

KEEP LEFT

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Official paper
of the
Young Socialists

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

Young Socialists and
Socialist Labour League:



DEMONSTRATE SUNDAY MAY 2

Defeat the anti-union laws! Make the Tory
government resign!

ASSEMBLE : 1.30 p.m. Charing Cross Embankment
MARCH : through West End
RALLY : 4.00 p.m. St Pancras Town Hall

Speakers : G. Healy (SLL National Secretary)
M. Banda (Editor Workers Press)
J. Simmance (YS National Secretary)
A. Thornett (Deputy Senior Steward Morris Motors)

For details of coaches leaving your area contact: May Day Organizers, 186a Clapham
High St, London, SW4. Tel : 01-622 7029.

WORLD NEWS

USSR

Oppositionists challenge continuators of Stalin

BY GARY GURMEET

SOVIET General Grigorenko's appeal to the World Mental Health Society to protest against his solitary confinement has once again brought on to the surface the continuous struggle of oppositionists in the Soviet Union.

Piotr Grigorenko was jailed and pronounced mentally ill after he had publicly opposed the Soviet bureaucracy over the rights of exiled Crimean Tartars to return to their homeland.

His message to the Health Society—only the latest in a series of letters, articles and protests against his brutal silencing—was passed on by his wife.

Investigation

It demanded that the authorities immediately rescind the decision and an investigation be made into conditions in Soviet mental institutions.

Grigorenko was arrested in 1969 and later confined to a Moscow 'mental hospital'.

His crime had been to attend the court case of the Tartars whose right to return to their homeland is guaranteed under the Soviet constitution.

The diagnosis of the 'illness' was described as 'schizoheterodoxy'—a very common disease among communists in the Soviet Union who have ideas conflicting with Stalinism.

Many other oppositionists are also undergoing this barbaric treatment, including Victor Fainberg, who was arrested in the Leningrad Institution after protesting against the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia.



Above: General Grigorenko and Solzhenitsyn.

'I am a communist and as such I hate with all my soul organs of oppression and despotism based on caste,' wrote Grigorenko once in a letter to the Prosecutor General of the USSR.

'The organization created by Stalin, and today called the KGB on the advice of ministers of the USSR, is such an organization.'

'I do not conceal my hatred of this organization, which I consider hostile to the people from anyone and I will fight by all possible means for its early liquidation.'

Stalinist bureaucracy today makes it impossible for Soviet writers and historians to recall the traditions of Bolshevism and the October Revolution.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, author of 'The First Circle' and 'Cancer Ward', has met opposition to the publication of his latest novel 'August 1941'.

Solzhenitsyn, 1970 Nobel Prize winner for literature, was expelled from the Soviet Writers' Union, charged with 'defaming Soviet society and allowing his writing to be used for anti-Soviet purposes.'

He served in the Red Army during the war and in 1945 was sentenced to eight years in prison for making derogatory remarks about Stalin.

Now the bureaucracy is understood to be trying to prevent him from receiving all of his Nobel Prize money.

The opposition to his new novel by the Stalinists follows the Communist Party Congress, where Soviet chief Brezhnev attacked Communist writers, saying they only deserved 'public scorn'.

But he also received a warning, Pyotr Yakir, the historian and son of Red Army general I. A. Yakir, who was murdered by Stalin, wrote to the Congress saying that Stalin was one of the century's biggest criminals.

There has been a rebirth of Stalinism in the political, social and cultural life of the country, he alleged.

Political prisoners were reappearing in the camps, and in the 'mental hospital' prisons. For them the chief sign of getting well was a change of convictions, said Yakir, who has himself been hounded by the secret police.

Support
Bangla
Desh!



AT A packed meeting of 500 Bengali workers in London's East End on Friday April 16 'Workers Press' editor Michael Banda spoke in support of the struggle for independence in East Pakistan against the army of dictator Yahya Khan.

The following resolution was passed by the meeting with only one vote against:

This meeting declares its complete solidarity with the workers and peasants of Bengal in their heroic struggle for national independence. We condemn the Chinese Stalinists who have given full backing to the murderous Yahya Khan regime in suppressing the people of Bengal.

US imperialism and Soviet

Stalinism supply Khan with weapons while hypocritically deploring the massacre. In Britain, the Tory government stands on the side of the oppressors with its declaration that the butchery is 'an internal affair'.

We place no confidence in the United Nations which is a tool of imperialism or the so-called Big Powers who are mortally afraid of the colonial revolution.

The only firm allies of the Bengali people are the working class of the world. The Indian capitalists and landlords led by Mrs Gandhi are just as much the enemies of the Bengali people as the regime of Yahya Khan. Imperialism, Stalinism and both Hindu and Moslem capitalist classes are all united

in a common desire to maintain a partition.

The Bengali revolution is the beginning of the end of the imperialist partition of India. This meeting demands the immediate withdrawal of Pakistani troops from Bengal and the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the other captives held by butcher Khan.

We call on workers throughout Britain to support the call—black all goods in transit to and from W Pakistan—to aid the Bengal freedom struggle.

Down with imperialism and its puppet Khan!

Long Live Bangla Desh!

Long live a united socialist federal India!

US Trotskyists produce 16-page paper

WE CONGRATULATE our comrades in the American Workers League for the development of the 'Bulletin' to a bigger and more attractive weekly journal.

The increase in size of this paper to 16 pages (instead of the previous 12) is in line with the growing strength of Trotskyism in the US.

Together with the expansion of the daily 'Workers Press' here in Britain, it is an event of international significance.

As the first expanded issue of 'Bulletin' pointed out, the bourgeoisie is being forced to 'Vietnamization' of the whole world—reproducing conditions of civil

war in the advanced and colonial countries.

'We stand today before a leap,' it said, and it was in preparation for a totally different situation—'one of General Strike, civil war, revolution'—that 'Bulletin' goes forward.

The new '16-pager', attractively laid out with a red masthead, contains features, news, with the West Coast given prominence, and international news.

The next step in its expansion—a circulation of 10,000 by September.

The campaign to achieve that target has already begun and the Workers League has determined plans to go still further and expand it into a daily.

The 'Bulletin' first began production in 1964 as a bi-weekly and immediately took up the struggle for Marxism within the American working class and the Negro movement.

It has received tremendous support from these sections because of its principled stand against revisionism of the Socialist Workers Party and the American Communist Party.

'In building a mass paper we will not cease our attacks on the betrayers of the working class, on Stalinism, revisionism and nationalism,' says the Workers League.

'In fact we see this struggle as the central one in developing our strategy and penetrating the working class.'

Nixon faces debacle in SE Asia

By Keep Left Correspondent

NIXON'S DECISION to free Lt William Calley has followed what was undoubtedly one of the most disastrous defeats for American imperialism in Vietnam.

The incursion into Laos by Saigon's 20,000-man invasion force had to turn tail after about six weeks.

S Vietnamese puppet troops, aided by US combat forces and 'advisers', had planned this attack as a last step towards regaining control of large parts of Laos.

But the defeat which these suffered has not eliminated the chances of all-out nuclear war on N Vietnam.

In fact the more imperialism faces such decisive defeats, the more it turns towards extreme barbaric methods.

The 'compromise' over Calley is no accident. Atrocities carried out on a monstrous scale in Vietnam are an inseparable part of that war and Nixon and the whole of

the ruling class is responsible for the murder of harmless women and children.

N Vietnamese workers and peasants, however, are faced not only with an imperialist power, but have been continually betrayed by Stalinism as well.

The re-opening of the telephone links between Britain and Shanghai, the support for W Pakistan in its suppression of Bangla Desh, the visit of the Shah of Persia's sister-in-law to Peking, all raise the question of a future Nixon-China deal in SE Asia, in which the whole future of the liberation struggle against imperialism is held up for sale.

Congratulated

DESCRIBING China's thaw towards imperialism as a 'good turn' for Nixon, the 'New York Times' congratulated the Chinese on their timing.

The paper had good cause to do so. US policy in SE Asia has probably taken its worst ever battering in the last few months.

Hounded out of Cambodia and Laos, the forces of his Saigon puppet regime cut to ribbons by the liberation armies and his own crack troops at their lowest-ever level of morale, Nixon is set to repeat the debacle of Dien Bien Phu on an ever grander scale.

Both over the abortive Laos invasion and Lt Calley's trial for the atrocities at My Lai, US public opinion has been bitterly vociferous.

The racist right—Nixon's infamous 'silent majority'—have praised Calley to the skies, even writing a pop ballad to glorify his crime.

Mockery

Naturally, these people were delighted when Nixon decided to free the convicted war-criminal.

Others, however, have pointed out that Calley deserves every minute of his life sentence. Calley's military prosecutor, Capt Daniel, said Nixon had made a mockery of the Army's code of justice by allowing Calley to go free.

Other soldiers, convicted of far less serious crimes, were held under prison conditions at Fort Leavenworth while their appeals were held, he pointed out.

But Nixon knows that if he keeps Calley in prison the demand will grow for the trial

Continued on page 3

500 Bengali
workers
pack
London's
East End
meeting

PAKISTAN

By our Foreign Correspondent

'Second-class' citizens answer back!

WHY ARE 75 million Bengalis defying W Pakistan tanks with bamboo sticks and knives?

The answer is very simple. Ever since Pakistan was created, after the partition of India in 1947, the people of E Bengal, who formed the majority of Pakistan's population, were treated like second-class citizens.

Even though its workers and peasants were starving, E Bengal paid 80 per cent of Pakistan's taxes, getting back almost nothing in the form of government aid.

Everything was spent on the western wing of the country, building up the companies of Pakistan's capitalists, who all came from the Punjab.

From the very beginning, Pakistan's rulers distrusted the E Bengalis. They spoke a separate language—Bengali—and had their own cultural and political traditions which linked them to W Bengal in India.

The only factor which united the two wings of Pakistan—apart from the brute force of its army—was the Moslem religion. And as the E Bengal revolt grew, its effects began to wear off.

'Leaders'

Even E Bengali employers and landlords were excluded from the government. Nearly all the top civil servants came from W Pakistan, as did the army leaders and most of the troops.

Two years after 'independence', the E Bengal capitalists and landlords set up their own party—the Awami League—to push for a greater say in the running of Pakistan.

But the ruling Punjabis would not give an inch. They feared that concessions made to the Awami League would encourage E Bengal's militant workers and peasants to fight for their own demands as well.

Things came to a head in November 1968. Strikes and demonstrations broke out all over E Bengal, and spread quickly to the West, where revolt was also simmering against Ayub Khan's military regime.

W Pakistan rule was only preserved after bloody reprisals against thousands of workers, peasants and students. Ayub Khan had to make way for the even more ruthless Yahya Khan.

Military terror could not crush the fighting spirit of the E Bengal people.

Majority

In December 1970, in Pakistan's first-ever general election, the Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, won 98 per cent of the vote in E Bengal, and a majority of the seats in the Pakistan National Assembly.

Even at this late stage, the Awami League leaders hoped for a compromise with Khan, and only asked for self-government within a more democratic Pakistan.

But the workers of Dacca, Chittagong and Rangpur, and the land-hungry peasants of the Ganges Delta, wanted full independence.

Khan knew this, and hours after his talks with Rahman broke down, unleashed a wave of massacres throughout E Bengal.

On March 26, the Awami League proclaimed E Bengal an independent state—Bangla Desh.

Khan now holds most of the towns and lines of communication, while much of rural E

Bengal is under the control of poorly-armed peasants.

Many of the Awami League leaders have either been killed or jailed.

Supporters of Mao Tse-tung in W Bengal have crossed into E Bengal to help the fight against Khan—only to learn that Peking supports W Pakistan, and is supplying its troops with arms to crush Bangla Desh.

The Tory government in Britain has declared the massacres in E Bengal to be an 'internal affair' of the Pakistan government.

America has also taken the same line.

This is all we can expect from



governments that have tried to crush the struggle of colonial peoples for freedom all over the world.

The Labour movement must take up the cause of Bangla Desh, and do everything it can to prevent military supplies reaching Yahya Khan's army.

The biggest blow we can strike for E Bengal's liberation is to step up our campaign to drive out the Tories, and secure the return of a Labour government that will support oppressed peoples fighting for their freedom, whether in Ulster, Vietnam or E Bengal.

Ceylon—civil war the next step?

BLOODY CLASHES in Bengal this month have coincided with an equally repressive campaign against Ceylon's guerrilla rebels.

Yahya Khan, West Pakistan dictator and butcher of the Bengalese liberation fighters, had been involved in joint missions against Ceylonese peasants with India's Indira Gandhi.

FRIGATES

A total of about 100 Indian troops were sent to Colombo to guard vital buildings and installations while five Indian anti-submarine frigates patrolled Ceylon's coast.

Mrs Bandaranaike's panic-stricken 'left' coalition government has meanwhile engaged in shooting suspected rebels without trial.

Most of those shot in this way are youth in their teens and the executions have been concentrated in Kegalle district North East of Colombo where the rebels are strongest. These murders, directed by Sandhurst-trained army offi-

cers, are the direct product of Mrs Bandaranaike's coalition politics.

