

UNITES ALL YOUNG WORKERS, STUDENTS, APPRENTICES,
UNEMPLOYED, IMMIGRANT AND SCHOOL YOUTH

KEEP LEFT

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YOUNG SOCIALISTS YOUTH
SECTION OF THE WORKERS
REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

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FORWARD TO THE GREEK REVOLUTION!



Students at Athens Polytechnic—where many youth were killed fighting the army last October—celebrate the fall of the military dictatorship.

THE SEVEN-year-old Greek military dictatorship has fallen! The strength of Greek workers—which the colonels were unable to defeat—has forced their replacement by a civilian government, headed by former Prime Minister, Constantine Karamanlis.

But Greek workers must be warned—this government of so-called 'national unity' is a trap, unless the working class and its organizations fight for their political independence from the forces of the capitalist state. No concessions must be made to all those—particularly the Stalinists of the Greek Communist Party—who call on the working class to support this government as their hope for democracy. This government is the nominee of the colonels, who see in it their hope of the defeat of the Greek Revolution.

It comes to power in the midst of a desperate crisis for the Greek

bourgeoisie and capitalism internationally. Skyrocketing price rises in Greece—last year at the rate of 33 per cent—means that the class struggle must be waged viciously to protect the living standards of the working class.

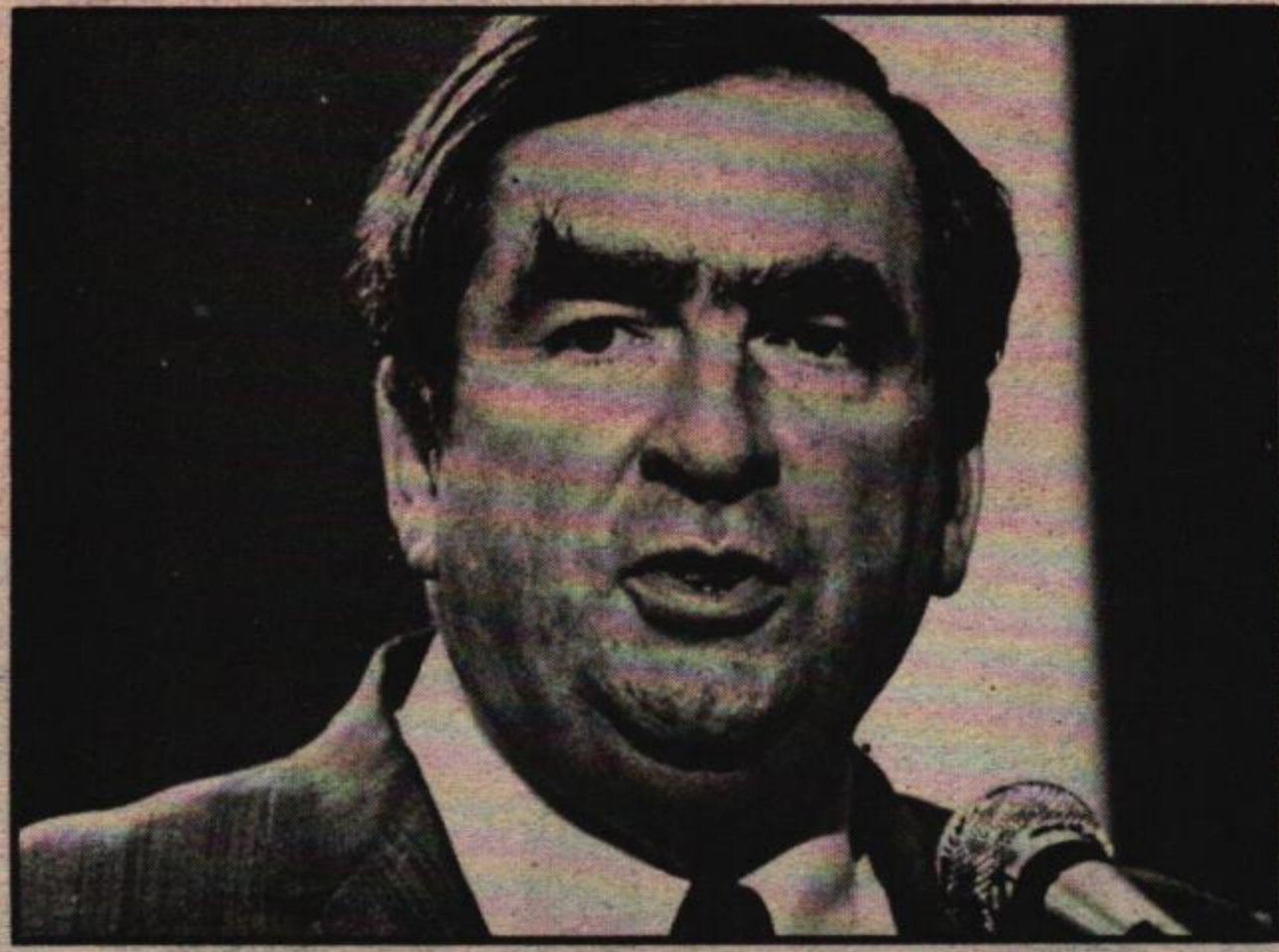
Workers can afford no truce with the capitalists, nor with their army which stands in the wings behind Karamanlis' right-wing National Radical Union party and the rest of his 'national unity' government.

The fight must be for the complete disbanding of the army and the formation of workers' and soldiers' defence councils; for the strengthening and independence of the trade unions and every political party of the working class.

**LONG LIVE THE GREEK REVOLUTION!
FORWARD TO THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE!**

KEEP LEFT SAYS

Budget Bankruptcy



LABOUR CHANCELLOR Denis Healey's budget last Monday is another retreat before the Tories. It makes no attempt to meet the political tasks imposed by the worsening economic crisis.

As is pointed out in the capitalist Press, Healey stole the Tories' electoral underpants with his announcement of a special 60 per cent rebate for rural ratepayers and increasing payouts to shareholders.

In addition the Labour government has accepted \$1,200m (£500m) from the Shah of Iran, increasing the foreign national debt which is now reckoned to stand at something like £10,000m.

The lowering of VAT from 10 to 8 per cent may cut the cost of living index by one per cent but will mean little real change in living standards.

Every one of Healey's measures has given a sharper twist to the inflationary spiral; his talk about tackling inflation 'at source' is nonsense with the measures he has introduced.

His allocation of £50m from the £500m set aside in his first budget for food subsidies on flour, etc, is again no answer to the escalation in food prices over the past year.

The dominating trends in world capitalism are super-inflation and increasing tendency towards slump. Reporting Healey's doubling of the regional employment premium to start on August 5 at an annual cost of £118m, the 'Guardian' commented:

'Mr Healey said that his economic measures would create about 20,000 more jobs. But... this may only

mean that the increase in the number of workless over the next year will be 20,000 fewer than it otherwise would be.'

An economic survey conducted by 'The Economist' states categorically that nothing will avert closures and bankruptcies in the coming months.

By winter, it predicts, unemployment will reach one million.

It is under conditions of mounting recession that Healey offers his 'sugar-coated' pill in the hope that these measures will do the trick for Labour in the general election which is almost certain to be held in the autumn.

But Healey's hopes and aspirations in this period assume the character of a man desperately doing a juggling trick while the floor beneath him collapses.

Nothing that the Labour government has proposed can change the character of the period we live in or alter the course of the world economic crisis.

And today every retreat by the Labour government in face of the Tories poses a new threat to the wages and jobs of millions of workers.

Over and over again the reformist leaders have refused to put forward any policies to protect the living standards of the working class.

The Labour traitors must not be allowed to get away with smuggling themselves into an election with no socialist policies to defend the working class. They must be called to account before an emergency conference of the Labour Party and made to adopt socialist policies to meet this crisis.

SCHOOL LEAVERS SPEAK OUT AGAINST JOB SHORTAGE

By Steve Casely, Tunbridge Wells YS

BY THE end of July, 615,000 young people will have left school and begun the search for a job. But now inflation turns into its opposite — deflation.

Share values are at their lowest level for nearly 20 years. All over the world banks are collapsing and all types of industry are laying off workers and are faced with bankruptcy.

Even though young workers are paid the most meagre wages, the depth of the crisis is such that the ruling class cannot even afford to pay youth on this level.

Wilson's Labour government states that workers and youth must take huge cuts in their standard of living in order to pay for the crisis of capitalism.

In the face of this the Young Socialists have been visiting schools and campaigning to explain the nature of the crisis facing school leavers.

In West Kent, we visited several schools and colleges and received a tremendous response to our policies from students.

Sharon Walsh (14), attends Hillview Secondary Modern, Tonbridge. When asked what kind of job she wanted and what she thought the future held, Sharon told us:

'I want to be an audio-typist, but I don't think that

Big response for YS schools leaflet campaign

they can pay me enough even if the jobs are there. I don't think I've got any future under this system. It's had it. You don't have to look far to see that. Prices are soaring and wages are going down.

'People can't afford to live. They can't even afford food, so I joined the YS to fight for socialist policies.'

Slump

Jayne Mankelov (18) is a college student. 'I think that it's very hard to get a decent job when you leave school or college, even if you have the

GCEs, because of the economic conditions — I mean inflation and slump. I don't think that there's enough effort put into finding jobs for young people.

