

The Red Mole

build the spartacus league



The Reactionaries are more and more Alarmed.

The... in... in... Campaign... everywhere... Subversion... everywhere...

Tasks confronting young revolutionaries today

A lot of rubbish has been written in the papers and not only those of the ruling class, about what the 1970's have in store for us. What most of the articles have in common is that when they try and look into the future all they can see is the past! What is worse is the fact that the last people to display any understanding of the past are the cabinet ministers, bankers, priests and trade union bureaucrats and other parasites that float to the top of this decaying society and sell their wisdom to the gutter press. Unfortunately for them fewer and fewer young people can spare their ideology anything more than contempt and as the 1970s progress many a British 'gentleman' is going to wish his children had never been born, not to speak of the sons of the working class. But we should remind ourselves of some of the other deeds of the British ruling class that it is going to very much regret over the next months and years if the new generation of revolutionaries plays its cards right. For if we, the thousands of young people fighting the system at this moment on many different battle grounds up and down the country, can organise ourselves with a common strategy, then the 1970s will be the time when the chickens of British ruling class come home to roost. In fact, if we look around at this moment we can already see some of them coming.

Ireland

First and foremost is the crisis of British imperialism in Ireland. For 50 years—we could say for 500—the British ruling class has been viciously laying the basis for the present civil war in the North. The Tory leaders and Whitehall administrators, supposedly so cunning and far-sighted, imagined that their policy of silent repression in the North could last indefinitely: they were no doubt fooled by their own chauvinist propaganda into thinking that the Irish people were too stupid, lazy and servile to ever fight back. Little wonder they are screaming with rage now in the face of this heroic struggle by the people of the Bogside and the Falls against the army of British imperialism; they couldn't imagine that the young workers and school children in Ireland would show the same courage and skill in defying the troops night after night in street warfare as has been shown by the revolutionary youth in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East. Neither the Labour nor the Tory governments can provide any answer to the problems of British imperialism in Ireland except ruthless repression of the Catholic community in the North. The crisis in Ireland will continue through the 1970s. It is the urgent duty of young people in Britain to respond to British imperialism in Ireland in exactly the same way that we must answer American imperialism in Vietnam: full solidarity with the struggle of the Irish people for national self-determination; no British troops in Ireland; release all Irish political prisoners. We must build up a massive movement amongst British youth that will help to undermine the strategy of both Tory and Labour leaders in relation to Ireland.

Black Workers

But if the Irish situation is the most dramatic example of the crisis of the old order, equally threatening signs of crisis are looming up on the domestic front. We must ensure that the British ruling class pays the full price in the 1970s for its shabby profiteering out of black labour in the past. Not content with its super-exploitation of the colonial peoples in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, British capital thought it could go one better by importing Black labour into Britain and using it for two main purposes: first to provide a pool of cheap labour which could be exploited without the refinements of manipulation now necessary to handle British workers; secondly, to use the Black people to divide the working class politically setting off one section against another, and setting up the black workers as a scapegoat for the chronic problems of British capitalism. Already, the ruling class is seeing how this mouth-watering prospect can turn into a nightmare: far from



being the docile labourers they were supposed to be, more and more young Black people are recognising that their social, economic and political problems can never be solved within a decaying capitalist system. Far from becoming the easiest section of the working class to push around, they are showing their potentiality to become the most militant fighters against the brutalities of our society. We must ensure that the 1970s become the decade when the black population, far from being a means of creating bogeymen for the workers, become a revolutionary example to the whole class and the bogeymen of the bourgeoisie. We must help to turn their present isolation from the white labour movement into a guide to British workers to break from the bankrupt reformism of the party of that movement, by building a new party that will fight for the revolutionary interests of the whole proletariat. We can make a start along this road now by combatting the racist attacks on black people, discrimination against them, intimidation and victimisation of black youth in the schools and factories and streets; we must demand the immediate scrapping of the racist immigration legislation, and expose the racism of both the major political parties. Finally, we must act in defence of all the arrested and jailed Black militants and of the vanguard organisations in the Black community being witch-hunted by the press, police and courts at this moment.

