

Keep

LEFT

Official paper of the Young Socialists

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7th ANNUAL CONFERENCE FOR SOCIALISM

THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS are holding their seventh annual conference in Morecambe on March 18 and 19. In a period when the Labour government carries out attack after attack on the working class, by making over 600,000 unemployed and cutting wages, it is the young workers and students who must take the lead in the fight against Wilson's Tory policies; the decisions of our conference, therefore, are extremely important.

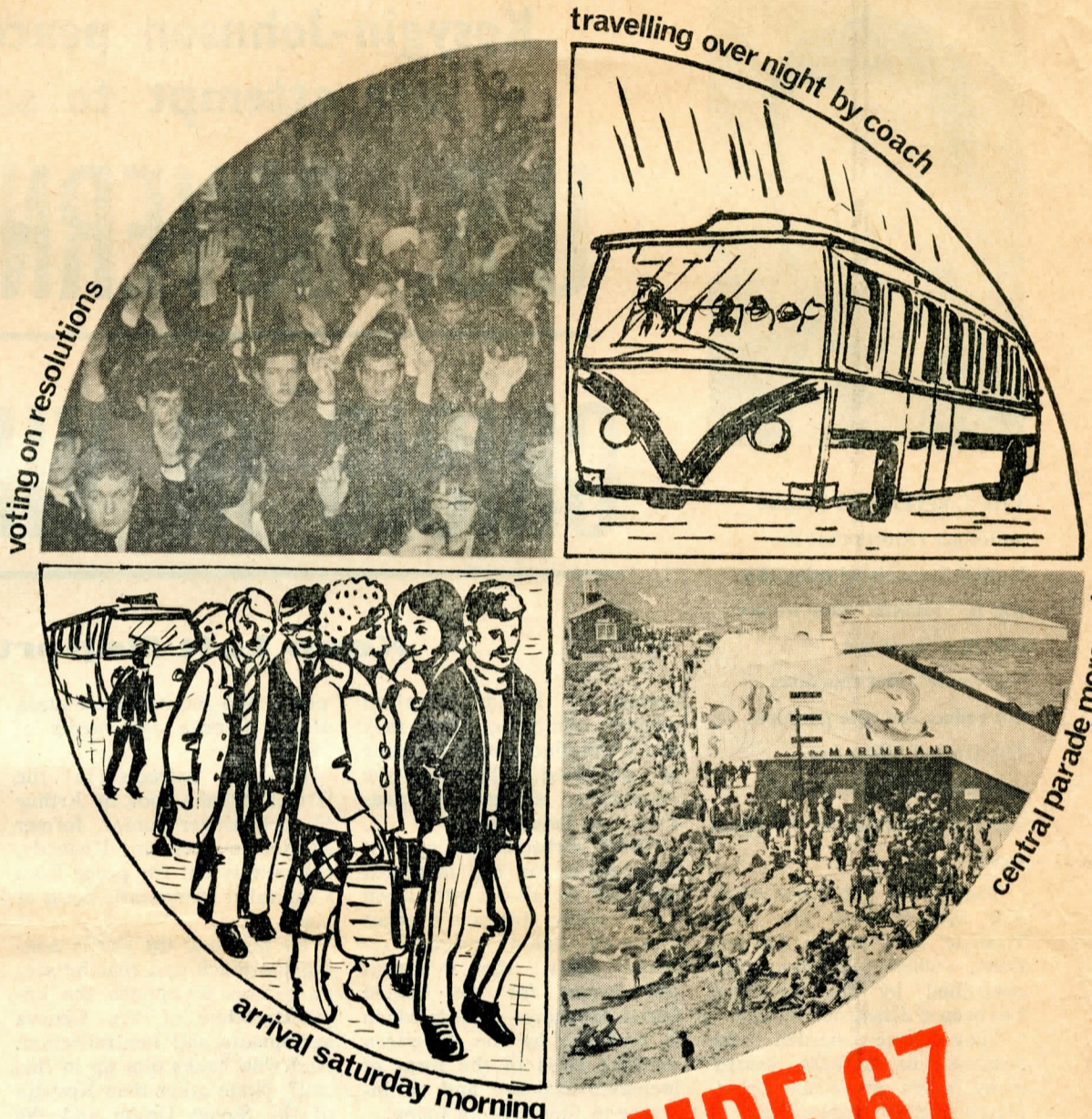
It is clear that the present Labour government acts on behalf of big business and the bankers and only the Young Socialists set out to mobilise the youth against such policies.

The Young Socialists' conference takes place at a vital time for the international working class. We shall be discussing how to fight for socialist policies against Wilson. This is why we invite all young workers, apprentices, students, school-leavers and unemployed to come to the 1967 conference of the Young Socialists. Adult trade unionists and Labour Party members will be most welcome.

This year we expect a conference which will be bigger than ever. Morecambe has once again extended its hospitality. Accommodation (see back page for details) is very reasonably priced. Meals are provided cheaply at restaurants close to the conference hall. Complete with the cost of the return fare, a levy of 10s and the cost of the dance, the whole weekend amounts to approximately £3.

In the evening of Saturday, March 18, we present two really top-line groups, the Cryin' Shames and the Rick 'n' Beckers.

During a special session of the conference members of the Young Socialists will be able to discuss plans for a wide and varied sports and social programme. If you have any good ideas come and put them forward. Come and join us at Morecambe!



FORWARD TO MORECAMBE 67 MARCH 18th & 19th

For accommodation see page 12-BOOK NOW!



Rick n' Beckers



The Cryin' Shames

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International**  
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# WORLD NEWS



**Kosygin-Johnson peace moves  
are attempt to solve:**

## U.S. GOVERNMENT CRISIS IN VIETNAM



**THE CAPITALIST PRESS**  
no longer reports that the  
United States is winning the  
war in Vietnam. Now we are  
told that there is a  
'stalemate'. But this does  
not reflect the true position.  
The United States has  
recently been reporting its  
heaviest casualties of the whole  
war.

Their much publicised offensive to win back the 'Iron Triangle' area in the Mekong Delta, which is completely controlled by the Vietcong, has been a disastrous failure.

They have herded the peasants to 'refugee camps' many miles away and completely razed vast areas of land. But, as the 'Observer' correspondent recently re-

ported, 'I found American officers admitting that they could not find many Vietcong or peasants; whenever the Americans slogged towards them they faded away'.

These setbacks are part of the reason for the increased calls for an all-out attack on the Vietcong. Johnson's recent 'State of Union' message reveals what the Vietnam war means for the United States economy—a crisis which is paid for by the American working class in the form of increased taxation and an increase in their cost of living.

Meanwhile we must look at the role of those who call for

'peace' and the implementation of the Geneva agreements of 1954.

In two extracts in the 'Times', from a book by Arthur M. Schlesinger Junior, former advisor to President Kennedy, the case is put for peace from a capitalist Democratic point of view.

He says that the war is costing too much and that he sees no reason to oppose the implementation of the Geneva agreements and neutralisation. And who backs him up in this call? None other than Kosygin of the Soviet Union and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The 'Observer' reports that

the Soviet leadership may well soon try and help the United States government end the war. It says that Johnson purposely toned down his State of the Union address to avoid attacking Kosygin. The role of Kosygin's talk with de Gaulle and his meeting with Wilson is to build a bridge to Washington.

It is in the events in China that the key to understanding the role of US imperialism in South-East Asia really lies.

The masses of Red Guards fighting against the bureaucracy in China have sent a shiver down the spine of the Russian bureaucracy. Their position would be threatened if the

Russian workers and youth followed the example of the Red Guards.

So the attempt is to sell out the Vietnamese revolution and isolate China by a conspiracy between Moscow and Washington.

Nevertheless there would appear to be little chance of such a solution coming about. After all the Vietnamese workers and peasants have been fighting for over 20 years and will not be easily hoodwinked into another Geneva agreement.

The question of the future of all the peasants and workers in South-East Asia and the Red Guards in China can only be decisive if we recognise that the ultimate defeat of imperialism rests in the hands of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries.

## South Africa



cible overthrow of the Lesotho government, has followed a set pattern of action designed to terrorise the opposition into submission and thereby pave the way to Lesotho's complete subservience to Vorster's political and economic dictatorship.

Mokhehle, Congress Party leader, was arrested together with Party general secretary Godfrey M. Kolisane. Also arrested were Dr. Seth Makotoko, leader of the smaller Marema Thou-Freedom Party, and Chief Letsie Moshoeshe, a distant relation of King Moshoeshe II.

### Ban sparks unrest

Chief Letsie was among a group of 12 Basutos arrested in connection with an attack on a police station on December 30. The police have also confiscated a number of firearms.

The present spate of unrest in Lesotho, an enclave within the Republic of South Africa was sparked off following a ban, imposed by the Lesotho National Party government of Chief Leabua Jonathan, on a political meeting called by the Congress Party on the slopes of Shaba Bosio (Thaba Bosio) where King Moshoeshe was to have addressed the rally.

However, the King, as well as the Congress Party supporters who turned up in their thousands,

defied the ban and rode towards the intended meeting place in cars, buses, bicycles and horses.

When police set up road blocks and tried to turn back the crowds, there were clashes in which 11 people died and a dozen were injured, many seriously.

About 170 people were arrested, including 36 women, and charged with carrying offensive weapons.

The ban on the meeting, backed up with police action, was taken on the grounds that the Congress Party, the Royalist Marema Thou-Freedom Party and the King were all involved in a plot to take over the Lesotho government by force.

This was to have been executed following the meeting at Thaba Bosio. The gathering was to have marched into Maseru about 15 miles away for that purpose. It is also alleged that most of the tribesmen heading for the meeting were armed with old rifles, home-made guns, sticks and knob-kirries.

Some of the incidents reported to have taken place so far include two attacks on police stations at Butha Buthe and Leribe, the Congress Party stronghold in north Lesotho, near the Orange Free State Border.

