

After our greatest May Day

All set for SUMMER RALLY

MAY 1967

Vol. 16, No. 5

Price Fourpence

Keep

LEFT

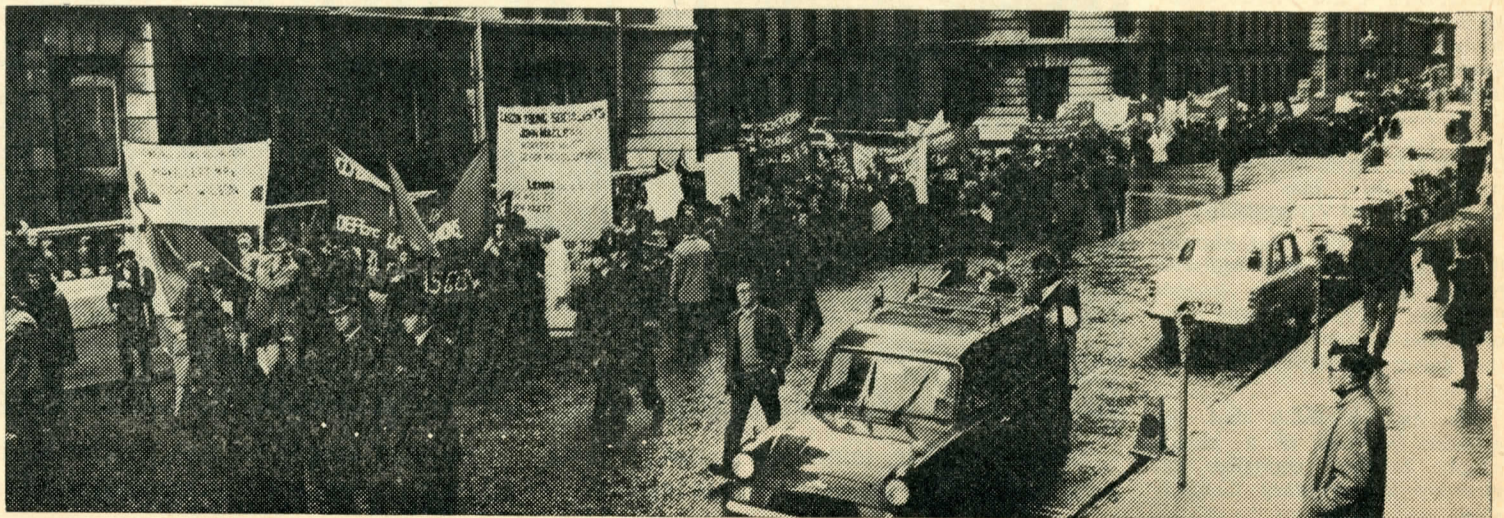
Official paper of the
Young Socialists



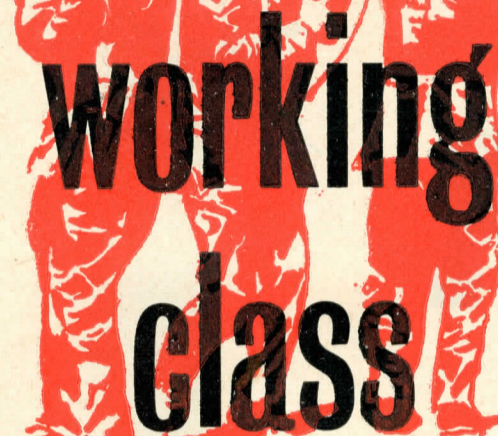
Two pictures from the highly successful May Day demonstration

This month's Keep Left

- Page two: Greece—Lesson for world working class.
- Page three: Report on NALSO conference.
- Page four: Special announcement on International Assembly of Socialist Youth.
- Pages six and seven: pictures of May Day demonstration.
- Page eight: Special May Day report.
- Page twelve: Round the Regions.



Greece - warning to International



working class

by Robert White

THE attack now being unleashed by the right-wing leaders of the army against the Greek trade union and socialist movement is an issue of great concern to the Young Socialists.

It was the Young Socialists who first denounced the Wilson leadership as traitors to socialism, and won many older workers for our fight against the Labour government, which is at this time spearheading the attacks of the employers and bankers on the working class.

As firm believers in the worldwide unity of the working class, we see no distinction between the struggles of workers either in Britain, Vietnam, Rhodesia or China.

treason

The Young Socialists cannot therefore stand aside from the events now developing in Greece. Each day brings news of more arrests trade unionists, socialists, communists and other opponents of the right-wing regime. The new rulers of Greece declare that most of these will be forced to stand trial on charges of treason, the penalty for which is death.

Fascism, the reign of terror which crushed a whole generation of workers in Italy, Germany and Spain, now threatens the Greek labour movement.

The only allies that the Greek workers and peasants have in their hour of crisis are the workers of other countries. Almost without exception the press of the capitalist countries tries to conceal the reality behind the military takeover, either boosting the King as a reluctant supporter of the regime who secretly yearns for a return to democracy, or justifying the coup on the grounds that the left wing might have used a victory at the elections in May to oust the King.

So much for the 'free world' and its leaders' love of democracy.

dress up

Assisting in this deception are the leaders of the world's Communist Parties, even while Communist Party members are being forcibly dragged off to concentration camps set up on islands in the Aegean Sea. The 'Morning Star', the paper of the British Communist Party, dresses up the struggle as one between 'democracy' and 'dictatorship'.

In taking this anti-Marxist line, the same as that followed by the Stalinists in the Spanish Civil war of 1936-1939, the leaders of the Communist Parties dig the graves of their own comrades.

We do not think that the question is one of a choice simply between capitalist democracy and military dictatorship.

The Greek ruling class has

already decided that parliament, and its accompanying freedoms of the press and public meetings, are too dangerous a luxury.

It is clear from the events up to the coup that a split has developed within the ruling class in Greece.

Ever since the end of the war, the Greek capitalist class has been uncertain as to how to take on the workers. After five years of civil war in which thousands of workers, many of them communists, were executed without trial, the Greek ruling class thought itself strong enough to introduce a sham form of democracy in which the Communist Party remained banned, while the other left parties had their influence reduced by rigged elections and the use of corruption and terror.

Gradually, the Greek working class recovered from the crushing defeat of the civil war, in which its best militants perished. A new generation of young workers and students grew up determined to carry on the fight of their parents for a socialist Greece.

In 1964, the extreme right wing was defeated at the polls and gave way to the party led by Papandreou, which had received Communist support.

But Papandreou is no socialist. He is not even a republican, believing that the Greek Monarchy should remain, under the control of Parliament.

endorse

In order to keep favour with the Liberals, the Communist Party endorsed the pro-capitalist policies of Papandreou, even though he refused to lift the ban on the Greek Communist Party!

By limiting the campaign against the monarchy, which received the backing of the most right-wing forces in Greece, to pleas for more 'democracy', and deliberately playing down the struggle against Greek capitalism as one of the main supporters of the monarchy, the Communist Party opened the door for the military leaders.

The extreme right wing, by

using the King's considerable powers, caused a split in Papandreou's party, several key members going over to the right to form a new coalition government. The working class fought back and, right up to the time of the coup, Athens and the other main cities were scenes of huge workers' and peasants' demonstrations against the oppressive policies of the government.

With a certain majority of only one in Parliament, the Greek employers obviously could no longer effectively rule through democratic channels. New elections were proclaimed for the end of May.

But the extreme right-wing of the party had meanwhile been carrying out a thorough purge of the forces, cleaning out all officers thought to be sympathetic to socialism or even parliamentary rule.

Behind the guns, the tanks and the throne remains the rule of international capitalism. There can be no doubt that the Greek capitalists, afraid of a new victory for the left at the May general election, called in the army to stop the rot.

A minority of the Greek employers still hesitate, feeling that a military dictatorship might provoke even greater militancy on the part of the workers. They also seek a friendly relationship with the Soviet bureaucracy and trade with nearby Soviet bloc countries such as Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

We must now rally the maximum support on behalf of the workers of Greece. The issue is not just democracy. In Britain, just as in Greece, behind the trappings of parliamentary debate and mock opposition lie the real centres of power.

Phones are tapped, mail is opened, police spies enter meetings—and yet nothing is done to stop or even reprimand those responsible for these breaches of democratic liberties.

The Prices and Incomes Act is but the first of a series of

actions by the employers' state, against the working class and its unions.

In Greece, the employers moved rapidly, knowing that the policies of the Liberals and the Stalinists had so confused the workers that little organized opposition to the coup would develop. They were correct in their calculations.

We can also be sure that the major capitalist powers, particularly the USA and Germany, knew something was afoot. Between them, the employers of these two countries own the major part of Greek industry and supply most of its credits for trade.

The events in Greece today should serve both as a centre of mobilization in defence of the labour movement in Greece and also as a warning to those who preserve or spread illusions in the permanence of democratic institutions under capitalism.

abolish

Once parliament ceases to serve the needs of the employers as a screen for their exploitation of the working class, then they will take steps to abolish it, as they did in Italy, Germany and Spain before the war, and as they have now done in Greece.

The task of socialists, both in Greece and Britain, is not to defend such liberties as they have won just for their own sake. We must see the fight to defend the rights of trade unions and free speech as part of the struggle for socialism, as part of the struggle to remove the system that breeds dictatorship and military rule.

In solidarity with our comrades in Greece, the Young Socialists say:

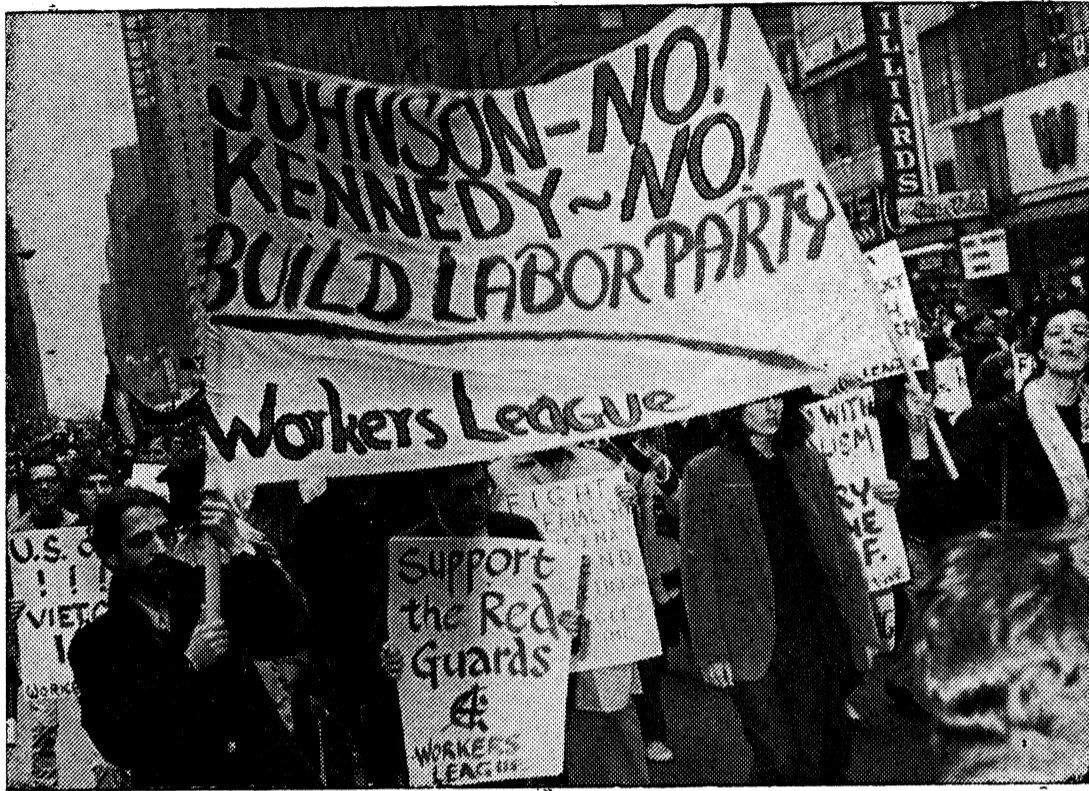
Down with the Monarchy and Greek fascism.