Combat Bureaucracy

But the problems of the ruling class don't end with the threat of a million and a half Irish and another million black people rising up in revolt in Britain. The rot has also begun in earnest among our very own British youth. However much they may have succeeded in the past in dividing one section of the population from another, and in brainwashing successive generations of young people, it's no longer working. The bourgeoisie needs some fancy ideas to justify their irrational system, so they tell us at school about democracy and freedom and equality. But for the Vietnam generation they should have thought of something else to talk about. They try to frighten us with the terrors of the Stalinist states and scare stories about the British Communist Party. But the real solution to the degeneration of the Russian

workers state has been shown not by the butchers in Vietnam and in Aden, but by the young revolutionaries in Czechoslovakia and other East European states. And as for the fairy tales about the British Communist Party, they can fool nobody who has seen anything of the harmless reformism of the C.P. and its youth organisation. As for the institutions of the bourgeoisie, the monarchy, the Church, Parliament, the City of London and the Tory Party, it would be difficult to find a student or young worker in whom they inspired enthusiasm. Even the Holy of Holies—the family—is now under attack, and we can expect to see millions of women rejecting the role assigned them by the capitalist system. It is the job of young revolutionaries to carry on a merciless struggle against this moribund ideology of the bourgeoisie and the institutions of education that transmit it. We must ensure that the generation of young people now leaving the schools are won to the struggle for socialism in the 1970s.

The Labour Movement

But our job is not simply to concern ourselves with the problems of youth. Because, whether we like it or not, the fate of the revolution in the 1970s will be determined by the organised labour movement. And it is only the short-sighted that lack confidence in the potentialities of the working class. For the absence of big political struggles on the part of the British labour movement during the last twenty years has another side to it. During the boom years the working class has step by step built up its trade union strength. The blinkered monopolists could only see the prospect of quick profits while the boom was on and abstained from trying to crush the growing shop stewards movement rather than hold back production for longer term interests in the class war. Now they are reaping the harvest of their neglect.

We can understand why if we look back to the dock strike. What was obvious about the strike was that the TGWU bureaucracy sold out the dock workers, refusing to fight not only against the Devlin productivity deals but even for the £20 basic wage. But less obvious and just as important was that the fact that an important wing of the ruling class regarded the agreement as a total sell-out on the part of the

government. In other words in the period are now entering the ruling class is finding increasingly difficult to co-exist even with wretched class-collaborators who run the unions; they are bracing themselves not merely for a war against the militants, but a confrontation with the labour movement as a whole, bureaucrats and all. In this situation is certain that elements within the TUC will rather make crippling concessions to the government than stand up and fight. It is therefore crucial that all socialists should themselves for action in the big workers' struggles which lie ahead. We must first secure developments on the industrial front close and then prepare to mobilise as many people as possible when the time comes to act. In addition, wherever a rank and file committee in defence of trade unions exists, student young workers should try to maintain contact and work within it. Where none exists we must try to make contacts with local shop-stewards committees or individual militants to organise such a defence committee.

Seize the Time

If we seize our opportunities, organise ourselves effectively, and build a centralised, revolutionary youth organisation, on the left of the established political parties, the 1970s will be a decade for the socialist movement in Britain. We must link ourselves with the revolutionary forces in the rest of the world, particularly in Europe, and be ready to throw everything into the struggle in the likely event of a revolutionary crisis in Spain or France or Italy. We must build up the movement in solidarity with the peoples of Indo-China and other parts of the Afro-Asian world and collaborate with the peoples of progressive role the "national bourgeoisie" and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism; we must combat all notions of peaceful and parliamentary roads to socialism in Britain; we cannot let the degenerated Soviet state to be passed as socialism; last and most important we must work to construct an international organisation of the revolutionary vanguard. If we do these things, and we must, then one more child will come home to roost, this time in the form of the labour movement and in the form of LEON TROTSKY.