'All they seem to want you to do is join the army or work for the post office. When I leave college I want to be a nurse but I don't think unless the nurses get their wages increase that I'll be able to afford to.'

David Currie (16) has just left school in Lewisham in South East London. He told Keep Left:

'Young people like myself leaving school haven't got a chance to get a job. The companies are cutting down on employment. They're taking on less and less apprentices.'

'They give you a test which doesn't mean anything because you've already passed exams in those subjects and they use it as an exercise to bring you down.'

Asked why he thought these developments were

taking place, David said, 'The government can't keep things under control. There's no plan in the system to make sure people get jobs. They only employ people when they can make money from them.'

'Industry is getting low on money so they want to employ less people and hang onto the money.'

What was the answer for school leavers? 'The young generation,' Dave said, 'need a leadership they can trust to take power and plan the industries so everyone has the right to work.'

The Young Socialists demand the nationalization of all basic industry under workers' control without compensation, and the banks and the land.

We fight for a policy for an emergency conference of the Labour Party to decide on socialist policies to meet the crisis.

RIGHT-WING DEMAND CREATES SPLIT IN TRANSPORT UNION

Sack Asian strike leaders demands Imperial convenor



Convenor, Reg Weaver.



OFFICIALS of the Transport and General Workers Union in Leicester are demanding that the Imperial Typewriter Company sack 25 leaders of the recent 11-week strike by Ugandan Asians.

Imperial convenor Reg Weaver, a former executive member of the T&GWU, led a walk-out of the plant by 300 right-wingers last Tuesday in an attempt to make management break the official union agreement which settled the strike.

Full time union district secretary, George Bramley has also spoken out in support of the walk-out. These developments mean that the District Committee is in complete opposition to the official union policy and is defying union settlement.

Regional secretary, Brian Maters, who negotiated a settlement calling for no victimization also conducted an official inquiry into the local officer's handling of the dispute.

The report of this inquiry — which is not yet published — condemns the racist attitudes of some of the right wing.

During a meeting at the plant on Monday when the vote for strike against the union agreement was taken, members of the extreme right-wing National Front handed out leaflets

Above: Young Asian workers demonstrate during their 11-week strike.

saying: 'No re-employment by Imperial of the leaders and instigators of the Asian strike.'

The 400 Asians at the plant struck work in opposition to the bonus system and to fight for more democracy in the factory's trade union structure.

They are prevented from becoming shop stewards by a locally applied rule which states that all shop stewards must be members of the T&GWU branch committee.

Young Turkish worker beaten by Stalinists

TURKISH STALINISTS recently attacked and severely wounded a young Turkish Trotskyist who is fighting for better working conditions among waiters in the London Eating Houses group.

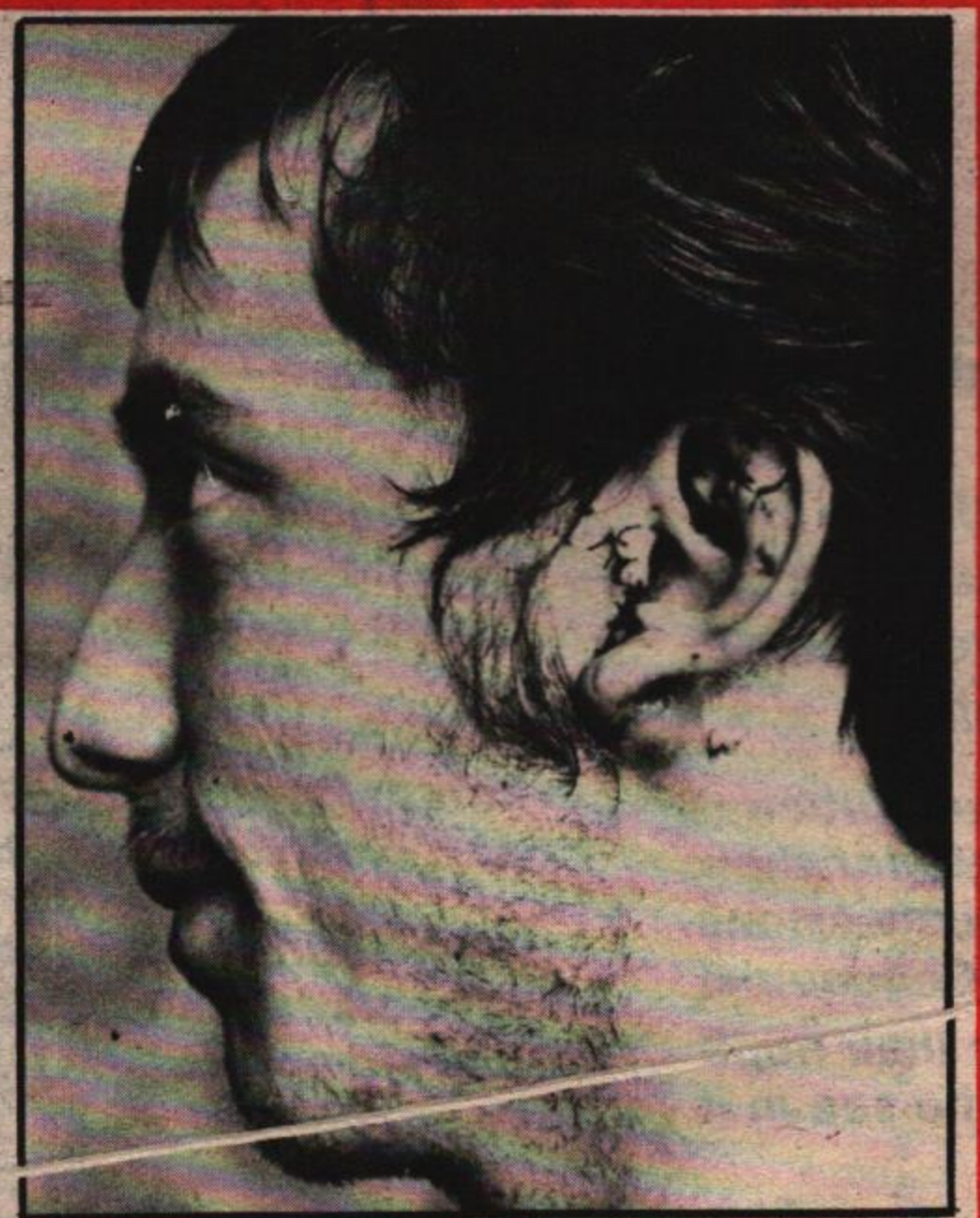
The cowardly attack — which meant he had to have 15 stitches in a gash to his right ear — was caused when he was hit from behind with a large beer glass. It took place as the young man and his girlfriend were returning to their flat in North London on Saturday July 13.

They had been visiting Wimpey bars distributing leaflets which stated the case for better pay and conditions for the large number of Turkish

workers in the industry.

The leaflet also dealt with the treacherous role of the official transport workers' leadership and its collaboration with the Turkish Stalinists in ensuring the postponement of a strike call a month ago.

The Young Socialists condemn this attack by the Turkish Stalinists. We affirm that our comrades will not be intimidated by such attacks. They will step up their fight to build a base among Turkish workers in the coming struggles. We call on all workers in the industry to condemn this attack.





Withdraw all British and foreign troops from Cyprus!

THE CEASEFIRE which has been agreed between Greek and Turkish forces in Cyprus goes nowhere near solving the issues which led to a Turkish invasion of the island and Greek preparations to do the same.

Both the Turkish and Greek military juntas mobilized their armed forces within days of the coup in Nicosia which overthrew President Makarios and installed a puppet of the Greek colonels and the CIA, Nicholas Sampson.

The war which threatens to break over the heads of the Cypriot, Greek and Turkish workers contains within it the danger of World War III, because the fate of Cyprus concerns the main world powers.

In the background is the preparation by imperialism to go to war for oil resources in the Middle East, the Aegean Sea and over Cyprus itself. The Greek colonels' dictatorship and their Turkish counterparts are driven towards war by the insoluble economic crisis of the international capitalist system and its effect on their economies.