Forward with the British working class to Socialist Europe.



Young Socialists, joined by Greek students and workers, march through London to the Greek Embassy, where a letter calling for the overthrow of the monarcho-fascist regime was handed in by National Secretary Sheila Torrance.

WORLD NEWS



'Build Labour Party!' — Workers' League demand on New York demonstration

IN A DEMONSTRATION of tens of thousands staged through New York on April 15 as part of a Spring Mobilization campaign against the war in Vietnam the Workers' League (which supports the Fourth International) was the only delegation to raise the demand for the victory of the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

The brainchild of several groups of pacifists, amongst them the Socialist Workers' Party, the Spring Mobilization Campaign raises the now well-worn slogan 'Bring the troops home'.

And in order to achieve this aim a delegation representing the march in New York is to go and see President Johnson on May 17—no doubt to persuade him that it would be in America's interests to bring the troops home.

Johnson, however, appears to have made his mind up about that question already. Not only has the bombing been intensified over the past few weeks but General Westmoreland has made it clear for American imperialism, in speeches on television, to the press and to Congress that he

and the top army brass are in favour of continuing the war.

Such Civil Rights leaders as Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael were also there on April 15 to lend their notoriety to the proceedings. But with all the thousands of marchers and the support of the Civil Rights leaders the Spring Mobilization can in fact achieve nothing.

Setting themselves above all the pacifist claptrap, the Workers' League called for a break with the Democratic Party and Johnson and Kennedy and the building of a Labour Party.

In this period, when the American working class in the trade unions is incessantly becoming more and more militant against the Johnson government's attacks on pay, the question of a labour party is of paramount importance.

The imperialist war in Vietnam and the defeat of the US by the workers and peasants is directly linked with the fight of the working class in America.

Such questions cannot be glossed over with pacifist humbug about bringing the troops home—which serves as a sop to the middle class anyway. The real issues are international ones of mobilizing the working class against imperialism, which is in mortal crisis.

UN mission to Aden a shabby farce

by Nick Peck

UNDER the mounting pressure of the struggle of the Adenis for independence Wilson was pleased to welcome the announcement of a visit to Aden by a United Nations mission.

He saw this as a chance to throw a sop to the Aden masses of a 'caretaker' government which would loyally defend British interests in the rich oil fields until a legitimate government could be manipulated through elections, which in its turn would continue to support imperialism.

To ensure that there was no hitch George Thompson, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, was sent just before the UN mission to make the government wishes known.

But the Aden masses are opposed to imperialism in whatever form it takes. The Front for the Liberation of Occupied Yemen and the National Liberation Front, two nationalist groups, announced that there would be strikes and demonstrations.

On March 20 several hundred students held an illegal demonstration carrying banners saying 'Arab petroleum belongs to the Arab people not to kings and imperialism.'

This demonstration was brutally dispersed by British troops with tear-gas and rifle-bullets.

It is significant that just before

the mission arrived in Aden Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, arrived in Cairo where the Egyptian government is providing finance for the nationalist movement.

No doubt he went to get Nasser, Prime Minister of Egypt, to use his influence to dampen the fighting spirit of the Adenis, which threatened to explode into a revolutionary movement against imperialism and its defenders.

When the mission arrived it was immediately transferred into a helicopter and flown to the Seaview Hotel, which had been converted into a barricaded fortress.

They were not allowed to leave this and were consequently unable to see the violence and brutality of the troops defending British imperialism.

Throughout the stay of the UN mission the strike called by the Front for the Liberation of Occupied Yemen and the NLF was completely successful and massive demonstrations were held despite the attacks by the troops.

On April 6 the mission asked for permission to make a television broadcast which was refused. The mission then left the country and the shabby farce of democratic independence was over.

The Adenis have now learned that to get independence means a violent struggle and we in Britain can play our part by preparing to destroy imperialism in Britain.

What was involved in the NALSO conference?

by IAN McALMAN

THE Labour government leads an attack upon the conditions of not only workers but also students. It has increased the fees of overseas students, cut back the expansion of educational facilities and has not yet abandoned the scheme for turning grants into loans.

Students are ready to fight against such attacks, as was shown on February 22, when ten of thousands protested against the government's policies. However all these efforts will be wasted if they are not channelled into the struggle to build a revolutionary party based upon the working class.

Young Socialist students strive to unite students and workers in this common struggle against the Labour government and those who cover up for it.

When the Young Socialists won a majority on the executive of the National Association of Labour Student Organizations at the interim conference in January, they proceeded to wage a campaign for the February 21 lobby called by Lucas/CAV (Liverpool) shop stewards to force 'left' MPs to fight Wilson.

Almost immediately the Labour Party cut off its grant to NALSO and called on clubs to set up regional bodies under the control of local Labour Party

organizers.

This was clearly a repetition of what happened to the supporters of Keep Left inside the Labour Party YS. When our comrades called for a real fight against the traitors in the Labour Party leadership they were forcibly ejected from meetings and expelled by the agents of Transport House.

The conflict inside NALSO marked a development of the struggle inside the Labour Party YS in other aspects. Once again our comrades had to fight against those groups which masquerade under the name of Trotskyist but in effect serve as a left cover for the bureaucracy.

At the 20th annual conference of NALSO held at Hulme Hall, Manchester, on April 3-7 these groups again crawled out from under the stones to head off any struggles against the Labour government.

Once again the 'state capitalists' of the International Socialism group and the supporters of the paper 'Militant' were determined to prove their loyalty to the bureaucracy, this time by throwing the YS comrades out of the executive and crawling back to Transport House.

What was clearly exposed by the YS comrades in the conference was the deepening de-

generacy of those groups since the fight inside the Labour Party. The heightened crisis of capitalism and the bureaucracy since then reveals more clearly the class nature of those tendencies in their determination to fight against the revolutionary party.

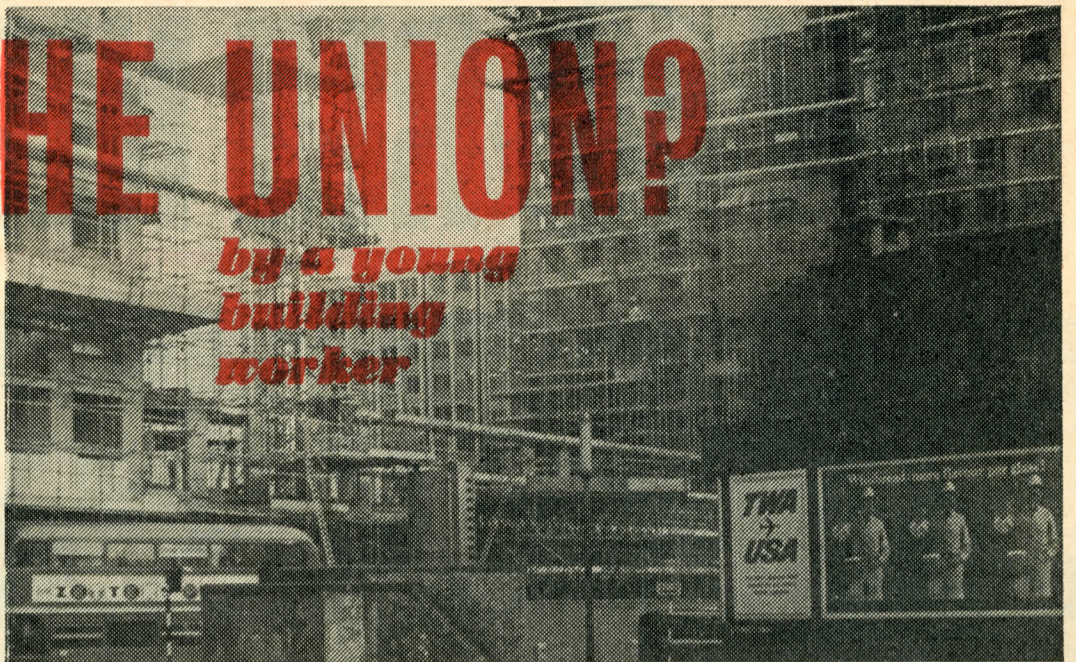
Supporters of the 'Militant', mainly from that storm-centre of class conflict, Sussex, said that the main question for NALSO was to get back into the Labour Party, to which, they claimed, the working class was now turning.

About a fortnight later the working class replied to this . . . by refusing to vote for the

Continued on page 9—>

WHY JOIN THE UNION?

by a young
building
worker



THE SUBJECT of the recruitment of young labour in the building industry to the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers was brought up by a speaker at the Young Socialists' Morecambe Conference.

It was stated that an all-out effort was needed to enrol young people in all industries to their respective unions. All those who think they can 'go it alone' must learn the value of unity against the capitalists.

I am in the building trade and so will confine my remarks to this industry, although most people will find similar instances in their own line of work.

I started my working life as an apprentice bricklayer. I was unfortunate in the fact that my father checked on several firms before deciding and I had a good training with what was proved by my later experiences to be a 'good' boss.

My tools were paid for; I was given a gratuity for attending school. I was given extra holidays with pay, but most of all I was encouraged to join the AUBTW at the start of my apprenticeship.

But, like many people, at the age of 21 I wanted to get married and the money was not enough. So I began to look around for the 'big penny'.

My first venture was a bonus job. This proved to be the thin edge of the wedge. After a few weeks of fair gain for labour

the boss cuts the bonus target, saying: 'If you won't do it someone else will.'