Peter Gow

Internationalism

The decade of the 1960s witnessed a tremendous radicalisation of youth in the advanced capitalist countries, and of students in particular. This process, the roots of which are too complex to analyse in a brief article, was reflected most clearly in the appearance in a whole series of countries of mass student and anti-imperialist movements. The first wave of this revolutionary movement of youth reached its height in 1968, and brought a new and immensely positive factor onto the ossified European political scene. The great strength of the movement was its implacable opposition not just to capitalism and imperialism, but to bureaucracy, both in Eastern Europe and in the apparatuses of the "Communist" and Social Democratic parties in Western Europe.

In this strength of the movement, however, lay concealed a dangerous weakness. In breaking decisively with the old workers' parties who had proved their worthlessness time and time again, large sections of the movement wrote off the entire workers' movement for the last forty years, including those sections who had fought to uphold revolutionary Marxist politics. In

revulsion from Stalinist monolithism, they also rejected the concept of the Leninist party. By thus cutting themselves adrift from the heritage of revolutionary Marxism, they made a fatal mistake. For only through this heritage can the youth movement of today find the means of understanding the dynamics of world revolution today, the nature of Stalinism and the necessity of evolving a revolutionary strategy for overthrowing capitalism in its bastions in Western Europe and North America. Since the youth movement is incapable of overthrowing capitalism on its own, it must either develop such a strategy, and through it a road to the working class, or face stagnation and crisis.

In these weaknesses of the youth movement of the '60s can be found the roots of the collapse of mass movements such as the two SDS's, the American and the German—the one abandoning all ideology and the other seeking to generate a "new one"—and the fragmentation of the movement everywhere in the last two years, bringing with it the development of all sorts of weird sects and terrorist groups. There is, however, another aspect to the movement,

one which offers a way out of the impasse. In a number of countries we have seen the creation of organisations of youth which, from the very start, clearly defined themselves politically. They adopted Leninist norms of organisation, and by allying themselves with the Fourth International, which maintained the political traditions of Leninism from the degeneration of the Communist International until the present, they clearly placed themselves in the historical current of revolutionary Marxism. Starting from the necessity of building their organisations from the revolutionary battalions of youth, they have seen their longer-term task as strengthening the sections of the Fourth International in their countries and developing an orientation towards the working class.

The best-known of these organisations was the JCR (Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire) of France, which was able to play a huge role in the student movement in May 1968, and subsequently played a major part in establishing the Ligue Communiste, which is beginning to implant itself as a serious force in the workers' movement. The Young Socialist Alliance in the United States, by waging a principled struggle to build a mass movement against the Vietnam war, has also become very strong, and similar organisations have developed in Belgium,

Canada, Denmark and elsewhere. The Spartacus League places itself firmly alongside the organisations. We aim to build, from the student, anti-imperialist and other forms of strong revolutionary Marxist organisation of youth. Alongside the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International, the Spartacus League offers young militants in colleges, factories and schools an alternative both to the treachery of the old Communist Parties and to the dead-end of anarchism and hippydom.

In doing this we will always be conscious of being part of an international movement, not just in sentiment, but in actual practice. It is this spirit that we are preparing to participate in at the "Red Europe" Conference in Brussels on November 21/22. Called by the Ligue Communiste of France and the Jeune Garde of Belgium, it will bring together thousands of young revolutionaries from all over Europe to discuss a continental strategy against European capitalism and the struggle for a Socialist States of Europe. The Spartacus League will take its part in preparing this conference and will take a large contingent to it.

Forward to a Red Europe!