And despite the secondary differences between Yahya Khan and Indira Gandhi over Bengal, they are both united in their opposition to the rising of workers and peasants in the whole sub-continent.

REAL FACE

It has exposed very clearly the real face behind Bandaranaike's 'left' government, which includes revisionists, Stalinists and right wingers.

Under deceptive cover of this coalition she is carrying out bloody massacres of tea plantation workers, equated by one of her own spokesmen to the mass murder of communists and rebels in Malaysia and Vietnam.

Blaming 'youthful maniacs' for the country's financial instability, Bandaranaike has joined hands with some of the most reactionary forces in Asia.

Civil war and revolution in the whole of the Indian continent are today very high on the political agenda.

That is the meaning of E Bengal, the repression of peasants in India (Naxalites) and now Ceylon's turn towards violent clamp-down.

New 'tough' measures for Ulster

ULSTER'S new Prime Minister Brian Faulkner has lost no time in making clear his intentions for Northern Ireland's working class.

Following six hours' discussion with British Tory prime

Nixon

● FROM PAGE

of the men who sent him into My Lai and ordered him to kill—from Major Oram Henderson, through Gen Westmoreland, right up to the supreme commander—former president Lyndon B. Johnson himself.

Everyone knows that in the last war Japanese Gen Yamashita, German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop, and the leaders of Nazism and Japanese fascism paid with their lives for war crimes carried out by their subordinates.

If Calley is guilty, the generals and the presidents are ten times more guilty.

It is just at this moment that the Stalinists come to the rescue with their ping-pong olive branch.

But all the efforts of the Chinese and Soviet leaders will not save Nixon from the vengeance of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, and of his own working class in the United States.

Minister Edward Heath, he emerged to announce that although no more troops would be sent to Ulster there would be further hard-line measures, including closer co-operation between the army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

Internment of militants was never actually mentioned as having been discussed, although Britain's Home Secretary, who is known to feel that it may be necessary under certain circumstances, was present at the meeting.

Internment therefore hangs as a threat to all those in the labour movement who actively oppose the Stormont government.

Preparation

Meanwhile British troops have been putting in plenty of preparation in the event of renewed hostilities from the Irish working class.

During a demonstration of anti-Tory action in Coleraine it was revealed that troops possessed the equivalent of the US army gun-ship, now in use in Vietnam.

Machine guns can be mounted in helicopters in Ulster, for use when necessary.

Hundreds of troops and police stood at the ready during the recent marches celebrating the

anniversary of the 1916 Easter Uprising.

Following a blatant provocation by Unionist extremists in leading a Junior Orangemen's march through Belfast's Catholic area, troops used the occasion as an excuse for an extensive arms search in the city's Newtownards Road district.

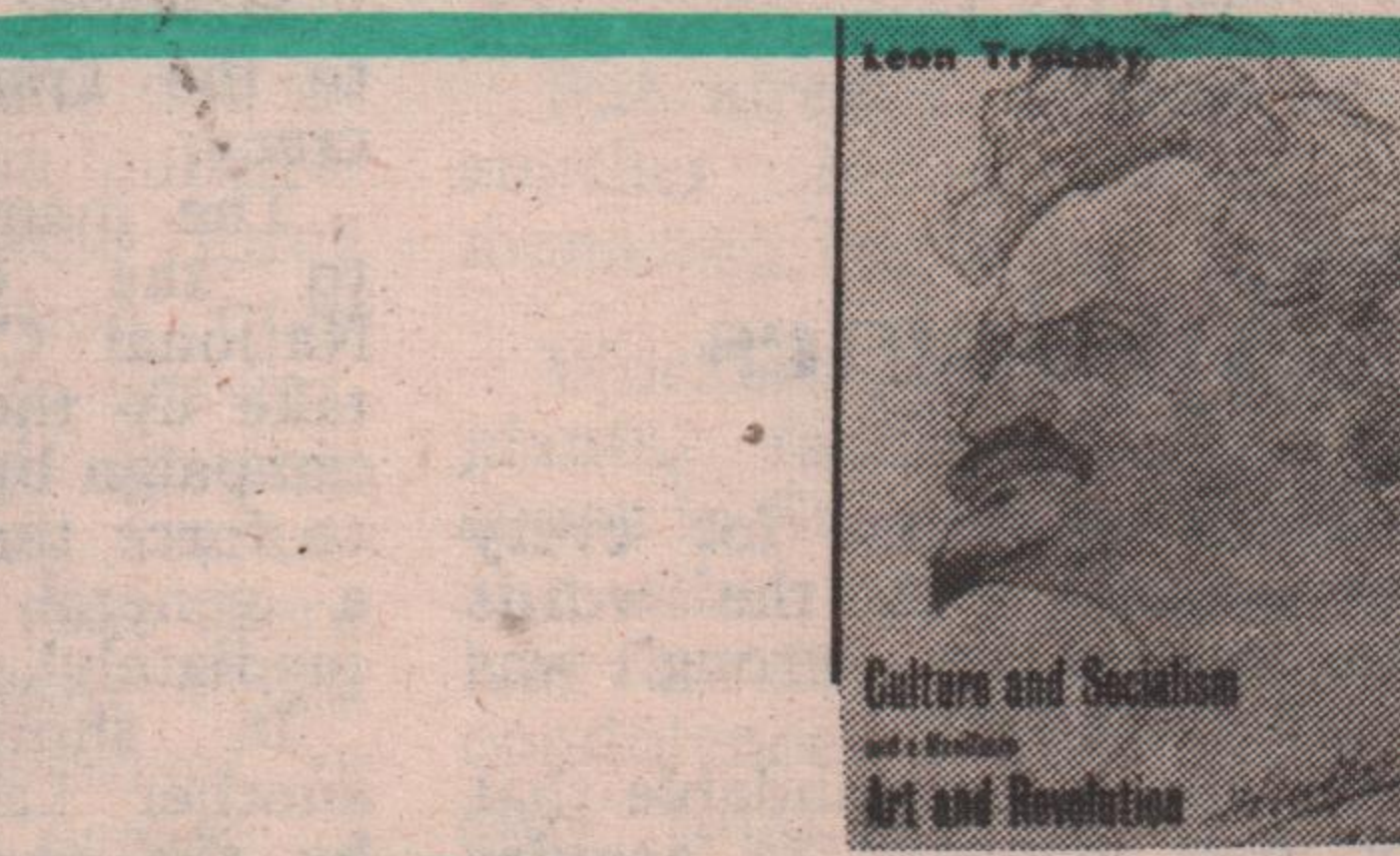
Prime Minister Faulkner later blamed 'hooligans' and 'hangers-on' for the disturbance, thus effectively white-washing the actions of the real culprits—the extreme Unionist right wing.

Provocation

Although there have not been any further serious riots since Easter the situation in Northern Ireland can give no cause for complacency. For as long as the British troops are there, they serve as an open provocation.

Tension in Northern Ireland cannot be resolved by British imperialism's so-called 'peace-keeping' force; it is rather aggravated by the troops' presence.

The problems of the Irish working class—unemployment, lousy jobs, bad housing and a poor standard of living—can only be resolved in a struggle by the whole of the British labour movement to force Heath's Tory government and its puppets in Ulster to resign and put in its place a Labour government pledged to withdraw the troops unconditionally and to implement a full socialist programme.



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Keep Left

April 1971

Mass unemployment --Tory policy

THOUSANDS of young people who have just left school find themselves face to face with the grim truth about life under the Tories. So long as Heath and his government remain in office they may never get a job at all. With nearly 815,000 unemployed at the beginning of the month, school-leavers find themselves at the back of the queue with no work at the end of it.

Hundreds are being advised to stay on at school rather than go straight on to the dole. And the National Association of Careers Teachers, representing 600 teachers responsible for placing school leavers in jobs, says prospects for the latest batch of 90,000 released on to the labour market at Easter are 'the worst for 20 years'.

The association's chairman, Harry Dowson, who heads a Sheffield comprehensive school, says: 'We are fast reaching a position which prevails in the United States, where 10 per cent leave school before the age of 18 and that 10 per cent is almost wholly unemployed. This is going to happen to young people in this country'.

This terrible prospect of demoralizing years on the dole is not produced by an act of God. It is the result of policies deliberately and cold-bloodedly pursued on behalf of big business by a Tory government which wants to smash workers' militancy with a combination of anti-union laws and the ever-present threat of the sack. They want ten men chasing every job, just like the 1930s.

With more than a million unemployed, they hope, Toryism can get down to its real mission of making fewer workers work harder for less. That is what Tory prime minister Heath means when he says 'inflationary wage settlements and strikes' are to blame for the tremendous leap in the number workers out of work.

Thousands of young workers will be angry to see their union leaders making ineffectual complaints to Heath about this situation. They will be even angrier to see Barbara Castle, architect of Labour's anti-union laws, taking advantage of the occasion to call on government and union leaders to get together. These people are traitors to socialism.

The only way to halt unemployment is to throw out the people who are creating it: the Tory government and their big business backers. This means joining the Young Socialists and fighting inside the trade unions for a General Strike to force the Tories to resign—join us and fight to implement the decisions of the Young Socialists' 11th Annual Conference at Scarborough.

Easter school-leavers



Queuing up for dole money.

Join the jobless ranks

WHEN 16-year-old Jeremy D'souza paid a visit to the Shepherds Bush youth employment exchange last week he was told he might have to wait up to a week before his application was even considered.

This was despite the fact that relatively few youth have so far applied to the exchange for jobs this year.

It is not very surprising, however, if one considers the permanent and extraordinarily high level of unemployment in the area; so high that large numbers

'It's a waste of time looking for a job' say Shepherds Bush youth.

of young school-leavers do not bother about paying the usual visit to the exchange. 'It's a waste of time actually,' said Jeremy, 'but I thought I might as well try my luck. I've been practically everywhere else—there is absolutely nothing going.'

Jeremy is not alone. The number of school-leavers registered with the employment exchanges throughout the country this month amounts to over 7,500.

In the Shepherds Bush area the number registered is about 25 per cent of the total number of youth.

The majority of these, we were told at one employment agency, are school-leavers who have never had a job.

Consequently a not so popular pastime among youth in the area is job-hunting. Others who have given up just spend endless hours talking to their friends at Shepherds Bush market.

Desperation

John Williams is one of them. Out of an average 12-hour-day, he says, he sometimes spends up to five looking for work and the rest just wandering about in desperation.

Like many others, too, he has not bothered with the youth employment exchange.

His friend, Paul, is in a similar situation. Together they say they had made plans when at school to earn some money and start their own discotheque.

Fed-up

But that has gone up in smoke.

Augustine Spencer has worked there for only two months. His experiences have made him think much more seriously about what he terms the 'problems in society today'.

'I never bothered myself with politics or any of these problems until I left school,' he said.

'But since then and especially because of this particular government things have been different. We sometimes stand around here having long arguments over this question. Two years ago we may not even have known who is in power.'

Hatred

Youth like Augustine are beginning to move very decisively in a political way.

To guide that movement and to prevent demoralization among these layers, the Young Socialists have a vital role to play.

The hatred of unemployment and the dole are only the concrete forms of political opposition to the Tories and their system.

It was with no lack of seriousness that Augustine concluded:

'I think this whole structure of society needs a revolution. In America it has been the Negroes who have been the majority on most of the dole queues. In Britain it's all the workers made redundant or thrown out of work in some other way.'

'It's the same everywhere you go—wherever there are a few people who own all the country's wealth.'

Empty verbiage from Labour Party YS conference

Report by Gary Gurmeet

IT WAS WITH a jubilant cry of victory that the Labour Party bureaucracy emerged from the 10th annual conference of its politically impotent youth wing.

For the remnants of Wilson's youth movement—the Labour Party Young Socialists—it was an occasion for another round of left-sounding condemnation of his failure to 'control the commanding heights of economy', to be followed, of course, by the cosy atmosphere of constituency work.

A large section of this ageing gathering did not dare go too far in their 'Wilson-bashing' chorus because (as the agenda very threateningly reminded delegates) many Young Socialist members 'have been selected as candidates for the 1971 local elections with good prospects'.

Apologies

Thus the apologies for every radical speech with the words 'correct me if I'm wrong' was only understandable.

It was also understandable that Wilson had managed to acquire the support of so many political

muddleheads, after he expelled the majority of our movement in 1964.

Careerists, revisionists around the 'Militant' and Wilson's tame creatures around the 'official' newspaper 'Left' made up the 275 visitors and 160 delegates at this conference.

But that was not all. 'I am a Conservative by nature,' one rather well-dressed gentleman confided. 'It's just that I would rather be on the right of a left-wing movement than on the left of a right-wing one.'

Target

But whatever background they came from, the common target of attack was Marxism, and the development of revolutionary ideas amongst millions of working-class youth stirred on to the scene of action today.

This attack was given the full assistance of Ted Grant's 'Militant' followers, who now control the National Committee of this rump organization.

However, they posed no danger to the Transport House bureaucracy.

The main document presented to the conference by this National Committee pledged to take up the demand for a 'mass campaign by the labour movement to force the Tories to resign and a general election called immediately'.