This first cut you decide to take, then a month later he takes another bite at the bonus target—his excuse this time is rising costs and that he has to compete with his rivals—so *you* are asked to foot the bill.

Of course he doesn't want you to go so you haggle over a new bonus target and you accept or move on. I moved on.

Each time there was the same result—in places where the money was better the amenities were worse.

The trouble is that bonus targets are private agreements and in most cases only verbal promises, so the union cannot interfere; it can only advise its members to blacklist the sites concerned.

After three years I was fed up and only a little better off, so I decided to try sub-contracting or 'the lump'.

I started in the summer of 1954 when the building of private houses and council houses was going fairly rapidly. There were six of us, four brickies and two labourers.

We did rather well the first year. The bad weather in the winter hit our wage bill a little but we had put some aside to allow for this and we started in the spring of 1955 on the right side.

Then our first real drawback came. We had our books audited and our tax demand was more than we had in the bank, so we did just what everyone

else in this situation does—we cut our rates and worked longer hours and the quality of the finished work suffered. We did not know it at the time but we had joined the rat race.

The next year's tax came along with the same problem and we were doing just what we had accused the bosses of doing, but we were doing it *to ourselves!*

It took me five years to realize this. I had some benefits from the money I had earned, but I worked seven days a week to get it with no amenities and no safety regulations adhered to.

At the end of this period I found that the wage increases and benefits fought for and won by the Union far outstripped any financial gains we had made working 70 hours and having to pay out our own tax and insurance in one lump at the end of the year.

So back I had to go to work for an employer.

Now the sub-contractors take home half as much again as I do each week.

But over the whole year they earn less than I do, because they get no money when the weather forces them to stop work. There is also a 10 per cent retention held on all work completed for six months. This covers any defects, but it leaves the field wide open for the boss to take another cut if the sub-contractor stays, or the lot if he leaves before the six months is up.

The boss can say, in other words, that certain repairs had to be done, and that they cost the 10 per cent.

For myself I have tried both worlds and I prefer the organized one to the rat race. But organization means full backing by us for the unions in the struggle against exploitation, with an aim of fair pay for work done and good conditions on sites.

Sometimes this means a struggle against the union leaders as well, and realizing that we must do the work of the unions ourselves and not leave the job to others who will make too

many compromises.

Although there may be workers who will always try 'the lump' for themselves, as I did, the majority of these must realize that the boss is the only one who can come out showing a profit.

If we can get this point across to the apprentices and young labourers before they are tempted to go on 'the lump'—and this means political training in the Young Socialists—then a fighting movement in the building trade can be developed.

The unions must sign up whole sites and blacklist the sites where the bosses persist in encouraging scab practices.

Finally, and perhaps most important, is the fact that wage increases and better conditions are no longer to be won in a straight fight with the boss.

Now it is the boss and the government acting together against us. This is the reason why political organization and broad unity are the answer for all young workers.

INTERNATIONAL

There
will be

international

sports competitions;

football, swimming,

dancing, Continental

and English film shows,

talent competitions, etc.

Cost will be £7 10s. 0d. for

the week plus a pooled fare of

approximately £1 5s. 0d.

ASSEMBLY

OF SOCIALIST

YOUTH

JULY 29TH AUG 5TH '67

Spend an enjoyable and educational week under canvas with Young Socialists from Britain,

'Revoltes' (France), West Germany, Belgium,

Italy, U.S.A. and other countries.

Agenda will include such important

items as the fight against the decay

of capitalism, imperialist war and

the defence of the Vietnamese

and Chinese revolutions.

Write to Sheila Torrance,

186a, Clapham High Street,

London, SW4

BOOK NOW FOR INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY

MY JOB TEACHER B

Low pay and poor conditions for young teachers

by Gay Holland

THE AIM of this article is not to paint a grim picture of life in the schools but to attempt to show that a struggle for the advancement of education and an improvement in teachers' pay and conditions must have a socialist perspective.

Let's look at the situation facing young teachers coming out of training college after a three-year course.

They are hardly likely to be offered a comfortable position in the private sector or in a grammar school so that the obvious aspect of class bias in education can be left out.

Shortage

What they will come up against within the state system is the problem of teacher shortage.

By the 1970s it will be 20,000. Already there are many primary classes of well over 40. Some, as in Luton, have no teachers at all.

Eighteen-year-olds waiting for a training college place and unqualified auxiliaries are being used as cheap labour to start to fill this gap, which does not add to the educational standards.

This obviously is the remedy intended by the Plowden Report with its provisions for the payment of auxiliaries to do the work of teachers.

In extreme cases parents are issued with do-it-yourself reading kits and told to get on with it.

It is in the traditionally working-class areas where few teachers live that the shortage is most acute.

In these areas too there is a high proportion of dingy, dilapidated buildings—barred windows, dark-brown tiled staircases, outside lavatories, badly-fitting doors and lack of playing space are common features.

And these are the schools to which a lot of young teachers are drafted on the quota system that operates.

In the worst secondary schools there may be just a few older teachers drawing responsibility allowances and a whole group of first- or second-year teachers left to take the most difficult classes.

After all, why bother to provide the best education for working-class youth when, with the arrival on the scene of automation, their services will not be required? Syllabuses in many classes reflect this attitude.

Add to this the dishonest way the comprehensive system has been adapted to existing schools. There are numerous examples of the secondary modern or old technical type, a mile or so apart, being amalgamated on paper.

The grammar school stream and new buildings are being shelved indefinitely.

Never a mention is made of the more obvious difficulties of young teachers—trying to live on £11 a week with fares of 14s. a week in London, long tiring journeys expensive accommodation, little energy or money left for going out in the evenings.

This means in practical terms that young teachers with families



Young teachers and student teachers protested recently at Parliament against their low wages

are on the bread line. Many others are forced to continue living off their parents at 21 and the turnover in young teachers is very high.

Not all the turnover can be put down to marriage, which is what the Ministry claims as an excuse for keeping the basic scale low.

Impossible

I think a lot of the turnover is due to the pay and conditions which make it virtually impossible for the young teacher to do a good job. And here is where the training colleges attempt to paper over the enormous hole with phrases like 'it all depends on the individual teacher'.

In other words they play on the idealism of young teachers who work hours of unpaid overtime to conform to some ideal requirement.

In primary education the inadequacy of the teaching conditions offered by capitalism comes out very clearly.

In spite of much hard work

overcrowding means that an increasing number of children will not be taught to read fluently by the age of seven. They are then permanently left behind.

This fact is covered up by all sorts of talk about 'allowing each child to develop individually' (maybe not at all) and by a bewildering variety of experimental methods.

Vertical groupings, the free day, the integrated day, surveys of reading problems, team teaching, and lots more besides.

Not all of these are gimmicks, although they are often dabbled in by head teachers, but are all adaptations to the problems of the teacher shortage and poor conditions. As such they hold back the development of education.

In these conditions what is the real role of the teacher (and of education)?

It is mainly to put over capitalist ideology to working-class children.

Teachers, it must be emphasized, are involved in the class struggle and come under considerable pressure to take up

anti-working class and reformist positions.

From the nature of their work and their position in society as a whole they are susceptible to pressure for stop gap remedies or token gestures.

25 per cent

It is against these ideas that a young teachers' leadership must fight. We should fight for an end to teacher shortage by demanding the full 25 per cent increase proposed by the National Union of Teachers in the wage-freeze situation.

In other words we cannot avoid a political struggle against the anti-socialist policies of the Labour government.

It also means a united fight with the working class. Any leadership which claims that teachers can strike successfully simply as teachers, or that teachers are in a position of power because they are in short supply, or that we can 'get round the freeze', is misleading this fight.



A YS member takes up a point in discussion at the London weekend school in Brighton

YS weekend school

THE most successful weekend school ever held, that was the unanimous opinion of Young Socialists in the London area after two days in Brighton at the Theatre Pavillion.

Well over 250 members heard the lecture given by Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League on 'The Working Class and Socialism'.

Over 80 people participated in the discussion and the groups on Sunday morning produced some very important points for con-

sideration by the school.

Main subject of discussion was the question the building of an alternative revolutionary leadership. Questions of anarchism and reformism prompted some of the best contributions.

North East Region Young Socialists also held a weekend school at Scarborough, where the guest speaker was Geoff Pilling.

Members discussed the question of the Wilson government, the Prices and Incomes Act and the fight now facing the trade unions.

1,600 on London M



Marxist leadership of the future

MAY DAY 1967 was really an historic experience for the Young Socialists. Our great demonstration through the West End of London and subsequent rally in Hyde Park was watched by thousands of trade unionists and members of the Labour movement.

It was different in every respect from the half-hearted efforts of the Labour and Communist Parties.

Firstly, we based ourselves on the achievements, tragedies and defeats of the working class since Karl Marx wrote his monumental 'Das Kapital' 100 years ago.

Seventeen huge floats measuring 15 feet by 7½ feet charted these events from 'Das Kapital' to the Russian Revolution of 1917, onwards to the growth of Stalinism and the founding of Trotsky's Left Opposition to the great American working class tragedy of Sacco and Vanzetti, then the even greater tragedy of the Moscow trials, right through to the achievements of the Fourth International and the Socialist Labour League, its British section. These are the foundations on which the organization of the Young Socialists is being built.

For us the history of the international workers' movement is inseparably interwoven with the day-to-day activities of all our branches and members throughout the country.

We stand by Marxist theory and the necessity for its application to the current problems of our time.

The Communist Party as the agency of Stalinism in the workers' movement long ago betrayed the Marxist traditions of the Russian Revolution and the working class. It defended Stalin's greatest crimes against the working class in the Moscow trials and it has never corrected the appalling lies which it told about these tragic events. The Communist Party deliberately permitted Stalin to murder the most heroic and devoted leaders of the Russian Revolution rather than raise the slightest opposition against him. But we shall never forget.

Our float depicting the Moscow trials, we are told, brought forth howls of anger from ageing Stalinists who lined the side walks. Good, very good, that is what it was supposed to do. There will never be the slightest concession made by Trotskyism and the Young Socialists to the Stalinists who today capitulate to the Labour bureaucracy of Harold Wilson.

At least one thing can be said about Wilson and the Labour government. They never have believed in theory of any description. All they are concerned about is to do the dirty work for the Tories in the Labour government. We can see once again in the recent elections how they are opening the doors wide for the Tories to return to power. This is what Wilson and his ilk always do.

Long ago the great American socialist Daniel de Leon characterized the Labour leaders as 'lieutenants of capitalism'. Times have changed but this description is as fresh today as the day it was written.

