ireland, in Britain or internationally in the course of 300 years of its history.

If the 'leadership' of the working class has nothing to offer the movement in terms of the lessons, defeats, betrayals and victories of the past, then the working class has to pay a very high price in learning these lessons afresh.

This is not a fault of Bernadette Devlin only. The whole of the student movement internationally is permeated with this anti-theory feeling. Her big theoretical weakness leads to very superficial evaluations of the other leaders of People's Democracy and the Civil Rights Association.

Betty Sinclair, executive member of the central committee of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, she sees as someone that can merely be laughed out of existence and out of her position on the committee of the CRA.

Yet Betty Sinclair is well known for her Stalinist role in the tenants' struggles, especially in the Belfast area.

Of Eamonn McCann and Michael Farrel, two of the leading lights of People's Democracy and of the Northern Ireland Labour Party Young Socialists she says, '(they) are the two people who are doing the thinking of the left in Northern Ireland and who will in the end create its political philosophy'.

In an interview in 'New Left Review' published in June 1969 McCann admitted that they

Continued on page 15 →

Reviewed by
Sarah Hannigan

'Only One Year'
By Svetlana Alliluyeva
Hutchinson 1969 35s.
THE AUTHOR of the book, Svetlana Alliluyeva, is the daughter of Stalin.

She describes the memories of her life in the Soviet Union both before and after the death of her father in 1953. She also gives her political reasons for seeking asylum in the United States.

Brought up in the Kremlin, she was a witness to the corruption and degeneracy of the Soviet bureaucracy.

But unlike a growing number of oppositionists in the Soviet Union, her solution to Stalin's crimes is to reject communism and seek an idealist haven within capitalism.

In Svetlana's memoirs are countless examples of the privileges enjoyed by the ruling group in the Soviet Union.

They have special hospitals, flats and sumptuous summer residences.

In his late years Stalin gave lavish banquets where his political cronies got so drunk they had to be carried away by their personal bodyguards.

Racialism is another aspect of the degeneracy of the bureaucracy. The author herself is prevented from marrying an Indian since it was out of keeping with the memory of her 'great' father.

She refers to numerous incidents of discrimination against Jews and a group of Negroes, descended from slaves, living in the Caucasus.

All the top bureaucrats, in keeping with their theory of building socialism in one country, are arrogant nationalists.

Svetlana tells of her terror of Stalin's regime as it affected her family. Her mother committed suicide in despair at Stalin's repressive measures. Two of her aunts were imprisoned because they knew too much.

She also refers to the execution

of Soviet volunteers returning from the war against fascism in Spain.

After the defeat of Hitler, Soviet prisoners of war were considered traitors and immediately dispatched to forced labour camps in Siberia.

The book pinpoints the revival of Stalinism in the Soviet Union in recent years.

Svetlana correctly points out that so-called 'anti-Stalinists' such as Khrushchev had been close collaborators of her father's since the 1920s and accomplices of the very crimes they denounced.

The cult of the individual as an explanation of the Stalin period merely excused the present leaders of the Soviet Communist Party.

With the downfall of the Khrushchev regime the old Stalin-worshippers began to reassert themselves. Svetlana was told in confidence: 'Your father was a great man. Just wait, he will be remembered yet'.

The directress of the Stalin museum in Georgia came to see her to announce that Brezhnev had sanctioned the reopening of the museum.

The trial of writers Daniel and Sinyavsky, for writing books critical of Soviet society, was seen by older members of the writers' institute as a return to 1937.

Although Svetlana's book is factually very revealing her political conclusions should be completely rejected.

The fact that Stalin's own daughter could turn to religion and acceptance of the capitalist system is an indication of the political bankruptcy of the bureaucracy.

The main aspect of the Soviet state that she criticizes is its interference in the rights of Soviet intellectuals and professional workers.

She complains about the restriction of foreign travel, the lack of suitable accommodation, the difficulty in getting literature published.

She never once mentions the conditions of the working class or its loss of political power.

In spite of Svetlana's moral objections to Stalinism her poli-

tical ideas are still very much akin to her father's.

In one section of her book she refers to Lenin's political differences with Stalin and admits that art and literature flourished in the 1920s as it has never been allowed to do since.