In short, the election of another Labour government led by the very same traitors who are now actively planning to

assist the Tories in implementing anti-union laws, not one that will implement a socialist programme and repeal all Tory legislation.

Other resolutions approved by the conference contained similar fake and bankrupt statements.

A lengthy document on N Ireland, for instance, could see nothing beyond the election of the N Ireland Labour Party as a solution to the crisis. It treacherously failed to blame Wilson for the intervention of British troops and not once called for their immediate withdrawal.

Right-wing factions inside the Labour Party Young Socialists in fact called for the immediate implementation of direct rule from Westminster.

This kind of appeal to the Tories was repeated on the question of Vietnam.

A resolution passed by the conference actually urged the Tory government to 'bring pressure to bear on the factions directly involved in the war to achieve peace in Vietnam'.

Insignificant

On the whole Transport House had the conference proceedings well under control.

Party functionaries could be seen taking down the names of delegates who had a good word for the Labour government. ('Prospective candidates?')

But the political insignificance of this group within the Labour Party is perhaps best demonstrated by the contemptuous treatment handed out to them when doing Party work.

This year's National Committee political report complained that despite the time and energy given by thousands of members to the election campaign, they were allowed to assume a political role only in a few constituencies.

Elsewhere they were used to do much of the 'donkey work'.

They had proposed a number of things in the campaign to re-elect a Labour government, such as a political broadcast on television, a National Rally and even a debate with the Young Conservatives!

'Leaflets'

Just to what extent they were serious can be judged by the activity carried out in the last year.

For almost a year the National Committee 'fought' for a series of leaflets—none of which has yet been produced.

Five were prepared by the NC in the last seven or eight months. Only one had actually been printed . . . and that the wrong way round.

So much for all the talk about building a mass movement to defeat the Tories.

They have no such intentions, as the National Committee report itself revealed.

'We hope,' it said, 'that every (LP) YS member will support their local Party in the May elections and give consideration to mobilizing young voters.'

After three days of politically empty verbiage—another tireless round of 'donkey work'.

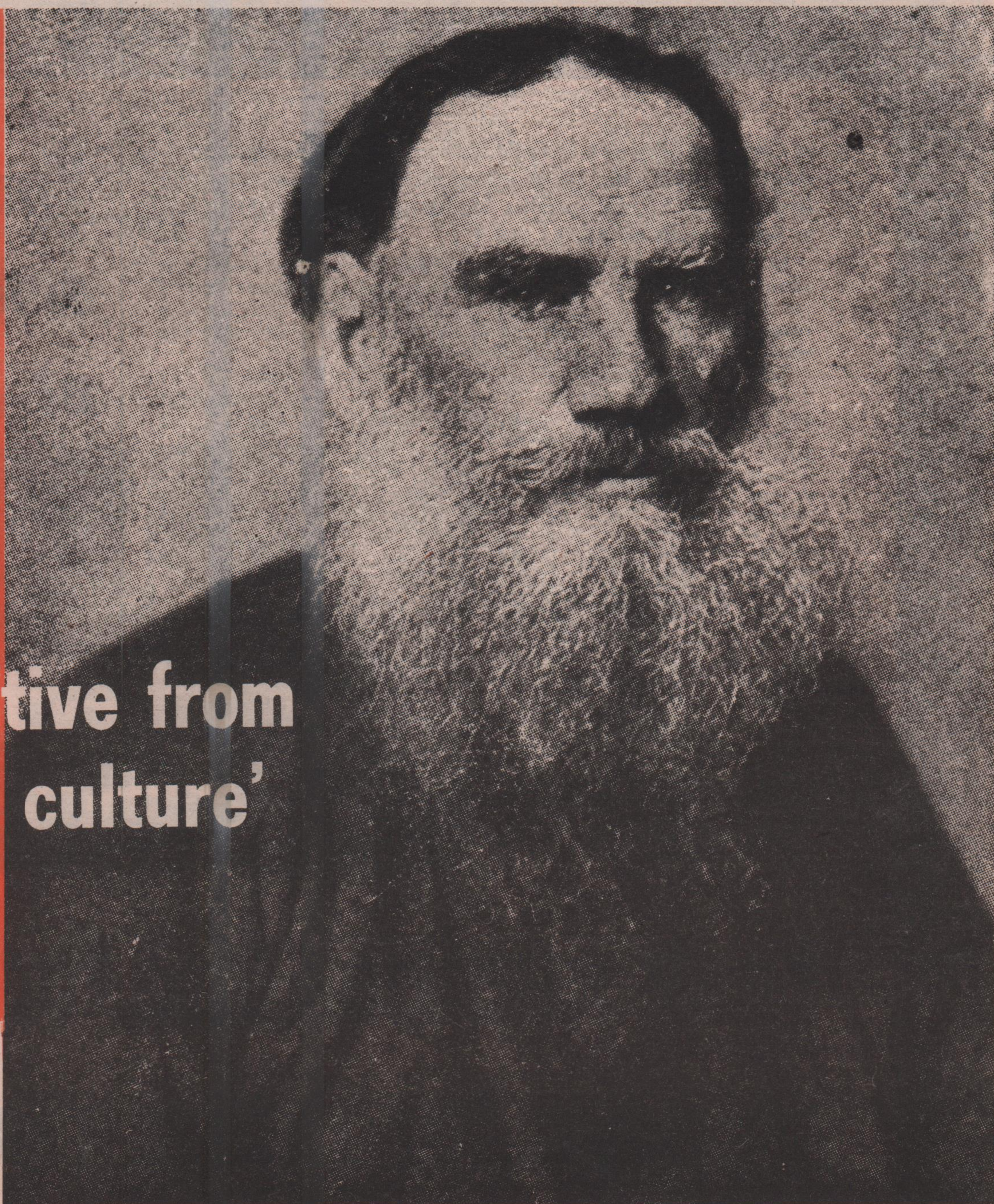
THERE has never been a full edition of Leon Trotsky's writings. The publication of his 'Collected Works' was suspended and finally banned by Stalin after the expulsion of the Left Opposition from the Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Union in 1927.

The Stalinist censoring of the writings of Trotsky and other Left Opposition leaders was one of the most reactionary blows dealt by the bureaucracy against Marxism and the international workers' movement.

Here we print the thirteenth in our series of translations from the Russian of Trotsky's Works.

Part thirteen of our series on Trotsky's Collected Works

the 'fugitive from glorified culture'



SEVERAL weeks have already passed since the feelings and thoughts of all reading and thinking people throughout the world were concentrated first around the name and picture, and then around the ashes and grave of Tolstoy.

His decision, made in the face of approaching death, to break from his family and the conditions amid which he had been born, grew up and grew old; his flight from his old home, made in order to dissolve himself among the people, among the grey, unnoticed millions; his death before the gaze of the whole world—all this has generated not only a powerful flood of sympathy, love and esteem for the great old man inside all unreconciled hearts but it has produced, too, a vague sense of alarm in the armoured consciousness of those who represent the chief masters of the present social regime.

SACRED

For surely something must not be quite so good about their sacred property, their state system, their church, and their family if the 83-year-old Tolstoy could not endure it but became, in his last days, a fugitive from all of this glorified 'culture'.

Over 30 years ago, when he was already a 50-year-old man, Tolstoy, gripped by the pangs of conscience, broke with the faith and devotions of his forefathers and created his own, Tolstoyan, faith.

He then preached it in moral and philosophical works, in his vast correspondence and in the artistic creations of his last period ('Resurrection').

Tolstoy's teaching is not our teaching. He proclaimed non-resistance to evil. He saw the main motive force not in social conditions but in man's spirit. He believed that violence could be eradicated by moral example and that despotism could be disarmed through love.

He wrote letters* of exhorta-

*Tolstoy and the Russian tsars. Letters of L. N. Tolstoy 1862-1905. Ed. by Chertkov. Moscow, 1918. A publication from the 'Svoboda' and 'Edine' publishers.

tion to Alexander III and Nikolai II, as if the root of violence lay in the conscience of the doer rather than in the social conditions which give birth to it and feed it.

The proletariat cannot bodily accept this teaching. For at every surge of passion he has towards the ideal of moral rebirth, towards knowledge, light, 'resurrection', the worker feels the iron fetters of social slavery upon his hands and feet and he cannot be delivered from these fetters by inward effort—they must be smashed and thrown off.

As distinct from Tolstoy we say and teach: the organized violence of a minority can only be smashed by the organized uprising of the majority.

Tolstoy's faith is not our faith.

While throwing out the ritual side of orthodoxy—baptism, the smearing of oil, the swallowing of bread and wine, invocations in prayer and all this crude sorcery of church worship, Tolstoy held back his critical knife from the idea of God as the inspirer of love, as the father of men and as the creator and master of the world.

FURTHER

We go further than Tolstoy. At the basis of the life of the universe we know and acknowledge only age-old matter which is subject to its own inner laws; in human society, as in the individual human soul, we see but a particle of the universe subordinate to these general laws.

And just as we do not want any crowned lord standing

over our body neither do we recognize any godly master over our soul.

Yet, nevertheless, in spite of this profound distinction there is a deep moral affinity between the faith of Tolstoy and the teachings of socialism: namely in the honesty and fearlessness of their denial of oppression and slavery, and in the invincibility of their aspiration towards the brotherhood of man.

Tolstoy did not consider himself a revolutionary nor was he one. But he sought the truth passionately and having found it was not afraid to proclaim it.

EXPLOSIVE

For truth in itself possesses a terrible explosive force: once proclaimed it irreversibly gives birth to revolutionary conclusions in the consciousness of the masses.

Everything that Tolstoy spoke out on for all to hear: the absurdity of the Tsar's power, the criminal nature of military service, the dishonesty of landed property, the church's deceit—all this seeped through along thousands of paths into the minds of the toiling masses and agitated millions of his followers and the word turned to deed.

Tolstoy, while not being a revolutionary and not striving for revolution, fed the revolutionary element with his brilliant words and in a book about the great storm of 1905 a chapter of honour will be set aside for Tolstoy.

Tolstoy did not consider himself a socialist nor was he one. But in his quest for truth

in the relations between man and man he did not stop at rejecting the idols of autocracy and orthodoxy but went further and, to the great consternation of all people of property, he proclaimed anathema upon those social relations which doomed one man to clear up the dung of another.

The propertied people and especially the liberals servilely surrounded him, praised him to the skies, kept quiet about what was directed against them and strove to caress his soul and drown his thought with glory.

But he did not give in. And however sincere might be the tears which liberal society is today pouring over Tolstoy's grave we have the indisputable right to say: liberalism cannot answer Tolstoy's questions, liberalism has no room for Tolstoy, and is impotent in front of Tolstoy.

QUESTION

'Culture?', 'Progress?', 'Industry?', Tolstoy says to the liberals. 'Well let your progress and your industry collapse with one stroke if my sisters have to trade their bodies on the pavements of your cities!'

Tolstoy did not know or show the way forward out of the hell of bourgeois culture. But with unquenchable force he posed the question only scientific socialism can answer. And it can be said, in this sense, that everything intransigent and immortal that there is in Tolstoy's teaching flows as naturally into socialism as does a river into the ocean.

And because Tolstoy served, by his life, the cause of the

liberation of mankind, his death has resounded in the country as a reminder of the behests of the revolution—a reminder and a summons. And this summons has encountered an unexpectedly tumultuous response.

In St Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Khar'kov and Tomsk student memorial feasts have acquired the character of political meetings and these meetings have overflowed on to the streets in the form of tumultuous demonstrations carrying the slogans: 'Down with capital punishment!' and 'Down with the priests!'. And just as in the good old days doleful figures of liberal deputies and professors emerged from their gateways, waved their hands at the students in fear and began to appeal to them to 'calm down': and just as in the good old days the meek and wise liberal was tossed aside, a rather more revolutionary student violated the calm of the Stolypin cemetery, the Cossacks of the constitution exhibited their calibre to the students and on the streets of both capitals scenes were played out in the spirit of 1901.

MENACE

But already on the horizon another incomparably more menacing figure has loomed.

Workers from a series of plants, factories and printshops in St Petersburg, Moscow and other cities have over the last few days sent telegrams of condolence, initiated the 'Tolstoy' fund, passed resolutions, struck work in memory of

A CALL on all youth to build their own mass socialist movement to defeat the Tory government went out from the largest ever Young Socialist annual conference, which met at Scarborough on April 3 and 4.

In contrast to the gimmicks and antics displayed at the recent annual gatherings of the Young Liberals and the Labour Party's youth, the 1,500 young workers and students at Scarborough voted for a policy to meet the crisis of capitalism and take the working class to conquest of power.

They pledged themselves to halt the cowardly retreat of the union leaders who are now running from the Tory government and abandoning the fight against the Industrial Relations Bill.