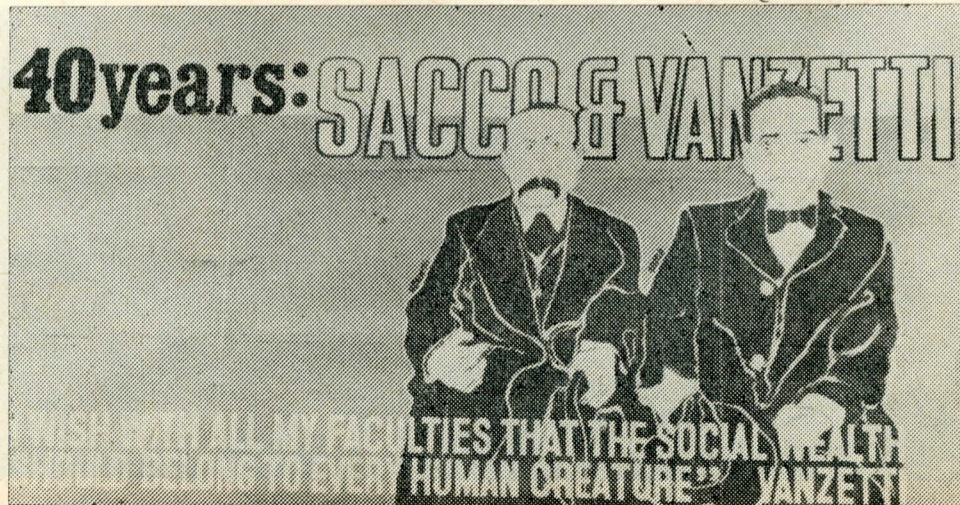
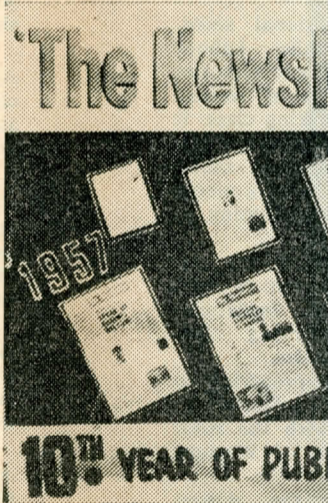
The Young Socialists are the new Marxist leadership of the future. We start out with Marxist theory and in doing this we see in May Day an occasion to remember all those great class fighters who in their time paved the way for us to begin the final onslaught against the citadels of monopoly capitalism.

How the Labour Party began

by BRIAN PEARCE

Price 6d.

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS LTD.
186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

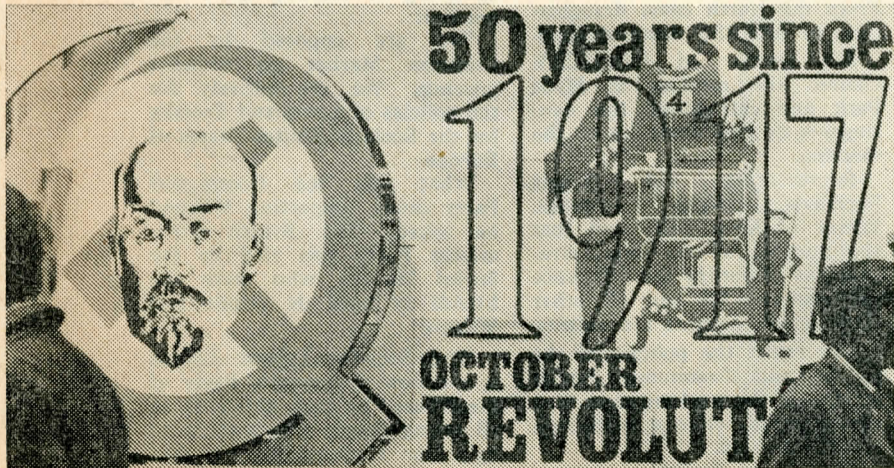
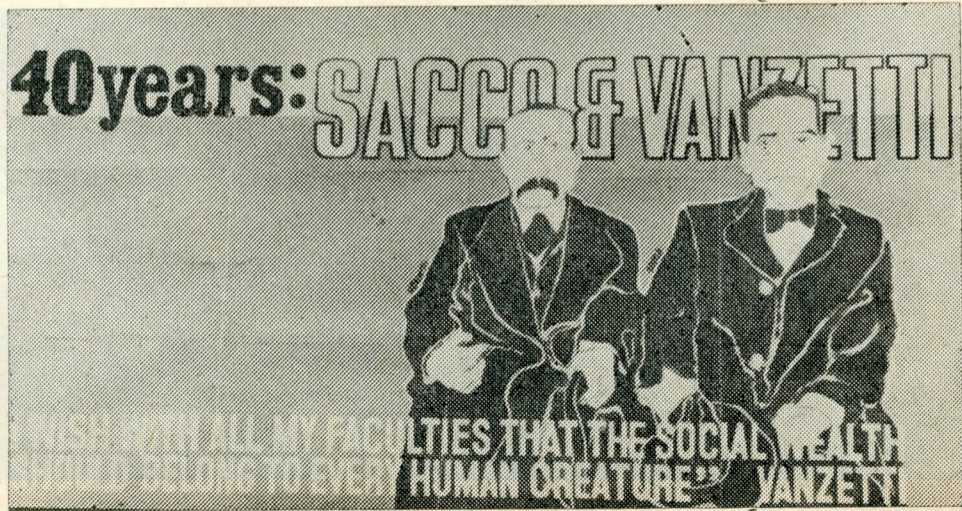
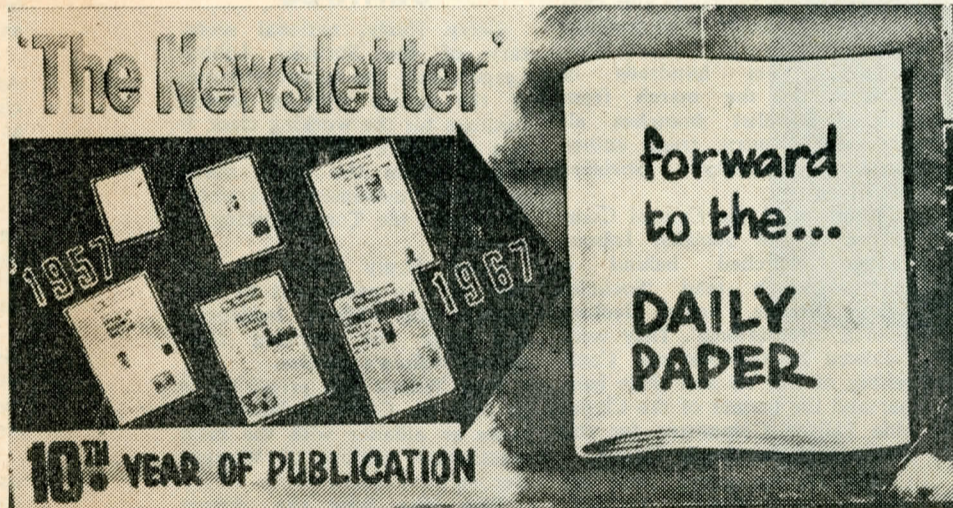


500 on London May Day



On this page, seven of the floats which were on the demonstration.

A young communist



for the
the West
rk was
s of the
fforts of
ies and
s monu-
ed these
of 1917,
Trosky's
tragedy
of the
Fourth
section.
e Young

ment is
all our
plication

workers'
Russian
greatest
and it
out these
ed Stalin
Russian
nst him.

ght forth
le walks.
here will
and the
e to the

govern-
tion. All
Tories in
e recent
Tories to

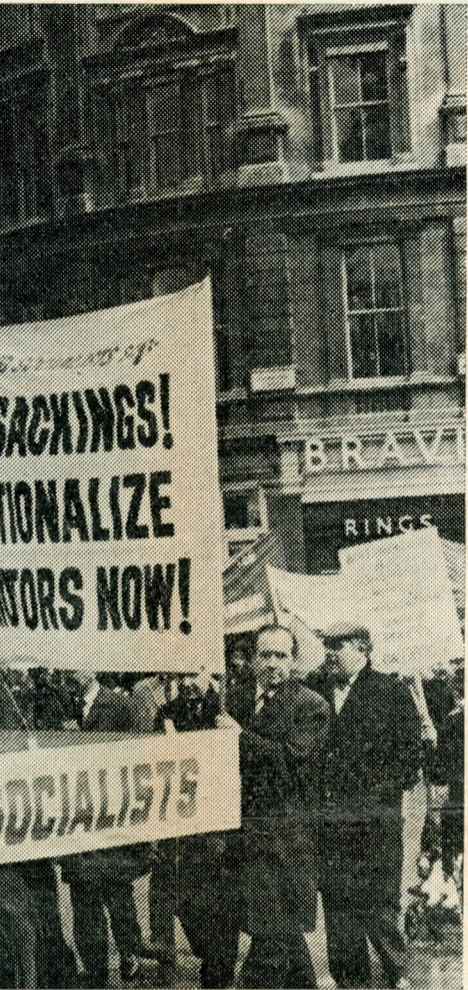
acterized
nes have
y it was

e future.
e see in
s fighters
the final

an

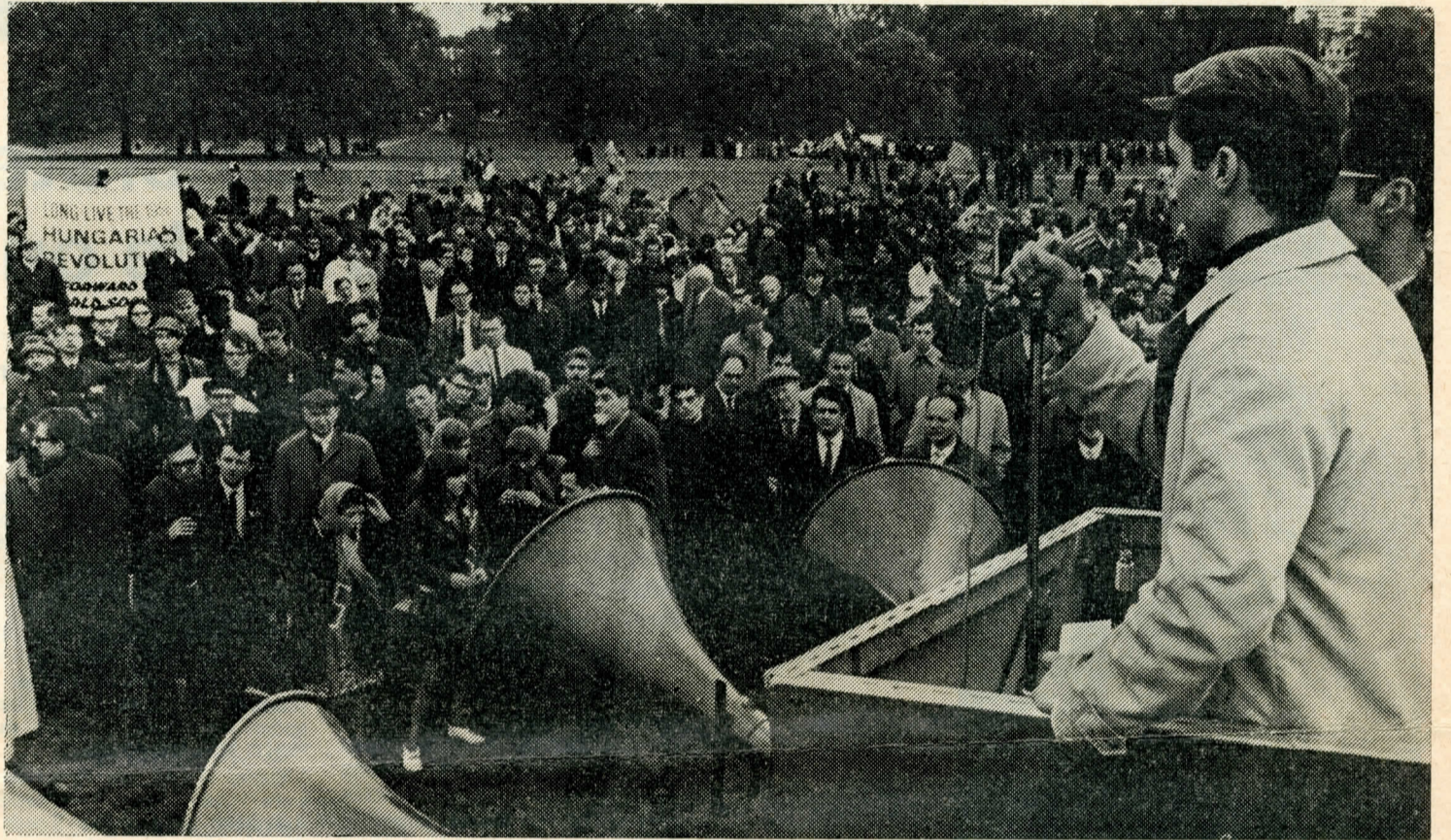
rice 6d.