The arrest of political leaders of the stature of Mokhehle, Kolisane and Dr. Makototo, as well as leading and popular anti-government chiefs, will only sharpen political strife. In such a situation intervention from South Africa cannot be ruled out.

Lesotho, with an approximate area of about

**T**HE arrest of Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, opposition leader in the Lesotho parliament, on January 5 on charges of incitement to violence and for-

## Spain: Students and workers demonstrate for free trade unions

**WORKERS** and students in Madrid made a joint call for a massive demonstration early in February as part of their protest against rising prices and in favour of free trade unions.

For four days at the end of January, hundreds marched in the streets whilst police tried to disperse demonstrators.

On one such occasion there was a six-hour battle between students and police in the grounds of Madrid University. The police were looking for leaders of the demonstrations.

In the centre of Madrid police with truncheons attempted to chase a crowd of students who were clapping their hands and shouting 'Books, yes! Truncheons, no!'

The slogan is in recognition of the fact that the university authorities have indefinitely suspended classes at the faculty of political, economic and commercial sciences and proposed to higher authorities that it be closed.

On Tuesday, January 31, a young Madrid student, 23-year-old Rafael Guijarro Moreno, is reported to have jumped to his death from a sixth floor window during a police raid on his home.

**PREPARATIONS** are now being made in India for the coming elections at a time when such a farce seems even more worthless than is usual.

The elected left-wing government of Kerala is in prison and India is now gripped by the biggest famine for very many years, with millions dying of starvation particularly in the northern states of Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh.

Meanwhile large stocks of rice are being hoarded until the soaring price of this crop, on which the Indian masses depend to keep alive, reaches a level which the Indian speculators feel is 'profitable'.

This situation is expressed in the ruling Congress Party, which is torn by internal faction fighting, each group struggling to replace the ineffective Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

### Protection

It was to the Congress Party that the British government entrusted the protection of its interests when India was given independence in 1947. This action followed years of massive demonstrations, often numbering half a million, and militant strike actions. The latter included the mutiny of the Indian Navy in which large numbers of Indian workers and peasants were butchered by the British troops.

India was allowed to have an 'independent' government headed by nationalists who wished to remain close to the City of London.

At the same time Pakistan was artificially set up as a separate country to break the unity of the Indian masses and play upon the differences of religion and language.

This tactic of the British government was successful for some time, but the encourage-

Following the biggest famine ever and mass demonstrations comes:

# The Indian Elections

## Farce

by NICK PECK

ment of nationalism is now contributing to the crisis of the government. Pushed by the demands of the masses in each state, the representatives in the central government are forced to demand certain concessions for their own particular area and to form all sorts of unprincipled alliances to win them.

### Staggering

It is under the impact of these blows that the Congress Party is staggering from crisis to crisis, whilst rioting and anti-government demonstrations grow.

The fraud of India's national, independent government now



**INDIRA GHANDI:** Many factions are struggling to replace her ineffective leadership.

stands out more clearly than at any other time in its history. To unite the struggling masses of India in a fight against the government and its masters, the British imperialists, is the only solution to the Indian crisis.

Such a solution calls for the building of an international revolutionary party to co-ordinate their fight with that of the British working class, the Fourth International and their supporters in the socialist youth.

## News

11,700 square miles is about the size of Belgium and has a population of one million people. 200,000 of the country's Basutos work in the Republic and the remittances of the migrant workers provides Lesotho with its main source of income.

Chief Jonathan's Lesotho National Party was elected to power in April 1965 on a minority vote consisting of 41.6 per cent of the votes cast which gave him 31 seats. This was subsequently increased to 32 with the defection of the Marema Thou-Freedom Party deputy.

Mokhehle's Lesotho Congress Party received 39.7 per cent of the votes and 25 seats whilst the Marema Thou-Freedom Party of Dr. Seth Makoto received 16.5 per cent and four seats (now reduced to three with one defection). Other parties received 2.2 per cent of the vote and no seats.

### Smear campaign

Lesotho's powerful Roman Catholic church and also the regime of the late Verwoerd in South Africa had at the time of the election accused the opposition parties of receiving various sums of money for their campaign from communist sources. The result of this smear campaign was that the National Party, which fared badly during the 1960 elections, gained a victory.

Chief Jonathan's National Party is made up of reactionary chiefs and farmers.

In contrast to the National Party the Congress Party has a large proportion of professional politicians in its leadership as does the Marema Thou-Freedom Party.

Mokhehle is a demagogic politician who gained his political training in South Africa while at the African University College of Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape.

He broke from the African National Congress in South Africa to form the Basutoland Congress



**Chief Jonathan (left), leader of the Lesotho National Party, and Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, Congress Party leader arrested recently**

### BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

Party, with a strong tendency towards the pan-Africanism of Robert Sobukwe, the pan-Africanist leader detained on Robben Island, off Cape Town.

Chief Jonathan has had no such political training. The son of a minor hereditary chief he has, however, worked on the land mines as a gang foreman.

Dr. Makotoko derived his political training in the African National Congress Youth League whilst studying medicine at university. A middle-of-the-road politician he joined the Marema Thou-Freedom Party in 1962.

At the time of the 1960 elections the Basutoland Congress Party emerged the strongest body, holding 29 seats in the national council as against the National Party's one seat and the Marema Thou Party's five seats.

Up to the time of the 1965 elections the Congress Party was regarded with foreboding in South Africa because it was feared that the Party would lead the country to independence on a platform of strong pan-Africanism.

However, at the time of the elections, the South African government ensured the victory of the National Party and the Catholic Church also waded in heavily against the Congress Party.

The present Lesotho government now openly flirts with the South African government. Premier Jonathan, whose dictatorial police methods should qualify him for some reward, is due to pay a visit to premier Vorster some time in the future and will surely become one of his favourite lap dogs.

# Students grants — growing disquiet



**F**IVE thousand students demonstrating at Parliament—that's news, big news. On Wednesday, February 1, they lobbied Members of Parliament in protest against the increase of fees for overseas students. Behind this protest was a growing disquiet over the inadequate grants allocated to British students.

The action of Wilson and company against students is understandable. It is part of their attack against the wages and standards of living of the working class. Students are now joining the kind of struggle which the Young Socialists have been waging over the past two years.

This is the reason why the left-wing National Association of Labour Student Organisations has been virtually proscribed by the Labour Party right wing. Naturally, their leaders have been described as 'Trotskyists'—shades of the same kind of labelling which went on when the Young Socialists were part of the Labour Party.

The one thing Transport House will never do is argue out the merits of a political case. They always look for some anti-Communist or anti-Trotskyist smear or slander to cloud the real issues.

At the same time as Wilson puts up the fees for overseas students, he attacks NALSO. On the eve of the 1964 General Election, when he was preparing to attack the working class, he attacked the Young Socialists.

Students, however, should be in good heart over the whole business. When Wilson proscribed Keep Left it had a 10,000 circulation—now it is 14,000. The Young Socialists have a far stronger organisation than they had when they were part of the Labour Party. We predict that NALSO will have a similar future, provided it takes the leadership now of the growing unrest amongst students.

The Students' Union and the pale-pink Stalinist-Liberal, Radical Student Alliance are useless. In one way or another they are both tied to the establishment. Students must have independent socialist leadership.

NALSO members should not worry about their grant from Transport House being stopped. Keep Left is only too willing to help them with ideas on how to raise money from their supporters and avoid this petty piece of political blackmail.

# Great support for February 21 lobby

by Keep Left Reporter

**A**N ever-growing number of trade union branches and factory committees have gone on record in support for the lobby of Parliament on February 21 called by the Socialist Labour League and supported by the National Committee of the Young Socialists.

The purpose of the lobby is to mobilise the maximum amount of support from the trade union and labour movement for a move to call on the 'left' MPs to put down a motion in the Parliamentary Labour Party calling on Wilson and his Cabinet to resign.

In this way it is made absolutely clear that those MPs who abstained in Parliament on the voting on the Prices and Incomes Act in the summer of 1966 have the support of the working class if they are prepared to fight.

Such a demand to make the 'left' MPs fight Wilson in no way opens up the way for the Tories to return since the main aim of those calling for the lobby is that the Wilson Cabinet should be replaced by those who will fight for socialist policies.

## United action

Although the Communist Party has also called a lobby for this date, very little has appeared in the 'Morning Star' announcing the efforts of the Party to gain support. In fact the whole venture seems to be a source of deep embarrassment to King Street.

The only bodies to campaign for united action have been the Young Socialists, the Socialist Labour League and their supporters in the trade union movement.

## LETTER from N.C.

THE FOLLOWING letter has been sent to Barney Davis, national secretary of the Young Communist League:

*On behalf of the National Committee of the Young Socialists I would like to express our deepest sympathy with your organisation over the attempted murder last Sunday of the Young Communist, Tony Bloom.*

*We all hope that he will have a speedy recovery and will be back with his organisation before very long.*

The letter is signed for the national committee by secretary Sheila Torrance.

Workers at CAV/Lucas in Liverpool were the first to make the call for the lobby and they were closely followed by the Transport and General Workers' Union branch in Oxford which has many members in Morris Motors.

## Impressive

Now an impressive list of support includes workers in most of the Midlands towns: Coventry, Birmingham, Leicester, Nottingham; in Yorkshire: Leeds and Sheffield; in Scotland: the Clydebank Trades Council; and in other towns, such as Swindon. Hull dockers in the No. 4 National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers passed a resolution in support of the lobby.

Half a million leaflets will go out to the factories in the weeks before the lobby.

As part of the campaign the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League have been holding highly successful meetings in cities and towns up and down the country where the policy of the lobby has been explained to large audiences of workers from many important sections of industry.

In Oxford leading shop stewards from Morris Motors and other factories set up a special committee to organise the maximum number of workers to come down on the lobby.