Nevertheless her final conclusion is: 'Lenin laid the basis for a one-party system, for terror and inhuman repression of all dissenters. . . . He was the true father of everything that Stalin later developed to its further limits.'

Significantly she has the same attitude as her father to the liberal Provisional government that came to power in February 1917.

Until Lenin returned to Russia in April 1917, Stalin was supporting this fake Liberal government and not calling for a revolution to overthrow it and set up a socialist state.

Svetlana said: 'The provisional government had a better understanding than the Bolsheviks of the historical problems and needs of that immense and disorderly peasant country.'

'It knew what the country needed.'

'Lenin's proletarian revolution took place prematurely. It had been premature, historically groundless and unjustifiable. It was from this that all the sorry results had stemmed.'

Svetlana decided to avoid a struggle with the Soviet bureaucracy, not 'to go back and openly break with the party, to criticize or protest'. She objected to violence within the Soviet Union, whose social system she describes as state capitalist. But she manages to accept the violence of the capitalist system responsible for such atrocities as the Pinkville massacre.

Many genuine socialist oppositionists are taking a different path. Their stand against the Soviet bureaucrats and their examination of the historic reasons for the degeneration of the Soviet state will lead them to Trotsky's position that the bureaucracy must be overthrown and workers' democracy established.

The 'natural' solution

Reviewed by
Roger Horrocks

'Rights of Man'
by Thomas Paine
published by
Penguin Books, 7s.

'RIGHTS OF MAN' was written in 1791 to defend the French Revolution of 1789 and the American War of Independence of 1776.

As such, it is the clearest and classic defence of the revolutionary bourgeoisie that smashed the old feudal aristocracy in France and fought a revolutionary war of national independence in America.

'Rights of Man' expressed the whole-hearted fervour and optimism of the rising bourgeois class that had to break the old economic restrictions of feudalism:

'... the Augean stable of parasites and plunderers became too abominably filthy to be cleansed, by anything short of a complete and universal revolution.' (P. 69.)

No pacifism for Thomas Paine and the revolutionary bourgeoisie!

It most clearly exhibits the idealism of the 18th century, which conceived of the 'rights of man' as inherent in nature, and saw history as a development in man's ideas towards the 'natural' solution—democracy and 'equality'.

plation of the rights of man.' Engels gave the best judgement of this philosophy:

'... this kingdom of reason was nothing more than the idealized kingdom of the bourgeoisie; this eternal Right found its realization in bourgeois equality before the law . . . ' (Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.)

Thus Paine is able to see the evils of economic inequality: 'It is by distordedly exalting some men, that others are distordedly debased . . . ' (P. 81.)

But he is unable to understand the origins of this inequality in class society. For him, 'government' is the source of all evil in society and so if man can only work out a better system in his head he can then change society.

'The French revolution . . . has apparently burst forth like a creation from chaos, but it is no more than the consequence of a mental revolution priorly existing in France. The mind of the nation had changed beforehand, and the new order of things has naturally followed the new order of thoughts.'

This is like the anarchists' hatred of 'the State', and their wish to have revolution 'in the mind'—except of course that today these ideas are thoroughly reactionary.

Interestingly enough Paine held up the United States as the country where all the evils of repressive and authoritarian government had been abolished—yet today, with the immense contradictions of imperialism exploding in the big cities of

of a massive military and bureaucratic apparatus to smash the working class.

Finally it is important to realize that though Paine was the inspirer of 'Red Republicans' in England and France after the French revolution, he never adopted a socialist position.

The great exponent of radicalism, he always praised the 'reciprocal' interests of capital and labour, saying that workers and employers needed each other!

Of course, the famous 'Rights of Man' drafted by the National Assembly of revolutionary France show very clearly their class origin:

'27: The right of property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it . . . ' But, only 27 years after this book was written, Karl Marx the great fighter for the liberation of the working class, was born.

Idealism became reactionary as the working class emerged as a new revolutionary force to overthrow capitalism—and it is by studying books such as 'Rights of Man' that Young Socialists today can understand how Marxism overthrew previous philosophies, and why it was the first consistent revolutionary body of ideas about the world.

Today the working class all over the world, led by Marxist leadership, will echo Paine's words, but this time in reality, not just in man's mind:

'... a complete and universal revolution. When it becomes necessary to do a thing, the whole heart and soul should go into the measure or not

University developments

From page 12

building the revolutionary party.