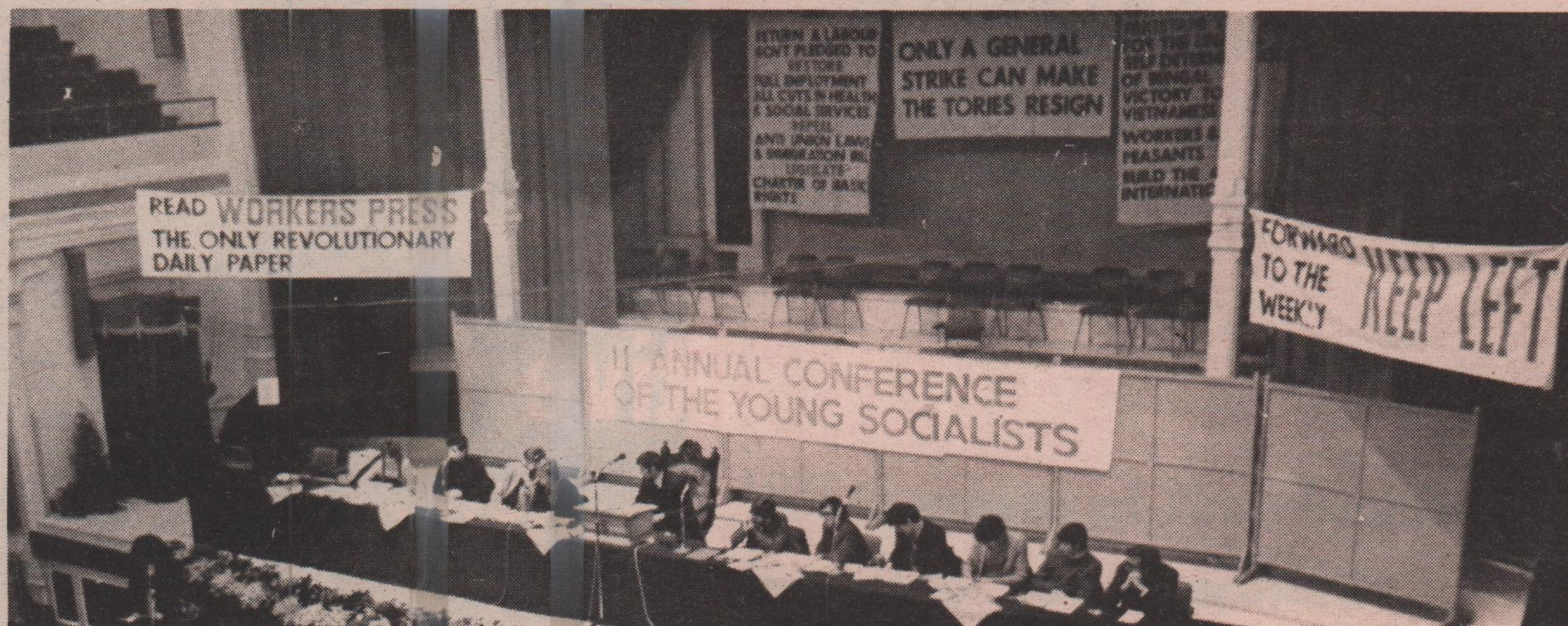
They called for a General Strike to force the government to resign and demanded the re-election of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

On all issues—the fight in the unions, the defence of workers' rights, the defence of the social services, on education, Northern Ireland, Tory immigration policy and Vietnam—the YS conference gave a fighting lead to all workers, young and old.

Their policies were a plan of campaign for the fight of socialism and the construction of a mass revolutionary party in Britain.

Keep Left reports here on the resolutions carried and the lively debate that continued throughout the two-day conference in The Spa, Scarborough.

Young Socialists 11th annual conference at Scarborough



Task number one for the YS: prepare for mass revolutionary party

MAIN POLITICAL REPORT:

Opening the conference, National Secretary John Simmance said the YS were determined to build the revolutionary leadership of the future.

He warned that reformism in the workers' movement was now ready to betray, as it did in the 1930s under Ramsay MacDonald. 'In N Ireland we see a coalition of Labourites and Tories launching a wave of terror against workers.

'This has the blessing of the Labour leadership in Westminster,' he said.

'At home, we have the trade union leaders who are preparing to register their mighty organizations under the Industrial Relations Bill.'

This, he said, would paralyse the strength of the working class and tie them to the Tory state machine.

The Young Socialists, said comrade Simmance, were strengthened in their determination to build a revolutionary party by the evidence from all over the world that young workers were fighting back.

'WE SALUTE the fight of the young Irish workers against the British imperialist army of occupation,' he said to a wave of applause from the audience.



John Simmance

'WE SALUTE the victorious fight of the young workers and peasants in Vietnam against the greatest imperialist force in history—the US war machine.

'WE SALUTE the fight of Angela Davis and Bobby Seale in the American Black Panther movement against US capitalism.

'But we must now go forward with our own fight. The capitalist system is in crisis.

'Now is the time to unseat this government and put Labour back, pledged to socialism, but above all now is the time for the youth to fight for a revolutionary party—the new leadership of the working class.'

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS BILL:

Moving a resolution to step up the fight against the Industrial Relations Bill, Philip Penn, Putney YS, said that the employers were trying to massacre the working class but he warned that British workers would not surrender their hard-won rights without a fight.

'After Croydon the TUC decided not to fight,' he said. People like Jones and Scanlon who voted for strikes before the Special Congress must now lead the campaign to force the Tories to resign. The necessity in the trade union movement is for leadership.

The resolution declared that only a General Strike to bring down the Tories and replace them with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies could now defend basic rights and defeat the anti-union laws.

Conference pledged its complete political solidarity with the fight of the All Trades Unions Alliance.

The Charter of Basic Rights, drawn up by the Alliance, provided the only programme around which all sections of the working class could be united in



Phillip Penn

defence of all gains made previously, read the resolution.

It called upon all trade unionists to join the ATUA and to build a revolutionary leadership inside the trade unions.

POST OFFICE STRIKE:

The Post Office strike involved workers not usually considered militant, Paul Cullinane, Paddington YS, said when he moved the resolution in support of the eight-week strike.

'The strike showed the determination of the working class to take on the Tories.

'At the February 21 TUC rally Jackson said it was a political fight. So the Post Office leaders, including the Stalinists, decided to call it off.'



Paul Cullinane

PILKINGTON'S:

Moving a resolution demanding union leaders fight to lift the victimization on the sacked Pilkington glass workers, Joe Bailey, of Wythenshawe YS, said that the Pilkington workers were fighting for rights that were the property of the whole of the working class.

He called on other workers, especially dockers, to ban the firm's products until the sacked men are reinstated.



Joe Bailey



APPRENTICES AND YOUNG WORKERS :

Eugene Norby, Derry YS, said workers in a local factory had been told to work twice as hard and take wage cuts of 5p an hour to safeguard their jobs.

He joined in the discussion on the resolution moved by Brian Farrell condemning the failure of trade unions to combat unemployment among youth.

Leeds clothing worker Margaret Beeks said in the discussion that the city's sweat shops were staffed by exploited young workers making, for example, gloves at 2½p a pair which were then sold for 40p.

Youth were deprived of even the basic recreational facilities, because all youth clubs and discotheques — 'run by capitalism for profit' — were being closed down, Slough YS delegate Arif Khan said.

The YS, he said, had to launch a big campaign to involve youth through the widest range of social activities.



Margaret Beeks

UNEMPLOYMENT :

The resolution on unemployment moved by N East YS National Committee member Peter Souter charged the Tory government with deliberately throwing workers on the dole as part of its attack on the living standards of the working class.

It called for a future Labour government to nationalize the banks and major industries without compensation and place them under workers' control.

It demanded the trade union leaders fight for work sharing and insisted that all firms open their books for workers' inspection.

Ian Mycroft of Rotherham YS told the conference of the redundancies in the steel industry in which he works.

'The union leaders have done nothing for the workers who are sacked in the Sheffield and Rotherham areas.

'Me and my mate didn't know what was going on at first when they sacked 300 out of 500 at my steel factory in Sheffield.

'When we met the YS at first, we thought it was a load of rubbish. But after these sackings we realized the YS has the only policy to fight unemployment.'

Tom Young of Jarrow YS said that his town was returning to



Peter Souter

the 1930s when almost half the men were on the dole.

'But we won't let them do this to us this time. This time we are going to fight. We must arm ourselves with the theory of Marxism and build the YS to get the Tories out.'

Paul Marks from Nuneaton YS said that 18 months ago jobs were 'ten-a-penny in his area' but now there were none and he has been unemployed since Christmas.

'They are too busy dealing with new school leavers at the dole now. They just take the cream, put them in jobs, and leave the rest to rot away on a few shillings national assistance,' he said.

OLD-AGE PENSIONERS :

The YS is proud of its record of struggle on behalf of old-age pensioners, said a resolution demanding the next Labour government raises the level of pensions in line with the changes in the cost of living.

'Pensions are a class question. The treatment meted out to the pensioners is part of the attack on the whole of the working-class movement,' said the resolution which was moved by a member of Manchester YS.



EDUCATION :

The resolution on education demanded comprehensive schools for all, free compulsory education until 16 and further education for all working-class children.

It insisted on the immediate repeal of all Tory education cuts and that the teachers' pay claim be met immediately.

Brian Prangle, a student at Southampton university, called for the building of Young Socialist Student Societies in all colleges and schools.

'The right of free education can only be won by students and school children if they join in the broader fight of the working class,' he told the conference.

'The economic crisis means that many students can't get jobs, they face unemployment just like many workers. Our fight against the attacks on education cannot be separated from the fight of workers in the unions for their rights.'

Celia Holt from Derry YS, a student at Maghee University in N Ireland, attacked the civil rights movement in Ulster which fought for the expansion of the university, now threatened with



Brian Prangle

closure, but divorced this struggle from the fight of Irish workers against the extreme right-wing Ulster government.

'With the election of Communist Party member Digby Jacks as president of the National Union of Students we must go forward to struggle to force the Stalinists to campaign against the Tories or get out of the way for those who will.'

HOUSING :

The conference demanded that the next Labour government nationalize all building societies, the construction industry and the land to meet the growing housing crisis and the homeless problem.

Bob Marchant of Sunderland YS said that the right to decent housing was a basic right of all workers and the Tories must be brought down 'because they were not providing this right.'



Bob Marchant

Continued from page 7

He said that Rachmanism was growing again, with Tory approval, and the rate of council house construction was stagnant.

John Walker (16) of Bradford YS told the conference that the council house he lived in was riddled with damp.

'We keep going to the council but the more we complain the less they do. They don't bother about how we live so we'll just have to get rid of these Tories,' he said.

IMMIGRATION :



Gary Gurmeet

Racialism today is emerging in its most reactionary form because of the political environment in which the attacks take place, Gary Gurmeet of Southall YS told the conference.

'The Industrial Relations Bill has been rushed through to smash the working class and this is what the Immigration Bill will be used for as well.

'The Immigration Bill will place at the mercy of the state a whole section of the working class whom it will try to intimidate and use against the organized unions,' he said.



Scarborough Conference April

TRANSPORT, THE COST OF LIVING AND THE SOCIAL SERVICES :



Derek Law

Derek Law from W London YS said that in the last nine months the Tories had introduced 'the most vicious charges for health and school meals and taken away school milk and the subsidies for bus fares'.

He said: 'Reformist leaders cannot defend these rights. Only a revolutionary party can do this. A party that won't negotiate away health standards or talk to the Tories about charging more for school meals.

THE ARMY AND THE POLICE :

Rick Crust, of Walthamstow YS, compared the 22 per cent pay rise given to the police with the 8 per cent award to the postmen.

He asked why it was necessary for the capitalist state to strengthen the apparatus of repression.

'Why? Because the working class is determined not to lose all its gains. They need a strong police force, not to prevent crime, but to defend property. If we want to know the necessity of this, we need look no further than Ulster.'

Anthony Jones, Salford YS, added in discussion: 'The police will be used to break up demonstrations and picket lines'.



Rick Crust

ULSTER

Sarah Hannigan said that the Ireland was an E Dominated Ulster

'The crisis has the working class down. They are crisis on the back ing class. That is the troops.'

Mary Maighan, that the Irish R were not in B British troops are

'The British we for peace,' she sa

'Unemployed forced to stand a corners are dispe up by the troo searched in the night.

SPECIAL INTERNATIONAL RESOLUTION

THE SCARBOROUGH conference, taking place on the centenary of the Paris Commune, was an event of international significance.

An international resolution, moved by Dany Sylveire on behalf of the YS National Committee, said the occasion should be one of uniting youth against Stalinism, 'for socialism in Western as well as Eastern Europe, under the banner of the United Socialist States of Europe.'

'The struggle for revolutionary internationalism amongst the youth will then

find its concrete expression.'

Appealing to youth the world over, the resolution said that an international rally of thousands of young communists would be held in Germany.

The universal character of the struggle for proletarian revolution, it said, has never expressed itself more sharply before.

'In May-June 1968 and in August 1968, the French and Czechoslovakian proletariats waged a common fight.

'In December 1970 and

January 1971, the Polish and Spanish proletariats waged a common fight.'

'The workers of General Motors, the British postmen, the workers and peasants of Vietnam and Laos, the Bolivian miners, the Palestinian masses are all waging the same fight: against the bourgeoisie and imperialism, against counter-revolutionary bureaucracies.'

Under these condtons, the only solution for youth in Europe is to raise the banner of 'Long Live the United Socialist States of Europe'.