A leaflet explaining the government's attack on piece-work rates and union organisation and making a call for the largest possible contingents to go down to London on February 21 has been issued by the joint shop stewards' committee at CAV/Lucas and a mass protest meeting has been organised by the Merseyside Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions on Sunday, February 12 at the St. George's Concert Hall, at 7.30 p.m.

## On record

Young Socialist Regional Conferences held in the past month have gone down on record in support of the lobby and all Young Socialist branches are now involved in massive drives to make this lobby the biggest ever.

This is an opportunity to organise a giant force in the labour and trade union movement against the policies of the Wilson government.

This present Labour leadership has shown quite conclusively that it is not prepared to take one single action on behalf of the working class and that it is only

interested in furthering the aims of the employers and the bankers by making capitalism work.

The wage freeze has not been brought to an end. There is an Act of Parliament which enables the Labour government and the State to ensure that the wage freeze is made to work. Unemployment has rapidly risen to over 600,000 in only a few months.

This is why we say Wilson and his policies must be thrown out. The present Labour leadership cannot be reformed; it must be sacked.

## Time to act

The Young Socialists say the time to act is now. Force the 'lefts' in Parliament to put down a motion against Wilson and exercise their constitutional rights within the Parliamentary Labour Party.

If they do not do this, if they refuse to act on behalf of the working class, then we shall know where we stand. They will face the working class exposed as humbugs and frauds.

A NEW YS PAMPHLET

# Socialism and Youth

The programme of the Young Socialists passed at last year's Morecambe Conference

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# AGM — Keep Left starts 1967 with huge success

**K**EEP LEFT held its biggest ever annual meeting in the Peckham Co-op Hall on January 7 this year. With a record audience of 800 Young Socialist members and readers, Keep Left, which is now 15 years old, got off to a roaring start in the New Year.

Giving the annual report Aileen Jennings, Editor of Keep Left, traced the activities of the Young Socialists and the paper during 1966.

The year had been an important one for the Young Socialists. They had been in the forefront of all the struggles against the policies of the Labour government.

It was the Young Socialists and Keep Left who had supported the campaign and demonstration against the prices and incomes policy, called by the Lambeth Trades Council on January 26.

'With Keep Left the Young Socialists set out to win allies amongst the adult workers and in this effort we were strikingly successful. Every campaign against the Prices and Incomes Bill held in 1966 was supported by us,' she said. 'On May 25 the Young Socialists received tremendous support for their demonstration when dockers on the Merseyside stopped work for one day in a token strike.'

What separated the YS and Keep Left from all other tendencies was the fact that continuous attention was paid, both by the paper and the youth movement, to the problems of young working-class people and there was a constant fight to strengthen ties with youth all over the world.

Liège, she explained, was a particularly momentous experience for the Young Socialists, who had mobilised 500 to go to Belgium in October 1966 and participate with youth from organisations in Western Europe in a demonstration against the war in Vietnam.

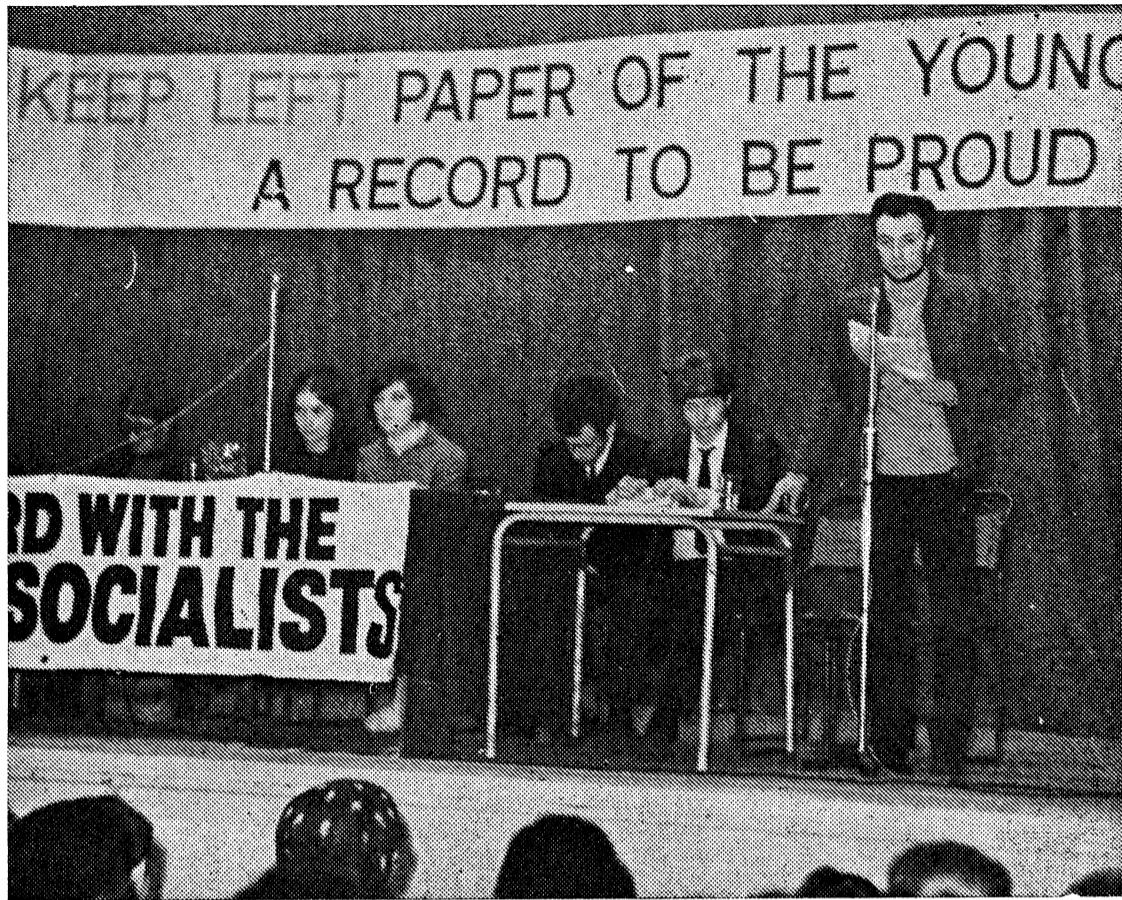
'We start from the fact that capitalism is an international system and in so far as the imperialists in any part of the world are weakened by the working class then we support that action.'

Aileen Jennings announced that plans were going ahead for an international assembly of youth in the summer where young people could get together and discuss their ideas and policies.

The Morecambe conference of the YS was particularly important in the planning out and discussing of campaigns and policies by the youth. In 1966 1,000 members and visitors attended. This year it was hoped that there would be at least 1,500.

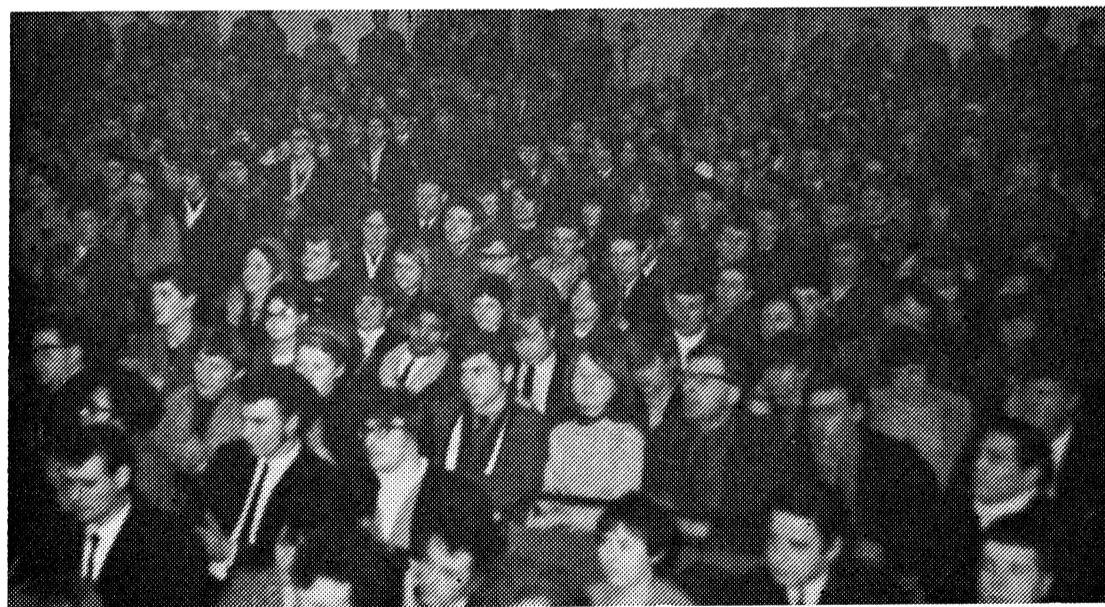
'What we did in 1966 we will improve upon. The circulation of our paper topped the 14,000 mark with the launching of a 12-page paper; let us make that figure 20,000 in 1967.'

Guest speaker Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, who had been invited to speak by the Editorial Board, said that the challenge which had to be faced by the paper's present readers was the fight to make Keep Left the champion of tens of thousands of youth, explaining complicated ideas in a way they would understand and thus making it the mass newspaper of youth in Britain.



A French young socialist gives fraternal greetings from the youth paper 'Revoltes'

## 800 unanimous to boost sales to 20,000



Young Socialists vote unanimously to accept the annual report

'This year we shall celebrate the 100th anniversary of the writing of 'Das Kapital' by Karl Marx. He was one of the founders of scientific socialism. We are able through this work to understand the profit motive of present-day capitalism, that the working class are the producers of wealth, and if mankind is to be rid of exploitation, unemployment and war it is necessary to prepare by building the party to take the power and introduce socialism, forcing the capitalist class to give way.'