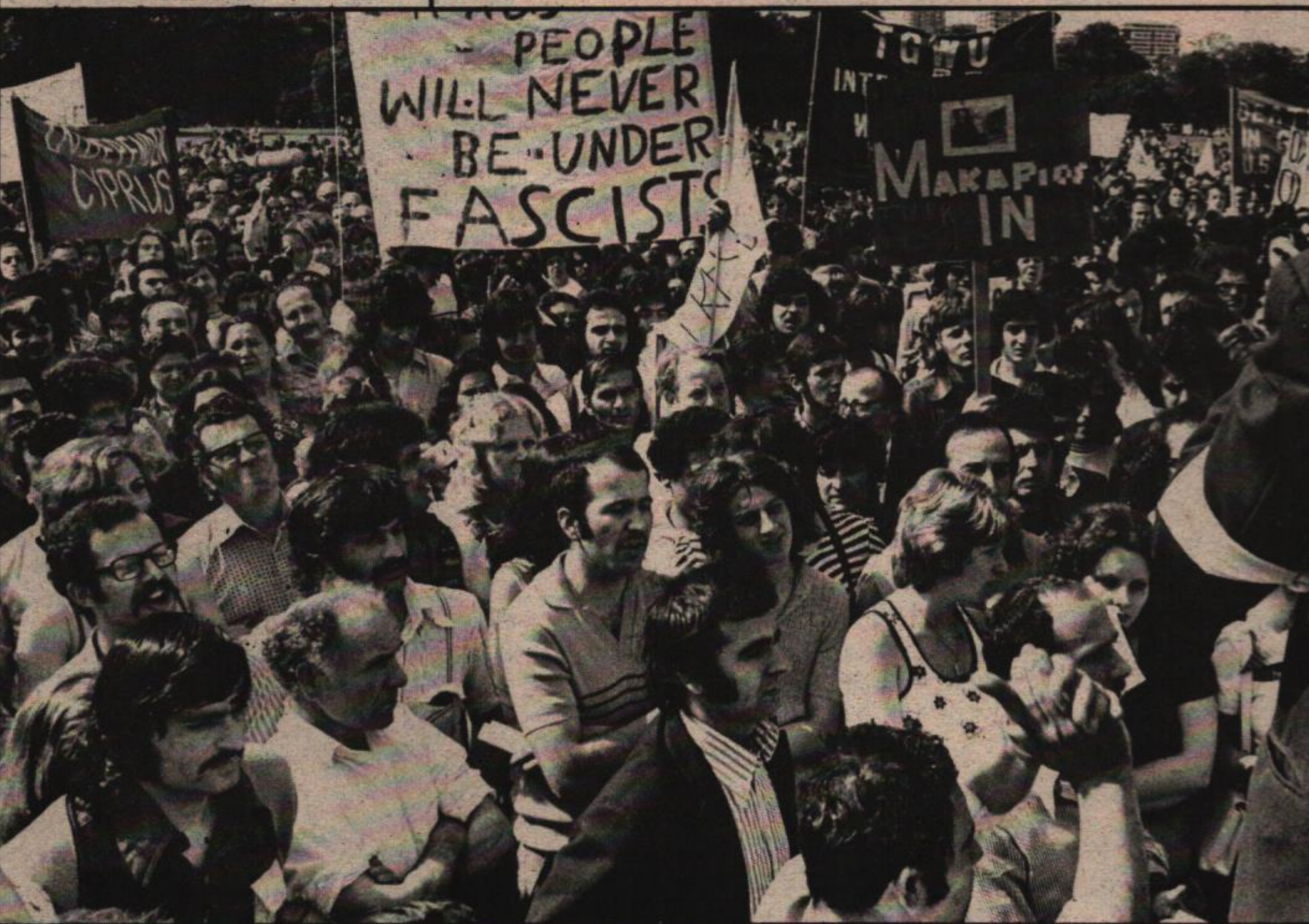
The war situation which threatens Cyprus is a direct result of the rotten Zurich Treaty of 1959, which gave British imperialism two sovereign bases on the island and gave Greece and Turkey the right to station forces there.

Divisions between Greek and Turkish Cypriots were later used as an excuse to station troops from the imperialist United Nations on the island. This treaty robbed Cypriot workers of the right to determine their own destiny without foreign interference.

At the same time the treaty brought into office the regime of Archbishop Makarios, a stooge for British imperial interests, who ruled on the basis of a delicate balancing act between Greece and Turkey while playing off US imperialism against the Soviet Union.

The Stalinists of the Cypriot and Greek Communist Parties along with the Soviet Union gave the agreement their full blessing. Rather than mobilize the working class against the

Cypriot workers demonstrate in London against the GIA-backed coup which overthrew Makarios.



imperialist plunder of the island, they treacherously went along with the diplomatic and strategic moves in the Mediterranean. The Cypriot Communist Party (AKEL) which has the support of the majority of the island's population supported Makarios uncritically and thus helped pave the way for the coup which led to the massacre of Turkish Cypriots and

Nicos Sampson was reported by Cyprus Radio last Tuesday to have resigned as President of Cyprus. Glafkos Clerides, speaker of the House of Representatives is said to have replaced him.



round-ups of left-wingers and Makarios supporters.

Cypriot Trotskyists have continually called on AKEL to mobilize the workers to organize against the EOKA (Union with Greece) gangs of General Grivas and to fight for power. Instead the Stalinists continually claimed that Makarios was the only guarantee of democracy and independence for the island.

The recent coup proves exactly the opposite. The only force which can guarantee democratic rights is the working class itself, mobilized and prepared for the struggles which have to be waged against capitalism and imperialism.

As the uneasy ceasefire was due to come into effect last Monday, Turkish jets pounded the town of Famagusta killing an estimated 50 people and bombed Nicosia airport. Fierce fighting still raged throughout the island.

Turkish representatives reported that a group of eight Greek vessels were standing off Paphos in Western Cyprus, attempting to land troops. In the hours preceding the ceasefire both

sides were staging major build-ups of their forces along the Northern Frontier.

The Young Socialists stand for the right of self-determination for the Cypriot working class, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops — Greek, Turkish, British and United Nations — from the island, for an end to the Zurich Treaty, and the dismantling of British bases. We stand for an independent socialist Republic of Cyprus.

Greek workers in Athens celebrate the fall of the Gizikis junta.



PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS REFUSE TO FIGHT MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION ARMY

BY ALASTAIR CAMPBELL

FULL-SCALE civil war is now on the agenda in Mozambique, one of Portugal's African colonies, as the economic and political crisis draws the class lines more sharply.

While sections of the conscript Portuguese army mutiny, and refuse to fight, a massive drive is taking place to build up the *Convergencia Democratica de Mozambique* (CDM), a movement led by executives of foreign companies, bank officials and lawyers, heavily backed by South African money, which



Spinoza

hopes to recruit a 'Mozambique army' to wage the offensive against FRELIMO, the Mozambique liberation movement.

Only last week in Lourenco Marques, several hundred black and white conscripts of the Portuguese army refused to leave barracks when ordered into combat against FRELIMO troops.

They were joined by workers from the military hospital nearby who went on strike in support of non-aggression with FRELIMO.

Not one word if this will reach the working class in

Portugal, due to the actions of the Stalinist Communist Party who paved the way for President Spinoza to renege on the promises he made on entering office by introducing vicious press censorship, which specifically precludes mention of 'unauthorized' military activity such as this.

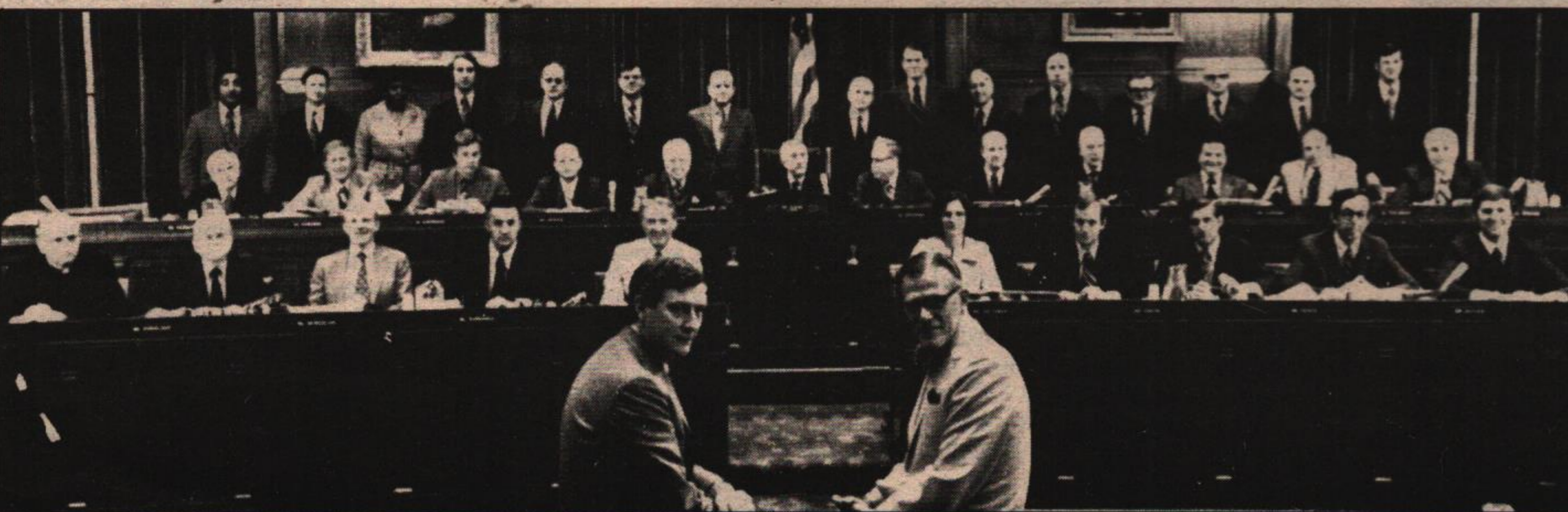
The Stalinists have continually urged support for the army officers in the ruling junta and have backed their calls for moderation in wage demands despite inflation in Portugal being the highest in Europe.

They have also announced their support for Spinoza's new cabinet which includes seven army officers.

Spinoza said that the military character of the new cabinet would guarantee the maintenance of law and civil discipline, which means that harsher measures are due to be made to make the working class pay for the economic crisis.

Portuguese workers must demand that the Stalinists and the Socialist Party break off all relations with the military junta and fight for an independent CP-SP government which must be pledged to carry out socialist policies to stop the rapidly mounting inflation and unemployment in Portugal, including the withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Africa.