Dany Sylveire

'WORKERS'

Conference saluted the strides forward made by the daily 'Workers Press' since the last YS conference.

'The paper has the t fighting day by day to p revolutionary understand the crisis and of the reformist leaders,' said Gurmeet moving the resol

The building of a revolu party—the main task before the conference—has been a centre of all the paper's ac he said.

He called on youth to participate in the development of the paper by winning readers, contributing to helping finance it in preparation for a six-page issue each week.

This would go together with the development in Keep Left the campaign to build a m



INTERNATIONAL :

The conference passed a number of resolutions concerning the international situation. They pledged full support for the struggle of workers and peasants all over the capitalist world, as well as in the Stalinist-dominated countries.

Nick Vajda, Holloway YS, said that the repressive measures taken recently by the bureaucracy in Poland showed their fear of the working class.

It also was a sign of their great weakness when faced with a determined opposition from workers defending the gains of the Russian revolution.

Conference declared its opposition to Tory plans to join the Common Market, which represented 'an attempt by the monopolists to come together to defend their crisis-ridden system against the working class'.

Workers all over Europe, said the resolution, had to unite in the common fight for a Socialist United States of Europe.

In the Middle East the solution to the crisis lay in the fight for a United Socialist States of the Middle East, uniting Arab and Jewish workers and giving full rights to all national minorities.

Speakers during discussion stressed the heroism and determination of Arab workers in the face of imperialist-backed butchers like King Hussein.

Other international resolutions discussed and approved by conference included full support for Vietnamese workers and peasants; the struggles of the Spanish working class to overthrow the fascist regime of General Franco and for the arming of workers against imperialism in S Africa.

Witch-hunting of militants all over the world was the subject of two resolutions condemning the arrest of Angela Davis in the



S. Africa : Sylvestre Smart

USA and the expulsion of Rudi Dutschke from Britain.

They called on the labour movement in Britain to take up the defence of victimized militants and stand firm against such smear campaigns of the ruling class which were aimed at the whole trade union movement and the revolutionary leadership.

In an emergency resolution on Pakistan conference expressed its complete solidarity with 'the heroic struggle of E Bengalis for their national independence'.

Denouncing the support given to the reactionary Yahya Khan regime by the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies, it demanded the immediate withdrawal of all Pakistani troops from E Bengal.

'Unity of Bengal is the first step on the road to the revolutionary unification of India and the overthrow of the Muslim and Hindu bourgeoisie.'

Building the mass party

WORKERS and youth have to wrestle with the theory of Marxism as the Puritans in the past wrestled with the ideas of God to make their revolution for the British bourgeoisie, Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League told the conference.

Comrade Healy made this plea for the study of theory when he moved the main resolution before the conference—on the building of the revolutionary party — on special invitation of the YS National Committee.

He said that all the illusions that the British ruling class had fostered in the workers' movement over two centuries were now being smashed because capitalism was bankrupt.

This Tory government was a great lesson to all workers because it was saying that all their rights—the right to free trade unions, the right to bargain with the employer and the right to a minimum standard of living—were now to be taken away from them.

'Once again we have the dole queues, once again police brutality on the streets, once again it's army oppression in N Ireland, once again all the machinery of the Hitlerite state is being established,' said comrade Healy.

'This is staring us all in the face here today. We must



G. Healy

overcome all our problems in conflict within ourselves and within the working class.

We must do this by analysing where ideas came from in the past of the working-class movement, and confronting this knowledge with the situation of today—going forward from there with a new understanding of how to carry forward the struggle for revolution in Britain and overcome the backwardness of the British working class.

Comrade Healy said that the struggle of the youth in the YS in helping to build the movement, and its paper was a source of great inspiration. The frustrations of blind activism, he said, could be overcome if the struggle for theory in the manner he had outlined was taken up.

He ended with an appeal for the whole conference to get out and build the YS, join the Socialist Labour League and build a mass revolutionary party in Britain.

KEEP LEFT :

Keep Left is the only paper which has sought to link the struggle of youth with that of the adult workers for a united fight to bring down the Tories, Editor Aileen Jennings told the conference.

She was moving a resolution pledging to raise the circulation of the paper to prepare for publication on a weekly basis and to use it as a 'key weapon in the building of the mass Young Socialist movement'.



Aileen Jennings

FRATERNAL GREETINGS :

Fraternal greetings were brought to the conference by the AJS—the Trotskyist revolutionary youth movement in France—and by a delegate from the Revolutionary Communist League of Ceylon.

From Greece, a delegate of the Workers' Internationalist League read to the conference a letter from their comrades jailed by the colonel's regime.

It appealed to the world working-class movement to stand solid in their defence, and go forward to build revolutionary parties.

This was the only way of defending the Greek socialist fighters against ideological and physical destruction, said the letter.



AJS delegate



Sarah Hannigan

'But guerrilla war cannot succeed. We must build a revolutionary youth movement.'

BUILD THE MASS YOUNG SOCIALISTS :

'Every young person at this conference has to go back and lead the biggest ever campaign to win thousands of new members,' National Committee member Maureen Bambrick told the conference.

She was moving a special resolution submitted by the YS National Committee outlining a nationwide campaign of this nature.

'We have to organize dances, discotheques, sports, football and weekend schools at holiday resorts in the coming period,' she said.

Branches had to be bigger with attractive programmes using slides, films and other media to express the YS political ideas.

Everyone in the Young Socialists had a part to play, she said.



Maureen Bambrick

il 3 & 4 1971

S London YS, struggle in N English question. don, she said,

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Belfast YS, said republican Army fast until the ved.

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YORKSHIRE

THE conference as a whole was an excellent introduction to the Young Socialists' policies and its social life.

It was also a lesson for YS members on the party's position in light of the recent rapid developments.

The delegates from Ireland, Spain and Greece presented examples of the ruthlessness of capitalism in its desperate struggle to strengthen its rotting foundations at the expense of the working class.

The conference was a huge success and presented a theme that will become the only slogan of all workers: 'Build the mass revolutionary party —Forward to world socialism!'

Stephen Middleton
Sheffield Central YS

THE MAIN thing about Scarborough conference was that it was the turning point when an alternative to the TUC, the Labour and Communist Parties—these so-called leaders of the working class—was set up.

The conference showed that the working class is moving nearer and nearer to the 'World October'.

The fight for socialism is now!

There must be an alternative built around the Socialist Labour League, the All Trades Unions Alliance and the Young Socialists to lead the working class forward to socialism.

Many ideas were brought into the conference which came from the experiences people had been through under capitalism.

The young people from Ireland said we must force the Tories to resign. They did not say kick out the Protestants or kick out the Catholics.

Workers must unite under one flag, the flag of socialism, and we have to go forward from Scarborough, forward to socialism.

Frank Thorne
Sheffield Central YS

THE 11th annual conference of the Young Socialists was the most important conference we have ever held.

It was a massive demonstration of the fight against the Tory government.

Obviously, from the number of people who attended the conference, the Young Socialists' movement is by no means an idle party.

The support came from not

only the whole of Great Britain, but from other parts of Europe, i.e. France, Spain and so on.

One comrade from Spain addressed the gathering and gave first-hand information about what is happening there now:

'In the political prisons the Spanish police are doing exactly what the Nazis did, only stopping short of killing people, but what is the use of being buried alive?'

Britain under the Tory dictatorship is starting off now in the same way as Spain under the dictatorship of Franco.

This speech and more like it brought us to the conclusion that these conferences are worthwhile and essential to the revolutionary party.

At the next conference we only hope that so many people come that we will have to expand Scarborough!

Ian Marcroft
Rotherham YS
Denise Kebby
Sheffield Central YS

DUE TO the rising number of redundancies nationally, and especially in Bradford, it is of vital importance that a mass movement is built to force the Tories to resign.

These redundancies are caused by the economic crisis and the Tory government.

At one large firm, if anybody is late more than three times a week, he or she is sacked on the spot.

At another small engineering firm last week the owner came round and asked who was working over.

There was a veiled threat that if anybody refused there were skilled men from another factory (where 138 were made redundant) who would be thankful to take their jobs.

Another mill closure or any other factory closure is hardly news any more—they occur with such regularity.

At a local warehouse discipline is being tightened up rapidly.

Unemployment is a big weapon for attacking the living standards and the trade union rights.

We have just got back from the Young Socialists' Scarborough conference and we consider that this is the only organization that can fight the Tory attacks so we are about to start a big recruiting campaign in Bradford and Huddersfield.

Barry, Martin, Mick,
Charlie, Graham, Dave
Bradford YS

Our readers views on:

WALES

AS A relatively new member to the Young Socialists the annual conference at Scarborough made me even more determined to fight for the Young Socialists in my area, which is S Wales.

Listening to the other members who, in organizing their own local youth into the YS, face the same difficulties and problems in their daily work as I do, was very encouraging.

It was also encouraging to listen to members of our sister organizations from Europe. This made me realize I was not just a member of the S Wales Young Socialists or the British YS, but a member of an international party whose ultimate aim is the overthrow of capitalism in every part of the world.

To replace this with the socialism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky for the building of the future for the benefit of mankind means forward with the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League in Britain and the world.

B. Johns
Cardiff YS

IN W Glamorgan where I live, the unemployment rate is growing very rapidly.

Every day in the local capitalist press there are announcements of redundancies in both heavy and light industry.

About three weeks ago 90 office staff were made redundant 'just as a start'.

The Imperial Smelting factory on the outskirts of Swansea closed down at the same time, putting 200 workers out of a job.

Another example of staff cutting since that time is the 140 staff made redundant from Metal Box in Neath and hundreds more from Teddington's Air Control factory in Merthyr Tydfil.

Since the facts were published that the British Steel Corporation is losing large amounts of money each year, the steel works near Swansea are to close down, putting well over a thousand out of work.

At the moment in Swansea, the largest city in W Glamorgan, there are three people unemployed for every job vacancy.

Since the Tories are forcing workers out of jobs by stopping industrial grants, they are solving Britain's economic crisis at the expense of the working class.

Many more workers will have to face long spells of unemployment in the future amounting to months or even years like they did in the 1930s.

The only way to solve this problem is to get labour and trade union leaders to fight against the Tories and force the TUC to call a General Strike to make the Tories resign.

The Tories must be replaced with a Labour government pledged to implementing the Charter of Basic Rights.

Tom Lloyd
Swansea YS

WE SET UP a YS branch in Northampton three weeks ago and 11 members came to the Annual Conference of the Young Socialists.

We all supported the policy which was passed; in particular the resolution which referred to the police which was very relevant to us as the police interfered with our attempt to recruit people to the conference.

We are now developing a social programme including football, rugby, and a discotheque in order to build our branch.

We think it is important to say that the resolutions that were passed should not be looked on as just something discussed every year but should be used in a fight to build up branches everywhere to throw out the Tory government.

Northampton YS Branch

AS A new member of the Young Socialists I feel I must say how impressed I was at the 11th Annual Conference held in Scarborough.

The policies of this Tory government are being engineered in such a way as to split and divide the working class, whilst they introduce a series of vicious Bills and anti-union laws, aimed at taking away all the basic rights and benefits won by the working class over 150 years of struggle.

What impressed me about the conference was the clear, precise, no-compromise decisions passed by the delegates on how to tackle these vicious threats and attacks on the working class.

The delegates were able to expose the role of the TUC and the Labour leaders who have sold out and capitulated to the Tories.

The conference also showed quite clearly that the fight of the working class in Britain is no different from the struggle of the working class throughout the world.

Capitalism is an international system in crisis. It intends to solve this crisis at the expense of the working class.

But the Tories and their system can be driven back and defeated by uniting the international struggle of the working class around the socialist policies and the building of the mass revolutionary Marxist parties in every country.

The conference showed clearly that such a party is being built in Britain only by the Young Socialists.

I entirely agree with all the resolutions passed by the conference but this in itself is not enough.

We have to take the decisions of the conference back into all the areas and towns as part of a programme and campaign to build the branches and increase the membership of the Young Socialists.

We in the Corby YS branch intend doing exactly that with discotheques, football, coach trips, weekend schools and so on.

We are confident that the Young Socialists can be transformed into a mass revolutionary movement to defeat the Tories once and for all.

Force the Tories to resign!
Alec Simpson
Corby YS

KERESLEY

I THINK that the Scarborough conference was very good and it explained the reasons for fighting the Tories.

For instance one youth said that his home in Bradford was damp throughout and the more they told the council the longer they left it.

I myself went to Manchester for a weekend and the houses in one part of the city were in a terrible state.

You even had to put a notice in your window to let people know that the house was occupied.

One woman said it had been like that for some years and the council had not bothered about it.

Another thing I would like to mention is the rising unemployment all over the country.

These are two reasons of my own for wanting to get rid of the Tories.

At the conference the YS speakers from Ireland were very good because they themselves are in the middle of a crisis.

Other youth that were at the conference, who are not in the Young Socialists, should join and fight for the right to a job.

G. Tweedie
Keresley YS (Chairman)

WE ARE members of the Keresley Young Socialists and would like to say what we thought about the conference at Scarborough.

Altogether it was a very good conference because everyone was talking about what had happened to themselves.