Murray Smith

LIFE UNDER THE TORIES

the old traditions of the Labour Party in position, we are witnessing now an attempted move to the left. Just as we found Labour leaders losing the war in Vietnam before they came to power, so we find them now trying to find an issue on which can take a left face. But this time they have found difficulty in deceiving the public. Even when Stewart attacked the proposed arms sales to South Africa nobody could take him seriously. After all, was it not a man, as Foreign Secretary, who supported American aggressors in Vietnam? Was it not a man who cynically supplied guns to Nigeria? Was it not this very Michael Stewart who plied third parties with British arms for export to South Africa? Young people would quite justified in thinking that the aspirations for the freedom and development of the colonial world is trampled on as much by Labour as by the Conservative Tories. Even on the question of South Africa, where the people thought that there could be a realisation between the parties, we saw Labour promised even before they started. Indeed actions of the Tory government so far have been continuations of Labour policy. In dock strike Labour supported the Tories in their plans to occupy the docks militarily, but it is interesting that this, the arch-reactionary *Daily Express* was able to start a Red Scare strike on the basis of Wilson's witch-hunt of the Seaman's strike of 1966. This same process can be seen in the Tory attitude to Ireland and radicalised sectors of the population generally. Young militants might be repressed by the Army repression in the North Ireland, but they must remember that it was Labour government that sent the troops in. They are outraged by the Tory scaremongering about Black Power but it was the Labour government which made this possible by their racist attacks on the right of the Kenyan Asians and their imprisonment of black militants under the Race Relations Act.

EDUCATION
We can see this all extremely clearly in a field in which all young people have a deep concern—education. We can really see the sham arguments of those who pretend that the new government presents us with the probability of a "classroom counter-revolution". In fact

this might be an opportune moment to ask these people precisely what gives them the illusion that a classroom revolution ever took place under Labour. Perhaps these people were in fact taken in by Labour's egalitarian phrasemongering on comprehensive schools. Do they really think that even if Labour's plans were revolutionary they could carry out their revolution without laying a finger on the public Schools?

But what was the reality of Labour's plans? It is true that they were a reaction to the crying need of British industry for a rationalised system to educate their workers. But did these people think that equality in education was a necessary part of this rationalisation? Not at all! The so-called comprehensive of education did nothing for the slum schools which accommodate the most educationally underprivileged members of society. Neither did they impinge on the privileges of the upper strata of society.

Comprehensivisation may well have provided an increased pool of skilled workers, but as a step towards breaking the privileges of the minority it was not even a beginning. Those members and supporters of the Labour Party who rightly condemn Tony Thatcher's educational proposals should remember that it was their party which laid the groundwork for this. The same is true for the higher and further sectors of education. It was the Labour government which made most intense the division in the binary system and it was a Labour Department of Education and Science which made the most far-reaching proposals to fragment students and avert militancy. They have made a concerted attack on the standard of living of students, and legislated a discriminatory policy against foreign students.

What then determines the policies which affect the lives of young people? If the determining factor does not lie in the sham fight in Parliament, where must young people look?

YOUNG WORKERS

More and more young people are beginning to understand that it is the bosses and the bureaucrats who stand in the way of the hopes and aspirations of the youth.

If you look at the position of young workers,

especially apprentices, you see the truth of this understanding. First of all this group is extremely badly paid even by the standard of "adult" workers. Not only is it exploited in this way but apprentices are more often than not used to do adult work and denied an education in the trade. When they go to college they are regimented and denied education except in that minimal area from which their bosses can make a profit.

This is not something which is changed by Parliamentary manoeuvres. It is something which depends on the balance of class forces. It is when the apprentices organise themselves that they can make gains. And here the role of the trade union bureaucracies really shows itself. The unions traditionally have capitulated to the bosses on the question of the rights of young workers. Even the so-called "left" trade union leaders have a bad record on this question. Nowhere have they joined battle with the employers to ensure the basic right of trade union organisation for apprentices. Nowhere do they lead a campaign for the right of apprentices to strike. It is therefore necessary for young workers and apprentices to realise that it is by their self-activity that they can make gains. They can have no trust in the Labour Party or in the trade union bureaucracies, even of the Scanlon/Jones type.