Illustrating the viciousness of capitalist society Gerry Healy said

### Keep Left Editorial Board 1967

Editor: Aileen Jennings  
Pat Leonard  
Bernard Diamond  
Nick Peck  
John Simmance  
Rex Henry  
Auditor: Linda Blend

that in no other industry was the working of imperialism more obvious than in the newspaper industry.

'Today it is more and more, as is capitalist industry as a whole, under the control of fewer and fewer people. This industry, which does so much to slander socialism, will be under the control of two of the most reactionary capitalists in the world,' he said, referring to Thomson and King.

Comrade Healy explained that the use made of the press by capitalism could be seen most clearly in the Aberfan mining

disaster in South Wales, where reporters and photographers behaved like animals in their drive to get a news story.

'Keep Left has great responsibilities. It has to be built up in the labour movement to expose capitalism with every means in its power. What is the purpose of permitting a handful of people in Fleet Street and the City of London who own and control the means of production to keep people living like animals?' he asked.

'What is the use of moaning about the capitalist press if we do not take a real interest in building up our own press? What is the use of saying people will never listen to us?

'On the contrary they will listen to us. When Keep Left first appeared 16 years ago the first printing run was 300 copies. So many people have listened since.

★

'The Socialist Labour League asks you in this very important period do your best to build this paper to a circulation of 20,000.'

Bringing fraternal greetings from the 'Révoltes' paper of the socialist youth in France, a French comrade pointed out that just as Keep Left had fought in the 1950s in the Labour Party, Révoltes had been a centre for all youth moving from the young communists for several years.

'Without this revolutionary paper we would not have been able to go through the success of 1966, just as without Keep Left you would not have been able to fight Transport House and bring your movement forward to a programme of revolutionary Marxism.'

The comrade added that the French socialist youth had made a big step forward with the production of a printed paper, which had met a good response amongst working class youth. 'Révoltes' now had a circulation of 5,000.

Describing the attacks on the working class in France he said that the youth wanted to fight. Sometimes they joined the Communist Party or the Socialist Party but it soon became obvious that these parties betrayed the interests of the working class.

In the French Young Communist League there was a great crisis and many expulsions. Few people heard of YCL activities.

'We have the only youth paper to fight against the capitalist attacks on the working class. The Communist Party is collaborating with the French bourgeoisie, saying that government policies are progressive and that foreign policy is different from home policy.'

'All the workers and youth struggling against the same system all over the world feel the lack of a revolutionary international. To support the Vietnamese people is to fight against our own capitalists. The task facing the youth of the European countries is the building of a revolutionary organisation of youth.'

'At Liège we divided on class lines, the Pabloites adapting themselves to bourgeois pacifism and class collaboration.'

'We shall build an international of revolutionary youth only in the fight against these people. This is our common prospect for 1967.'

'Our two papers are going to play a vital role. The printed 'Révoltes' and the 12-page Keep Left are international factors. We shall not build an international organisation outside the Fourth International.'

# Lively discussions at Regional Conferences

**A**REA Young Socialists are holding their regional conferences in preparation for the Morecambe conference and for work throughout the next year.

Some very lively discussions are taking place on vital questions facing the working class. Resolutions on housing, unemployment, the wage freeze, the Chinese Revolution, Vietnam, apprentices, the February 21 lobby of parliament, the Morecambe conference, branch building, Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian peasant leader at present facing a death sentence, and many other questions have been discussed.

Most conferences are being followed by dances and film shows.

Here are reports of just four conferences: Middlesex, London, Southern Region and Scotland.

ONE OF THE biggest advances was in Middlesex where the number of visitors and delegates doubled last year's figures—120 people heard YS national secretary Sheila Torrance introduce the draft area resolution.

The sharpening crisis of capitalism had been expressed, she said, by the systematic destruction and deportation of Vietnamese workers and peasants by a desperate US imperialism.

The attack on motor workers' wages and conditions in Europe was another sign of the international attack on the working class by capitalism.

Imperialism's crisis also reflected itself in a crisis of bureaucracy—events in China had shown this with the calling out of worker and student Red Guards against the corrupt bureaucrats.

'But,' she commented, 'the need is for a movement based on Marxist theory—a theory that can explain how bureaucracies arise and how to build an international movement to defeat them.'

This had been the purpose of the October 15 trip to Liège in Belgium last year by 500 Young Socialists.

China and the role of 'left' MPs dominated the conference discussion.

There was also discussion on developing the work of new branches, especially in the new Hertfordshire Federation.

IN LONDON, national committee member John Simmance addressed delegates from branches in East, West, South-East and South-West London.

The YS, he said, faced great responsibilities as the only socialist youth movement offering real leadership against the attacks of the Labour government.

One of the most lively discussions followed a resolution supporting the struggle of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam.

The most important blow that the Young Socialists could strike for the courageous fighters in Vietnam was against British imperialism.

Advocates of 'peace' were condemned. They only opened the way for further exploitation of the Vietnamese people by US imperialism.

Conference also pledged conditional support to the young Red Guards in China in their struggle against bureaucracy.

DELEGATES from Addington, Crawley, East Grinstead, North-East Croydon, Redhill, Thornton Heath and Waddon YS branches attended the Southern Region conference in Croydon.

NC member Pat Leonard outlined the importance of the YS fight against the bureaucracy of the labour and trade union movement, which openly supports the employers, and against the Communist Party—by taking its orders from the Kremlin it had betrayed the fight against anti-union laws, the seamen's strike and the Vietnamese workers.

THE SCOTTISH regional conference was one of the most important and successful events organised by the YS in the area.

NC member Miles Buchanan said the YS was the only movement which had the programme to answer the problems facing the working class.

'Those who come forward to support the American intervention in Vietnam also support the exploitation of the working class in Britain and the advanced countries,' he said.

'We are proud to take our position in the battle line along with the workers and peasants of Asia to defeat imperialism.'

'When we go on to the streets to fight the wage freeze and unemployment, we do so with the knowledge that we are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese workers and peasants,' he said.

Events in China were a striking confirmation of the stand taken by the YS at Liège against bureaucracy.

It was most important to understand that the working class was being forced into a fight with the government and that what was required was a real class leadership.

Only the YS could provide this and it underlined the need to fight for the Morecambe conference and an international conference of revolutionary youth movements.

A lively discussion followed, particularly on the role of the Red Guards.



# THE RED



Above and top of page the Red Guards. Between (left to right) Lin Piao, Mao Tse Tung and Liu Shao



# DEFE

CHINA'S 100 million people, of capitalist opinion, have turned to the Kremlin, the Chinese Revolution. All these leadership and 'The Economic' the installation. The whole leadership of the and Peng Chen. Clearly, against the Communist conquests of the

**T**HE titanic taking place about the whole revolution. The revolution consists of a number of actions that have in order to fight the Red Guards.

The most prominent contains some 'guard' of the Communist many of whom side Mao Tse out the revolution. This whole leadership corrupted by the and has come original concept to look increasingly of settlement with. The chief section is Liu present the present and among its other Peng Chen, ex-novo and Tao Chu, who recently head of the region of the Communist. Another major opposition comes from party functionaries.



# THE RED



direct experience struggle for power all the more against Mao in 'peace and quiet'. In fact, as Mao himself has admitted view with Andre Gaudin's Minister Communist Party now completely solutely useless a of revolutionary. Mao Tse Tung against the bureaucracy did the 'cultural revolution' he initiated the flowers campaign slogan 'let 100 flowers let a hundred schools contend'. This campaign clearly that the Party was divided issues and it provided evidence that there was opposed to the revolution in had to be abandoned weeks. Less than a year been sacked from and his role reduced a figurehead. Of

Above and top of page the Red Guards. Between (left to right) Lin Piao, Mao Tse Tung and Liu Shao Chi

# DEFEND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

CHINA'S 100 million Red Guards have received the most vicious diatribe of hatred from the organs of capitalist opinion. Every exploiter and every friend of exploitation, from the White House to the Kremlin, still hankers after the pickings that were lost to imperialism with the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949.

All these vultures are rejoicing at the prospect of the overthrow of the Mao Tse Tung leadership and bemoaning the end of 'civilisation' in China.

'The Economist' looks forward to the abandonment of the revolutionary perspective and the installation of what it euphemistically calls a 'government of reconciliation'.

The whole capitalist press, of course, praises the attitude of the corrupt and degenerate leadership of the Soviet Union and recommends the 'sensible' and 'pragmatic' line of Liu Shao Chi and Peng Chen as an example to all right-thinking Chinese.

Clearly, the Young Socialists cannot take part in this outpouring of vileness directed against the conquests of the Chinese Revolution. We have always stood for the defence of the conquests of the world working class and the Chinese Revolution is one of the greatest of these.

### BY JOHN SPENCER

**T**HE titanic struggles now taking place in China are about the whole future of the revolution. Opposition to the revolution inside China consists of a number of sections that have come together in order to fight Mao and the Red Guards.

The most prominent of these contains some of the 'old guard' of the Communist Party, many of whom fought alongside Mao Tse Tung throughout the revolution.

This whole leadership has been corrupted by the fruits of office and has come to abandon its original concept of struggle and to look increasingly for some sort of settlement with imperialism.

The chief spokesman of this section is Liu Shao Chi, at present the president of China, and among its other members are Peng Chen, ex-mayor of Peking, and Tao Chu, who was until recently head of the central-south region of the Communist Party.

Another major section of the opposition comes from the newer party functionaries who have no

by no means a final settlement, and it is now clear that Mao was not idle in the period after the '100 flowers campaign'.

He planned to mobilise the masses against the 'new mandarins', and after a period of preparation lasting several years he began the purge in the army.

This was the preparation for the Red Guards; the soldiers were encouraged to study the works of Mao Tse Tung (the so-called little red books) and then to criticise the army leadership.

Millions of Red Army men were involved in this massive purge: they called for an end to ranks and badges of rank in the army, and this was carried out.

The generals were stripped of their special status and put on an equal footing with the ordinary soldiers. This great upheaval in the army strengthened Mao for his attack on the bureaucracy at large.