Everybody really wanted the Tory government out and they all wanted a General Strike. Even people who haven't heard of the YS are backing our policy.

It also showed our strength and unity.

Steven Mavriath
Keith Pendred

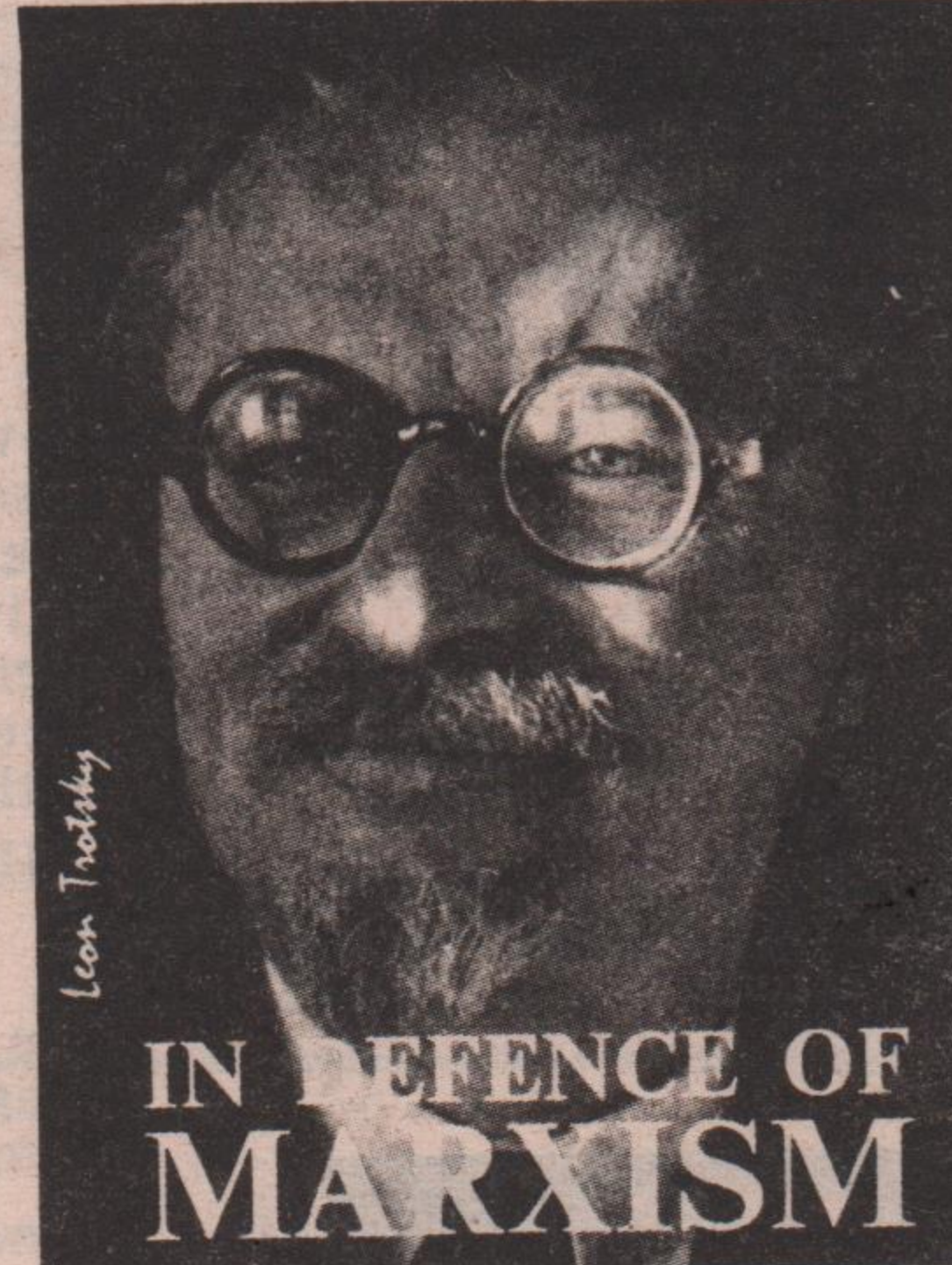
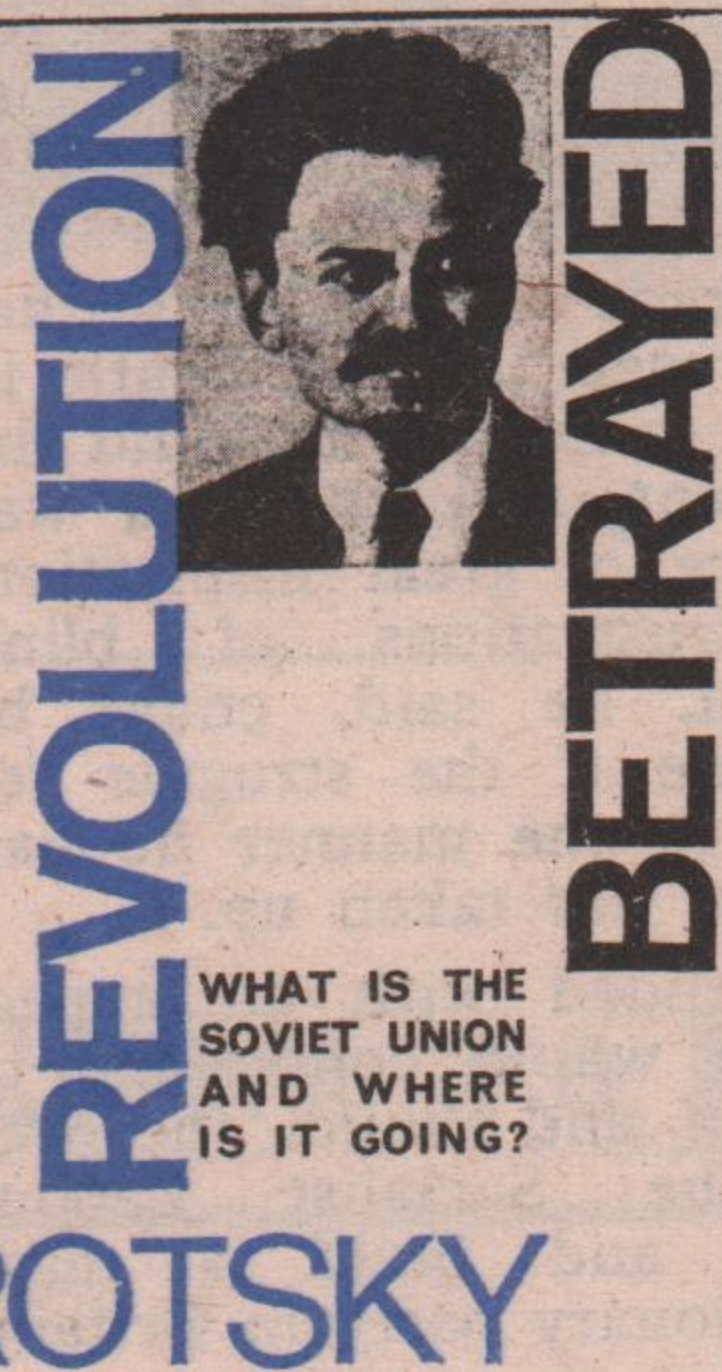
I HAVE been a member of the Young Socialists for a couple of weeks and I never really understood what it was about until I went to the Scarborough conference.

Now I know what the Young Socialists is all about and I am going to do my best to help.

The reason why I know and understand the Young Socialists is because I now realize that the whole aim is to get the Tories out—this I quite agree with.

I also agree with everything else that was said, particularly fighting very hard to get the Tories out.

A new Young Socialist member



Price: Hard cover 21s. Paper back: 10s. 6d.

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS
186A Clapham High Street, SW4.

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Paper of the Workers' League USA
NOW 16 PAGES WEEKLY
6th Floor, 135 West 14th Street, NY 10011, USA

- **Young Socialists 11th annual conference**
- **The fight against the Tory Government**
- **Building a mass youth movement**

THE Scarborough conference this year was a decisive step forward for the Young Socialists—a step further towards the building of a mass revolutionary party.

This was evident in the way in which the discussions exactly mirrored the feelings of the exploited working class.

The directness and simplicity of these discussions compels you to look beyond the surface impression and experience to the struggle of the Young Socialists to build massive branches in their own areas.

The confidence and vigour of all delegates and visitors clearly reflected the knowledge that we are in a period where we can only move forward and that the only backward steps are taken by the Labour Party Young Socialist branches as they retreat further.

Now that I have returned to my own branch in the North East I hope to continue in the struggle and carry any development I have made by attending the conference into the working class.

I realize that this is not an easy task, but the whole of the Young Socialists is built on struggle and I shall meet it with determination.

Lorna McShane
Jarrow YS

THE SCARBOROUGH conference reflected the working class's deep and growing hatred for the Tories and the necessity and determination to force the Tories to resign.

Young post office workers, Ford workers and apprentices got up and spoke of the betrayals by their union leaders and the necessity to build an alternative leadership.

They said that the only future workers had was in building the mass Young Socialists.

In order that we do not lag behind this development, as more and more youth come forward and fight for YS policies decided upon at the conference, we must develop ourselves as Marxists in order to understand this change.

This can only be done through the struggle to build the YS.

Banbury Young Socialists

AS THREE new members of the Young Socialists at the Scarborough conference, we thought it would be one big laugh.

But we soon changed our minds afterwards. There were so many young people who were able to express themselves just like adults.

At first we just sat there bored stiff, then we started listening and saw the speaker's point.

From then on it wasn't boring at all.

With more people in our organization we could build up big enough to get the Tories out.

Peter Fox, Keith Mauvey,
Gerald Downey
Handsworth YS,
Birmingham

SCOTLAND

IT MAY BE interesting for comrades to hear how the situation is developing in the SW area of Glasgow.

There is a big industrial estate called Hillington near our Young Socialists' branch and it is becoming like a ghost town with the factory closures.

Within the estate there used to be two big canteens, but both are now closed, as there are not enough workers to keep them going to make a profit.

The rate of unemployment in Scotland, and especially in the Clydeside, goes up weekly.

The working class in Scotland has a long history of militancy.

The shipyards are the last stronghold of the Communist Party, but workers are starting to see their treacherous conniving with the bosses.

The danger is that the situation on the Clydeside is moving nearer to the 1930s.

We must bring more and more youth into the Young Socialists, build the mass revolutionary party and throw the Tories out.

Only in the fight for socialism can the rights laid down in the Charter be implemented.

Craighton
Young Socialists

THE TORY government has been patting itself on the back about the amount of money it claims to have been spending on housing.

In actual fact the housing programme in this country has become almost stagnant and

we see this as a deliberate attack on the Tories' part.

In Scotland, particularly in our area of Coatbridge, we see people living in atrocious and dangerous conditions.

We see large families, with sometimes as many as ten children sharing two rooms—and damp rooms at that.

What is the capitalist government doing to solve this? The answer is simple—nothing.

They know that sordid living conditions demoralize people, and this is what the Tories are out to do to the working class.

It is part of a deliberate, brutal, hell-for-leather attack on our class.

Even the people in Coatbridge who have been allocated a decent house, such as young married couples, in many instances have to give them up because of the crippling rents.

The rents have been pushed up to as much as £6 a week.

This is in addition to the high gas and electricity rates which make it literally impossible for people to live.

As it says in the Charter of Basic Rights, proper housing is not a luxury but a basic necessity.

Therefore we demand that this callous and treacherous Tory government be destroyed and the nationalization of the building industry, under workers' control and without compensation to the owners.

Coatbridge
Young Socialists

ORDER YOUR NEW BANNER

Young Socialist Branch banners made for only 50p. This includes the material and the name of the branch painted on. If slogans or anything extra is required, the cost will be slightly greater as more material will be used. Estimates will be given if requested.

Complete form below:

BRANCH

Name of Secretary

Words for banner

.....

Address of Secretary

.....

(if necessary enclose your own design)

Amount enclosed £

Send to Art department:

Young Socialists
186a Clapham High St.,
S.W.4.

WE ARE writing from Crowborough in Sussex where we are in the process of forming a Young Socialists' branch.

The town is included in the E Grinstead constituency—a safe Tory seat held by Geoffrey Johnson Smith.

Not surprisingly there is a large Young Conservative contingent who are well established in the area.

Added to this is the fact that the unemployment crisis of the present time is known to have hit the South coast least of all, many of the residents are wealthy retired businessmen and a large number of the local people live in new estates and commute to work.

It is going to be a tough fight to build our branch.

So far we have found the greatest response to the revolutionary alternative has come from the fifth and sixth form at our local comprehensive school.

We have recruited a dozen comrades to our branch and a determined, fighting atmosphere has been built up around us.

Our present plans are to hold a discotheque at the Meadow Hall on Crowborough Hill and from there to hold weekly meetings.

With help from Keep Left and 'Workers Press' and with a determination springing from the attempts of the Tories to suppress and a hatred of the futureless capitalist system, we shall attack in any way we can.

With this letter we pledge our support to all comrades and join the fight for the revolutionary Marxist party.

Crowborough
Young Socialists

AFTER attending Scarborough I would like to say how important I feel these conferences are.