This is an area where young people can take a leaf out of the book of the dockers. All the time the bureaucrats were attempting to find an agreement with the bosses and attempting to patch up some sort of a shabby compromise. The Labour Party even acquiesced in the Tory plans militarily to occupy the docks. It was only the self-activity and rank-and-file organisation of the dockers which enabled them to gain any concession from the employers.

REPRESSION

But the period in which we find ourselves is one in which we see a mounting offensive by the ruling class. Their introduction of Measured Day Work and productivity dealing was not only intended to increase productivity but, more importantly, to break the power of shop-floor organisation.

The moves towards the Common Market are also to be seen as a "rationalisation" of capitalism at the expense of the workers. And the

capitalists are now testing out the means of repression they will use in their showdown with a confident and militant working class.

It is in this light that one can understand the imprisonment of Bernadette Devlin and other Irish militants. The bourgeoisie was testing the response of a weak group to ascertain the level of the reaction of the working class when the government brings in its new measures. This is why the repression against black militants and students has been intensified. It is a preliminary test before the Tories take up the attacks of the Labour government on the whole working-class movement.

At present we are going through a tense period. The working class movement has made big gains over the last few years. Unionised workers, for instance, have made big gains in wage levels. They are becoming used to victory to the extent that it now makes claims far in excess of those which would have been possible five years ago. In the struggle for wages, the working class was gaining the upper hand. Now, in a period of economic crisis, with the fear of an American recession behind every move of the ruling class, they are flexing their muscles for the fight to enter the Common Market and remain "competitive."

WHY THE SPARTACUS LEAGUE

This repression is what young people can expect from the Tories. It is the self-activity of the working class which poses the only effective counterweight to their plans. The young people who, since the May events in France have shown themselves to be at the head of the movement, can place no trust in the Labour or trade union bureaucracies.

We must strive to build our own organisations. One of these organisations is the Spartacus League. It is a revolutionary Marxist youth organisation which supports the struggle against capitalism and tries to organise militant young workers and students together under one banner. That is why if we are serious about revolutionary politics, if we oppose the policies of Tweedledum Wilson and Tweedledee Heath, we have to get together to map out an alternative course. The Spartacus League is only the beginning of the process... *Gerald Hitman*

Combat Bourgeois Education

is an elementary application of Marxism to state that the education system of any given society will be a reflection of the needs of the ruling class. Thus in feudal society the control exercised by the Church reflected its close relationship with the landowning class. It had a central function as the means by which that class maintained the dominance of its own ideology and suppressed all independent thinking on the part of its "social inferiors". In the nineteenth century the emergence of English public schools was a vital part of the both integration of the sons of the newly rich to the peculiar myth-laden traditions of English ruling class society. On the other hand the Education Act of 1870 introducing universal elementary schooling was primarily motivated by the need for a more highly-skilled working population.

Many of its propagandists try to kid classes and apprentices that the Industrial Training Act 1963 was designed to widen for their benefit training and experience they received. In fact it was introduced to assist technologically backward British capitalism to catch up on its competitors. Nor of course is the introduction of comprehensive secondary education designed to level out inequalities and privilege. The most recent arguments in its favour have always been those concerned with the elimination of "wastage of talent" under the selective system. The "wastage" referred to is not, needless to say, the demoralisation and systematic destruction of the personalities of those condemned to the lower streams of this system, but the loss of resources to the "nation" (read: British industry).

Even the comprehensive system is designed to marginally increase the area over which the net is cast. Ask any typical group of 15-year-school leavers about their attitude towards education and the answers will be almost uniformly scathing. Authoritarian teachers, irrelevant curricula, petty rules and regulations—designed to produce an unthinking automaton—capable of slotting peacefully into a soul-destroying job in the industrial process.

To grasp this relationship between education and the class nature of society is of central importance to revolutionaries because the fact is that, despite all the talk of a vast expansion of

capitalist world educational institutions are increasingly the centres of a radicalism and dissidence which from time to time breaks into full-scale open revolt. The ferment in the universities—a long-time phenomenon in the Third World—is now a common feature in the developed capitalist countries. In Japan, France, Italy, above all in the central country of world imperialism, the USA, the student movement has leapt to the forefront, posing the ruling class with acute problems in containing its fundamental hostility to the status quo.