Sheila Torrance linked the struggles of the students with those of the working class and outlined the Young Socialists' perspectives for 1970.

Over 100 students attended the meeting and took part in a serious discussion. It provides us with a good basis to go forward next term in the Year of Lenin and Trotsky to

ready done.

The developments in Vietnam and the disclosure of the atrocities, places before the working class the task of escalating the struggle against Wilson. I think developments in the universities will be greatly accelerated.

It provides us with an excellent opportunity to drive home the lessons of adventurism, opportunism and revisionism and build the revolutionary alternative in line with the require-

Young Socialists' fight

WITH THE lower-paid workers' struggle—teachers, dustmen, and ambulancemen—the fight to build the Young Socialists in preparation for the coming intensified struggles becomes all the more urgent.

This urgency is inspired by new layers of youth each with his or her own class experiences, enhancing the movement and strengthening it.

These youth from the factories, schools and colleges, in their own way, whether they are conscious of it or not, help to expose the Labourites, the Stalinists, the revisionists and, last but not least, the trade union leadership.

The lower-paid workers' struggle provides an important basis for building the YS.

In Croydon, as in every other area, we have got to fight to gain confidence among such sections as students, young workers and teachers.

Our fight does not just involve the lower-paid workers but also the tenants who come under attack from the Tory-controlled council. Rents have been increased by as much as 10 shillings.

This is a vicious attack on the working class and we have to fight on the basis that every rent increase means a wage cut.

The Young Socialists has got to provide leadership and a political perspective in this fight.

It is our responsibility to provide youth with that perspective.

It is our policy to provide a revolutionary perspective, not just on national but on international questions.

The atrocities in Vietnam, committed by US troops under the direction of the US bosses should move all young workers in Britain to fight alongside the Vietnamese workers and peasants against the capitalist class; to defeat them and their agents in the labour movement.

Croydon Young Socialist

LONDON
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EDITOR'S POSTBAG

Class struggle and Black Power

THE BLACK POWER movement, like the Communist Party, has no intention of leading any section of the working class to victory.

What these leaders do is help the ruling class to split and divide the working class in their struggles.

We in the Young Socialists say that the only way that

black workers can win any struggle in any part of the world today is by a united fight alongside white workers against the common enemy, the bosses.

Whatever the black nationalists call themselves, by having separate organizations they constitute a counter-revolutionary force within the working class.

From my own contact with the black nationalists I know that when they speak of the unity of all black people they are calling for unity with black landlords and black bosses.

They have contempt for workers, both black and white.

What all this stems from is middle-class ideas of peaceful

co-existence and reform within the capitalist system.

We in the YS know that there are black bosses and white ones and when they are in crisis they unite against the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth in the world. It can end this exploitation by building a new system of society.

The Young Socialists have to go forward to unite all sections of the working-class youth, particularly on the questions of Vietnam, police violence, unemployment and racialism.

Ron Martin
Catford YS

Vietnam appeal

BECAUSE OF recent exposures about the kind of war the American government is really fighting in Vietnam I feel compelled to write to Keep Left and express my horror at these events.

I think it incredible that women and children can be slaughtered like animals in the interests of US profit.

Many newspapers have tried to lay the blame on a few American soldiers, whereas the real culprits are the American government and the big industrialist who do not want the Vietnamese people to run the country for themselves.

They want to extract as much profit as possible from the natural resources of Vietnam.

I think that the Keep Left has revealed these culprits and given the real reasons for the continuation of these massacres.

Even after all this, the British Prime Minister Harold Wilson is visiting President Nixon in Washington.

Wilson was elected by the British working class to act on its behalf.

But how many British workers support the Vietnam war? I think none.

The Labour government is supposed to represent British workers but it supports the US intervention in Vietnam.

It betrays the people who elected it. Wilson's visit to Nixon must be stopped.

The working class in Britain

continued on next page

Looking Back

'WE MUST pledge ourselves to make 1969 a year of revolutionary decision everywhere,' said Aileen Jennings, the editor of Keep Left, at the paper's annual general meeting last January.

She argued that the year would be one of political clarification and struggle.

It is useful to review how this perspective has worked out in practice.

During this year the struggle between the working class and the employers has entered a new stage, in many respects qualitatively different from the old.

Sections of workers who had not been on strike for many years took action.