The feeling of unity with other youth gives more strength to our cause.

Everybody attending the conference heard the Tories exposed as the ruthless capitalists that they really are.

They have no regard for workers' rights, which is why we must fight now, as our predecessors fought.

We mustn't let the Tory government snatch these hard-won rights from us.

We heard speakers from Ford's and the post workers' union, who were betrayed by their treacherous union leaders. They are still determined to fight against this government and we must support them.

This struggle for workers' rights is not ours alone, as we have learned by the unrest and violence in Ireland.

We can't let what is happening in Ireland today be repeated in England tomorrow.

Build a mass Young Socialists movement. Force the Tories to resign. Forward to the May Day rally.

Doreen Mintez
Southampton YS

JOIN THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS TODAY!



Join the socialist movement which fights against Toryism, anti-union laws, unemployment and low wages.

For details of how to join fill in this form and write to YS National Secretary, John Simmance, 186a Clapham High St, London SW4.

Name

Address

100 YEARS SINCE THE PARIS COMMUNE

Interview, on the 100th Anniversary of the Paris Commune, about the lessons of the Commune for the revolutionary movement today.

A French comrade also explains how Trotskyists will celebrate the centenary.

WHAT was the Paris Commune?

In France and Paris, the working class went through a period of struggle from 1830 to 1848.

In both revolutions, the working class was in the forefront of events, and expressed its own interests as distinct from those of the different sections of the bourgeoisie.

The memory of how the fruits of victory had been stolen by the different sections of the bourgeoisie was vivid in the minds of Paris workers.

The 1830 revolution had led to the July monarchy; the 1848 revolution led to the 18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon, when Napoleon's nephew overthrew the republic.

The lessons of these defeats were being drawn by the socialist tendencies, especially by Auguste Blanqui.

The Commune events began after the French bourgeoisie's defeat by the Prussian army. The French army disintegrated. Napoleon III was discredited by the ignominious defeat. The people of Paris came into the streets and overthrew the second empire.

But the Proclamation of the Republic in September 1870 remained a formal act. Power was given to a group of bourgeois politicians called the 'Government of National Defence'.

This government, fearing social disorder and the movement of the working class, tried to come to an agreement with the Prussians. This became clearer as the weeks went by.

The bourgeoisie could not defend national independence even at that time. The government, under Thiers, put the agreement with the Prussians into practice—Paris was to be disarmed.

In March 1871 they decided to take down the cannon on the outskirts of Paris. The majority of workers were opposed to this—it showed them the real nature of the agreement with the Prussians.

The government became known as the 'government of national betrayal'.

The workers disarmed Thiers' troops and declared they would not obey his government. They set up their own government.

Bourgeois historians claim that the Commune was a patriotic stand, and attempt to rob the Commune of its real meaning.

But workers took up the struggle against the Prussian ruling class, the Junkers.

The interests of the French bourgeoisie became united with that of the Junkers: to ally themselves against the revolutionary working class.

☆

HOW did the working class take the power?

The organized battalions of French workers were in the National Guard; this was the organ they used to establish their power. They organized the Central Committee of the National Guard for a few days.

Some of the Communards did not realize what had happened. Those with the greatest illusions in bourgeois 'democracy' and legality suggested that Thiers should be asked to organize general elections.

This was the position of the right-wing minority in the Commune.

The majority still had illusions in the legal aspects of power. They organized elections for a new government. This was called the 'Commune de Paris'.

Marx explained in a letter to Kugelmann that this was a mistake made because of the illusions of the Communards. He said that the main question was to go on the offensive to destroy the bourgeois state of France.

The people of Paris had won the main cities to their cause. All the hopes of 1848 were resuscitated. Uprisings took place in Marseille, St Etienne, and Montpellier between March 18 and April 1, 1871.

The question posed by Marx was summed up in the necessity of marching on Versailles where the Thiers government had taken refuge. Workers had control of the country but not of Versailles.

The ideas of Proudhon and other anarchists and federalists was that the destruction of the government was not important.

Goodwill and agreement was enough. If everyone thought the same, the world would be changed. Marx had foreshadowed the problem of state power in the Communist Party, but this was the first time that the working class had gone through this experience.

Marx and Blanqui immediately took up this question. But Thiers understood this and the first order that Thiers gave was that his police should arrest Blanqui. He was arrested and jailed on March 18.

Thiers knew what he was doing. Politics and theory, the ability to understand what was necessary for the working class, and the authority to carry this out were embodied in Blanqui.

The Commune proposed that 10,000 hostages, including the archbishop of Paris should be exchanged for Blanqui, but Thiers refused:

'To give Blanqui to the Commune would be the same as giving two armed divisions', he said.

Blanqui was not released until 1879. Partisans of Blanqui did raise the question of marching on Versailles but they did not have the authority to impose this on the Commune.

Thiers was able to reorganize the army; the government enrolled mercenaries in an army which was blessed by the Prussians, although one of the clauses of the treaty with the Prussians had been that the French should disarm.

It had been possible to march on Versailles, but when this opportunity was seized, the Commune was condemned.

☆

WHAT changes took place under the Commune?

The measures of the Commune were radical socialist changes which precluded the Soviet workers' state of 1917.

The army was abolished and an armed workers' militia was set up. Tribunals were replaced by elected courts of justice, subject to recall.

Female and youth labour was restricted. Equality of women and men was declared. The church was separated from the state.

The Banque de France, where all the gold reserves were kept, was in Paris, in the hands of the Commune.

But because of federal and anarchist illusions, the Commune considered that the gold and money were the property of the nation and could not be touched.

Instead of seizing these riches and smashing the bourgeois government by taking its money, they believed in socialism by 'goodwill' and allowed the Thiers government to draw cheques.

But below all the illusions

from the past, these genuine socialist measures were the real face of the Commune.

The great lesson drawn by Marx in his book 'Civil Wars in France' was that the destruction of the bourgeois state was the essential and central question, which was raised but not solved by the Paris Commune. This was the first task.

Blanqui was drawing these conclusions in jail. But in the Commune Blanqui's supporters did not have the power to impose these views.

The problem could not be answered without first being posed in reality itself. It was only after the Commune that Marxism was popularized.

The second main lesson to be drawn from the Paris Commune was the lack of a genuine revolutionary party, which could draw together all the experiences of the working class and express its historical aims.

The absence of such a party was a mortal blow to Blanqui. The First International groups could not put into practice what they understood in theory. This could only be achieved with a party as a vanguard.

(This was the lesson drawn by Marx and Engels in their critique of the Gotha and Erfurt Programmes.)

☆

HOW are you going to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Commune this year in France?

It is traditional in France to celebrate the Commune because it showed to the world working class that a new world was possible.

Last year for the first time we felt we had the organizational capacity and the political duty to

take up this old tradition, in the traditional way.

That is, to go to the Père Lachaise Cemetery, where the last Communard was shot by the Versailles troops by the 'Wall of the Fédérés, (the fédérés were the Communards).

The government banned the celebrations.

Of course they had no legal authority to ban anyone from going into a cemetery to pay their respects to the dead!

They wanted a provocation; it was a trap. The day it was supposed to take place, the whole area was occupied by police forces.

This shows how the government is ready to do anything, in order to repress the revolutionary vanguard. The Communist Party was allowed to hold their celebration.

This year we are celebrating the Commune in several ways. We are publishing the Programme of the Communist Manifesto, and historical and theoretical articles on the meaning of the Commune today in the struggle to build a revolutionary party.

We shall end the campaign by two days of mass lectures at the 'Mutualité' in Paris on June 12 and 13, about the Lessons of the Paris Commune.

The situation will dictate whether it will be possible to demonstrate.

The best way to celebrate the Commune is to be the heirs of the Communards, to act on the lessons drawn from this historical period by Marx and Lenin—to build the revolutionary party as the historical instrument to destroy the bourgeois state and society.

That is why we are going forward to mass revolutionary youth movements in our countries, in order to build the Fourth International.



review

Only a general investigation

'Investigation Of A Citizen Above Suspicion'
A film by Ello Petri

Reviewed by Jack Orchard
IN ITALY, in recent months, there has been a marked resurgence of fascist or pro-fascist activity.

There have been demonstrations near the site from which Mussolini spoke and the dictator's name was chanted.

It is inevitable in such a period of capitalist crisis that these reactionary forces should once again appear on the political scene.

A period such as the one we are now entering must pose the question of revolutionary victory to the working class, or the counter-revolution, fascism, and the smashing of the working class.

Essential

An understanding of fascism, its sources, its development, the forces it calls upon, is absolutely essential in the struggle to build a mass revolutionary movement.

This understanding will only come from a serious, material analysis of the world as it actually is.

As Lenin wrote in April 1917: 'Marxism requires of us a strictly exact and objectively veritable analysis of the relations of classes and of the concrete features peculiar to each historical situation.'

'We Bolsheviks have always tried to meet this requirement which is absolutely essential for giving a scientific foundation to policy.'

The nature of the film under review—'The Investigation of a citizen above suspicion'—required that long-winded introduction.

Elio Petri has attempted to film politics rather than to film politically, that is to say he has made a film of a political object without making a film from a political/philosophical standpoint.

Mystical

In fact Petri has treated the subject matter in an idealist quasi-mystical manner.

He insists upon dealing with questions of power in general, the state in general, the individual in general.

The use of a quote from Kafka with the final credits is no use, at all.

It simply confuses issues. Kafka for all his psycho-analytical insights, was a bewildered, terrified petty bourgeois with only the impressionist's view of politics.

Kafka's name cannot be dragged in to excuse a facile treatment of politics.

Gian Maria Volonti plays the chief of the homicide squad in a large city.

A city 'plagued', like all Italian cities, with strikes, sit-ins, demonstrations of workers and students. But the homicide chief has been appointed head of political intelligence and he

intends to clean up this 'leftist mess'.

This fascist cop has also casually murdered his mistress (Florinda Bolkan) because she made fun of him, because she revealed his sexual inadequacies, because she preferred a young 'revolutionary' to him, because he wished to discover whether he was truly a citizen above suspicion.

He embarks on a contradictory, schizophrenic cause.

He deliberately incriminates himself, leaves evidence behind, and dares his own colleagues to pursue him whilst destroying evidence, brow-beating witnesses and continuing in his role as a tough cop.

These are the two sides, the film maker indicates, which the powerful possess, impotence, weakness, guilt, the desire to be punished and the outward strength of the dictator, torturer, executioner, the desire to punish.

Source

All right. But these are impressions. What is the source of these characteristics?

Class needs, objective class requirements, working independently both of the ruled and the ruler.

It is dangerous to speak of power in general, that only aids those who are quite specifically, quite concretely in power.

It is the profit margins, not the neuroses or sexual proclivities, of the capitalists which determines their policy.

To think otherwise is political disarmament.



Gian Maria Volonti gets some rough treatment.

science correspondent reports

IN THE Japanese cities of Tokyo and Osaka, the smog is so dense that workers have to wear face masks to prevent being gassed on their way to work.

On one black day in July last year, one fifth of the schoolchildren in Tokyo were sent home suffering from dizziness and nausea. In Japan, as in most other advanced capitalist nations, nobody has yet thought of controlling the environmental effects of industrial anarchy. Smog withers the trees in Rome, turns New York into a furnace, blacks out the St Lawrence waterway in Montreal, and turns all paint in Buenos Aires grey.

Cancer

Smog is a fog heavily saturated with smoke particles, which accumulates over industrial areas when there is no wind to disperse it. The lungs of city workers are invariably black (even those of non-smokers), and there is no doubt that the higher incidence of lung cancer and respiratory diseases in the towns is directly caused by the polluted air.

It is estimated that the four-day smog in December 1952 killed at least 4,000 Londoners.

British capitalism claims steady progress in combating the the smog hazard since the introduction of the Clean Air Act in 1964.

The small inroads made in the right direction are attributable to the healthy state of the British chemical industry at that time which could afford

Deadly poison in the atmosphere

the price of mollifying intense working-class indignation.

Most capitalist nations could not afford even this concession to the health of their workers.

However, British capitalism has attempted to cover up only the most noticeable effect of anarchic production. We are slowly but inexorably poisoning ourselves with sulphur dioxide.

'Smokeless zones' have increased the use of oil fuels, which in turn has led to a drastic rise in sulphur dioxide emission (6 million metric tons of it in 1968).

Sulphur dioxide poisoning is noticeable in vegetation many miles from the industrial areas, and at concentrations of the gas much less than those to which man is subjected.

It has already become clear that the gas is a lethal irritant to bronchial sufferers. It is not impossible to prevent sulphur dioxide entering the atmosphere, but it is not economically viable to neutralize it under the present system.

Factory chimneys are merely built taller, so as not to bombard the immediate vicinity too much.

Motor vehicles are culpable for widespread air pollution, and contrary to popular belief it is the petrol engine and not the smoky diesel which is the most dangerous.

Lethal

The exhaust fumes contain a high concentration of carbon monoxide, which is a lethal poison to all living organisms.



force the American car industry into a more dire economic position.

Capitalism can no longer overcome its internal contradictions.