on May Day March

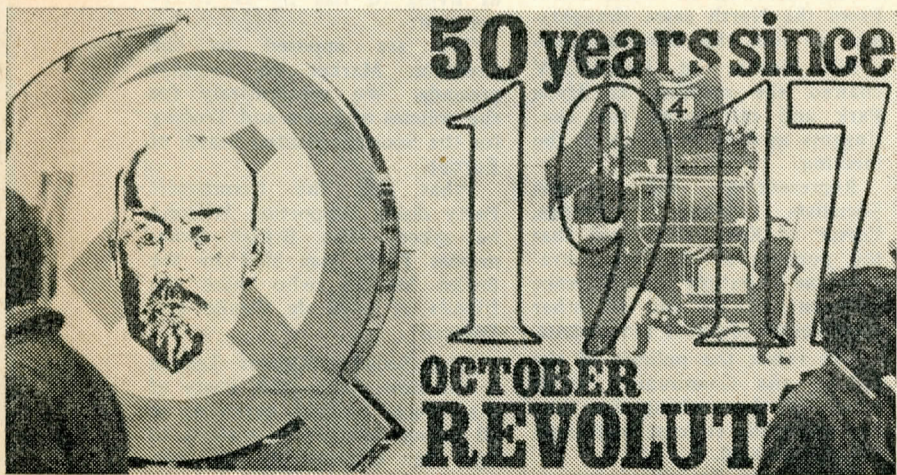
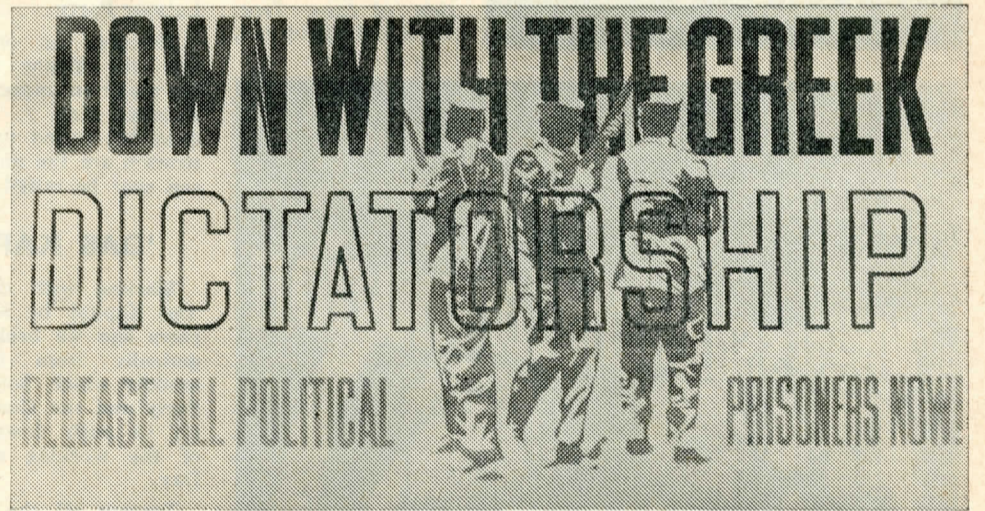


FOOT
1967

On this page, seven of the floats which were on the demonstration.

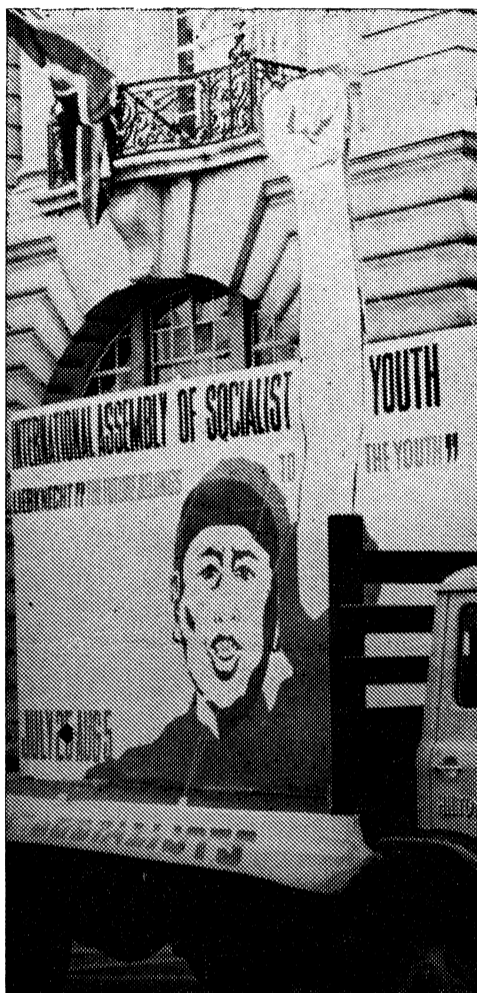


A young comrade gives greetings for Greece at the meeting in Hyde Park



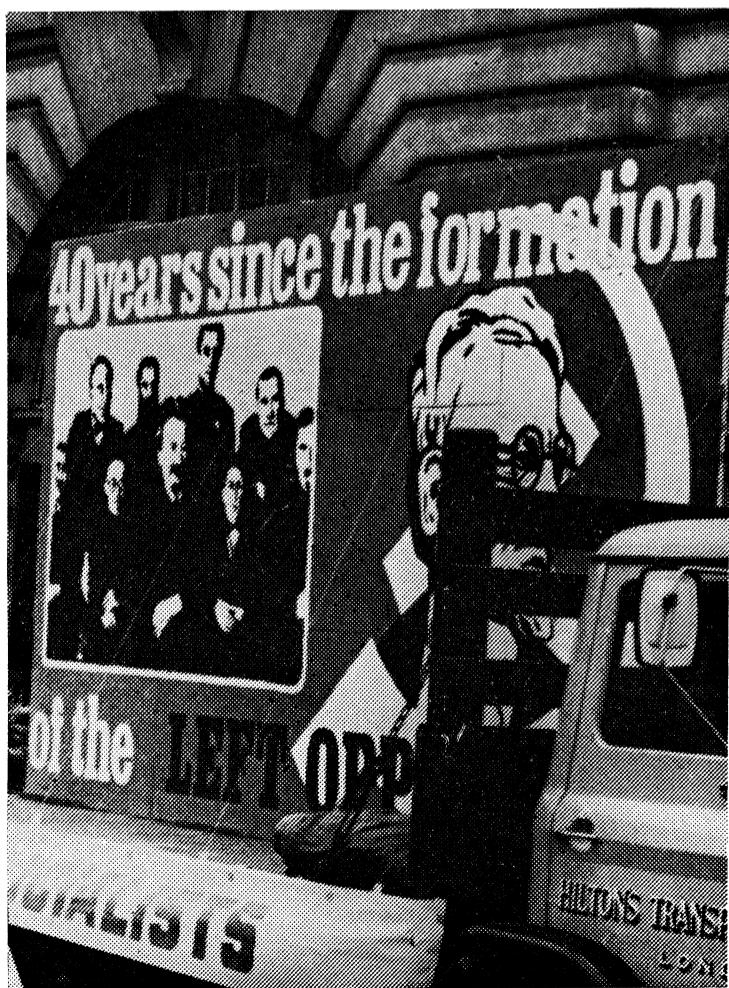


YS commemorate 100 years class struggle on May Day



Above: Floats on the Moscow trials and the Chinese Revolution.

Opposite: International Assembly of Socialist Youth float. Below: The formation of Leon Trotsky's Left Opposition.



ONE HUNDRED YEARS of international class struggle based on the principles of Marxism—that was the theme on which the Young Socialists, together with the Socialist Labour League and supported by a large contingent of adult trade unionists, marched on May Day 1967.

Commemorating all of the important stages in the fight of the British working class against capitalism the Young Socialists had a record-beating display of 17 floats superbly designed and painted by a team of young artists.

True to form Fleet Street ignored the YS demonstration, preferring instead to give publicity to the tired straggle which marched with the Labour Party.

However no one could say that the Young Socialists did not make an impact on May Day Sunday, May 7. The political questions raised on our demonstration are the only ones which can ever be raised on May Day.

'DAS KAPITAL'

Starting with the writing of 'Das Kapital' by Karl Marx 100 years ago we broke quite categorically from the reformist muddle which both the Labour Party and the Communist Party try to push down the throats of the working class on May Day.

Tracing all the developments of the working class in struggle the lorries with their massive wooden frames depicted the Russian Revolution of 1917, the deaths of Sacco and Vanzetti at the hands of the United States capitalist class in 1927, the Chinese Revolution of 1947, the Barcelona Uprising of 1937 (in which Stalin's GPU murdered Spanish revolutionaries), the Moscow trials of 1937, when Stalin murdered all Lenin's Central Committee, and finally the formation in 1927 of the Left Opposition against the Stalinist bureaucracy by Leon Trotsky.