And it is not just the universities which are hit by the crisis. In Britain the previously conservative and quiescent teacher training colleges are on the move. The Schools movement has so far had a limited impact in Britain, but in France and the USA it is already a major feature. There have even been rumblings of discontent within the technical colleges. Despite the instability of its organisations, the peaks and troughs of its activities, this movement is here to stay. The general tendency for a revolt from within the bourgeois educational system is without doubt going to be a perennial feature of capitalist society in the period of its final death throes.

This is because the ruling class is caught in an increasingly insoluble contradiction. In order to compete in the period of the Third Industrial Revolution, every national capitalism is bound to increase the amount of education it provides. At the same time they are of course unwilling to appropriate sufficient resources. Hence the movement towards a lowering of standards in staffing, equipment, accommodation, etc. Albeit that education is increasingly vocationally oriented, designed to equip the people it processes with the narrow specialism required to perform a particular job, it cannot avoid as a by-product increasing their general cultural level—and thereby increasing their capacity to understand and to question the conditions under which they work and the society in which they live.

This basic contradiction which cannot fail to heighten in intensity the longer capitalism survives, has provided revolutionaries with tremendous opportunities. The world-wide phenomenon of youth increasingly alienated from all aspects of bourgeois society has found

of the working class, revolutionaries have to be absolutely clear about the nature of education in our society. A merciless critique has to be made of every sector of the educational system, demonstrating how at every level it is linked to and controlled by ruling class interests. Above all students and staff throughout the system have to be organised to combat this influence.

Reformist measures which do not touch the roots of the system have to be continually exposed through the presentation of a programme of transitional demands which pose clearly the question of an educational system controlled by students and teachers as opposed to one which serves the needs of the boss class—a programme which poses the question of an education relevant to the personal needs of the student. Only in this way will we be able to develop the movement in the colleges and especially in the schools and techs. It will be one of the main tasks of the Spartacus League to help to work out this programme and to lead the struggles against bourgeois education at all levels.

John Blair

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THE SPARTACUS LEAGUE

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ON TROTSKY

On the 20th August 1940 at Coyocan in Mexico, a man called Jackson, alias Jacques Mornar, alias Ramon Mercader, with a blow from an ice-pick to the skull, assassinated Lev Davidovich Trotsky—former President of the Petrograd Soviet, former People's Commissar of the Soviet Republic, creator of the Red Army and the founder of the Fourth International.

His mission accomplished, Jackson—this small-time assassin hired by big-time political gangsters—was condemned by the Mexican police and later found a safe hiding place with his masters in the Kremlin. Nothing more was heard of his name until a few years ago when he asked for permission to pass through Cuba on his way to Czechoslovakia (then under the Novotny regime). It is to the credit of the revolutionary Cuban government that they refused to allow Trotsky's assassin to soil the territory of the first free country of America. However Jackson did get back to Czechoslovakia, where after shitting with fear during the Prague Spring when revolutionary students were assailing the bureaucracy for harbouring this Stalinist criminal, he now leads a quiet life in the discreet retirement provided by his friends Husak, Bilak and Indra.

THE LAST OF THE LIST

For Stalin the death of Trotsky was to have marked the end of an epoch, or rather for a fierce struggle begun 15 years earlier between the bureaucratic clique and the living forces of the Revolution.