The dustmen, firemen and miners forced the government to agree to a substantial wage increase, although in every case the union leadership persuaded the workers to accept less than their full demands.

So far, the government has failed to introduce effective legislation against strikes.

It would, however, be very

dangerous to underestimate the determination of the employers to force workers to accept a lower standard of living 'in the interest of the economy', i.e. capitalism.

What part has the Young Socialists played in this struggle?

Its political policies are of foremost importance. The Young Socialists have consistently opposed the trade union leadership and the Labour government, and oppose any attempt to make a compromise with the employers.

We call for the building of an alternative revolutionary leadership to lead Britain to socialism.

For the first time we have fought a by-election on the basis of these policies, and won a great deal of support through the Swindon campaign.

Continuous political clarification is essential if the Young Socialists are to work effectively. This has taken place by participating in political struggles, by discussions and classes, and at the very

successful summer camp.

In particular, we have emphasized the importance of the international struggle; massive strikes in western Germany and in Italy, the fall of de Gaulle in France and open conflict in Northern Ireland.

We have begun to explore various ways of communicating our ideas; especially by making films and working out how these can best be used.

Most important of all, the first daily Trotskyist paper in the world, the 'Workers Press' was launched in September 1969.

Young Socialists have played a very important part in financing it, writing for it and selling it.

Through this paper we can now actively intervene in every working-class struggle in Britain—as one right-wing trade union leader recently remarked, we can now be heard 'all over the bloody coalfield'.

Mary Healy
Keep Left
Editorial Board

Lenin's speech

From page 11

We know that this was utterly false, since the whole of society was based and maintained on the division of people into classes, into exploiters and oppressed. Since they were thoroughly imbued with the class spirit, the old schools naturally gave knowledge only to the children of the bourgeoisie. Every word was falsified in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

In these schools the younger generation of workers and peasants were not so much educated as drilled in the interests of that bourgeoisie. They were trained in such a way as to be useful servants of the bourgeoisie, able to create profits for it without disturbing its peace and leisure.

GENUINE

That is why, while rejecting the old type of school, we have made it our task to take from it only what we require for genuine communist education.

This brings me to the reproaches and accusations which we constantly hear levelled at the old schools, and which often lead to wholly wrong conclusions. It is said that the old school was a school of purely book knowledge, of ceaseless drilling and grinding.

That is true, but we must distinguish between what was bad in the old schools and what is useful to us, and we must be able to select from it what is necessary for communism.

The old schools provided purely book knowledge; they compelled their pupils to assimilate a mass of useless, superfluous and barren knowledge, which cluttered up the brain and turned the younger generation into bureaucrats regimented according to a single pattern.

But it would mean falling into a grave error for you to try to draw the conclusion that one can become a Communist without assimilating the wealth of knowledge amassed by mankind. It would be mistaken to think it sufficient to learn communist slogans and the conclusions of communist science, without acquiring that sum of knowledge of which communism itself is a result.

Marxism is an example which shows how communism arose out of the sum of human knowledge.

You have read and heard that communist theory—the science of communism created in the main by Marx, this doctrine of Marxism—has ceased to be the work of a single socialist of the nineteenth century, even though he was a genius, and that it has become the doctrine of millions and tens of millions of proletarians all over the world, who are applying it in their struggle against capitalism.

If you were to ask why the teachings of Marx have been able to win

the hearts and minds of millions and tens of millions of the most revolutionary class, you would receive only one answer: it is because Marx based his work on the firm foundation of the human knowledge acquired under capitalism.

After making a study of the laws governing the development of human society, Marx realized the inevitability of capitalism developing towards communism. What is most important is that he proved this on the sole basis of a most precise, detailed and profound study of this capitalist society, by fully assimilating all that earlier science had produced.

VERIFIED

He critically reshaped everything that had been created by human society, without ignoring a single detail. He reconsidered, subjected to criticism, and verified in the working-class movement everything that human thinking had created, and therefrom formulated conclusions which people hemmed in by bourgeois limitations or bound by bourgeois prejudices could not draw.

We must bear this in mind when, for example, we talk about proletarian culture. We shall be unable to solve this problem unless we clearly realise that only a precise knowledge and transformation of the culture created by the entire development of mankind will enable us

to create a proletarian culture.

