

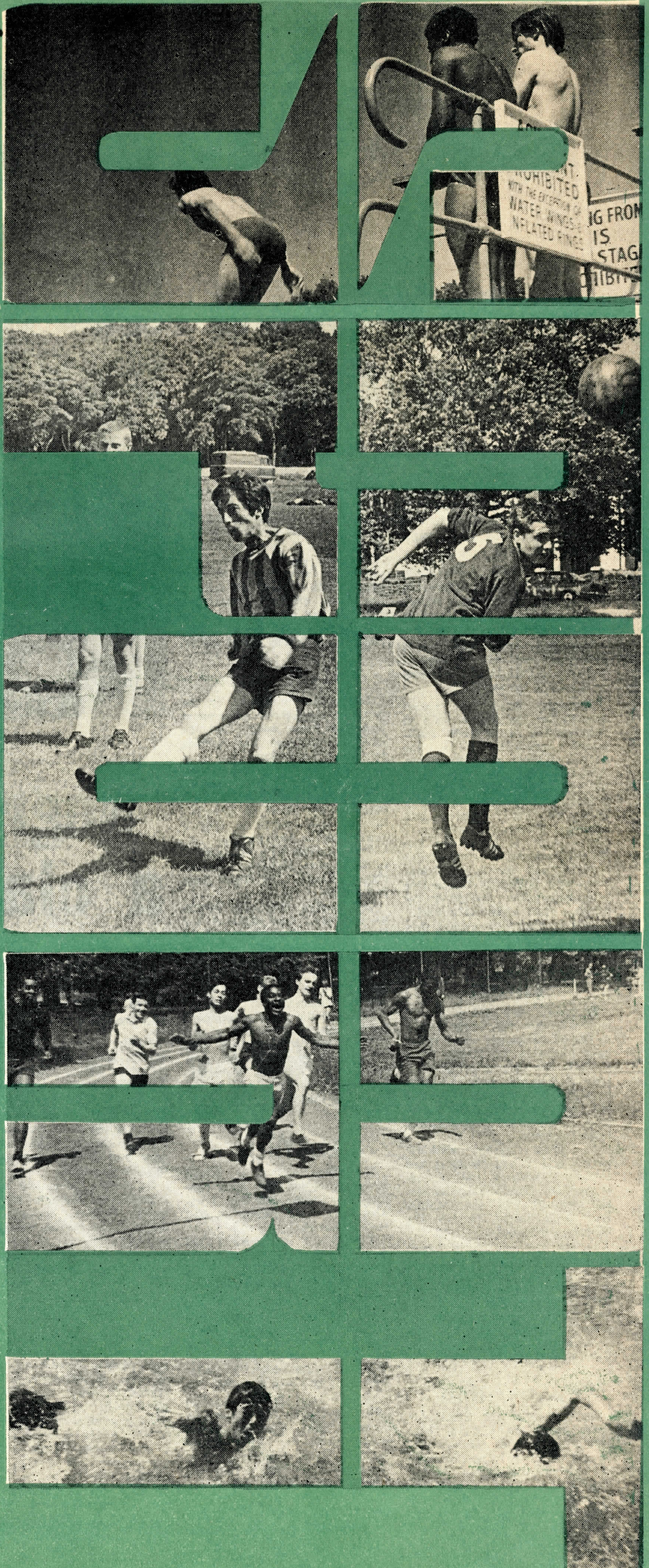
Keep

LEFT

Young Socialists



It's a sporting life with the



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WORLD NEWS

For the defence of the Arab revolution

by *Charlie Pottins*

ONCE again thousands of Arab workers and peasants have fled from their towns and villages as an Israeli army advanced.

For the Arabs of Palestine, victims of Zionist colonialism, the Israeli victory has meant more hardship, homelessness and misery.

Meanwhile Israeli rulers were joined in their victory celebrations by capitalists and reactionaries around the world.

Amongst those who voiced support for the Jewish state in this conflict were such traditional anti-Semites as the French fascists and the South African government. They knew that the victory of Israel was a victory for imperialism and a blow to the workers and oppressed peoples everywhere.

The state of Israel and the Zionist movement which organizes support for it are financially and politically inseparable from imperialism, the system by which a tight group of powerful monopoly capitalists exploit millions of workers all over the world.

Threat

In recent years the threat of nationalization has come nearer to the oil companies which make huge profits in the Middle East. In Syria the government actually took temporary nationalization measures last December to force the British-owned Iraq Petroleum Corporation to pay higher transit charges.

In South Arabia workers' strikes and armed struggles are aimed at clearing out British occupation. Thus the revolutionary potential in the Middle East is a threat to US big business particularly.

In the last two years Israeli government officials have been in and out of London and Washington, having confidential talks with the British and US ministers. It was after one of these meetings that the US government began supplying Israel with Skyhawk bombers.

Provocation

In April this year Israeli Air Force planes made flights over Damascus as a provocation. Israeli troops were reported massing on the Syrian border. CIA agents were arrested in Syria after being involved in a plot to overthrow the government.