The major constituent of air pollution, carbon dioxide, has received the scantiest attention, as it is only poisonous in huge concentrations. However, it has been suggested that the carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere will have increased by a quarter by the year AD 2000.

This upset in equilibrium would so alter stratospheric properties such as temperature, that the polar ice cap would be melted. Then the earth would be left with a final monument to the follies of capitalism.

Indefinite

Of the other forms of pollution of the air, flourine (from brickworks), is potentially very dangerous as it remains in the environment indefinitely.

The special case of radiation will be dealt with in a separate article on militarism and pollution.

Finally, a mention of the most publicized form of air pollution, the self-induced pollution of the lungs by cigarette smoke.

Nicotine

But no medical report will prevent the tobacco barons from trading the lives of workers for profit. Cigarette advertising deludes the worker that he is not a 'man' unless he coats his lungs with a black nicotine ooze of the advertised brand.

We have enough capitalist filth to filter with each breath, without deliberately ruining our own health.

Poison

Three thousand tons of lead are emitted from car exhausts in Britain each year. This deadly poison accumulates in roadside vegetation, and may be entering the biological food chain at this moment.

President Nixon was recently forced to introduce legislation which requires the car industry to produce a virtually emission-free car by 1976. It is obviously within the limits of our productive capability to manufacture such a vehicle, but this legislation will paradoxically

Acton strikes again!

BY OUR FOOTBALL CORRESPONDENT

RIGHT from the kick-off in the Young Socialists League Cup quarter final on Sunday, March 28, Acton began playing hard, attacking football.

Oxford took the lead in the first 15 minutes, but Acton quickly pulled up and went ahead with a score of six goals by half time.

After making two changes in the second half, Oxford tried to combat the attacking power of the Acton side.

The Oxford defence played a tight game which resulted in some rough tackling and the occasional flare-up.

However Acton kept up their attack and added three more goals before full time.

Full time: Acton 9 Oxford 1

★ ★

ACTON anticipated a strong side from Nottingham and fielded their strongest team on Sunday April 11 in the Young Socialists' League Cup semi-final.

Taking the lead with two quick goals, Acton remained constantly on the attack.

Nottingham had only one answer to this—to pull back most of their players into defence. In this way they held back the advancing Acton forwards for half an hour before conceding any more goals.

After half time Nottingham were again forced back on to the defence, but they could not contain the attacking power of the Acton forwards who scored goal after goal.

Acton goalkeeper L. Letang must have been the hottest man on the field with only a few shots to save since Nottingham rarely got the ball past their own half.

Full time: Acton 13 Nottingham 0



Above: One up for Acton as the ball goes home. Opposite: Not so lucky Oxford team. Below: The formidable Acton side.



YS NOTICE

SLOUGH Investigation into unemployment

YS reporting team

LATEST unemployment figures for Slough show 1,011 people out of work with only 535 jobs vacant.

This figure does not include 230 school leavers at Easter or the 280 people who have just been informed of redundancy at the engineering firm of Modern Wheel Drive.

This is the second firm to announce redundancies in the past three weeks—the other factory had 30 years standing in the area.

The reason given for redundancies in the previous case was a five-week strike last year.

There is a further reduction in staff of 33 at a local electric welding machinery factory.

Added expense

Thirty-two apprentices are on the unemployment cards—one of them recently married and has the added expense of a mortgage.

A number of the redundant Modern Wheel employees live in company houses and with the present disgusting housing situation in Slough the future does not look very bright for these workers.

This present situation amongst the unemployed is the worst on record in the Slough area.

A careers office spokesman said that apprenticeships in Slough were virtually non-existent and that the unemployment problem covered both skilled and unskilled workers.

On the stage documentary '200 years of Labour History'

SUNDAY MAY 9

Bernard Sunley Lecture Theatre
St Catherine's College
Oxford 8 p.m.

Speakers: Mike Banda, editor of 'Workers Press' and Alan Thornett, leading Oxford trade unionist

SUNDAY MAY 16

University Drama Studio
Glossop Road
Sheffield 7 p.m.

Speakers: Mike Banda, editor of 'Workers Press' and John Smith, YS national committee member

SUNDAY MAY 23

Gulbenkian Theatre Studio
University Theatre
Newcastle 7 p.m.

Speakers: Gerry Healy, national secretary of SLL and Trevor Souter, YS national committee member

KEEP LEFT

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BOARD

SOUTHALL YS FEDERATION

Summer Diary

Sunday, April 25	Coach outing to RAMSGATE
Thursday, April 29	Federation Meeting
Sunday, May 9	Federation Rally
Sunday, May 23	Coach outing to HASTINGS
Monday, May 31	Five-a-side football
Sunday, June 6	Federation Sports Day
Sunday, June 13	Trip to HAMPTON COURT
Sunday, June 20	Swimming and Hockey
Sunday, June 27	Coach outing to MARGATE
Saturday, July 3	Film show
Saturday, July 10	DANCE

NORTH WEST REGION

Football every Sunday at St George V Playing Fields, Huyton. Starts 2.00 p.m.

St Helens YS Meeting

Every Tuesday at Greenfield House
10 Greenfield Road
(Records, table tennis, billiards and darts)

DISCOTHEQUE

Hallgate House
off Hallgate, Wigan
every fortnight starting Tuesday, April 27
Adm. 15p

DISCOTHEQUE

Boilermakers Club
Duke Street (Nr Birkenhead Park station)
every fortnight starting Friday, April 23
Adm. 20p.

Coach trip to
BLACKPOOL (football)
Sunday, May 9
Cost approx. 60p

Coaches leave:

St Johns Lane, Liverpool 9.00 a.m.
The Old Swan Pub, Old Swan, Liverpool 9.15 a.m.
St Helens Town Hall 9.30 a.m.
The Blue Bell Pub, Huyton 9.30 a.m.
The Dog and Partridge Pub 9.30 a.m.

WEEKEND SCHOOL

Scaris Brick
Ormskirk
May 24 and 25
Cost approx. £1.20

Outing to
RHYL, NORTH WALES
Sunday, June 20
Barbeque, swimming and football
Coaches leaving all places
Cost approx. 80p

Help us set up new branches in

- ★ Skelmersdale
- ★ Leith
- ★ Speke

Scottish Young Socialists call for region-wide campaign

TORY POLICIES being carried out in N Ireland today are a direct preparation for Britain tomorrow, National Committee member Vince Porteous told the Scottish regional conference of the Young Socialists.

He warned of the dangerous move by the Labour Party leadership towards coalition over N Ireland.

'They have joined with the

Tories in condemning the struggle of the Irish working class for basic civil rights,' he told YS members, mainly from Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee.

He went on: 'The way to put an end to the bloody repression in Ireland is to mobilize working class here in a General Strike to replace the Tories with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.'

Ian McCalman, speaking in the discussion, said that TUC chief Victor Feather's visit to Glasgow had been greeted with great hostility from many workers calling for a General Strike.

In fact he faced so much opposition to his policies on

the anti-union laws, that he had eventually to call in the police to break up the meeting.

'This action showed the real class position of these reformists in the labour movement: when confronted with a strong and militant working class they can only betray real opposition to the Tories,' said comrade McCalman.

He called for the biggest ever mobilization of forces to meet the challenge of leadership.

During discussion, Ibrox garage worker Edward Ward said the Tory policy on health and welfare services was 'scandalous'.

'They are putting up the price of school meals and doing away with free milk in schools,' he said.

Allan Reed from Aberdeen Central branch, an engineering apprentice, said these attacks on welfare services were laying the basis for bigger attacks in the coming period.

Freddie Beecham is an apprentice miner and a member of Portobello YS.

'Although the history of Scottish miners has been one of militant struggles, the Tories pose the threat of a return to the 1930s,' he said.

'In this light the Scarborough conference took on a historical significance and a responsibility to build the revolutionary party.

'We must now go forward to build the Young Socialists and found the revolutionary party by the end of this year.'

WILLESDEN FEDERATION

Coach outing to
HASTINGS

Sunday, June 6

Coaches leave from Kilburn, Willesden,
Burnt Oak and Wembley

DARTFORD YS

Discotheque
Thursday, April 29
The Co-op Hall
Westgate Road
Dartford

8.00 p.m.

Adm. 15p

W Midlands YS vote for big expansion

EXPANSION of the Young Socialists in the W Midlands was the main subject for discussion at the local regional conference.

This expansion was necessary because the leadership of the working class could not be left in the hands of the reformists and centrists in the TUC, YS National Committee

member for W Midlands, Harry Lamb told the conference.

He was moving the main resolution—unanimously endorsed by delegates and visitors from Coventry and Birmingham—to set up new branches and strengthen the existing ones.

'The past history of the YS has shown that a new leadership can be built that would lead a General Strike to force the Tories out,' he said.

A revolutionary party was urgently required. This had been the central point at the

4,500-strong Alexandra Palace rally and it was the central point at the YS annual conference in Scarborough.

Harry Lamb's speech was followed by a lively discussion which allowed visitors to expand on several issues.

Plans were drawn up for regular football in all the branches, an example taken from the highly successful five-a-side tournament held earlier in Coventry.

The election of a new regional committee to lead this campaign was followed by a five-a-side competition and a discotheque in the evening.

Young Socialists summer camp

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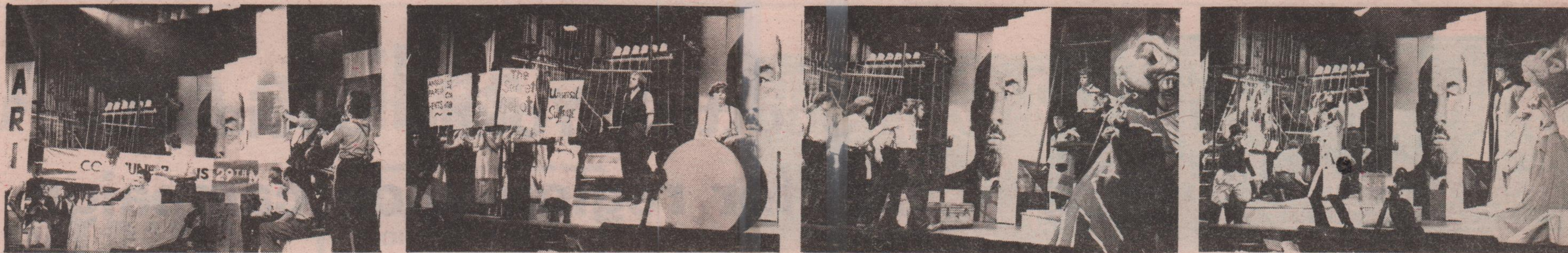
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'200 Years of Labour History'

800 commemorate Paris Commune

YOUNG workers and trade unionists from all over London gathered 800-strong in Battersea Town Hall on April 18 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Paris Commune and prepare the coming revolutionary overthrow of capitalism in Britain.

It was a fitting commemoration of history's first workers' state.

The audience were left in no doubt about the need to carry forward the traditions and lessons of the Commune.

They responded passionately to the stage presentation of '200 Years of Labour History' performed by a large cast of dedicated actors and actresses who support the Charter of Basic Rights.

The play ended with Bertholt Brecht's impression of the first session of the Paris Commune proclaiming the laws of the newly-born workers' state.

Thoroughly inspired and aroused by the stage production, the meeting heard speeches from 'Keep Left' editor Aileen Jennings, Mike Banda, Workers Press editor, and fraternal greetings from Claude Chisseray of the French Trotskyist movement (OCI). The meeting was chaired by Sheila Torrance, assistant national secretary of the Socialist Labour League.

'The Paris Commune', Aileen Jennings said, 'taught the working class internationally that it is necessary to smash the capitalist state and replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat.'

Claude Chisseray, bringing the fraternal greetings of the Organization Communiste

Internationaliste, French section of the Fourth International, stressed that for Trotskyists commemorating the Commune meant drawing the lessons of this heroic defeat and carrying them into the class struggle today.

Workers Press editor Mike Banda, speaking for the Socialist Labour League, said the Commune had proclaimed the opening of the era of the world-wide proletarian revolution.

The Commune brought home the enormous importance of smashing the capitalist state against all those Fabians, Utopian socialists and revisionists who ignored the importance of the superstructure of society.



Above top: Scenes from the production '200 Years of Labour History'. Above: A section of the 800-strong audience. Opposite: The platform of speakers: 1 to r Claude Chisseray, Aileen Jennings, Sheila Torrance and Mike Banda. Below: All the cast on-stage for the finale.



Continued from page 5

Tolstoy, demanded that the social-democratic (Duma) faction introduce a Bill for the abolition of the death penalty and have already gone on to the streets with this slogan.

In the workers' districts anxiety can be scented and this anxiety will not be quick to settle.

Such is a chain of thoughts and events which Tolstoy of course could not foresee on his death-bed. He who threw in the face of triumphant counter-revolution that unforgettable: 'I cannot remain silent!' will not have closed his eyes for long before revolutionary democracy awakens from its sleep; for the light cavalry of the students has already received its first encounter while the heavy brigade of the proletariat, which is coming into motion more slowly, is preparing tomorrow to dissolve its protest against the death penalty into the glorious slogans of the revolution which is as invincible as truth.

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