The latter is not clutched out of thin air; it is not an invention of those who call themselves experts in proletarian culture. That is all nonsense.

Proletarian culture must be the logical development of the store of knowledge mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist, landowner and bureaucratic society. All these roads have been leading, and will continue to lead, up to proletarian culture, in the same way as political economy, as reshaped by Marx, has shown us what human society must arrive at, shown us the passage to the class struggle, to the beginning of the proletarian revolution.

When we so often hear representatives of the youth, as well as certain advocates of a new system of education, attacking the old schools, claiming that they used the system of cramming, we say to them that we must take what was good in the old schools.

We must not borrow the system of encumbering young people's minds with an immense amount of knowledge, nine-tenths of which was useless and one-tenth distorted. This, however, does not mean that we can restrict ourselves to communist conclusions and learn only communist slogans. You will not create communism that way.

You can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind.

must join in a campaign to stop him going.

Only by expressing its solidarity with the working class in Vietnam can Wilson's visit be stopped and an end brought to this wretched war.

As a young worker I call on all other young workers to join the Young Socialists and build a party that will fight for a new leadership in Britain, that will campaign to stop Wilson's visit and demand a victory for the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

**Denis Drinan
North Kensington YS**

New wave of struggle

FROM Vietnam to America, throughout the world, millions of young workers are being forced into struggle against low wages and rising prices on a bigger scale than ever before.

In Italy this is reflected in an unprecedented strike wave, in France by renewed strikes by car workers and power workers.

In building the Young Socialists this year, many youth formerly 'uninterested' in our policies are coming forward and joining the YS.

They are becoming increasingly aware of the future offered to them by capitalism, which is now entering an unprecedented crisis.

In the clothing trade, where we work and where thousands of young people are employed, filthy and cramped conditions prevail and workers are forced into overtime.

There are tremendous opportunities in such an industry for recruiting new layers of youth into the revolutionary youth movement.

Nationalization of the basic industries under workers' control without compensation, adequate training facilities and a decent living wage—these are the only policies which can answer the problems of these workers.

**Lilian Latif, Stepney YS
Greg Gibson, Islington YS**

Letter from ex-Communist Society member

IN JUNE 1969 I was elected chairman of the Communist Society at Imperial College and I also joined the Communist Party.

Since then I have been to the weekend school at Margate and I have engaged in much discussion and work in the Young Socialists.

The secretary of the Communist Society has also had such discussions and we both reached the conclusion that it is only the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League which carry on the struggle for Marxism and it is only the Young Socialist Student Societies which perform this task in the colleges.

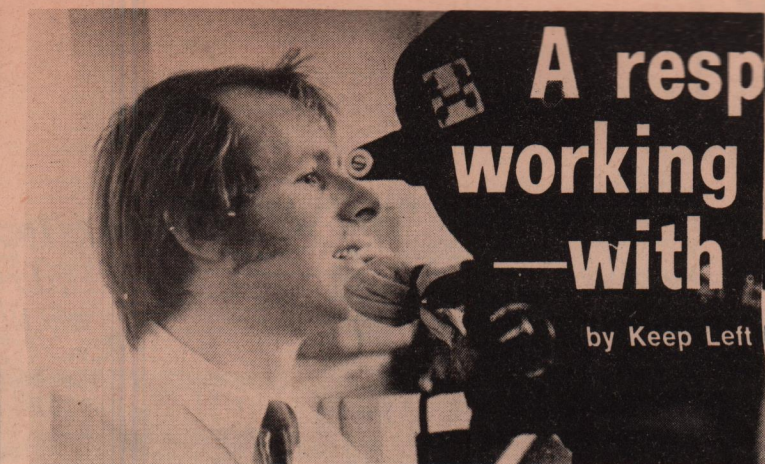
The Communist Society, set up in order to further the work of Stalinism in the college, serves along with other tendencies to wall-off students from the struggles of the working class.

After discussion amongst members of the Communist Society it was agreed to wind up the society.

Those of us who wish to fight for revolutionary theory in the working class through the building of the revolutionary party have joined the YSSS.

The others — Liberals, Maoists and so on—remain determined to stick with unprincipled student politics.

Pete Gillett



A respect for working class life —with no frills

by Keep Left Film Reviewer

Director Ken Loach

'KES' (directed by Ken Loach and produced by Tony Garnett) is one of the best films ever made in Britain.