Remembering the working-class opposition to the Suez aggression the imperialists did not want to directly intervene in the Middle East if they could avoid it. Instead they whipped up a campaign through the international press building up support for Israel through suggestions that the war was a continuation of the struggle against anti-Jewish persecution under Hitler.

'Left' aid

Imperialism is helped by the 'lefts' in the Labour government who have been saying that the Israeli government has nothing to do with imperialism.

As for the British Communist Party, its position was based on the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy to get closer to imperialism. It was unable to take a stand with the Arab peoples.

Compare this with the policies of the Young Socialists who declared 'Hands off the Arab Revolution'.

We wanted the Arab people to win. Had they defeated the State of Israel it would have been a heavy blow to US imperialism. The next step would have been the driving out of British forces from Aden and the Persian Gulf.

Why did the Arab government lose? Israel had economic and military aid from Britain and the US. In particular this gave superior air strength. Nevertheless what really decided the issue was the question of leadership.

Conflicts

The imperialist and Israeli governments had their inner conflicts and doubts but they knew what they were aiming at, and were prepared.

The Soviet government has spent the last couple of years talking as if everything can be settled at the conference table.

Kremlin representatives urged Nasser to compromise with British imperialism over South Arabia, and to compromise with the US-controlled International Monetary Fund over the running of Egypt's own economy.

When the Syrian leaders called on Nasser for support he declared that Egyptian forces would block the Tiran Straits to ships flying the Israeli flag. He must have known that the cargoes going in and out of the port Eilat were not carried on Israeli ships anyway. So it was

Continued page 5 column 1 →



National Guardsmen patrol the streets with a machine gun.

Negro people fight a class war in U.S.

by *Nick Peck*

THE STREETS of the United States are again the scene of bloody battles between Negro youth, police and the troops.

From Tampa, Florida, to Watts, Los Angeles, from Cincinnati, Ohio, Montgomery, Alabama, Negro workers and youth are declaring war on a system that denies them jobs, keeps down their wages, sends them as cannon fodder to Vietnam and forces them to live in slum ghettos.

In Boston, some 30 women, representing 'Mothers for Adequate Welfare', locked themselves in the Boston Welfare Department, refusing to leave until they had seen the Welfare Director to make their complaints.

VIOLENCE

The police were called to remove them and the violence they used against the women sparked off the insurrectionary moves echoed in other cities throughout the US.

As in previous years the hatred of the Negro workers took on a definite class form; a Negro storekeeper had a sign across his shop window saying 'Caution Please. I am Your Blood Brother' but his window was smashed

along with the rest and the Negroes grabbed the things usually denied to them because of their meagre earnings.

In Montgomery, National Guardsmen with carbines and fixed bayonets stopped a demonstration protesting against the arrest of Stokely Carmichael, leader of the 'Black Power' movement—and this was a march to which the police commissioner agreed.

ARRESTS

Even the thousands of arrests have not crushed the militancy of the Negroes. In Cincinnati, after 12 men had been sentenced to one year in the workhouse and fined 500 dollars for participation in a demonstration, they staged another demonstration inside the courtroom.

The courthouse was soon swarming with police carrying shotguns and National Guardsmen with rifles and bayonets.

These defenders of 'order' bundled the prisoners into the workhouse, a building which has received few repairs since it was built—during the American Civil War. But the prisoners immediately started a riot there which gained the support of the rest

of the prisoners. It was later crushed by the National Guard using tear gas.

These are just the beginnings of what is going to be another violent summer in which the Negro people will pit their strength against the combined forces of the police and the National Guard in attempt to gain a decent living.

DEMAGOGUES

Such a struggle cannot succeed, however, as long as it remains tied to the Bible-thumpers like Martin Luther King and demagogues like Stokely Carmichael.

Only a leadership which unites the Negro workers' struggle with that of the white workers against the Johnson government and American capitalism can possibly realize the aims of those who live in the ghettos of the United States.

To pose it as a question of American capitalism handing over higher wages, decent houses and jobs as part of a bargain is to lead the Negro struggle into the blind alley of illusions and idealism.

In Tampa, every available police reserve man was brought in with dogs and coshes along with the National Guard when the police were unable to 'restore order'.

Vicious police repressions in W. Berlin

by The Editor



Above: Pictures taken during the police attack on the students outside the West Berlin Opera House. Below: Benno Ohnesorg already dying from a bullet wound is taken to hospital.



BENNO OHNESORG, a young German student was kicked and beaten and then shot through the head by police assassins during a demonstration against the Shah of Persia's visit to Berlin in June.

The visit of the Shah, who rules over a country where there is no political freedom and where the most brutal repressions exist, prompted large student demonstration all over Germany.

It was on one such demonstration, whilst the Shah and his wife were paying a visit to the Berlin Opera, accompanied by members of the Persian Secret Service, that the police carried out a massive onslaught against the students.

Armed with heavy truceons, the police began their attack as part of a pre-arranged plan, as soon as the Shah had entered the Opera House. At one stage, in order to provoke the situation, it was announced that a policeman had been 'killed'. This was later said to be a 'misunderstanding' by Police Chief Dunsing.