The Red Guards first came on to the scene publicly in August 1966. A series of mass rallies were held in Peking at which thousands and then millions of young workers and peasants were encouraged to criticise the way in which the state operated and to call to account the officials and leaders.

By a savage irony, the greatest struggle of the working class against bureaucracy in a workers' state since the Hungarian Revolution is being fought out under the portrait of the biggest bureaucrat of them all—Joseph Stalin.

His 'theory', that it is possible to build 'socialism in a single country', is supported by Mao Tse Tung, and this is a real danger to the Chinese Revolution.

The young Chinese workers who at the moment follow this theory will inevitably find that it is incapable of answering the questions posed in the further development of the 'cultural revolution': it cannot explain what the bureaucracy is and where it comes from, nor does it attempt to unite the struggles inside China with the fight of the working class in the imperialist countries against capitalism and against their 'own' bureaucracies.

Nevertheless, the Young Socialists are proud to support the fight of the Red Guards to carry forward the Chinese Revolution. Ten years ago, in Hungary, the working class of a workers' state threw down the gauntlet in front of the bureaucrats and opened up a new period of crisis for Stalinism.

The Hungarian Revolution,

China cannot be contained within its borders.

If the Chinese working class can call the bureaucracy to account, then so can the Soviet workers. This is what frightens Kosygin into taking trips around the USSR to 'explain' (i.e. slander) the Red Guards to the Soviet workers.

In this attempt, of course, he is backed up by all his revisionist front-men around the so-called International Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The campaign of slander carried out day after day against the Red Guards makes it necessary to answer some of the current lies about the movement directly.

One story that is being put about by the capitalist press, assisted, let it be said, by the revisionist clique of Pabloism and by the Stalinists, is that the Red Guards are a movement of backward peasants who are opposed by the working class.

There is not a scrap of evidence to back up this assertion, which is intended quite consciously to maintain the isolation of the Chinese Revolution from the working class elsewhere.

The Red Guards started in the great industrial belt of South China and spread outwards into the country districts.

Of course, many millions of young peasants are fighting in the Red Guards, but there can be no doubt that the leadership among the youth is in the hands of young workers.

In any case, the Chinese Revolution would not last a single day without the alliance between the peasantry and the working class. This was the foundation of the victory in 1949, and it remains so today.

The officials against whom the Red Guards are fighting have attempted to play off some of the more privileged workers against the 'cultural revolution' by promising higher wages and better

# RED



# GUARDS



direct experience of the long struggle for power and who are all the more eager to line up against Mao in the search for 'peace and quiet'.

In fact, as Mao Tse Tung himself has admitted (in an interview with André Malraux, de Gaulle's Minister for Culture) the Communist Party of China is now completely corrupt and absolutely useless as an instrument of revolutionary change.

Mao Tse Tung's struggle against the development of bureaucracy did not begin with the 'cultural revolution'. In 1957 he initiated the so-called '100 flowers campaign' under the slogan 'let 100 flowers bloom and let a hundred schools of thought contend'.

This campaign showed very clearly that the Communist Party was divided on fundamental issues and it produced such clear evidence that the bureaucracy was opposed to carrying forward the revolution in China that it had to be abandoned after six weeks.

Less than a year later Mao had been sacked from the presidency and his role reduced to that of a figurehead. Of course, this was

The first bureaucrats to come under attack naturally hid behind their superiors in the party machine rather than face the fury of the Red Guards unsupported, and in this way the chiefs of the 'opposition' faction were rapidly revealed and brought under the merciless criticism of the youth.

It is estimated that since August eleven million Red Guards have been brought to Peking in this way, trained in the rudiments of Marxism and sent back into the provinces to take up the fight against bureaucrats throughout the length and breadth of China.

No matter how many venal officials are paraded through the streets wearing dunce's caps, no matter how many are even forced to kill themselves, no matter how many young Chinese workers are mobilised on to the streets and taught a real hatred of officialdom, the question of bureaucracy will still not be solved.

The bureaucracy is the result of the pressure of world capitalism on the workers' states, and a final settlement with it can only come about when the working class, on an international scale, decisively breaks world capitalism.

despite its defeat, spelled the beginning of the end for the Soviet bureaucrats and their hangers-on. It gave an enormous impetus to the revolutionary movement in the advanced capitalist countries, notably to the Fourth International.

The ten years since that revolution have seen the rise of the Young Socialists and our comrades abroad. They, in turn, have seen the development of a new stage in the Vietnam war, to a point where 400,000 American troops are needed to contain the revolution in South-East Asia.

We are now in the period of the greatest crisis for world capitalism, in which all the various bureaucratic institutions from the British Labour Party, to the Kremlin come into play to defend the system which gives rise to them.

The pressure on the Stalinist leadership in the Soviet Union from imperialism is a pressure to sell out all revolutionary movements.

It is for this reason that Kosygin and his supporters in the British Communist Party are so hostile to the Red Guards. They recognise that the movement for political reform in

conditions. Opportunist stratagems of this sort have a tendency to rebound against their authors.

There will be no automatic victory for the Red Guards in China. The many difficulties and dangers cannot be surmounted by the Chinese working class alone.

But the 'cultural revolution' is a great beginning of a new stage in the fight against Stalinism and bureaucracy.

As the Chinese working class is driven along the road of struggle, it will be forced to re-examine its leadership and its theory.

It will find that its real friends are not nationalist leaders of the type of Sukarno and Ayub Khan, but are to be found by a turn towards the working class all over the world.

The key to ensuring that the Chinese Revolution goes forward lies with the working class of the advanced countries—the struggle to overthrow capitalism in Britain is the struggle to guarantee the development of the conquests of the Chinese Revolution.



ao, Mao Tse Tung and Liu Shao Chi



## Part 2 of a series of articles on Marxist theory by Tom Kemp

# WHAT IS MARXISM?

**WE** can now go on to study the economic mechanism of a pure capitalist society.

It is assumed, that is to say, that society is made up only of capitalists and workers. All production taking place for sale in the market, is **commodity production**. No producer can influence the price at which he sells his commodities; i.e., there is competition. Finally, the state takes no part in the economy.

No actual capitalist society has existed in such a pure form, but it is only on the basis of such an abstraction that the basic laws of this mode of production can be worked out.

Before capitalism could become the dominant mode of production in a whole national territory human society already had behind it thousands of years of organised social life.

Capitalism thus pre-supposed:

- a high stage of development of the **social division of labour** together with the **extension of the market** and, of course, the penetration of **money transactions** into every sphere of life;
- a considerable advance in man's mastery over his environment through the development of the **technique of production** and improvement in its organisation;
- this meant, therefore, that it carried forward the increase in the **productiveness of human labour**, and thus the absolute size of the **surplus** available for appropriation, greatly beyond that of which earlier forms of society were capable.

The historical justification of capitalism lay in its capacity, up to a point, to bring about a vast development of the productive forces.

Even so, this was accompanied, at every stage, by the subjection of human needs and human life itself to the claims of profit and accumulation.

**Commodity production** may, as has been seen, take place in many forms of society. It may be a simple exchange of equivalents even when money is used (so the existence of monetary exchange

does not mean that a society is capitalist).

In the case, for instance, of a peasant, or small commodity producer, who uses only his own labour or that of his family, he sells some of his products, as exchange values, in order to acquire others as use values.

Commodities are exchanged for money; the money is used to acquire other commodities. Usually this is only an exchange of equivalents between different producers on a more or less equal footing.

Such an exchange can be expressed as follows, where C equals Commodities and M equals Money: **C exchanged for M exchanged for C**.

Where the capitalist is concerned—let us assume in the first place a merchant who buys goods in one place, from one set of people, to sell to another set somewhere else—he begins with a stick of **money capital**.

★

He buys commodities not for use but as **exchange values** and he intends to sell them again at a **higher price**. In his case, then, the sequence is quite different: **M exchanged for C exchanged for M'**.

If all goes well for our merchant capitalist, **M'** will be greater than **M**, he will have made a **profit** and he can then go on to repeat the deal on a larger scale. At each stage his stock of **M** will get larger; the **accumulation of capital** will take place.

But this is still a very simple form of capitalism, generally preparatory to capital seizing hold of production itself and subjecting the direct producers to its sway.

Let us assume that this lengthy historical process has been completed and that **M-C-M'** has become the characteristic form of the circulation of commodities.

This means, therefore:

- that the means of production have become **CAPITAL**;
- the mass of the population has to sell its labour power in order to exist.

The basic relation of this **capitalist society** is between those who personify capital and the workers.

We now have to explain how, in these circumstances, **M** can become **M'**. How, in fact, can the capitalist, and capitalists as a whole, make a profit and

accumulate capital?

They obviously cannot do it by cheating each other or by selling commodities above their costs of production to the workers.

In the first case one capitalist's gain would be another's loss. In the second, the workers can only spend what they receive from the capitalist.

Let us look at a capitalist with money and follow through his activities. With his money capital he buys a factory and machinery, obtains supplies of raw materials, fuel and other things necessary to produce the goods he has decided upon and he will have to engage workers and pay them wages.

So his capital has been laid out in various ways; when analysed, however, it can be divided into two parts.

First there is the part laid out on the products of labour already used up and which is incorporated in the commodities as they are produced. This is the part which Marx calls **constant capital** or **c**.

Secondly there is the part which is used to purchase labour power as required, that is, paid out as wages. Marx calls this part **variable capital** or **v**.

So the capitalist's total outlay in producing the commodities in question over a given period can be taken as **c plus v**.

Now if he sold them at a price equivalent to **c plus v** it would obviously bring in him no profit; his formula would be **M-C-M**, a simple exchange of equivalents.

But let us recall (a) the **Fetishism of commodities** and (b) the **capitalist relation**, and look more closely at transactions involved.

Capitalists monopolise the ownership of the means of production; workers have to sell their labour power for what it will fetch because they have no other means of support.