It is filmed on location in Barnsley, Yorkshire and tells the story of Billy Casper, who finds a kestrel hawk and trains it. A deceptively simple or sentimental subject you'd think, but don't be deceived.

This is a film about human waste, about the stunting conditions of the capitalist system.

Billy Casper, like most of his schoolmates, like thousands of boys and girls in this country, is trapped in a system that uses him merely as wage fodder, that offers an education to fill in time till he takes his place on the shop floor where he is condemned to provide wealth for his exploiters in boring, meaningless jobs.

Get cracking!

I WOULD like to make a plea to all areas that have not yet organized the making of a film for the YS film competition on January 11.

It is not too late and it is not too difficult!

The importance of film as a means of education and as a weapon in the struggle against capitalism has been discussed several times and emphasized several times in the Young Socialists.

At the meeting in Brighton after the demonstration to launch the daily paper, we heard that side by side with the development of Workers' Press was to be the development of film.

Films made by the Young Socialists and Socialist Labour League and its supporters would be shown at meetings of workers throughout the country.

Film, in other words, plays an important role in building the revolutionary party.

**P. J. Arkell
Acton YS
London Film Student**

DEVLIN

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had not been able to outline any perspectives for the working class in Northern Ireland! Her own opportunism rises from this lack of any ability to see the needs of the working class in the long-term aim of building a leadership that can prepare itself and train vast layers of new cadres for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist class.

In spite of calling herself a socialist she still sees herself as a missionary preaching 'the word' to the biggest number of people.

Why else should she visit America to collect dollars for the poor people of Derry from the representatives of the administration that is trying to annihilate sections of the population in Vietnam!

Her policy in standing for the Westminster election was quite right—to unite both the Catholic and Protestant working class in a common socialist policy.

Since she has gone to Westminster, however, she has slipped very easily into the role of the 'tame left', making flamboyant speeches but doing very little else!

The book is well worth reading as a background to the events

This is the background to 'Kes'; this is what Billy knows in his bones is his future, and he throws all his energies and creativity, that the system has no use for, into training a bird of prey, whose swooping wild flight has a meaningful independence for him.

To his schoolmates and his teachers Billy is the dunce, never attending in class, hopeless at games, always in trouble.

There are some marvellous scenes at the school, which are absolutely true to life, and very funny, especially a football match with a games master who fancies himself as Bobby Charlton.

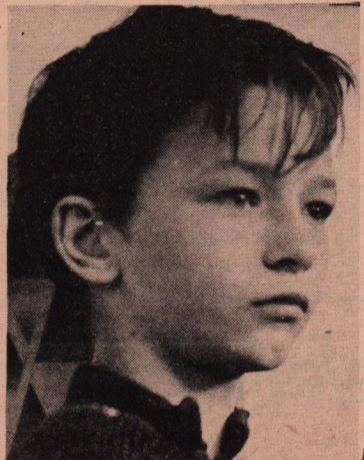
He fancies himself as everything. As referee he takes the penalties, orders people off the field, while Billy stands in goal in a pair of borrowed baggy shorts shivering with the cold and boredom.

But when training Kes (the name of the kestrel), Billy is transformed. It is his one passion in life; all his energies go

into it with a devoted absorption.

At school learning is meaningless to him yet he devours complicated and technical books about training hawks.

But his passion is forced to be a private one. Only once does he communicate it to his class at school when he holds them spell-bound by describ-



Billy: David Bradley

British theatre

'It's high time something was done'

says actress Cleo Sylvestre

FIGURES recently announced by Equity, the actors' union, revealed that two out of every three of its membership were unemployed.

A total of 10,000, many of them young actors and actresses, go the rounds from audition to audition.

Most of them have talent, lots of it, but when you are one of 30 or 40 other aspirants the prospects are depressing to say the least.

According to 23-year-old London actress Cleo Sylvestre, who has been appearing in the National Theatre's production of 'The National Health', many of those affected are straight from drama school.

It isn't that you aren't good enough,' she commented, 'but there just aren't enough jobs.'

'I have been fairly lucky myself, although there have been some tough times, but I have a friend who didn't have a job for nine months. She lived off the National Assistance.

'Even when you are living off National Assistance though, you still have to look good for auditions and that can cost a fair amount of money.'