Impeachment vote on Nixon due this week



TENSION is rising in and around the Watergate court proceedings as the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee prepares to vote on impeachment this week.

Against a background of open CIA involvement in Cyprus and the steady decline in America's gross national product (GNP) as the world recession bites home, Nixon's counsels and pressmen are

resorting to the crudest of slurs and slanders to ward off the almost certain decision to impeach him.

John Doar, special counsel of the Judiciary Committee, said that Nixon should be impeached for his role in the Watergate scandal:

'Reasonable men acting reasonably would find the President guilty,' he stated at the start of the summing-up.

This produced an im-

mediate hysterical response from one of Nixon's aides, Mr Ziegler who charged Doar with running a 'kangaroo court' in which they had 'violated every procedure of fairness'. He finished up by describing Doar, a Republican, as a 'radical'.

It has also been revealed that Nixon personally ordered the then Deputy Attorney-General Richard Kleindienst, in 1971, to halt anti-

The House of Representatives Judiciary Committee which votes this week on Nixon's impeachment with counsels John Doar (left) and Jenner in foreground.

monopoly action against the International Telephone and Telegraph Co. (ITT), who attempted to stop the election of Allende in Chile in 1970 and to sack the lawyer who was in charge of the case.

BRIEFLY

GREEK President Phaedon Gizikis summoned leaders of the two main political parties for discussions last Tuesday following reports that a government change was imminent.

Mr George Mavros, leader of the Centre Union Party said that he and Mr Panayotis Kanellopoulos of the National Radical Union and other political leaders had been called in. According to reports some cabinet members expressed their desire to resign and make room for a government of 'national unity' to deal with the Cyprus crisis.

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GENERALISSIMO Francisco Franco, Spain's fascist dictator is suffering from stomach haemorrhages and has handed over power to Prince Juan Carlos on the advice of his aides who think he may die. This would most certainly spark off the most massive struggles by the working class who have seen the large concessions wrung by workers in Portugal following the ousting of fascist dictator Caetano.

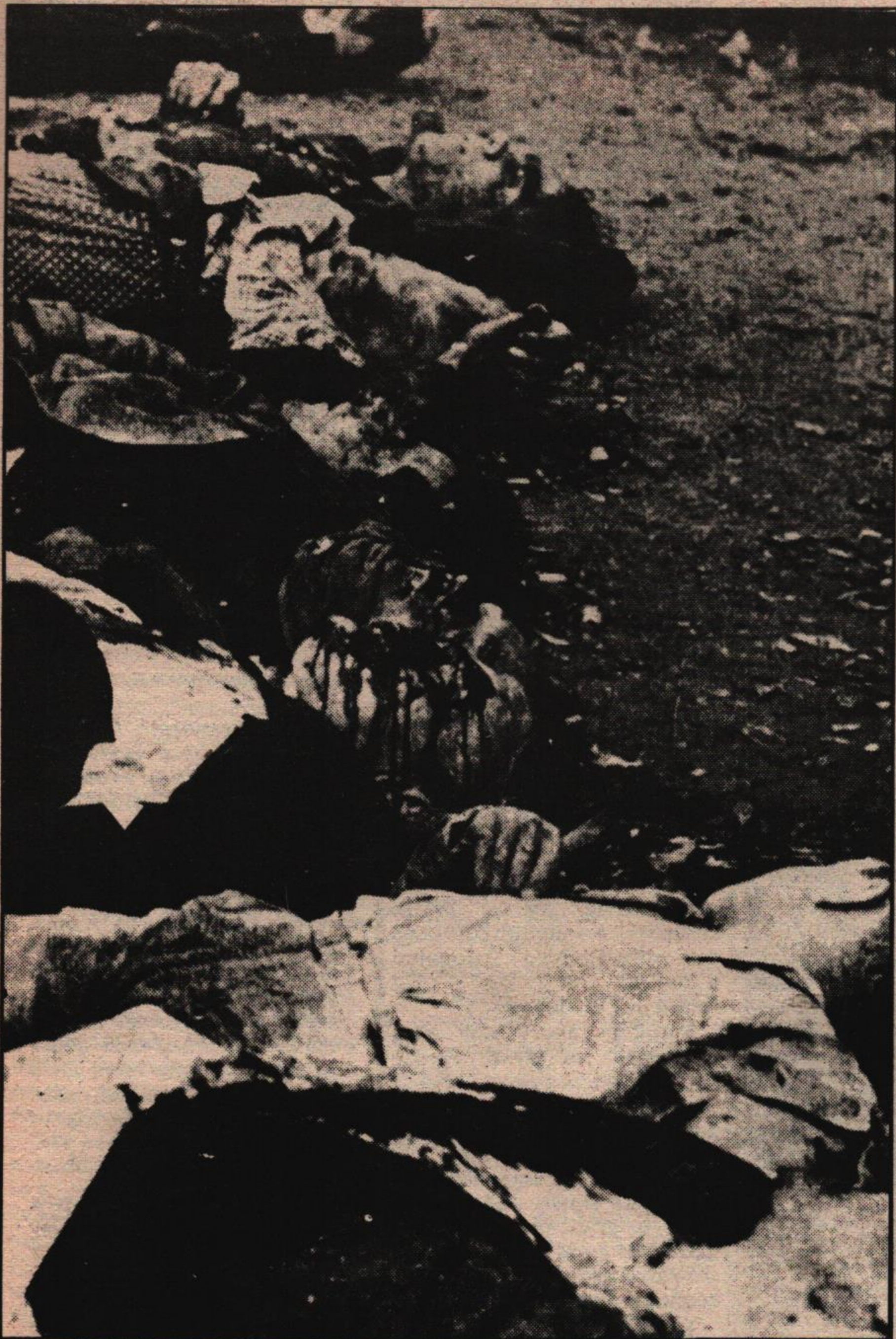
ON THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

BY LEON TROTSKY

THIS PIECE was originally written by Trotsky as a preface to the translation of the 'Communist Manifesto' into Afrikaans in 1937, the 90th Anniversary of its publication by Marx and Engels for the First International.

Last week the first half of his introduction summarized the vitality of the 'Manifesto' and its meaning for the world struggle of the proletariat. This week's section deals with those instances which Trotsky considered needed corrections and additions.

Keep Left will, in the coming weeks, publish a series of introductions on the most important works of Marxist literature pointing out why they should be read and the central issues in each of these works. The first of our series will deal also with the 'Communist Manifesto'.



Top right: 'The Paris Commune proved that the proletariat, without having a revolutionary party at its head, cannot wrest power from the bourgeoisie.' Commune barricade in Paris, March 1871. Above: 'By massacring the vanguard of the Spanish proletariat, the unbridled hirelings of Moscow not only pave the way for Fascism but execute a goodly share of its labour.' Republicans executed after the victory of Franco's fascist forces in the Spanish Civil War.

REVOLUTIONARY thought has nothing in common with idol worship. Programmes and prognoses are tested and corrected in the light of experience, which is the supreme criterion of human reason.

The 'Manifesto', too, requires corrections and additions. However, as is evidenced by historical experience itself, those corrections and additions can be successfully made only by proceeding in accord with the method which forms the basis of the 'Manifesto' itself. We shall try to indicate this in several most important instances.

1. Marx taught that no social system departs from the arena of history before exhausting its creative potentialities. The 'Manifesto' excoriates capitalism for retarding the development of the productive forces.

During that period, however, as well as in the following decades, this retardation was only relative in nature. Had it been possible in the second half of the nineteenth century to organize economy on socialist beginnings, its tempo of growth would have been immeasurably greater.

But this theoretically irrefutable postulate does not, however, invalidate the fact that the productive forces kept expanding on a world scale right up to the world war. Only in the last 20 years, despite the most modern conquests of science and technology, has the epoch begun out-and-out stagnation and even decline of world economy.

Mankind is beginning to expend its accumulated capital, while the next war threatens to destroy the very foundations of civilization for many years to come.

The authors of the 'Manifesto' thought that capitalism would be scrapped long prior to the time when from a relatively reactionary régime it would turn into an absolutely reactionary régime. This transformation took final shape only before the eyes of the present generation and changed our epoch into the epoch of wars, revolutions, and fascism.

2. The error of Marx and Engels in regard to the historical dates flowed, on the one hand, from an underestimation of future possibilities latent in capitalism and, on the other, from an overestimation of the revolutionary maturity of the proletariat. The revolution of 1848 did not turn into a socialist revolution as the 'Manifesto' had calculated, but opened up to Germany the possibility of a vast future capitalist ascension.