In fact, therefore, the capitalist finds on the market a commodity whose use value for him has the facility to produce value, **labour power**. It is the existence of people who cannot sell commodities in which their labour has been incorporated, but have to sell their capacity to labour in order to exist, which explains the source of capitalist profit.

★

Workers have to work for wages. They have no choice because **they own nothing but their labour power**.

Like other commodities, labour power has a value: this is equal to the **labour time necessary for its production and reproduction**.

That is to say, the value of labour power is what it takes to maintain the worker and provide for the continued supply of workers **under the conditions which prevail in the country concerned**.

In order to exist, the worker is compelled to put his labour power at the disposal of the capitalist. But he is not compelled by any legal compulsion. Unlike the slave or serf he is a **free man**.

It is economic necessity which

brings him into the labour market. When he makes a bargain with an employer it looks like a contract between equals.

In fact the worker:

- works under the control of the capitalist and to the orders he lays down;
- makes a product which is the property of the employer.

He even extends credit to the employer because he is not paid until the job is done.

How much does he get? His wage is determined by the value of labour power as shown above; that is the exchange value of labour.

For the capitalist, labour power is a use value which he purchases in order to produce articles for sale, commodities.

He does not merely employ the worker until he has produced enough value to meet his wages; he keeps him at work for the term of the wage bargain.

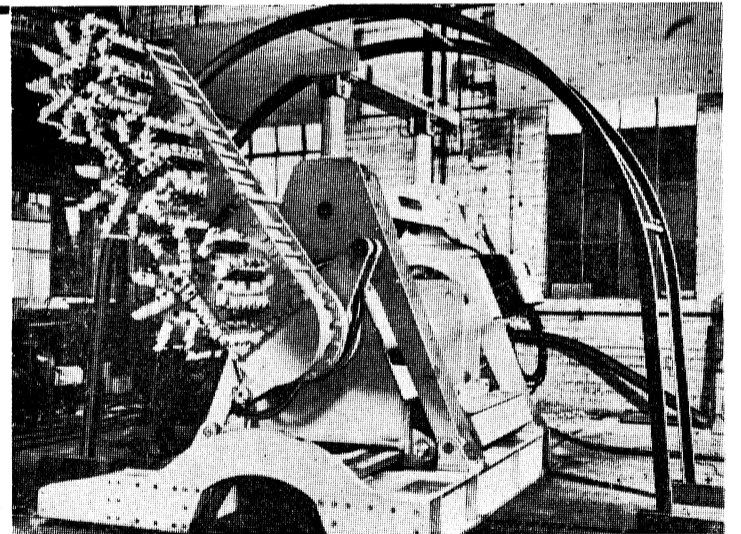
What actually happens, then, is this:

- the worker transfers to the product part of the value of the instruments of production—**c**;
- he also maintains the value of the capitalist's property: because factories, machines, etc., are of no use without labour to work them and would actually deteriorate;
- the worker reproduces the value of his own keep—**v**;

Continued on page 12 →

### MEN and MACHINES

*The factories and machines owned by the capitalists are no use without men to work them. Hence the working class spends a major part of its life working for an employer in return for wages.*



# BOOK REVIEW

## Convict Panzers' story

THE COVER of this book tells you that this is 'a novel of atrocity'. It is—there are scenes of war brutality drawn from real-life experiences that are guaranteed to give the strongest of us nightmares.

But if the reader reads this book with a little background knowledge of the war on the Eastern front between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, it becomes something much more than just another good war novel.

The book tells of the experiences of German soldiers serving in the 27th Panzer Regiment, 'convicts stripped of honour' as the introduction informs us. This regiment, composed of criminals and political opponents of the Nazi regime, are sent on suicide missions in order to atone for their sins against the Third Reich.

We soon learn that the heroes of this book are all, in their own

**WHEELS OF TERROR**  
By Sven Hassel  
Corgi 5s.

ways, completely opposed to the brutalities of Hitler's tyranny.

One of them, Joseph Porta, has some connection with the socialist movement and intends to survive the war so as to lead the uprising against Hitler when his regime begins to totter.

Describing the Eastern Front and the fight with Soviet troops, the novel gives a true-to-life picture of total war in which neither side gives nor expects to receive any quarter.

In the midst of mass executions and tortures these German conscripts act with super-bravery, taking crazy risks in one instance to act as a midwife to a Russian mother in the middle of a battlefield.

If the Soviet Union had been led by a truly internationalist and communist government, instead of being under the control of the nationalist and undemocratic Stalin, it would have been possible to win over soldiers like Porta to a struggle against their own officers and government.

Hundreds of thousands of hard socialist-minded soldiers, such as Porta and his comrades, fought the war through to the end, unable to see through the barbarities of both the government involved, that the Soviet Union and its planned economy, established by the Russian workers after the revolution of 1917, had to be defended by every worker.

It was only the Trotskyist movement, at that time persecuted all over Europe by both Stalinists and Nazis, that fought to turn the war against the capitalist system.

### FROM THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

#### A COLLECTION OF POEMS

Edited by David Ray

THIS COLLECTION of poems gives an interesting but quite distorted picture of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. This is not surprising since the ideas and impressions conveyed are those of middle-class writers and sections of the old privileged classes that the break-up of Hungarian capitalism in 1945 removed from power. Moreover the book has been published for an American public.

The Hungarian people rose in 1956 to secure national independence and a more democratic government.

But the revolutionaries who led the uprising also put forward the demands of the working class. The most important of these was that the state-owned industries should be run by the workers themselves.

Although right-wing and even fascist elements attempted to take advantage of the uprising, to take Hungary back to capitalism, the bulk of the Hungarian people were against this. They wanted a more democratic socialism free from the dictatorship of the Moscow-controlled Communist Party and secret police.

Throughout these poems the national and democratic aims of the revolution are stressed and there is no mention of the role played in it by the working class.

This is just what we would expect from writers with a middle-class background and outlook.

However, we know that many students and writers did support the demands of the working class to take control of the economy and clean the Stalinists out of the trade unions and the army. Therefore one becomes suspicious of how representative this selection really is.

The poems dealing with life in the prison camps before the revolution are probably the finest part of the collection.

A prisoner, who is tortured for spreading a stale piece of news

(continued on page eleven)



POLAND, May 1945, the Nazis are defeated and Soviet forces are pouring across the country. The remnants of the nationalist forces are turning to terrorism against the working-class movement and against the new government that is being set up.

This film, taken from the novel of the same name, has two themes.

There is Nacick (the late Zbigniew Cybulski) the right-wing terrorist. A young student who has grown up during the war, he is used to killing without having to think much about the reasons.

Now killing his countrymen, Polish workers, he is forced to think a little, to question. His superior officers can only answer

that 'orders must be obeyed'.

With no ties to anything or anybody he continues to carry out his orders, kill the Communist Party official, who has just been made a minister, and then get killed himself.

One thing that can be said for this film is that killing is treated seriously—the shootings look real and detailed enough to shock an audience used to the 'bang you're dead' simplicity of Western films.

When I saw it there was a gasp in the audience at the sight of bullet holes appearing in a man's back, the material of his jacket coming alight around them.

The other theme of the film—the coming to-

gether of old bourgeois elements and new bureaucracy—is treated with humorous realism.

'Let me lead you to a golden future,' says the drunken bourgeois editor, and arm-in-arm with a drunken informer, staggers through the swing doors into the banquetting hall where bureaucrats, black marketers and speculators are celebrating.

'When we were in the woods I thought things would be different when we won...' says a partisan coming in with the Party official.

The drunken informer is looking forward to the prospect of a big job in the new regime. The editor has said: 'You'll see, scum always rises to the top.'

The development of

Stalinism in Poland has certainly seemed to bear out that cynical remark (even a former fascist leader, Boleslaw Piasecki has been able to get a position with a salary three times that of Prime Minister Gomulka).

In 1956, however, Polish workers and students rose up against the scum on the top.

Films of the standard of 'Ashes and Diamonds'—one of a trilogy by Wajda—can be made in Poland because of a nationalized film industry and because since 1956 the bureaucracy has not had all its own way.

For all its realism, however, 'Ashes and Diamonds' remains without any 'message', leaving only the cynicism.

films ● films ● films ● films

# Newsreel Revolution

TO DIE IN MADRID

Frederic Rossif

POORLY-PAID workers, hungry, hard-working peasants. On their backs the wealthy landowners, who sometimes own entire provinces, the powerful exploiting church and a large parasitic army (800 generals). This is Spain, 1931, shown in this film.

The monarchy is brought down and the Republic set up. The Republican Army goes into action against the Asturian miners.

A 'Popular Front' government is elected and the workers and peasants try to better their conditions.

The big capitalists, landowners, the church and the army decide to overthrow the liberal-bourgeois government and crush the workers' movement. Civil War!

The film is well made—newsreels of the war and later film being integrated into a striking

and factual documentary.

We see the heroism of the workers and peasants who take up arms against the fascists and the viciousness of the church and the army defending their privileges—some very telling documentation of the bishops and priests blessing the atrocity and mass murder by Franco's troops.

There are the statesmen of Europe meeting and the Nazi and Italian bombers going in to blast the Spanish cities.

Spain was a testing ground for the imperialists' latest techniques of murder.

But Spain was also a test for the working class—of ideas and political programmes. The real issue was fascism or socialism. But the Stalinists insisted that the workers' movement hold back and give all support to the bourgeois politicians of the Republic. They argued: first defeat the fascists and consolidate the parliamentary democracy then socialism sometime in the future.

The film shows Dolores Ibarruri of the Spanish CP calling for 'unity'. It shows the POUM and other workers' organisations which wanted to make the war a revolutionary war.

The film does not say anything else about them and in fact leaves the impression that, as the Stalinists argue, the Republic was defeated by disunity and by the superior arms of the fascists.