Raising the most urgent task facing the revolutionary leadership in Britain was the float on 10 years' publication of 'The Newsletter', weekly paper of the Socialist Labour League, and

Keep Left Reporter

the fact that we must now go forward to a daily paper.

'Hands off the Chinese Revolution—support the Red Guards', read another float, which was followed by 'Vietnam—no imperialist peace. Victory to the Vietcong.'

The names of all the 'left' MPs who abstained on the Prices and Incomes Act in the summer of 1966 were listed under the demand 'Make these "Left" MPs fight NOW!'

Other floats on the march were on the International Assembly of Socialist Youth in August this year, the question of letter opening, political files, and the preparation for a police state, the legislation against the trade unions, and nationalization.

Greek workers and students marched behind a float against the Greek dictatorship and calling for the release of all political prisoners.

There were hundreds of banners on the march from Young Socialist branches all over the country, trade unions and University Socialist Societies.

Members of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League marched behind a banner which read 'Socialist Labour League. British Section Fourth International'. They were followed by the National Committee of the YS and their banner and the banner of the Clyde-side Liaison Committee for the Defence of the Trade Unions.

Also on the march were car workers from Cowley (Oxford), Birmingham, Coventry and Luton. A representative of the Luton car workers spoke later at the meeting in Hyde Park. From the North came draughtsmen to join the demonstration.

Bill Hunter of Lucas/CAV chaired the meeting at Hyde Park and introduced the contingents as they came up to the meeting.

Representing the Young Socialists Aileen Jennings, Editor of Keep Left, said that the purpose of the demonstration was to outline the difference between the YS and all other class collaborationist movements.

'We reject the policies of the Labour and Communist Parties which tell the working class they can peacefully co-exist with capitalism,' she said.

The Young Socialists' demon-

stration was an international one. It demanded the release of all political prisoners in Greece and the victory of the workers and peasants of Vietnam against US imperialism.

'Every class action which leads to the defeat of British capitalism and the Wilson leadership is a blow in defence of the international working class,' she said.

On behalf of the French section of the Fourth International, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, Comrade Renard said big working class struggles were taking place in France at a time when de Gaulle had demanded the right to use special powers.

The whole of the world capitalist class was carrying out an attack against the working class. It was determined to take away all the gains the working class had made.

SERIOUS

Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, said the recent victories of the Tories were a serious business for the working class. It was necessary to redouble our efforts inside the trade union and labour movement as a whole to prevent the Tories coming to power.

Gerry Healy called on the 'left' MPs in parliament to fight against the Wilson leadership and rally the working class against Wilson's policies.

Now Wilson was preparing to go into the Common Market to make an alliance with the most reactionary sections of Western Europe.

That was why the Wilson government recognized the Greek dictatorship.

Workers could expect the cost of living to rise by 12 to 14 per cent.

'We are opposed to the Common Market on socialist grounds. We are entirely for the policies of Lenin and Trotsky for the Socialist United States of Europe.'

What was the Communist Party doing supporting Wilson? he asked. The British Communist Party was tied to the Soviet leaders, who were the friends of both de Gaulle and Wilson.

'The Socialist Labour League is the new Communist Party of the future,' he said, appealing to all young people who wanted to fight for Communism to 'join us'.

'PRIVILEGE'

**Directed by Peter Watkins
Starring Paul Jones and
Jean Shrimpton**

From page 3

NALSO conference

THIS film raises basic questions: big financial interests, advertising, the church and a coalition government formed out of two main political parties joined together against the youth, who are moving towards 'Communism and anarchy'.

Their campaign, directed by the 'Ministry of Culture' and organized by the big financiers, is publicized through pop singer Steven Shorter, played by Paul Jones.

Dissatisfied with their initial approach the Ministry decides to change Shorter's image to one of conformity.

With the help of the church and mass revivalist meetings, which are also reminiscent of the Nuremberg rallies of Hitler, the government seeks to control the majority of the youth through the pop idol.

Finally the pressures of his promoters and his fans break the back of Steven Shorter and he renounces his image, saying he is no hero, merely himself.

Director Watkins said in an interview that he did not make Shorter finish with an 'out on the streets and fight' speech because all the fight had been sucked out of him.

Cynically Watkins shows the youth to be the dupes of the monopolists, religion and the government. The film's scenes of mass hysteria and later mass conformity are reminiscent of George Orwell's fatalism in '1984'.

Watkins' previous picture 'The War Game', was a sharp comment on the nuclear arms race and an indictment of the continuous drive towards a Third World War. Unfortunately Watkins' first adventure into the realms of feature films,

'Privilege', is not nearly so successful.

Nevertheless the film critics of the bosses' papers greeted the premiere in London with cries of outrage, because it attacks so many respectable institutions such as the Church and the government.

The film fails in that Watkins cannot show any class conflict or the real reasons why the ruling class should want to make the youth conform.

However, Watkins' film raises fundamental questions and YS branches should, where possible, see this film and discuss it.

Labour Party in the GLC elections.

The state capitalists also showed their opposition to the building of a revolutionary party, claiming that 'at this stage in the development of the working class we cannot build a revolutionary movement'. Whilst the Labour government openly attacks the working class these people say it is premature to discuss revolutionary politics with workers.

Despite having very different theories as to the nature of the Soviet Union, these revisionists, guided by a Mr. Ernest Tate, were capable of uniting, without any discussion of their political differences, in order to throw out the YS comrades.

The depth of their degeneracy was further revealed when, in the course of the conference, these revisionists, with a few exceptions, made a deal with Fergus Nicholson, full-time organizer of the Communist Party, by which they agreed to vote two Stalinists on to the Executive and to vote against Keep Left supporters.

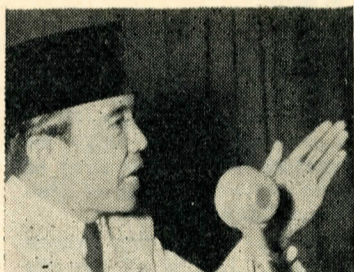
The same Nicholson told us in conversation after the conference that he admired 'the philosophy of Joseph Stalin' and that the murder by the Soviet government of tens of thousands of communists in the 1930s was 'necessary to have socialism'.

Against such deals and all manner of slanders, the YS comrades fought throughout the Conference for principled revolutionary politics. In the course of the struggle against those anti-Marxist groups, our comrades learned more clearly how to build a revolutionary leadership amongst students.



Singer Steven Shorter (played by Paul Jones) backed by the Church, stands in front of a huge audience at a mass religious rally in 'Privilege'

'THE victims would be tied to a tree under the eerie yellow light, and the executioners would stand round them and drive knives into their jugular veins. A witness of some of these events said that the most impressive part of the experience was that many of the victims "went without a whimper". . . . The bodies were left to rot against the trees or were thrown into the nearest ditch or stream. There are many reliable accounts of rivers in Solo, Sumatra and Madiun being choked with log-jams of human corpses in the months of November and December.'



'THE FALL OF SUKARNO'

by Tarzie Vittachi
Price 5s.

A Mayflower-Dell paperback

This passage from 'The Fall of Sukarno' by Tarzie Vittachi is not an account of some medieval massacre, but is taken from a book which describes events less than two years ago.

The country is Indonesia, the time between October 1965 and February 1966. The victims are communists, militant workers and peasants, the flower of the Indonesian workers and their families, supporters and friends. The executioners are fanatical Muslims, right-wing supporters of the new army regime, and Indonesia's own brand of fascists.

The question that arises from even the most cursory reading of this book is how such a rampant white terror could arise in a country that was always claimed by Stalinists and 'lefts' to be a model of what an independent colony should be: 'anti-colonialist', 'socialist' or at any rate 'taking the non-capitalist road'.

The real key to an understanding on this question lies in the policy of the leadership of the

Indonesian Communist Party (PKI).

The PKI was the strongest Communist Party outside the workers' states: it had more than a million members and an enormous following among the workers and peasants.

They were heavily committed to the line of the Chinese Communist Party, the line of socialism in a single country. This 'theory' in Indonesia, as elsewhere, meant that the power of the PKI was used not to fight for socialist revolution in Indonesia but to put pressure on the nationalist government to push it towards the interest of the Chinese bureaucracy.

Leader of the nationalists was the aging playboy Sukarno, a demagogue who had led the uprising against Dutch rule in Indonesia after the Second World War. This man called himself by a variety of names, among the more fanciful being 'Supreme Leader of the All-Indonesian Clergy', 'Mouthpiece of the Indonesian People', 'Sole Interpreter of the Revolution', 'Honourable Doctor Ingenieur' and

'Repository of the Sufferings of the People'!

Instead of exposing and fighting against the pretensions of this man, the Communist Party of Indonesia, backed by all sorts of Stalinists and left fakers, set itself the task of building him up in a completely unprincipled fashion.

Inside Indonesia, the PKI formed part of the coalition government, set up by Sukarno under the name of Nasakom; an alliance of the nationalists with religious leaders and the PKI itself.

By 1965, when the book opens, the coalition government was in serious difficulties; the policy of peaceful co-existence was virtually a dead letter as the war in Vietnam exposed the real face of 'peace-lovers' like the Indian government. Intervention in Malaysia, intended to divert the attention of the workers and peasants from the questions facing them at home, had come to nothing.

Workers and peasants began to demand action and an end to the type of demagoguery that had been all the government

was prepared to offer them.

Young people inside the PKI began to chafe against the Aidit leadership, especially after the PKI came to an agreement with the government that it would not attack the increases in the prices of food and other necessities.

In any event the deepening crisis of world capitalism meant that the capitalists themselves could no longer tolerate even the fake opposition of a Sukarno: a more ruthless type of regime was required to keep the masses in order.

Capitalist forces inside Indonesia began to prepare for the overthrow of the Nasakom government and to instal an open military dictatorship. The signal for the overthrow came with a futile attempt by a section of the PKI youth to overthrow the generals and to instal a revolutionary government.

Immediately, the army moved into action, seizing the main buildings in the capital and arresting the supporters and members of the PKI wholesale. The army unleashed the forces of religious fanaticism, led by

the Muslim priests, who proceeded to lead their followers to butcher the communists wholesale.

During the months that followed the army's seizure of power more than 500,000 communists and militants were put to death. The leaders of the the PKI including Aidit were hunted down like animals and executed with terrible tortures.

The PKI, pride of the Chinese Stalinists, was no more.

Mr. Vittachi himself is no friend of the PKI or of Sukarno, and his book is dedicated to the ultra-right wing students of Djakarta who played such a major part in massacring communists. However, he cannot avoid recounting some of the drama and horror of the purge in Indonesia.

The lessons that Young Socialists will draw from this book are different from those drawn by the author, however. The counter-revolution in Indonesia exposes once and for all that Stalinism, far from being a played-out force internationally, still has a vital role to play on behalf of world capitalism.