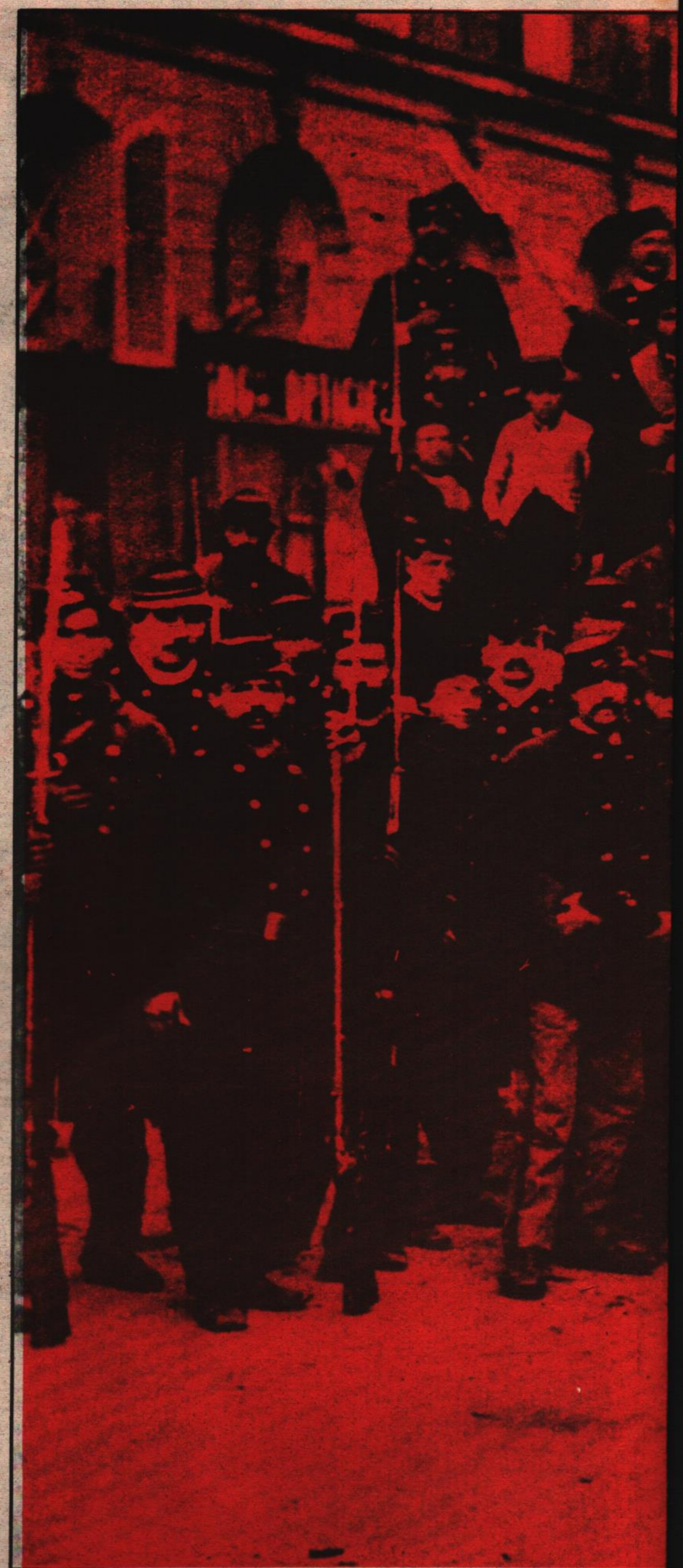
The Paris Commune proved that the proletariat, without having a tempered revolutionary party at its head, cannot wrest power from the bourgeoisie.

Meanwhile, the prolonged period of capitalist prosperity that ensued brought about not the education of the revolutionary vanguard, but rather the bourgeois degeneration of the labour aristocracy, which became in turn the chief brake on the proletarian revolution. In the nature of things, the authors of the 'Manifesto' could not possibly have foreseen this 'dialectic'.

3. For the 'Manifesto', capitalism was—the kingdom of free competition. While referring to the growing concentration of capital, the 'Manifesto' did not draw the necessary conclusion in regard to monopoly, which has become the dominant capitalist form in our epoch and the most important precondition for socialist economy.

Only afterwards, in 'Capital', did Marx establish the tendency toward the transformation of free competition into monopoly. It was Lenin who gave a scientific characterization of monopoly capitalism in his 'Imperialism'.

4. Basing themselves primarily on the example of the 'industrial revolution' in England, the authors of the 'Manifesto' pictured far too unilaterally the process of liquidation of the intermediate classes, as a wholesale



proletarianization of crafts, petty trades, and peasantry.

In point of fact, the elemental forces of competition have far from completed this simultaneously progressive and barbarous work. Capitalism has ruined the petty bourgeoisie at a much faster rate than it has proletarianized.

Furthermore, the bourgeois state has long directed its conscious policy toward the artificial maintenance of petty bourgeois strata.

At the opposite pole, the growth of technology and the rationalization of large scale industry engenders chronic unemployment and obstructs the proletarianization of the petty bourgeoisie.

Consequently, the development of capitalism has accelerated in the extreme the growth of legions of technicians, administrators, commercial employees, in short, the so-called 'new middle class'.

In consequence, the intermediate classes, to whose disappearance the 'Manifesto' so categorically refers, comprise even in a country as highly industrialized as Germany about one-half of the population.

However, the artificial preservation of antiquated petty bourgeois strata does not mitigate the social contradictions, but, on

the contrary, invests them with an especial malignancy, and together with the permanent army of the unemployed constitutes the most malevolent expression of the decay of capitalism.

5. Calculated for a revolutionary epoch, the 'Manifesto' contains (end of Chapter II) ten demands, corresponding to the period of direct transition from capitalism to Socialism.

In their Preface of 1872, Marx and Engels declared these demands to be in part antiquated and, in any case, only of secondary importance. The reformists seized upon this evaluation to interpret it in the sense that transitional revolutionary demands had forever ceded their place to the social-democratic 'minimum programme', which, as is well known, does not transcend the limits of bourgeois democracy.

As a matter of fact, the authors of the 'Manifesto' indicated quite precisely the main correction of their transitional programme, namely, 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes'.

In other words, the correction was directed against the fetishism of bourgeois democracy. Marx later counterposed to the capitalist state, the state of the type of the Commune.

This 'type' subsequently assumed the much more graphic



shape of soviets. There cannot be a revolutionary programme today without soviets and without workers' control.

As for the rest, the ten demands of the 'Manifesto', which appeared 'archaic' in an epoch of peaceful parliamentary activity, have today regained completely their true significance. The social democratic 'minimum programme', on the other hand, has become hopelessly antiquated.

6. Basing its expectation that 'the German bourgeois revolution... will be but a prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution', the 'Manifesto' cites the much more advanced conditions of European civilization as compared with what existed in England in the 17th century and in France in the 18th century, and the far greater development of the proletariat.

The error in this prognosis was not only in the date. The Revolution of 1848 revealed within a few months that precisely under more advanced conditions, none of the bourgeois classes is capable of bringing the revolution to its termination: the big and middle bourgeoisie is far too closely linked with the landowners and fettered by the fear of the masses; the petty bourgeoisie is far too divided, and in its leading upper strata far too dependent on the big bourgeoisie.

As evidenced by the entire sub-

sequent course of development in Europe and Asia, the bourgeois revolution, taken by itself, can no more in general be consummated.

A complete purge of feudal rubbish from society is conceivable only on the condition that the proletariat, freed from the influence of bourgeois parties, can take its stand at the head of the peasantry and establish its revolutionary dictatorship.

By this token, the bourgeois revolution becomes interlaced with the first state of the Socialist revolution, subsequently to dissolve in the latter. The national revolution therefore becomes a link in the world revolution. The transformation of the economic foundation and of all social relations assumes a permanent (uninterrupted) character.

For revolutionary parties in backward countries of Asia, Latin America, and Africa, a clear understanding of the organic connection between the democratic revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat—and thereby, the international socialist revolution—is a life-and-death question.

7. While depicting how capitalism draws into its vortex backward and barbarous countries, the 'Manifesto' contains no reference to the struggle of colonial and semi-colonial countries for independence.

To the extent that Marx and

Engels considered the social revolution 'in the leading civilized countries at least', to be a matter of the next few years, the colonial question was resolved automatically for them, not in consequence of an independent movement of oppressed nationalities but in consequence of the victory of the proletariat in the metropolitan centres of capitalism.

The questions of revolutionary strategy in colonial and semi-colonial countries are therefore not touched upon at all by the 'Manifesto'. Yet these questions demand an independent solution.

For example, it is quite self-evident that while the 'national fatherland' has become the most baneful historical brake in advanced capitalist countries, it still remains a relatively progressive factor in backward countries compelled to struggle for an independent existence.

'The Communists', declares the 'Manifesto', 'everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.'

The movement of the coloured races against their imperialist oppressors is one of the most important and powerful movements against the existing order and therefore calls for the complete, unconditional, and unlimited support on the part of the proletariat of the white race. The credit for developing revolutionary strategy

for oppressed nationalities belongs primarily to Lenin.

8. The most antiquated section of the 'Manifesto'—not with respect to method but material—is the criticism of 'socialist' literature for the first part of the nineteenth century (Chapter III) and the definition of the position of the Communists in relation to various opposition parties (Chapter IV).

The movements and parties listed in the 'Manifesto' were so drastically swept away either by the revolution of 1848 or the ensuing counter-revolution that one must look up even their names in a historical dictionary.

However, in this section, too, the 'Manifesto' is perhaps closer to us now than it was to the previous generation. In the epoch of the flowering of the Second International, when Marxism seemed to exert an undivided sway, the ideas of pre-Marxist socialism could have been considered as having receded decisively into the past.

Things are otherwise today. The decomposition of the social democracy and the Communist International at every step engenders monstrous ideological relapses. Senile thought seems to have become infantile. In search of all-saving formulas the prophets in the epoch of decline discover anew doctrines long since buried by scientific socialism.