Cleo described how many of the London actors and actresses sign on at the Labour Exchange in Chadwick Street, Victoria.

'It's a bit like a club,' she commented, 'you can always see lots of familiar faces.'

Even when there is a part available the struggle is not over. The £100 an actor or actress may receive as wages could have to last over the next six months until another job comes along.

Of course, if you've got the money you can always advertise

directory for actors, actresses, directors and producers. But you have got to have the money.

Like many of her friends Cleo Sylvestre feels a deep frustration at the shortage of grants to theatres, and acting in general, forthcoming from the government.

'The theatre should be a strong competition for the cinema. It must be possible for new ones to be built and fresh productions to be staged,' she said.

One suggestion Cleo made was that the programme for open-air acting in parks during the summer for school children should be greatly extended.

'Once you are an actor or an actress in the theatre you just want to go on doing it—it isn't like writing where you can sit and do something whatever the situation.

'To be an actor you've just got to have an audience and that means having a job.'

Cleo has few illusions that the present problems in the theatres will be solved without a struggle.

ing the training and flight of the bird.

It is the only moment at the school when the class discover a real interest in something. For the rest it is boredom and relieving the boredom by clowning about.

'Kes' is a film which has a great reality about it; the acting comes straight from life and not drama school. All of the kids really did come from the local Barnsley school.

It has a respect for working class life, and presents it straightforwardly, with no frills and no glamourizing either.

Ken Loach has achieved something rare in a British film. It is honest, passionate and un-sentimental.

He presents the raw material of life, exposes the deadness and futility of capitalism.

For Billy and all working-class youth there is no future under this system—only waste and exploitation.

Will that future be like his elder brother's, down the pit with only Saturday night to look forward to and the hope that he can pick enough winners for a week off work, or will he and his class fight against the system, destroy profit and exploitation and liberate themselves under socialism?

That is the underlying meaning of 'Kes'.

By showing the dead end of the system the film insists on an alternative.

Every Keep Left reader should see this film. At the moment there is some uncertainty that it will be shown on general release.

The Young Socialists insist that it should be shown publicly and not merely for the privileged few who attended the London Film Festival.



is a strong trade union organization to show that those in the profession mean business.

A long-term solution, she feels, would, of course, be the nationalization of the theatre, but immediately she would like to see a campaign around the demand for higher grants to the smaller struggling theatres.

She expressed disappointment that the Labour government's Ministry of Arts had not lived up to its high-sounding promises.

Next on her list is increased wages—many actors, in the theatre especially, earn an average of £12 to £13 a week.

Like many other professions, teachers, nurses and so on, actors and actresses find themselves in a position of being forced to take the same kind of struggle as the industrial workers for decent conditions and decent wages and against unemployment.

Whatever the idealists may think about acting being a 'vocation' and doing it for 'love' the chips are well and truly down and as Cleo herself observed, it is 'high time something was

France: AJS sets up students' alliance

By Keep Left Reporter

STUDENTS from Paris and provincial French universities have set up the Alliance des Etudiants Revolutionnaires (AER)—the equivalent of our Young Socialist Student Societies.

Meeting in the newly-decorated Paris headquarters of the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS) on November 29 and 30, 200 delegates heard AJS national secretary Charles Berg explain the necessity of establishing the AER as the student section of AJS in the universities.

The main report stressed that the Pompidou government was reverting to the attacks of May 1968, which caused the student unrest and the general strike.

Concessions

Huge concessions had been made to the working class after the strike, creating a deeper crisis reflected in the franc devaluation.

The ruling class desperately needed to cut government spending on social services and education.

The scale of the cuts can be measured by the intention to sack 20,000 of France's 26,000 medical students.

General conditions for French

students are much tougher than in Britain—very few receive grants, and they comprise a broader section of youth than in Britain.

Their response to government plans has been a series of strikes in university faculties.

Degeneration

Since the May 1968 events, the revisionists, whose bankruptcy was already exposed, have been responsible for a degeneration in UNEF—National Students' Union—from a unified body of struggle to an anarchistic discussion group.

The Communist Party favours 'participation', advocated in the government's plans.

This situation merely emphasized the urgency of organizing the AER, Conference was told.

Charles Berg urged delegates to fight with a perspective of workers' power as the only answer to the education crisis.