Reformism

IN THE March 1967 issue of Keep Left there was an article entitled 'The Gas Industry—a Lesson on Nationalization'. The comrade who wrote the article showed very clearly the role of the reformist Labour leaders in the 1945-1951 Labour government and showed up their policy of mock nationalization.

This policy ultimately benefited not the working class but the capitalist class, as it provided on a plate huge sums of capital which could be utilized to further the cause of exploitation.

I think it is important to be clear on exactly what grounds we in the Young Socialists disagree with the 'peaceful road to socialism' on the question of nationalization.

The reformists mimic the bourgeoisie in claiming that the capitalist class 'deserve' compensation as they have 'worked hard' to build up their businesses so they see the question as one of 'fair exchange for work done'.

They long ago gave up all confidence in the working class as workers' control of industry would endanger their own bureaucratic control of the labour movement.

They want peace with capitalism. But how can this be between two opposed class forces? In fact 'peace' will only come to the working class with the smashing of capitalism.

The revolutionary Marxist sees the question of nationalization as a question concerning the very survival of the working class. Workers have no future under capitalism as it is only through socialism that they will be freed from exploitation and the constant fear of the dole queue.

To the Marxist, workers' control of industry is part of a programme of socialist reconstruction which can only be carried out by the taking of power, both political and economic, from the hands of the bourgeoisie and giving it to the working class.

But this in turn can only be achieved through a revolutionary change brought about through raising the political consciousness of the working class in this epoch of world imperialist decline and the building of the revolutionary party.

The 'peaceful road' is a blind alley leading to the quicksand of a Third World War and the annihilation of mankind.

It is only a revolutionary struggle on the part of the working class to take the power that can avert this; and it is only through the construction of a revolutionary alternative that they can be successful.

P.R.

Still on the Morecambe Conference

I ATTENDED the Young Socialists' national conference in Morecambe for the first time this year. The speech that interested me most was the one about the old age pensioners.

It is disgraceful that old people have to live in terrible conditions and on very little money because they can no longer work for a living.

Before I joined the Young Socialists I used to visit old people and try to help them. But it is really no good just

have won them some share in the vast wealth they produce.

In the present crisis the administration is stepping in so that the American working class can no longer trust the old way of fighting. Already, the development under capitalism of modern, automated processes has led to permanent mass unemployment for millions of American workers.

For many of those in the factories there is 'speed up', harder work and more strain on health. Fords at Detroit have reckoned that at 45 a worker is already 'too old' to take it.

The increasing strain on nerves is a direct cause for the increase in drug addiction.

ago Lenin and Trotsky led the Russian Revolution. Working in their tradition, we can overthrow capitalism, so that automation and science will be used under socialism to improve human life.

Charlie Pottins,
Willesden.

Exploitation of child labour

AS Comrade Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, stated at the London weekend school on April 8 and 9 it is very important for Young Socialists to know the whole his-

Hiroshima . . . we remember

A WIDE range of 'protest badges' are being advertised for sale by the Young Communist League. One badge carries the slogan 'Remember Hiroshima'.

Yes, we remember Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There are children being born in these Japanese cities today, deformed and mutilated by the effects of radiation.

That is what imperialism can do.

In 1945 the Soviet bureaucracy had an agreement with the Western allies. So the

EDITOR'S POSTBAG

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

to help a few whilst millions more still live in poverty.

When we get rid of capitalism and build socialism there will be no big profits for the bosses. The money that went to keep the employers in luxury can provide proper pensions for old people. Then they will not have to rely on charity.

I hope that all the YS members try very hard to recruit young people into their branches to help achieve this end.

Shirley Woolford,
Hammersmith YS.

Capitalism and drugs

IN PART four chapter eight of the first volume of 'Capital' Karl Marx analysed the effect of mechanization on the workers and showed how '... machinery, by itself, lightens labour, whereas its capitalist use intensifies labour; by itself it is a victory over the forces of nature, but in its capitalist use it subordinates man to the forces of nature; by itself, it increases the wealth of the producer, but in its capitalist use it impoverishes him; and so on. . .'

That was in 1867; and what is happening today, 100 years later? Look at the United States, where the capitalists have most developed the use of modern machinery and of automation.

The tendency to impoverish the working class has been resisted by the workers, whose militancy and organization

This has been confirmed by a police narcotics expert in an industrial suburb of Los Angeles.

'The man or woman on the production line is often subjected to rotating shifts. This causes many problems associated with adjusting to changes in sleeping and eating habits. It leads to a feeling of constant fatigue,' he says.

To keep up with the pace the workers start taking amphetamine-sulphate compounds and barbiturate derivatives—white pills to get up and get going in the mornings, red pills to relax and sleep at night.

These pills are peddled inside the plant. The narcotics expert says:

'Such peddlers go around the plant looking for likely customers. They look for workers who appear tired or who are complaining of feeling run down.'

Drugs keep the wheels turning. That is all the employers are interested in.

So, according to the narcotics expert, the drug traffic in industry 'is not actually condoned so much as backs are turned on it'. He adds that stopping the traffic would mean employing whole new shifts of employees.

This is, of course, only part of the way in which capitalist society leads to things like drug addiction because of the stresses put on human nerves; but it must be emphasized that the problem described by the Los Angeles policeman is not something affecting a special minority but is increasing in scale so that, as he says, to stop it would mean employing whole new shifts of employees.

The further development of production under capitalism makes the workers' position worse, it destroys human beings and culture.

Anarchists and other decadent species are talking about the right to take drugs. Young Socialists are fighting to end exploitation and the destruction it brings.

A hundred years ago Marx wrote 'Capital'. Fifty years

tory, not only of the Young Socialists, but also of the working-class movement.

Many young people, when discussing confiscation of factories etc. by the working class, raise the point that as the capitalists originally put the money into the business they should be given compensation.

But in fact this money, with which the employers finance their businesses, was built up by their predecessors from the toil and death of many young workers in the 1800s.

In such factories six- and seven-year-olds were working 14 to 18 hours a day and were kept awake by vicious beatings. If they fell asleep they fell into the moving machinery and were crushed to death or horribly mutilated for life.

They usually slept in a shed by the factory in filthy and overcrowded conditions only leaving it to go back on to the shift.

Many of the children who were too young to work in factories were sent to work in the mines. At the age of four or five they were employed in operating the ventilating doors of the pits, where they remained in total darkness for 16 hours a day.

Those who were a little older crawled on all fours through the tunnels harnessed to trucks of coal. Women were also forced to do this.

Small boys were used by chimney sweeps to go up the chimneys. If they hesitated fires were lit under them. So that they were thin enough to go up the chimney they were literally starved. Fatal accidents were frequent.

Due to the conditions in which these children were working and living in they were growing up to be physical wrecks.

From an examination of these conditions we can see that the capitalists of today acquired their profits and their big businesses with the deaths of the children and adult workers of yesterday.

Marion Kavanagh,
Thornton Heath YS.

bombing of Hiroshima was applauded by King Street, which went on to call for the bomb to be used again. That is Stalinism.

Members of the Young Communist League—mostly recruited from around the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—should check for themselves their Party's record.

More important, they should understand the reasons why it has this kind of record and how this complements the current phase of phoney humanitarianism.

Then they might get nearer to understanding the real policies to secure peace and no more Hiroshimas.

T.S.
North London.

Scottish Nationalism

MAY I reply to Roderick McVeigh's letter which appeared in the April edition of Keep Left.

First of all I must make it quite clear that McVeigh has never been a member of the Edinburgh branch of the Young Socialists. He was a former member of the now defunct North Edinburgh branch of the Labour Party Young Socialists.

His suggestion that Scottish nationalism is apolitical is, of course, nonsense. Its sudden rise in strength during the past few months is due to the pressure of economic crises which are bearing down on Scotland's middle class, i.e., small farmers, shop keepers, professions and businessmen.

This social stratum is reflected in the Scottish National Party (SNP), the main nationalist grouping.

The SNP stands for Scottish bosses—in spite of the fact that most of Scotland's industry is owned by English and American capitalists—and as such holds no future for Scottish workers.

I do not deny that the SNP is having some measure of success recruiting Scottish workers.

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Paper of the American Committee for the Fourth International
Room 8, 243 E.10. St. NYC 10003, USA.

What should be remembered is the bankruptcy of the Labour and Communist policies which made this inevitable. It is no surprise then that the nationalists have captured much of the protest vote in recent elections.

To go along with this tendency, as McVeigh suggests, would mean political suicide for the entire British working class.

We in the Young Socialists believe the central political problem at the present time is the fight against the Wilson leadership for real socialist policies and this, Comrade McVeigh, can only be done by the British working class, united with all other sections no matter what their nationality.

The important thing is of course to build the Young Socialists into a mass movement which unites young and adult workers—this, let us face it, means hard work by us all.

Are you ready, Comrade McVeigh?

Robert Boyd,
Edinburgh YS.

On the Lump

I WORK in a village outside Bristol. I live in Bristol and travel 10 miles to work and back. I have to travel that far because there is nothing in Bristol.

Work starts at 8 a.m. I work on the lump and I am paid roughly on how much I do. I work on the shovel (navvy), I have to work really hard for my wages, especially on Friday.

The type of work I do is the dirty work on the site digging trenches and working on footings (at the base of the house). I dig and turn gardens for houses that have just been finished and also unload wagons that come with materials like timber, bricks, tiles, etc.

The first thing I do in the morning is grab the tool of my trade . . . the shovel. I go to the top of the site and do the back-fill footings and get the hard core (brick halves, stones, rubbish) ready for concreting.

After that I usually take my break, ten minutes. If no more footings are to be done at this time then I dig a garden (clay) to level it out.

Then it takes four or five dumper loads to spread the top soil over the garden and believe me it is not the tea-boy job that people think it is. We have half an hour for dinner and after that about 15 yards of concrete arrives for us to concrete the footings (30 tons).

There are also odd jobs such as putting up fences, picking up scaffolding and clearing up the site.

If it rains hard the boss sends you home and you lose your pay so you try to work through. Working in a drizzle is harmful to anyone's health.

When it is very cold there is a lot of danger because your hands go numb and you are likely to drop things. When it is warm and dry you get dust in your eyes and mouth.

As for the future, working on the lump is a dead-end job. There is no advancement on the lump. In a time of credit squeeze they can get rid of you any time, without notice, as soon as you stop making profits for them.

Your only sense of accom-

plishment is when you get your wage packet. You know you probably could not afford to live in the house you have just built and you get no credit for having built it—even though without the labourers it would not be there.

Another thing is that you cannot belong to a union when you are on the lump, so there cannot be unity with other workers.

Also it is not fair that a man with all the experience in the world who has forgotten more than I shall ever know is earning less than I am, just because a young kid is more profitable to the boss.

The only answer for building workers who are not on the lump is to join their union and fight for unity with all others. And the answer for young workers on the lump is to join the Young Socialists and fight for nationalization.