We have already remarked that according to Marx no social order

departs from the scene without first exhausting the potentialities latent in it.

However, even an antiquated social order does not cede its place to a new order without resistance.

A change in social régimes presupposes the harshest form of the class struggle, i.e., revolution. If the proletariat, for one reason or another, proves incapable of overthrowing with an audacious blow the outlived bourgeois order, then finance capital in the struggle to maintain its unstable rule can do nothing but turn the petty bourgeoisie ruined and demoralized by it into the storm troops of fascism.

The bourgeois degeneration of the social democracy and the fascist degeneration of the petty bourgeoisie are interlinked as cause and effect.

At the present time, the Third International far more wantonly than the Second performs in all countries the work of deceiving and demoralizing the toilers. By massacring the vanguard of the Spanish proletariat, the unbridled hirelings of Moscow not only pave the way for Fascism but execute a goodly share of its labours.

The protracted crisis of the international revolution, which is turning more and more into a crisis of human culture, is reducible in its essentials to the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

NUSS CONFERENCE: NO SOCIALIST POLICIES FOR SCHOOL YOUTH

BY CLIVE HILLS

THE THIRD annual conference of the National Union of School Students held on July 6 and 7 in London revealed the true nature of this union. Just over 100 delegates and observers attended the conference, out of a total of a claimed membership of 10,000.

The conference opened with an address by the retiring president, Simon Keys who spoke of the progress made by the union in the past year, especially in its national campaign and in being recognized by a parliamentary committee.

He then went on to answer questions on the Report of Work from the national committee. The report concentrated mainly on the mistakes made by the union during the past year and on the bad communications between the national office and membership.

Emphasis was also laid on the poor state of finances of the union, which although an improvement on the previous year, were still only just in the black. Exact figures could not be given owing to the absence of the treasurer and some confusion regarding the accounts.

Mandates

Conference passed a series of mandates to the next national campaign and the organizational matters, including a mandate to elect a liaison officer between the NUS and the NUSS.

National Organizer, Simon Emerson, spoke on the national campaign and the way forward in the next year. There are plans to launch a paper and to convert the television programme made by the NUSS into a film, which could be shown to school audiences. Conference recommended to the new national committee that it should conduct the next national campaign on the following issues:

- the right to grants for those over 16 at school and the ending of low wages for school students who work part-time;
- for 'democracy in schools';
- for 'the right to organize' in schools;
- for subjects to be taught not leading to examinations;
- for increased educational spending.

No action

A resolution was passed protesting and condemning the death of Kevin Gately and reaffirming the NUSS's position of fighting against racism and fascism. But the conference voted heavily against fighting the fascists and racists in action.

The second day of the conference dealt in detail with the policy statement. A considerable discussion took place on the amendments moved by the areas of the union, which the Stalinist leadership cut short wherever

possible and generally confused the issues.

The revisionists contented themselves with muttering phrases about 'bureaucracy' and the YCLers but did nothing politically to challenge the leadership.

Simon Emerson in discussing an alternative policy statement put forward by the West London area said that it was too 'ultra-left' and 'intellectual' and that working-class school students would not understand it.

Contempt

This basically is the position of the YCL—they have a great contempt for ordinary working-class youth and wish to keep them miseducated in politics so that they do not pose a threat to the existing order of things. The revisionists in the International Marxist Group and International Socialists and their supporters made no attempt to remove the Stalinists from the leading committees of the union, their members did not stand against them in the elections.

Indeed, no nominations were even received by the closing date for the post of treasurer! The president is Simon Emersham and the vice-president is Alan Walker—both of whom made no attempt to get socialist policies adopted by conference, despite their claim to be Communists.

Throughout the conference the revisionists, despite their left talk, did nothing more than act as cover for the Stalinist traitors. The conference revealed the true nature of the NUSS—as a diversion from the struggle to build a movement capable of overthrowing the bankrupt capitalist system and establishing a socialist society.

Neither the revisionists nor the Stalinists attempted to relate the cuts in educational spending, introduced by the Tories and continued by the minority Labour Government, to the worldwide economic crisis of the capitalist system and the fact that a democratic and decent education system can only be achieved with the overthrow of capitalism.

Today only the Young Socialists and the Workers Revolutionary Party fight to explain these basic facts to the youth still at school and fight to win them to the policies of Marxism as developed by Lenin and Trotsky.

Only we explain that youth today still at school really have no future other than unemployment and the dole queue under this system. And it is only the YS and WRP who are fighting to build a mass revolutionary leadership, as an alternative to Wilson and all the other traitors, which can take the working-class to power. That is why we appeal to all youth who are still at school to join the Young Socialists and help us to build this movement.

POST BAG



Socialists to combat this forthcoming situation. Make sure you live to tell the tale. Join today.

Ray Simmonds, Tooting YS.

Socialist policies

I THINK young people should join the Young Socialists to help us get socialist policies which the working class can vote for.

The working class must be able to break from the reformism of the Labour Party and fight it.

If they do not, the reformists will just betray the working class and let the fascists and Tories in.

In this sense they are just a Trojan Horse for the Tories.

Avril McOmish, Edinburgh YS.

Unemployment faces youth

I DO not think that it will be long now until there are thousands of youth unemployed in every part of the country.

The Young Socialists must now go out and recruit them and explain that they must prepare for the collapse in industry.

The youth will take responsibility immediately on the basis of the rapidly developing crisis.

In Scotland lots of youth have illusions about Scottish nationalism, such as the oil that they seem to think belongs purely to the Scottish people, that the Scots whether they are business owners or workers will benefit from profits shared out by a Scottish National government.

This of course is rubbish.

In this period of crisis the ruling class, no matter what their nationality, will be forced to smash its own working class.

These questions must be explained to the youth.

Hazel Duffy, Aberdeen YS.

Pay thresholds

AS THE crisis deepens, the employers begin their attacks, particularly against the youth as we have witnessed in Peterborough.

In BDA, part of the giant GEC combine, management have refused to give the full threshold agreement, eg adults get £1.40 and youth get only 25 per cent of this — both apprentices and young office staff.

Factory union officials collaborated in imposing this cut in living standards.

This necessitates the building of the YS to fight to give leadership in these factories.

Peterborough YS.

War over Cyprus?

THE CAPITALIST world has pulled off its last desperate gamble—the ousting of Archbishop Makarios engineered by the CIA to start the Third World War.

America has long sought to start the Third World War, to boost its sales and resurrect the now decaying capitalist system. Because war calls for bombs, jeeps, missiles, food and this in turn calls for factories to go all out, so everyone makes a profit.

But the top brass in the Pentagon have been thinking real hard on plausible ways to start one; now they have found it—in Cyprus.

The CIA have got in touch with General Sampson and said, 'now go overthrow Makarios, and you will have our

support'. So the coup takes place and the stage is set.

The next act is Sampson's hatred for the Turks (a sizeable minority in Cyprus) much akin to Hitler and his hatred of the Jews. Now once this puppet leader is secured, he is going to persecute the Turks, and Turkey which is only a few hundred miles away from Cyprus is going to get mighty mad at the way her people are being treated. So mad, in fact, that she just might send troops in to take over.

But Greece is going to say, 'We can't let the Turks take over, so we will send our men in just to even things up'. The end of the equation, either way you look at it is war.

America now sits back and tells the Council of Eight and Ten etc., 'that we can't stand

by and see our ally fight alone'; 'we must fight for freedom'; 'uphold our NATO treaty' etc,

and such fallacies when all she wants is war.

So I think America is going to get her war through the NATO alliance treaty which states in black and white for all to see, 'That if one NATO nation is attacked or goes to war the others must help that nation

As Greece is a member of NATO she drags the whole of the so-called free world into the war.

But as I am writing this I have heard that the Russian Third Fleet is patrolling near Turkey—I wonder if there is any connection, whether Turkey is being protected by Russia?

I have always theorized that it was the Middle East that would start the next world war, but now I am certain that it's going to be Cyprus.

What we need now is to build the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Young

YS SUMMER PROGRAMME

Portsmouth step up recruitment

PORTSMOUTH YS has launched a full summer programme including discos and weekend trips to the New Forest, Weymouth and Cheddar Gorge. This is enabling us to recruit many youth into the YS and many are then joining the Workers Revolutionary Party.

We hold regular YS meetings on a whole variety of topics including the history of trade unions, vandalism, police, music and the role of the YS.

Martin Sweeny who is a school leaver aged 16 told us:

'I joined the YS because I agree with the politics and enjoy all the trips. While we are on these trips we try to sell Keep Left and recruit people to the Young Socialists.'

'We took 75 people to Cheddar Gorge and the Western region came down to Southsea and went to a disco at the Tricorn. I think everyone enjoyed themselves.'



Martin Sweeny

'When YS members leave school and go into the factories they should recruit people there. The Labour government is really two-faced in that its interests are the interests of the capitalists and they don't care at all about the working class who elected them.'

'It's up to the YS to take up the struggle against the capitalist class so that workers take over the factories without giving compensation to the old owners.'

'The main thing at the moment is to go down the



Youth Employment Offices as youth going down there won't be able to get any decent jobs.

'Young people have no real future under capitalism. I think we have to make sure that we build a big YS and youth should then join the Revolutionary Party.'