The call for 'unity' was to unite behind policies leading through betrayal to defeat. The bourgeois elements showed their true colours as the 'Fifth Column'—shown in the film welcoming Franco's army to the cities.

The International Brigade itself, which the Stalinists had led into Spain, was withdrawn as the price of attempts at diplomacy with the fascists.

The film hints at this, but makes out that the Spanish government alone was responsible for this decision. Finally, as the fascists besiege Madrid, the general staff of the Republican Army mutiny and the city is taken.

A Spanish philosopher in this film says that there are times when to stay silent is to tell lies. This film is worth seeing, it is very well made, and it tells a lot, but it also misses out a lot.

The International Brigade men and the Spanish workers they joined, to die in Madrid, were betrayed. The film does not show this; it tells lies.

Young Socialists should see the film, but they must also read the truth about Spain in books such as Felix Morrow's 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain.'

\* Available from New Park Publications, 186a Clapham High St., London, S.W.4. Price 15s.

### ECHO OF THE JACKBOOT

Mikhail Romm

THIS Soviet film about fascism uses a lot of captured Nazi

films and photographs with other material to show the horrors of Nazi Rule in Poland, and German life under Nazism.

It also shows the other Germany; the German working class and its struggles, the youth who tried to resist Hitler and died heroically. The way in which the German monopoly capitalists made profits

from the crushing of the working class, from the war and from the concentration camps is also shown.

But for all the useful material in this film—including shots of London police looking after Mosley before and after the war and some witty handling of Nazi speeches and rallies, the film is badly compiled, confused and contradictory.

The narrator does not really explain the crushing of the German workers' movement and the showing of the movement at all is contradicted by a lot of racist treatment of shots of German soldiers and crowds.

The film tells us little about fascism, but a lot about the Stalinists who made it.

## The Press

MUCH TO the chagrin of the Labour Party, the Communist Party and other 'left-wing' organisations, the Young Socialists have, over the past few years, developed into a political organisation which can offer working-class youth a real leadership in their struggles against the capitalist system and its faithful ally, Wilson.

However, many workers today remain confused by the brainwashing of the capitalist press and the contortions of the 'Morning Star', paper of the British Communist Party.

The only solution to such a situation is for every YS member to actively campaign for the furtherance of Keep Left, the only paper which champions working-class youth and leads on every policy of the Young Socialists.

So comrades, take up the political fight and with Keep Left in the lead we will build a revolutionary party that will lead the working class to an absolute victory over capitalism.

Ray Johnson,  
Leicester YS.

## The Press-2

I WOULD like to express my views on the daily and Sunday newspapers. The press is one of capitalism's biggest machines, used to mislead and confuse millions of workers in the interests of saving their own corrupt system.

For example a certain big newspaper is at the moment publishing the story of a United States army sergeant in Vietnam. He tells us, supposedly, about what the communists are doing to working class of Vietnam.

The interview is in the bosses' own interests of course and serves to hide what US imperialism is really doing in Vietnam.

The US government of course only wants to use Vietnam as a stepping stone to smash all the working-class organisations in the eastern part of the world.

The capitalist press does not print the views of a soldier in the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. All Young Socialists must understand the role the capitalist press plays in pumping reactionary ideas into the working class of Europe.

Geoff Reed,  
Keep Left Organiser,  
East Leeds.

## Principled Position on China

EVENTS in China have taken many people by surprise. Not, however the Marxists. We have said all along that a political revolution against bureaucracy in the workers' states was a necessary part of the struggle to overthrow capitalism internationally.

The form that this revolution is taking in China has been the cause of much confusion.

# EDITOR'S POSTBAG

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

Class antagonisms in any society develop within a definite political framework or superstructure. The development of consciousness proceeds in the first stages through established forms of thought and doctrine giving them a new content.

In feudal Europe heretics propagated the revolutionary demands of the peasants, quoting the Bible, even though religion was a weapon in the hands of their landlord oppressors.

They could not do otherwise.

In China where Trotskyists were physically wiped out and where Stalin's theories predominate, the political revolution against bureaucracy is in its initial stages, and takes place in the threadbare robes of Stalinism.

This contradictory development does not refute but vindicates Marxist theory.

The Chinese workers, peasants and students, brutally cut off from the development of Marxist theory made by Trotsky and the Fourth International since the 1930s, nevertheless find themselves inexorably linked, taking the path of political revolution which was called for in our founding programme.

Although the Red Guards may not agree with Trotskyism they are part of a conscious process reflected in the theories of Trotsky. And although they may not recognise Trotskyism, Trotskyists must recognise the force of the Red Guards.

Nothing is impossible in history. The Red Guards fight bureaucracy under the banner of the arch bureaucrat. We do say, however, that it is impossible for them to ensure everlasting victory without a conscious Marxist leadership.

To remove a parasitic growth it is necessary to analyse its origins and development. Only Trotskyism can do this.

The construction of an international revolutionary youth movement from Liège becomes now an urgent task. Bureaucracy is doomed. It cannot last.

M.J.

Borehamwood YS.

## New Keep Left Reader

I BOUGHT your newspaper for the first time and was surprised at its style and contents. Although I am basically in sympathy with an independent left-wing platform this facile polemic

style of your is not going to achieve much.

You know the British working man is not disposed towards violent revolution—in fact he has always rejected it. The British Communist Party has come to accept this. It does not deserve your vilification if it seeks to achieve socialist aims by peaceful means.

As for your attitude towards foreign policy, its naivety leaves me breathless. How could African nations defeat Smith if we armed them? They do not have sufficient men even, who are trained to understand sophisticated modern weaponry.

Smith will have to be defeated if sanctions fail—which they surely will—by modern weapons and techniques.

And whether the South Vietnamese want to be governed by the Vietcong is not entirely irrelevant, you know.

Finally your 'heroic struggle' against Transport House bureaucracy is nothing more than ludicrous when compared with the attempts of the Hungarians to create an independent, viable socialist state.

Anyway Imre Nagy was not a Trotskyist and your attempts to make political capital out of the occasion are contemptible.

Christopher L. Vincenzi,  
London S.W.4.

• The Editorial Board hopes readers will answer this letter.

## 'Element of Looseness'

'THERE IS an element of looseness inherent in most "Payment by results" systems. Ratefixers give the workers the benefit of the doubt'.

This statement was issued by the Prices and Incomes board recently. According to the press reports Doctor Hugh Clegg, who sits on the board, was responsible for the report on the wage freeze. I would like to know where Doctor Clegg found his lenient ratefixers.

In my experience of ratefixers they are anything but lenient.

Ratefixers are subject to all the pressures of the employers. Could they possibly hold their jobs if they were lenient or gave the workers the benefit of the doubt?

The 'element of looseness' is really an excuse for tightening the screws on the wage freeze, and the government will surely give the employers the green light to cut rates and demand more

from the workers, plus the fact that the employers are using the threat of redundancy as a lever to obtain these conditions.

Bearing in mind that the employers make even more profit, how does this assist in solving the economic crisis? The commodities they sell are no cheaper as a result.

Here again we see the minority gaining riches as a result of the majority's labour.

Joe Hughes,  
Liverpool Exchange YS.

## Soccer success

ONE OF the most successful ventures in our region this year has been the inter-Federation football competition. Played on a league basis on pitches booked well before the season started, it has attracted a large number of young people to us. We have bought shirts and encouraged the whole team to standardise the rest of the equipment.

At the last meeting of the Federation it was suggested that inter-regional competitions should be arranged.

Also there should be an international match between Young Socialists and their comrades in Révoltes.

This would really put the Young Socialists on the map for the football enthusiasts and would help in recruiting to the YS.

C.B.  
Wandsworth.

## Fight against pacifists

WE HAVE had a long struggle in our branch against the ideas of a small but very vocal group of 'pacifists'. They are opposed to YS policies which are based on the fact that life is a struggle between two classes.

This came out first when we discussed the trade unions and insisted that everyone should join a trade union and fight for YS policies there, and so fight the employers.

It was little surprise that the pacifists tried to persuade the branch to 'give Wilson a chance' and insisted that 'the crisis is only temporary'.

They were unable to attract many new people to the branch with these ideas, and so they then refused to recruit.

So their pacifism now means:

No defence of the trade unions, no fight against Wilson, no building of the Young Socialists and, of course, no victory to the National Liberation Front in Vietnam.

This adds up to support for capitalism.

Most young people are opposed to wars, murders and horrid violences. To reject them is natural. But to then substitute the ideas of complete 'peace' and 'no struggle at all' creates a dream world which in reality aids just those who cause this misery, the capitalist class.

Because YS members rejected their ideas and began working in the area to recruit to the Young Socialists, the 'non-violent', 'against all struggle' merchants resorted to stone throwing.

Trotsky explains perfectly in 'Where is Britain Going?' the real vermin behind the cover called 'pacifism', and it has been proved to us.

L.H.,  
Putney.

## Social programmes

AS THE crisis of capitalism throws many young people on the dole, the cost of living—including all entertainments such as cinemas, clubs and dance halls—increases.

It is more and more important therefore for the YS Federations to have well-organised and varied social programmes.

Over the past few months in the South-West London Federation we have been organising a full social programme, including a series of dances which have been a tremendous success.

We have been getting hundreds of people and at the last dance we made £40 profit for the YS.

We have also found that many young people attending the dances are interested in YS policies and through this we have built up the branches in each area.

We have planned all the work for the dances from the executive committee of the Federation and the YS branches have collectively worked early evenings and all day Saturday for these dances and also to build up the individual YS branches.

This has greatly strengthened the Federation and we have now been able to go forward and set up a new branch in Vauxhall.

Cathy Fraser  
Vauxhall YS.

## Regional Conference



THERE WAS much lively discussion at the London area Regional Conferences early in January. Many of the problems facing the working class nationally and internationally were discussed.

Resolutions were passed condemning the US in Vietnam and supporting the fight of the National Liberation Front.