National secretary of the Alliance Ouvrière, Pierre Lambert, said it was essential to forge a revolutionary leadership in the universities to link the student struggles with those of the working class against capitalism.

Revolutionary greetings were brought to the conference by a YSSS member.

Workers League in U.S. moratorium



When talent is big business



Ray Stevens SPORTING CORNER

WHEN THE crowds gather at the grounds of the major football clubs on a Saturday afternoon the match which they see may be an afternoon's enjoyment to them but to the owners of the clubs, it is big business.

The purpose of the match is to make money; in fact every undertaking of the clubs is to make money.

Like all industries, football is affected by the growing crisis of capitalism.

The decline of many smaller clubs cannot simply be put down to falling gates due to the popularization of television.

Fund-raising

The small clubs, in permanent debt, with never-ending fund-raising campaigns are forced into this position by the big clubs.

There is a strong tendency towards monopolization and although this has not yet led to the actual takeover of clubs (it may do so soon), the big clubs certainly monopolize everything else—players, grounds, stands, industrial heating and good drainage.

Little clubs which cannot compete with such facilities are being forced out of business. In their decline, the football employers take the same measures as other employers.

For instance, Leyton Orient sacked a number of their staff and reduced players' wages from a total of £60,000 to £47,000. Unpaid or rarely-paid pensioners now do a great deal of the maintenance work according to a report in the 'Liverpool Echo'.

A good player for one of these clubs may wake up to find that he has been sold, bodily at least, to a club at the other end of the country so that the manager can pay the next week's wages.

The prospect for many young players today is no longer life as a star but insecurity, falling wages and eventually the sack.

Prospects for talented youth to develop their abilities dwindle rapidly and life becomes a rat-race as capitalism's crisis forces up costs and pushes more and more clubs on to the breadline.

Facilities

The Labour government promised to create facilities for youth to develop sporting talent. Instead, they have cut expenditure and have been content to take big taxes off those clubs that do make a profit.

For the Labour government the scrap heap is good enough for talented sporting youth.

The Young Socialists say the scrap heap is the place for the Labour government.

Forward to socialism and conditions under which sporting talent can be enjoyed and developed by spectators free from the suffocating confines of private enterprise.

DELEGATIONS of Workers League members in the United States marched with their banners demanding a US Labour Party in the anti-Vietnam war demonstration in Washington on the weekend of November 15 and 16. A highlight of the moratorium, which began with a silent march of 40,000 carrying candles on November 14, was the participation of important sections of the US labour movement.

OUR NEW SIZE!

WE ARE PROUD to present our readers with this special 16-page December issue of Keep Left. We regret we have had to raise the price from 4d to 6d in line with increased printing costs, but we are confident this will not deter our readers. At the Keep Left Annual General Meeting on January 10 at East India Hall we shall be asking our readers to vote for a permanent 16-page paper. Hope to see you there.

The Editor.

FOOTBALL RESULTS

SOUTH LONDON LEAGUE

	P	W	L	D	F	A	Pts
South	3	2	0	1	20	11	5
South West	4	2	1	1	26	21	5
South East	2	1	1	0	3	3	2
N. Croydon	4	1	3	0	13	25	2
S. Croydon	1	0	1	0	0	2	0

WEST LONDON LEAGUE

	P	W	L	D	F	A	Pts
West	2	2	0	0	4	0	4
Willesden	5	2	3	0	21	12	4
Acton	4	2	2	0	9	15	4
Watford	2	1	1	0	2	2	2
Southall	1	0	1	0	1	8	0

EAST LONDON LEAGUE

	P	W	L	D	F	A	Pts
Poplar	4	4	0	0	34	9	8
N. Kent	3	2	1	0	15	16	4
E. Ham	2	1	1	0	2	2	2
Dagenham	3	1	2	0	5	6	2
C. Town	3	1	2	0	4	17	2
Tottenham	3	0	3	0	3	13	0

LONDON KNOCK-OUT

Football Cup First Round :			
Southall	5	South West	4
Poplar	4	N.W. Kent	1
Kingston	2	Acton	0
South	2	West	0

First Round matches to be played on December 14 :

South East v Croydon at Wandsworth Common

Dagenham v Tottenham at Parsloes Park

Canning Town v East Ham at Hackney Marsh

Watford v Willesden at Hampstead Heath

KEEP LEFT

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