Martin Coles (17) is a post office apprentice. He says:

'The YS offers the only political way out of the crisis for youth. Since the Labour government was elected they have carried out nothing but Tory policies.'

'Young people are seeing the Labour betrayal. We have to build an alternative leadership for youth, with a full and active social programme.'



Martin Coles

'The effect of the crisis is hitting us more than anyone else.'

Young people leaving school have no jobs to go to and it's evident today's youth have no future.

'I'm an apprentice. I was lucky to get this job a year ago but this year they are taking on less than half of the number last year.'

'Young workers must fight in their trade union for their rights, especially for the defence of jobs as they will be

In action in Portsmouth

the first hit with redundancies.

'In Portsmouth a huge proportion of the work force has jobs in the dockyard which is threatened with closure by the government.'

'We have to recruit the YS members into the Party and build the YS from recruitment in schools, factories and among new sections like student nurses.'

KENT REGIONAL RALLY HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL

KENT Young Socialists held their second regional rally in Maidstone on last Sunday, July 21.

Attended by over 150 youth from all parts of the area, the rally began with football and a table tennis tournament. Everyone who took part found it very enjoyable.

The football was won by Orpington YS who beat the Sevenoaks team by 6 goals to 4. Winner of the table tennis was Mark Allen from Bexleyheath.

This was followed in the early evening by a lively discussion centring around

the Young Socialists and the future facing youth today.

A trade unionist from Greenwich who was formerly a member of the Young Socialists and is now a member of the Workers Revolutionary Party spoke at the meeting and his contribution was listened to with great interest.

The discussion was followed by a disco. During the course of the rally many of the youth were persuaded to join the Party and the Young Socialists. From the meeting 35 youth agreed to join the WRP.

PITS AND STEEL FACE CLOSURE-WHAT FUTURE FOR SOUTH WALES?

THROUGHOUT the whole South Wales area the crisis of the capitalist system is forcing the ruling class into massive confrontations with the working class.

At Hoovers in Merthyr the closing down of several lines in the factory has now followed the managements attempt to squash the militancy of workers by the sacking of 27 men at Easter this year.

Enormous speedups are taking place at Fords in Swansea. Management at Dawnays Engineering Works have withdrawn a long standing bonus agreement and immediately locked out the entire factory when action was taken in defence.

The closure of Ebbw Vale Steel Works is now imminent. In the coalfields the drive for increased productivity is on—together with the threat of closure hanging over many of the pits.

In every industry the employers are now on the offensive. But they are coming up against workers with a history of 150 years of class struggle behind them against the iron masters and the coal owners, the work of the Chartists and the fight to build trade unions, the struggle to build the Labour Party to defend the trade unions after the Taff Vale judgement at the beginning of the century.

Everywhere today the working class must now move in defence of hard won rights and living standards.

Recession

In Swansea hundreds of young people are employed in the small factories. As the recession in industry and the effects of the declining markets begins to bite into the profits of the owners, the attack on wages and conditions in the factories is stepped up.

In the Swansea Trading Estate, Forestfach this has been epitomized by the fight to win the threshold pay rises.

Several firms have still not paid out the second increase of 80p and already another 40p is due. Along with the attempted cuts in wages the employers are trying to increase productivity to ward off the effects of the crisis.

Three girls from Hodges Menswear Factory spoke to Keep Left about the speedup there. Carol John has worked at Hodges for six years and has a basic wage of £17.

She explained how over the last year engineers have been adjusting the lines and in many sections at first the increased speeds reduced the amount of bonus that the girls could earn. With a great increase in work effort most can now manage to increase their earning slightly.

Yvonne Dare has worked at Hodges for two years. She said: 'My target is now about 210



jobs a day while it used to be 160.'

Ruth Edwards told us: 'I am supposed to complete about 250 on two jobs now but I've never reached this figure. My pay is still the same and I'm working twice as hard.'

The girls are all members of the National Union of Textile Garment Workers. 'But our union has not put up any fight against the speed ups,' they said.

Like all small factories in the area, Hodges are faced with great increases in the cost of raw materials and especially since the oil price rises and the Flixborough explosion shortages of many synthetic materials.

Faced with this and the continual payment of threshold rises and the falling

Above left to right: Coral John, Yvonne Dare, Susan Edwards. Far right: Colin Farrant and Anthony Costa (right).

demand for all consumer goods, the possibility of closure is real. All the girls agreed that in the event of this the policy could be nationalization of the company under workers' control.

They told us, 'Two girls were sacked this week for not meeting their targets. This is the first time this has happened.'

It is no coincidence that the sacking begins now. Hodges have launched a recruitment for school leavers who of course can be employed at a cheaper rate.

But for many school leavers

BY MARION FRANCIS AND IAN WILSON

finding a job is difficult. Anthony Costa and Colin Tarrant are both 16 and have just finished school in Penlan, Swansea.

Anthony told Keep Left, 'I was offered an apprenticeship as an electrician back in April but because I was still in school I wasn't allowed to take it.'

'Now that it's come to the end of term there's a lot more people looking for jobs and there just aren't any around.'

Colin is in the same position. 'I could have left school at Easter,' he said, 'but I decided to stay on. I'm sorry I did now, because I would have stood a better chance then. I want to be an electrician but all the factories I've tried around the trading estate aren't taking on any apprentices. They might as well raise the leaving age again though that isn't going to solve anything.'

As Anthony said, 'The last year in school was a waste of time. Everybody had lost interest and there wasn't anything to keep us on there.'

Declining standards in the



schools are coming up as direct result of the cutbacks in spending begun by the Tories and continued by the support of the Labour government or the cuts announced last December by Anthony Barber.

£17m was taken from spending on Welsh schools. Improvements in conditions in the schools and in provision of much needed new facilities inside and outside school for young people can only come by the expropriation of the wealth now being sucked from the backs of the working class by the capitalists.

All public services are facing cutbacks—Swansea Corporation has begun sackings from some departments.

A young student nurse from the Neath Hospital told us about conditions in the Health Service. She works five shifts of 9¼ hours every week for which she is paid £58 a month.

'We don't get paid for our breaks,' she said. 'We're severely understaffed. At the moment we're only taking emergencies in our ward and we aren't admitting any waiting list patients. We had to send some home because of lack of beds.'

'In the nurses' home even the staff nurses have to be in by 11 p.m. Port Talbot has one of the highest rates of suicide attempts in the South Wales area. But at the hospital there, there's no facilities for overdose stomach washout.'

'This is only one reason why the Health Service needs to change its system of organization. If nurses were running the NHS the conditions would be much better because it's nurses who have to cope with the present conditions.'

Recently a group of nurses at the hospital wrote to a local paper complaining about conditions in the nursing home. The letter was sent anonymously but the chief nursing officer at the hospital questioned many of the staff in his office and gave them the 'third degree' as one nurse put it. (For this reason we are not printing names or photos.)

Nurses are forced to come forward by the crisis, it is inevitable that they provoke this sort of hysterical attitude from the bureaucrats who run the NHS.

Young workers in South Wales will be at the forefront of all these struggles and must be armed with an understanding of the history that they bring with them in order to challenge and expose in practice the traitors in the leadership of the unions and the labour bureaucracy, who refuse to take up the demands of the working class. This must be the crucial role of the Young Socialists and the Workers Revolutionary Party in this area to build branches in every town and every factory to train a revolutionary leadership to take the working class forward to power.

School next door to a 'time bomb'



THE 2,000 pupils who attend Sandfields Comprehensive School in Port Talbot live next door to an enormous time bomb.

The bomb is British Petroleum's massive Baglan Bay petro-chemical complex which was brought to South Wales as part of the so-called 'regional development' scheme.

Since Flixborough, the residents of the working class Sandfields estate (which begins just where the boundary fence of the works ends) have been more acutely aware of their monstrous neighbour.

Everyone knows that if the plant ever blew up (and 'safety' is certainly not something it is noted for) the explosion would devastate the whole of Port Talbot.

Keep Left spoke to some of the pupils at Sandfields Com-

prehensive about BP. Chris Reed told us:

'The school is dangerous where it is built now. The teachers have had to put up a protest. Some of the windows are smashed and gas gets through. It's like one big atom bomb.'

We were told that there have been at least two serious cases of gas and fumes escaping from the plant into the school in the past three years. Recently a teacher had to be given oxygen on the games field after inhaling fumes escaping from the plant.

It's also interesting to note that the guest speaker at Glen Afan Comprehensive's speech-day this year (Glen Afan is another big school in Port Talbot) was none other than Mr Sharrock, the works manager at Baglan Bay.

He was responsible earlier

this year for the lock-out of striking process workers, many of whom have children attending Glen Afan. (He was introduced by the head of the local Labour Party bureaucracy, Lord Llywelyn Heycock.)

Keith Roberts (17) who lives in Baglan told us:

'Obviously if it blew up, Baglan, Briton Ferry and Sandfields would be flattened. They've got safety precautions down there but obviously if Flixborough can happen, spending isn't adequate.'

'There have been a couple of accidents down there. It should be built in a more desolate place. Of course, it might still be dangerous for the people that work there but less people could be hurt.'

'It can be made safer by cutting profits or nationalization, but strictly speaking it would have to be

Left: Sandfields Comprehensive School which stands next to the giant Baglan Bay petro-chemical complex.

through nationalization because producers are not likely to cut their profits.