Conditional support was given to the struggle of the Red Guards in China.

A demand was made for

the 'left' MPs to publicly break from Wilson and to put down a resolution in the Parliamentary Labour Party calling on Wilson to resign.

Resolutions were also moved in the wage freeze, unemployment, anti-trade union legislation and housing.

A very interesting film about the Mexican Revolution, 'Viva Zapata', was shown.

Avril Blend,  
S.W. London Federation.

## Build Hull YS

IT'S HARD to get a good job in Hull. When you go to the dole office all they ask you is do you want an indoor or an outdoor job.

If you say outdoor they give you market-gardening, sometimes ten miles from the centre of Hull.

If you say indoor you just get a stuffy, back-street factory on low wages. You have to work six days a week to get £5 or less.

That's why young kids don't keep a job for long, but always go back to the dole office to try to find something better.

It was there that we first heard about the Young Socialists. Someone had come down, was selling Keep Left and talking about unemployment. When they told us about the Annual General Meeting in London we decided to go.

When we got there we found that there was some time to spare before the meeting began, so we went to the Science Museum.

There we saw some of the modern machines that are used in factories as well as an automated coal mine.

These machines could make it easier for the workers in the factories, but really they just produce bigger profits for the boss.

At the Keep Left meeting the editor, Aileen Jennings, explained the policies of the paper and how the Young Socialists will fight for the working class.

Other speakers showed that the problems faced by young workers in Hull are the same as everywhere else in the country.

This shows why we must now build up the branch of the YS in Hull.

Alan Featherstone,  
Terry McNulty,  
Hull YS.

## Attacks on Socialists

ALL Young Socialists are deeply distressed at the shooting of Tony Bloom, a member of the Young Communist League.

This attack, and others like it, are very closely linked with the present political situation.

We live in a period where there are attacks on the standard of living of the working class internationally. In Britain there is the wage freeze making it illegal to take strike action, an ever-increasing cost of living and soaring unemployment.

As thousands of workers move into struggle against the Labour government's policies, the ruling class searches for ways and means to split and divide them. Racialism is an obvious answer.

At the 1965 Labour Party conference a vote was taken to strengthen the Immigration Act passed by the Tories. This enabled the racialists and fascists, as the Labour government's attacks on the working class increased, to lay the blame for these problems on immigrant workers.

Soon after the strengthening of the Act an immigrant Young Socialist was

viciously attacked with a hatchet by a group of fascists after a YS dance in West London. He nearly died in hospital after an emergency brain operation.

This attack was encouraged by the Labour Party's policies.

I was a member of the Labour Party for two years and in that time I met many members who held extreme racialist views. Some of these people held leading positions at constituency and higher levels.

These people are allowed to remain inside the Labour Party whereas the Young Socialists, fighting for real socialist policies inside the Party, were witch-hunted and expelled from the movement.

At the same time as the Immigration Act was strengthened the Race Relations Act was also passed.

This made it illegal for racialists and fascists to stir up discontent, yet the first people to be charged under this Act (Section 5 of the Public Order Act, as amended by Section 7 of the Race Relations Act, 1957), were not fascists as one might expect—they were two members of CND marching beside our demonstration in Brighton on October 2 last year against the Vietnam war and wage freeze.

There are strong suggestions that the Labour government wants to strengthen this Act further. Who for? Fascists, or the thousands of trade unionists coming into struggle against government policies?

The only way to defeat the fascists and prevent further attacks like those mentioned is to build a revolutionary youth movement that will unite all sections of the working class, whatever nationality or religion, in a fight to the finish against international capital and its lackeys in the labour movement.

Young Socialists everywhere, in the meantime, wish Tony Bloom a speedy recovery.

Dan Cahane,  
Brixton YS.

## From page 9

about the Korean war, turns this experience into a poem. A forbidden literature begins to grow up.

The prisoners try to escape from their terrible plight through religion or nationalism. Their only political solution is to turn to the western capitalist governments, although they do not actually state that they seek a return to capitalism.

There is not even the dimmest realisation of the importance of the working class in fighting the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The poems describing the revolution convey some of the exhilaration and self-sacrifice of the Hungarian people, but apart from vague references to freedom, there is little indication of what it was all about.

Hopes that the West would intervene were soon shattered. The imperialist powers were willing to use the uprising as propaganda against communism, but they had no intention of supporting a revolutionary struggle against bureaucracy.

As one poet explains: 'Europe in short does nothing but pass resolutions, our votes then are bottles of gasoline.'

The poems of Hungarian exiles are full of the frustration and anguish of men who believe that their heroic struggle will only be remembered through their poetry. The Young Socialists will honour the Hungarian revolutionaries by continuing their struggle against Stalinism until it is defeated all over the world.

## The story of Labour youth

A pamphlet every Young Socialist must read. It gives the full history of the Labour youth movement up to the formation of the Young Socialists by Transport House in 1960.

Price: One shilling

Published by Keep Left.

## The five-day fraud

LONDON TRANSPORT recently granted drivers and conductors the 'five-day week'—an 'award' long-fought for by busmen.

This comprises the alteration of many bus routes, service intervals and times of first and last buses—seemingly in an attempt to rationalise the transport system for the public, and improve busmen's working conditions. In fact, the 'five-day week' is a fraud which, instead of benefiting busmen and public alike, will hit both sections hard.

As far as the public is concerned, the five-day week is a CUT in service. For example, on routes 57 and 95, those services outside M-F peak hours used to provide 8 buses per hour between Telford Avenue and St. Leonards Church in Streatham.

Under the new agreement, route 57 has been withdrawn over this section, and route 95 has been made a 15 minute service—i.e. 4 buses per hour. The CUT over this section is, therefore, 50 per cent.

Similarly, the re-allocation of routes from one garage to another means a reduction in service. For example, previously, 133A M-F was operated by Croydon Garage with 48 duties: a total of 88 duties covering what is virtually one route.

With the five-day week, route 133A is now operating from Brixton with only 19 duties—as is the 133, with now only 41 duties. A total of 60 duties—or, a CUT of nearly 33 per cent.

Such a policy by London Transport fits in well with the Labour government's general cut in social service expenditure. Although buses in the

'rush hour' will remain constant, during the rest of the day services will be drastically cut.

The public—during their hours of recreation—will now have to wait for up to 15 minutes for a bus (e.g. the 95 route), where they previously had to wait, say only 5 minutes.

In other words, the policy is: Get the public to work on time, but otherwise... London Transport has stopped being a SOCIAL SERVICE. It is no more than an appendage of big business.

As regards staff, the 'five-day week' is equally a fraud. For, in the long-term perspective, it is a cover-up for a CUT in busmen's actual earnings: an attack on their working conditions—and a curtailment of the power of the local trade union branch.

These are the main dangers busmen should note. The move towards 'one-man operation' will create redundancy. Cuts in overtime will result from the London Transport abandoning the 'comparable earnings policy'.

But most important is the attempt to undermine the autonomy of the garage branch of the Transport and General Workers' Union. A clause in the 'five-day week' agreement stipulates that the branch CANNOT direct its members to refuse certain schedules in the agreement.

This fits in precisely with the Labour government's prices and incomes policy—which is trying to undermine the whole independence of the trade union movement, and make it a puppet of the state.

Len Scholey,  
London busman.



# Great win for South West London

Members of the South West London team

By Keep Left Reporter

Croydon 0  
South West London 3

**H**AVING been heavily defeated in their away match to South West London, Croydon turned out with a much strengthened side and a crowd of supporters for their return match on the home pitch.

The match started with a goal for South West London scored in the first minute by Dave Symonds. Again using the slope of the pitch to the full, South West London forwards made another quick attack on the Croydon goal and this time Dave Jenkins netted the ball.

After the initial surprise Croydon strengthened their defence, which had the effect of evening up the play.

In the second half it was Croydon's turn to use the slope but South West London's goalkeeper, Ray Waterman, kept up his record of not letting in a single ball.

Dave Symonds scored again for South West London, showing that his team's first two goals were no freaks.

Both players and spectators had a very exciting afternoon at this league match and are looking forward to their next fixtures.

### West Midlands League

	P	W	L	D	F	A	Pts
Bell Green (A) ... ..	7	5	2	0	44	21	10
Oxford ... ..	5	3	2	0	33	19	6
Canley ... ..	5	3	2	0	29	21	6
Ballsal Heath ... ..	2	1	1	0	8	15	2
Washwood Heath ... ..	2	0	2	0	6	19	0
Erdington ... ..	2	0	2	0	4	25	0
Bell Green (B) ... ..	1	0	1	0	4	8	0
Northfields ... ..	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

## WHAT IS MARXISM?

From page 8

(d) he produces a surplus, or **surplus value**, which resides in the commodity and is realisable by its sale.

The capitalist produces **use values**, but only in so far as they are exchange values. What his aim really is is the **production of surplus value**.

Surplus value arises from the **exploitation** of the worker; under the specific conditions of capitalist production, the power which labour has of preserving and creating **value** is the source of capitalist profit.

Put in another way, it is the commodity, labour power, which, because it is the source of value, enables M to become M' in the capitalist process of production.

With M the capitalist acquires c (constant capital) and v (variable capital) and there falls into his lap the product of the **unpaid labour** of the worker which we can call s (surplus value).

**So M' equals c plus v plus s.**

Of course, the commodity has to be sold on the market before the capitalist actually realises his s, or surplus value. If he has miscalculated, or if there is a fall in market demand, he may not realise the amount of surplus value he has anticipated, or indeed any at all.

But the aim of capitalist production is the appropriation of surplus value. Unlike the situation under slavery or feudalism, surplus value under capitalism is not clearly marked off from total production.

The exploitation of the worker is concealed behind the formal equality of the wage contract.

**Marx's great scientific accomplishment was to reveal the real nature of the capitalist relation, showing how labour created surplus value and how capital appropriated it.**

*Section three will deal with the contradictions of capitalism.*

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