From 1925 the bureaucracy represented by Stalin, which had usurped political power from the Russian working class, had been carefully blocking every development of the world revolution and gradually imposing on the Soviet people a regime of unprecedented terror. The principal obstacles between Stalin and his dreams of absolutism were the instruments of the Bolshevik Revolution—the Bolshevik Party and the Third International. Lenin's wife used to say to friends during the thirties: "If Ilyich were alive today he would be in prison." From 1934 and the first Moscow trials until the death of Trotsky in 1940, Stalin worked conscientiously to exterminate all those who might maintain links with the world revolution. Thousands of Bolshevik cadres were crowded into the cattle trucks that left for the hell of the Stalinist concentration camps. All the political leaders of the October Revolution, who had devoted their entire lives to the socialist struggle, were dragged through the mud of the Moscow trials. Trotsky, still too popular to be killed, was first exiled, then deprived of his Russian citizenship. The witch-hunt was even extended to the members of the Stalinist machine: in 1938 Marshal Tukachevsky and four-fifths of the senior officers of the Soviet Army were shot at the orders of Stalin, leaving the defensive system of the Soviet Union in disarray; all those Communists returning from abroad—especially from the Spanish front—were liquidated in the same way. The GPU (the political police) extended its network overseas, infiltrated the different Communist Parties and committed crime after crime; Sedov, Trotsky's son, killed; Klement, Trotsky's secretary, shot down; Ignatio Reiss, who had broken with the Stalinists, shot; Trotsky assassinated... The list goes on.

This historic struggle between the forces of Stalinist reaction (endowed with all the power of the State apparatus) and the world's revolutionaries—isolated, hunted and destroyed—has been misrepresented by official histories either as the settling of personal grudges or as the normal consequence of Bolshevism. The truth is quite the contrary. The very character of those who lived through it can leave us in no doubt about this.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, a parasitic caste living by a reign of terror, recruiting its cadres principally from among the former Mensheviks and collaborators of the Tsarist regime—such as Vyshinski, the prosecutor in the trials of '36, '37, '38—and finding its strong-arm men among the backward sections of the peasantry, broke with every notion of communism or internationalism. Stalin elaborates the doctrine of "Socialism in One Country". And the logic of the Moscow trials is very clear; apart from Lenin (who has the good fortune to be dead) and Stalin, all the leaders of the October Revolution are traitors, spies, renegades—have sold themselves simultaneously to the Tsar, the Mikado, England and Hitler. From there it is but a question of nuance to let it be understood that October was nothing but a masterly police provocation mounted by the deadly enemies of the working class, and that Lenin was duped by this; these are the nuances that the hysterical Vyshinski does not always respect... And yet the defendants at Moscow confessed! Bukharin, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Radek, Rakovski, Preobav

enski, Piatakov, Smirnov and many other great revolutionaries—were they not charged with the most vile crimes?

The reply is two-fold. In the first place the confessions are such that no thinking person—and especially no one in the USSR—could take them completely seriously. Prey to the Stalinist blackmail of "saving the Soviet Union at all costs", lacking any political perspective, those who in 1917 had changed the course of history by creating the first Workers State confessed themselves to be no more than dogs and gutless snakes. We may reproach them for this weakness—or rather this lack of political understanding—as well as for other faults, for no person, not even Lenin or Trotsky, was ever infallible. Nevertheless those who were shot at Moscow were and have remained authentic revolutionaries; only the World Socialist Revolution will one day be able to render them the honour that is due to them.

But there are others—thousands of them—who never confessed to anything and refused to join in any Stalinist masquerade. Their silence was no use to Stalin; they were shot without trial and their names have never seen the light of day. These, following Trotsky, had understood the real nature of the bureaucracy. Their resistance does not stem from courage alone; rather their courage comes from political understanding; no compromise with the machine nor with Stalin, but a fierce and decisive struggle to overthrow the usurpers with a new political revolution.

To the "father of the people" these were the most dangerous, and Leon Trotsky in creating the Fourth International was the greatest of all. Stalin when he massacred the survivors of October 17 had nevertheless not forgotten its lesson: from the imperialist war is born the civil war and the social revolution. And from the second war begun in 1940 by Hitler could emerge the revolution which would sweep away the Stalinist caste. Trotsky, the sole survivor, must die.

The assassination in 1940 by Jackson was intended to decapitate the Fourth International. Three years later, in '43, seeing the beginning of the end of the war, Stalin completed his task by hastily dissolving what was left of the Third International, thus cutting the last link between himself and the Red October, believing he could thereby win his ultimate victory.