'If you look closely at plants growing round the Sandfields and Baglan area, there's an oily black residue on the leaves. It shows that pollution is slowly killing the plants and there's no other place that it could come from except BP.'

The issue is — who is going to control and own industry and for who's benefit? The YS demands that the Labour government should nationalize all industry, the banks, building societies, land, etc., under workers control and without compensation to the old owners.

Send off 25p now plus 3p postage to get your Young Socialists badge. You can also make a bulk order for your YS branch. Send to: YS National Treasurer, 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UG.

Please send me YS badges
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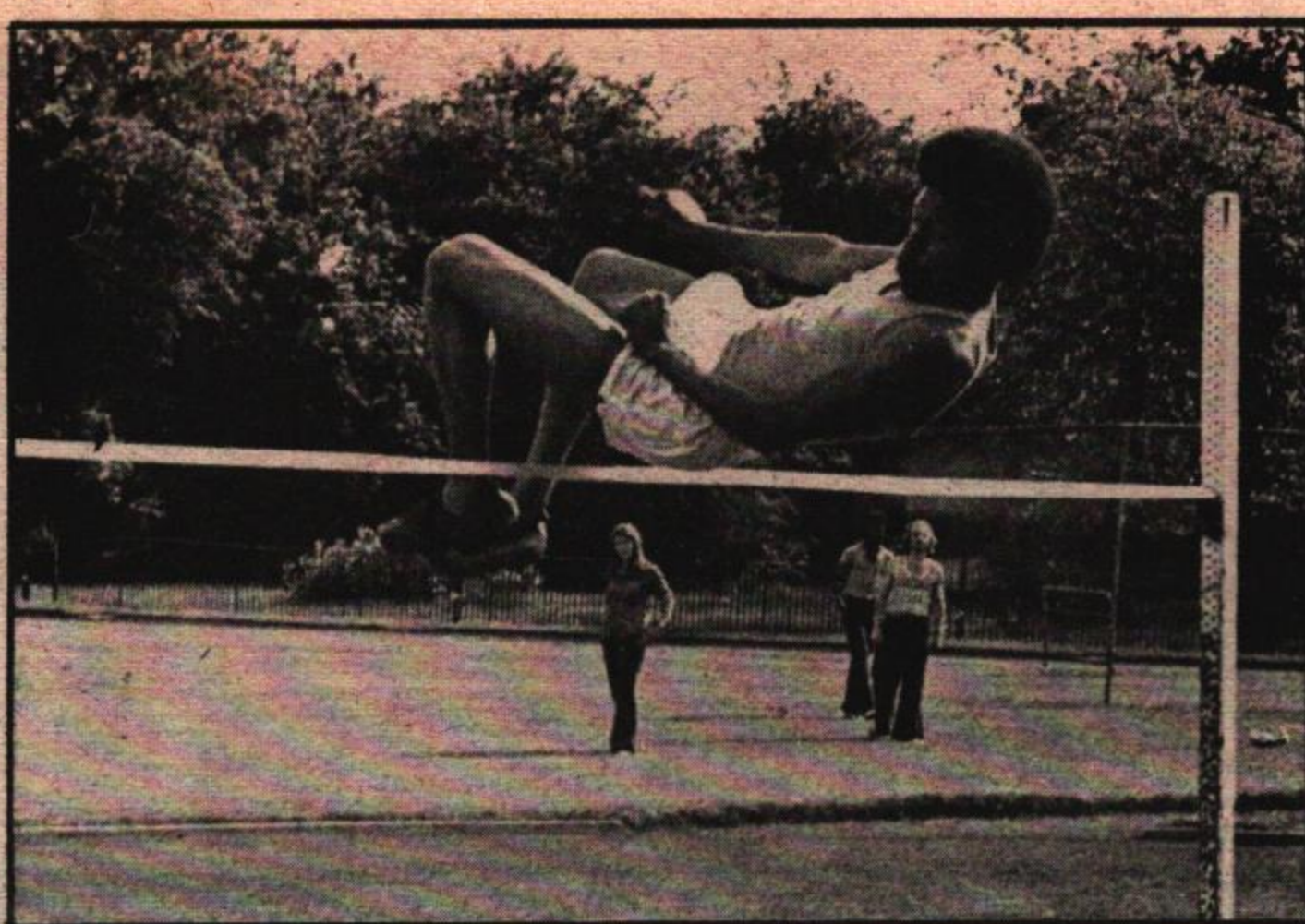
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I wish to join / have more information about the Young Socialists.

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Post to: YS National Secretary, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

S LONDON SPORTS

Tooting are clear champions



TOOTING BEC sports ground was the scene of South London Young Socialists Sports Day last Sunday—and it was the local team who emerged the eventual winners by a long margin, although not

without stiff competition from Lewisham in many races.

Star performers for these teams were Augustin, Tooting who took the boys' 800m and 1500m races and Maureen Fairman from Lewisham who did the same in the girls.

Other highlights of the afternoon—attended by over 200 young people—were the field events and the tug o'war where

everyone joined in with great enthusiasm.

Afterwards all the teams and spectators adjourned to the Foresters Arms, Tooting for a rally and discussion. The meeting was addressed by Simon Pirani, Keep Left assistant editor.

The disco which followed saw the hall packed to the doors. For everyone's money it was a highly enjoyable day.

Above: High jump at the sports day; left: Track events; below: Tug o'war.



Birmingham sales drive continues

KEEP LEFT trailblazing teams in Birmingham last weekend again met with a big response from young people in the Midlands. London YS members who travelled north were very enthusiastic after the weekend's work when they sold over 100 papers in the town and recruited many new members.



BOYS 100 METRES: 1st Wilkinson (Tooting); 2nd Franklin (Tooting); 3rd David Currie (Lewisham).
GIRLS 100 METRES: 1st E. Thomas (Tooting); 2nd Valery Gleen (Lewisham); 3rd G. Tingle (Tooting).
BOYS 200 METRES: 1st Franklin (Tooting); 2nd Winston Gordon (Battersea); 3rd Tony Carew (Lewisham).
GIRLS 200 METRES: 1st E. Thomas (Tooting); 2nd A. Walker (Tooting); 3rd Janice Doyle (Wandsworth).
BOYS 400 METRES: 1st Mayers (Tooting); 2nd Augustine (Tooting); 3rd Mick Henry (Lewisham).
GIRLS 400 METRES: 1st Maureen Fairman (Lewisham); 2nd C. Thompson (Tooting); 3rd Sandra Crane (Lewisham).
BOYS 800 METRES: 1st Augustin (Tooting); 2nd Livingston (Tooting); 3rd Mick Henry (Lewisham).
GIRLS 800 METRES: 1st Maureen Fairman (Lewisham); 2nd B. Quartey (Tooting); 3rd Cheryl Roberts (Tooting).

BOYS 1500 METRES: 1st Augustin (Tooting); 2nd Livingston (Tooting); 3rd Mick Henry (Lewisham).
BOYS RELAY: 1st Tooting; 2nd Lewisham; 3rd Battersea.
GIRLS RELAY: 1st Tooting; 2nd Lewisham; 3rd Tooting.
BOYS HIGH JUMP: 1st Franklin (Tooting) 5' 11½"; 2nd Mayers (Tooting); 3rd Ben (Tooting).
GIRLS HIGH JUMP: 1st Valery Gleen (Lewisham) 4' 7"; 2nd Angela (Tooting); 3rd Helena (Tooting).
BOYS LONG JUMP: 1st Tony Lewis (Battersea) 5m 60; 2nd Franklin (Tooting); 3rd Neil Dean (Battersea).
GIRLS LONG JUMP: 1st E. Thomas (Tooting); 2nd Barbara Williams (Lewisham); 3rd Maureen Holder (Lewisham).

FINAL SCORE

Tooting	61
Lewisham	25
Battersea	9
Wandsworth	1
Brixton	0

£200 MONTHLY FUND

COMRADES, with just a few days to go before the end of the month, we still have £50.57 to raise for our fund. We have now received £149.43. We urge every region to make a special drive this weekend to raise as much money as they possibly can

to post to us on Monday. Up to now we have been successful in raising our target every month—let's make this one no exception. Post all donations immediately to: Keep Left Fund 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UG

YORKSHIRE REGION YS

5-a-side football tournament
 7-a-side rugby and rounders

Starts 1.30 p.m.
 Saturday July 27

Leo Shultz School
 Orchard Park, Hull.

RALLY AND YS FILM
 followed by
 BLACKLIGHTS DISCO
 and buffet, 7.30 p.m.

Tickets 25p At door 30p

young socialists

12noon
 on Saturday 27th July
 at Wood Green Upper School,
 White Hart Lane, N.22

"Harold Wilson"

Anthony Booth
 Chuck Dalton
 Roy Kinnear
 Mike Cronin

The Great Swandini
 The Western Brothers

Liza Martin
 Vickery Turner
 Steve Barnard

CABARET

CABARET 8 p.m. TICKETS 60p

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To Keep Left subs, 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UG. I wish to subscribe to Keep Left for months. (Postal subscription: 78p for 3 months, £1.56 for 6 months, £3.00 for a year. Delivery by local YS branch: 36p for three months, 72p for six months).

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Money enclosed