Ken Huygens,
Bristol YS.

Week-end school

I WENT to the week-end school on April 15 and 16 organized by the Yorkshire Young Socialists.

The Saturday afternoon session dealt with the general nature of capitalism and showed how it could only be destroyed through the struggle of the working class.

On Saturday morning we broke into discussion groups to consider the topics 'What are the obstacles to socialism?', 'Is a socialist revolution in Britain possible?' and many important questions came up such as:

- How can we guarantee that a revolution will not lead to another Stalin?

- Is the British working class too well off to ever take revolutionary action?

- Is it possible to achieve socialism through constitutional or peaceful means?

- Is Britain too dependent on the United States to be able to have a revolution independently?

- Is it possible to approach the working class with a revolutionary line when most of them are against revolutionary ideas?

All these questions, many of them coming from people new to the Young Socialists, were fully discussed and the main conclusion was that the over-riding need was the building of a revolutionary alternative to the present leaders of the working class whose only role is to keep them from realizing power and the true way ahead.

The school ended with a call for a massive May Day demonstration in London to show the British working class that there is a force that can defeat the wage freeze and capitalism—and that is the Young Socialists.

Tony Short,
Brightside YS (Yorks)

Roderick McVeigh replies on Nationalism

THERE are several points to which I would like to reply on Comrade Spencer's answer to my letter in the February

révoltes

POUR LA CONSTRUCTION DE L'ORGANISATION RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE DE LA JEUNESSE

Annual
Subscription
£1 (post
included)

Keep Left.

I was surprised to read 'Welsh, Scottish and English workers have equal rights and are equally exploited'. I have never heard before that capitalism exploits equally.

If this were the case why are the unemployment figures disproportionately greater in Scotland and Wales than in England? Why is the provincial worker paid less than his counterpart in southern England? Obviously capitalism exploits everyone but the effect is unequal.

This is precisely the reason why the resurrection of nationalism has appeared in Scotland and Wales.

The whole question of nationalism evokes the original polemic between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin over the question of Polish nationalism. Luxemburg held that in the era of imperialism it was not economically feasible for Poland to develop a nationalist movement, and, with the development of socialism, unnecessary.

'Lenin insisted'—to quote Trotsky—'that imperialism did not reign similarly or equally in all countries, regions and spheres of life; that the heritage of the past represented and accumulation and interpenetration of various historical epochs; that although monopolistic capitalism towers above everything, it does not supersede everything; that, notwithstanding the domination of imperialism, the numerous national problems retained their full force and that, contingent upon the internal and world conjunctures. Poland might become independent even in the epoch of imperialism.'

This prognosis applies to a great degree in Scotland and Wales, where it is further intensified by absentee landlords and an accent on the heavy industries, in which is the first sector of the working class to feel the crisis of capitalism.

I wrote 'Scottish Nationalism is apolitical'. By this I meant the national feeling is not politically directed. If the nationalist parties were to adopt even a few radical phrases they could sweep the board in the next general election, but as Comrade Spencer says, the leaders of the nationalist party come 'from the middle class and from reactionary mystics' who are so stupid that they cannot realize this.

But it is important to remember that it was the working class that voted for the nationalists in Pollok and Rhondda West.

'A considerable section of the right wing of these parties is very close to fascism', writes Comrade Spencer; '... a leading exponent of Welsh nationalism was extremely closely connected with Nazism ...'

These statements are sterile; a considerable section of nearly every party, from the left rightwards, is fascist . . . a leading exponent of Scottish nationalism was the first

representative of the Bolshevik Party in Britain. This train of thought gets us nowhere.

Comrade Spencer writes: 'They (the German working class) were handed over bound hand and foot by the betrayal of the Stalinist and social-democratic leaders who refused to unite against the fascists.'

This sounds as though the German workers wanted to unify, but because of some congenital disability in finding their own leadership were unable to.

Trotsky writes in the 'German Catastrophe': 'But perhaps the division in the ranks of the proletariat was the cause for the defeat? Such an explanation is created especially for lazy minds. The unity of the proletariat, as a universal slogan, is a myth. The split begins with the political awakening of the proletariat, and constitutes the mechanics of its growth.'

The need in Germany was for an armed Communist vanguard to intensify the class struggle, and give leadership to the rest of the workers and to force the social democrats to take an active part in the revolution. This is what Trotsky meant by a United Workers' Front.

'The German working class never accepted Nazism . . .' With the suicidal invigoration of capitalism under the fascists the workers received an improvement in living conditions, and their revolutionary zeal waned.

As socialists, we must show that only when a system which subordinates 'economic feasibility' to the happiness of a region is established will nationalism cease to be that dirty word it is when used in the context of a capitalist society.

Roderick McVeigh,
Edinburgh.

Reply to R. McVeigh from John Spencer

IN replying to Comrade McVeigh I shall begin by repeating what I said in my reply to his previous letter.

I wrote: '... three centuries of capitalism have turned Britain into a single economic unit. The national question in Wales was resolved in the Middle Ages, whilst any possibility of Scotland developing independently from England was ended with the defeat of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion.'

Of course the development of British capitalism has produced uniformity, but the picture of England as a paradise compared with Wales and Scotland is manifest nonsense.

There are parts of England where unemployment is disproportionately high, but Comrade McVeigh is presumably not advocating 'Durham Nationalism'.

Poland was another question entirely. There the Poles had to fight against

the complete suppression of their nationality by the Tsarist regime. In Scotland nationalism is a modern creation with its origins in the 19th century—literary movements such as that around Sir Walter Scott.

The reason for the resurrection of Scottish nationalism, contrary to what Comrade McVeigh says, is not the unevenness of the effects of capitalist development. The Scottish and Welsh nationalists with their blanket condemnation of everything English, derive their ideas from a middle class which hopes in this way to relieve the pressure of monopoly capitalism.

This explains the close connection of Scottish nationalism with the Liberal Party. This 'solution' to capitalism's crisis is wholly and totally reactionary. It is in any case utterly incapable of being realized. Nationalism, then, has the effect of acting as a 'radical' diversion which can keep the working class from a struggle against its chief enemy—the employing class.

This is the point that Comrade McVeigh consistently avoids mentioning. His anxiety to paint Scottish and Welsh nationalism as arising from real national grievances in Scotland and Wales leads him away from the politics of class struggle.

Thus the turn towards nationalism on the part of workers in Pollok and Rhondda is not seen as a dangerous development which can divide and confuse sections of the working class and swing them behind a thoroughly reactionary programme.

Comrade McVeigh raises the point that the chief need in Germany was for an armed Communist vanguard to intensify the class struggle (as though the class struggle was not intense enough already).

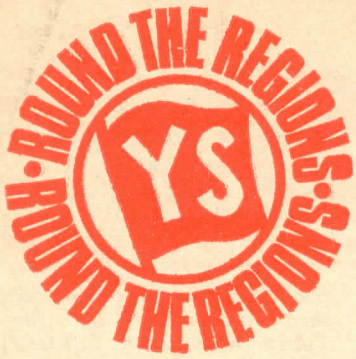
Such a vanguard existed in the powerful German Communist Party. This party was unable to halt fascism not because of a lack of combativeness on the part of its members, but because the policies of its leadership maintained the division between social democratic and Communist workers without striving to involve them in a common struggle against the capitalist enemy.

Comrade McVeigh would like to lay part of the blame on the working class for the rise of Nazism.

A Communist Party cannot be built on the basis of conceding to this or that episodic backwardness within the working class. Just because some workers vote for the Scottish Nationalist Party this does not mean that we should make nationalism a part of our programme.

Only in a class struggle against diversionary movements can the working class achieve its main task of overthrowing capitalism and establishing its own rule.

John Spencer, Putney.



South East Young Socialists go into action

Send us news of your Young Socialist Branch. We shall be pleased to print it.

ON Wednesday, March 1, the South East London Federation of Young Socialists opened a youth club with the idea of recruiting young workers into the Young Socialists.

We persuaded a group—The Granville Teens—to play at the opening night of the club, which was a great success. A large number of young people who came joined the local Young Socialist branches and came to the Morecambe Conference in April.

Now the youth club has been going for over two months and

all the young people who come along have built it up.

Our most ambitious project so far is a torchlight march through the big housing estates near the youth club.

R. L. Gore,
South East London Federation.

These photographs show the South East Young Socialists in action.

Opposite; the torchlight march; Below; YS members at the youth club put up posters advertising the May Day demonstration; and the club's popular group.



End of season matches

by our Football Correspondent

Exeter 1 Bristol 10

IN THE first match between these two teams Bristol proved to be the superior side.

From the kick off Bristol began to move the ball well and it was no surprise when Trevor Hiscox put them into the lead. George Stewart's well placed header put the team two up a few minutes later.

The game work did not all belong to Bristol however. Exeter came back strongly in

the second half and scored a goal with a brilliant shot which rocketed in off the crossbar.

Bristol hit back immediately with another goal from Woodland following good work by Colin Price and Nigel Heathram. Bruno Toffolo scored Bristol's ninth goal.

Woodland scored his fourth goal and Bristol's tenth but late attempts to score by Bristol's Stewart and Mathias were foiled.

On April 24 Young Socialists from the South West and Central Middlesex Federations held a highly successful knock-out competition in Hanwell Community Centre.

There were nine teams competing, not only from local YS branches but also from engineering factories—Coopers in Slough, AEC, Southall; and AEI, Willesden.

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Coopers 'B'	3	3	0	0	13	6	6
A.E.I.	3	2	0	1	23	8	4
Acton 'A'	2	1	1	0	8	6	3
Shepherds Bush	2	1	0	1	9	7	2
Northolt	2	1	0	1	4	5	2
Coopers 'A'	2	0	1	0	6	10	1
Acton 'B'	1	0	0	1	2	3	0
Southall	2	0	0	2	4	12	0
A.E.C.	1	0	0	1	1	13	0

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Organisation..... Name.....

Address

No. of copies of KEEP LEFT required regularly

(Bulk orders: 4d. per copy, post free. Annual subscription: 6s. 6d.)

Send to: A. Jennings, 186a Clapham High Street, S.W.4



North West YS march against rent increases

IN WIGAN about a month ago it was announced by the Labour-controlled council that in April the rents would increase by 7s. This increase was imposed by the banks because of a higher interest rate.

Wigan has never had bad unemployment since the 1930s, but now one of the biggest mills in Wigan, Eckersleys, which is

owned by Kieller International, is closing down, leaving 1,350 people jobless.

The Manchester Federation of Young Socialists decided to hold a march through Wigan with YS members from Bolton, Liverpool, Manchester and Wigan.

Each branch carried posters and banners with slogans deal-

ing with the wage freeze, rent increases and sackings.

The YS insisted that the only solution to these problems was to nationalize the banks and mills.

The march proceeded through the town watched by shoppers and passers by.