The Defeat of Stalin

By his imbecile ultra-leftist sectarian policy of 1933, he had delivered the heroic German proletariat to the Nazis, then he had tied down the working class of France and Spain in the strait-jacket of the Popular Fronts before delivering them to Petain and Franco. Trusting

he abandoned the Soviet Union, practically defenceless, to the plunderers of the Third Reich.

He then had to bring back from Siberia the Russian and Spanish political detainees to organise the defence of Moscow and halt the German advance. It was the Soviet people who, in one year, saved the situation. The victories of those days were won by the partisans in France, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Indochina and China. They called in question, not merely the power of the Axis forces that they crushed, but the very balance of power in the world. The Revolution was waiting on the threshold. All that was needed was a Communist International which could seize the opportunity and carry it through to victory. Instead of that, Moscow did all it could to stem the flood. The Chinese revolution was carried through against the expectations of the bureaucracy. The Yugoslav partisans seized power against the orders of Stalin. But these successes, with their incalculable consequences, were the only ones.

The Greek revolution was strangled by Stalin and abandoned to the British bayonets. The Communist Parties transformed themselves into lackeys of the national bourgeoisies, reconstructing the machinery of state destroyed by the war and sparing them the nasty taste of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The countries of Eastern Europe passed—without any social revolution—to the state of "People's Democracies" and order was re-established.

But once more the price that had to be paid was too heavy. In the West it was the witch-hunt, proscriptio, slander. In the East, torture and the firing squad. The result, throughout the world, was the same: generations of revolutionaries are driven from the stage. History seems to have stopped and the lead curtain of imperialism and bureaucracy shrouds the world.

In reality there is a genuine revolutionary ferment at many points on the globe. The victory of Mao Tse-Tung has been an example and an important factor in this mobilisation. And if the working class leadership, loyal to Moscow, continues to organise defeats, in Russia itself the strains become greater: the objective conditions for dictatorship have almost disappeared, the USSR is no longer isolated, the standard of living and the culture of the masses has improved, the working class—formerly fragmented—slowly recreates itself before the pressures of modernisation. Stalin, symbol of a lost revolution, becomes a threat to the bureaucracy itself, which feels the need to discharge a little ballast so they will not have to give up more. His acolytes in the Politburo are not displeased when the awkward old man dies.

Some months later comes the workers' uprising in East Berlin. In '56 the Polish Spring and the Hungarian October. Stalin is dead but the bureaucracy survives him, despite the sops given to the masses by the 20th Party Congress.

The victory of Trotsky
The Stalinist empire has collapsed, the coexistence marks time. There are to be as many "communisms" or "socialisms" as there are communist parties in the world. The revolution whose hot points are in China and Palestine and the whole of America, the bureaucracy nostalgic for the passing of Stalin, when class war follows the orders of the Kremlin. Unregain control of this difficult situation convinced that the liberalisation which followed the tyrant's death served no purpose, Moscow leadership has turned again to the "great man": the cult of Stalin reappears along with the barbaric methods of repression he used. But history does not repeat itself.

"Tell my friends that I am sure of the Fourth International." The last Trotsky, spoken at the darkest hour of the century, now take on their full meaning and hunted down by the Stalinist machine, the Fourth International struggles. The only coherent tendency in national politics, because it is the only world party, the Fourth International, by the rising tide of the revolutionary movement, takes up again and develops the Left Opposition, of the Bolsheviks 1917, the struggle against world reaction for the victory of the Socialist Revolution. Today its militants are fighting in Latin America, in the USA, in the Far East, Europe. In the face of the decay of the communisms, the development of an international strategy of struggle is the greatest comrade Trotsky.

The ice-pick of Stalin's agent destroyed the brain of Lev Davidovich. But no ice-pick mercenary, no secret policeman, no measure can prevent our epoch from being ERA OF THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION. It is in that sense that we say:

TROTSKY LIVES!

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