However, it is understood that the police, on hearing the news of a dead officer, proceeded to take matters into their own hands and that in an act of self-justice Benno Ohnesorg was shot. An autopsy revealed that he had been severely beaten up and shot in the back of the head.

EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT

An eye-witness account of the attack tells of how girl students were seen running away from the police with blood streaming from their faces, only to be caught by the police and beaten again.

Philosophy student Ulrike Kruger was found to have bruised kidneys when taken to the West End hospital.

Students who tried to lift their unconscious friends out of the crowd and take them away for treatment were themselves attacked, and in some cases beaten unconscious.

Hans Rudeger Minow, who was seized by six policemen and dragged to a police van, says he heard the police use expressions 'Jewish swine' and 'Communist swine'.

An order 'Plan Fox-Chase' was given to the police from one of the van radios. Fire hoses were then turned on the students.

Two doctors who tried to help the wounded students were sent away by the police. One private hospital was refused permission to treat the injured.

It is still not known exactly how many died as a result of the police attack. German students believe that there are some who died later in hospital but no one knows for sure. Certainly there were many who received serious injury.

From information given in the press it is obvious that the provocations started in the morning of the Shah's visit when, outside Berlin Town Hall, Persian 'supporters of the Shah' were allowed to lash out at demonstrators and attack them with metal bars with the police simply looking on.

That such a vicious attack on the part of the police should take place in Berlin is a true reflection of the boiling situation which exists in Germany today.

Very soon Germany will resemble a police state. It is therefore no accident that the West Berlin police should choose the Shah of Persia's visit to give the students, who have become more and more opposed to the present government, a taste of capitalist repression.

Keep Left and the Young Socialists of Britain recognize the murder of Benno Ohnesorg as an act on the part of capitalism to suppress the movement of youth against imperialism. Our deepest sympathies go to his family and his friends.

But above all we renew our pledge to fight for the building of an international youth movement which will, with the support of our comrades in Germany and all over the world, smash capitalism and establish socialism.

The day the bottom fell out of YCL—Liberal Unity

Keep Left Reporter

In the Liberal 'News Commentary' of May 28, Young Liberals who attended the recent National Congress of the Young Communist League delivered a highly critical report of the proceedings.

'The greatest sin in the Communist Party, it was perfectly clear,' they wrote, 'was to have any individual ideas contrary to the NC, especially if one wanted to voice them. When a delegate did attempt to oppose the NC's line, he was howled down from the platform by the Congress Chairman using a microphone...'

'In a frenzied attempt to appear democratic, the YCL National Committee (NC) managed to create more contempt for their organization than admiration.

'By drafting the five policy statements to be debated, the NC manages to effectively control the debates. Further by covering in broad policy statements almost everything concerned with the topic, they provide a successful method of eliminating branch resolutions, because as the NC points out, they have already been covered...'

'A special committee vetted branch nominations for the 40 strong National Committee, and

"comrades" who have said wrong things, or whose interpretation of Marx happens to be less compromising than is currently in vogue in communist circles, failed to get officially approved, and pressure was clearly exerted for them to withdraw...'

'The Report of Work revealed that 26 comrades had been expelled and 11 suspended under the "Actions Harmful to the League" Rule...'

Here we see how a Young Communist League Conference, which could have been of great assistance to socialist youth in Britain, was in fact dragged in the mud by a clique of old Stalinist leaders. They 'fixed' debates, they rigged the elections and then they expelled and disciplined their opponents.

In short, they discredited the name of communism and opened the door for pro-capitalist elements such as the Young Liberals to attack communism, not on its theoretical and practical merits, but on the basis of the bureaucratic policies of the Stalinists.

It must be understood that every facility was provided by the Young Communist League's Stalinist leadership to help the Young Liberals attack communism.

Under the guise of 'left unity' they have paraded these pitiable specimens in one demonstration after another. They have provided generous platforms for a

handful of Liberal loudmouths who in fact hate communism and are only concerned with providing a demagogic 'left' front to win over members for the Liberals.

The Liberals are, in fact, taking advantage of a position which has been placed at their disposal by the YCL leaders.

These leaders have opened the YCL to a very dangerous position. Not only have they discredited communism, but they have allowed its bitterest capitalist enemies to attack it without even having the strength to reply.

'Challenge', the monthly organ of the YCL, has not issued the slightest reply to these criticisms.

The Young Liberals, on the other hand, say that left unity 'is the biggest hoax in British politics'. That is their conclusion from the YCL Congress.

Under the YCL Constitution covering 'Actions Harmful to the League', surely it is now opportune to charge the present YCL leaders, especially the gang of full-time layabouts in King Street, under this rule.

The Young Socialists believe that there are many sincere and devoted socialists in the Young Communist League. We have always been prepared to establish the closest possible left unity in action with them. The lesson to be learned is to break completely from the Young Liberals and turn towards the Young Socialists.

ALL LONDON YOUNG SOCIALISTS

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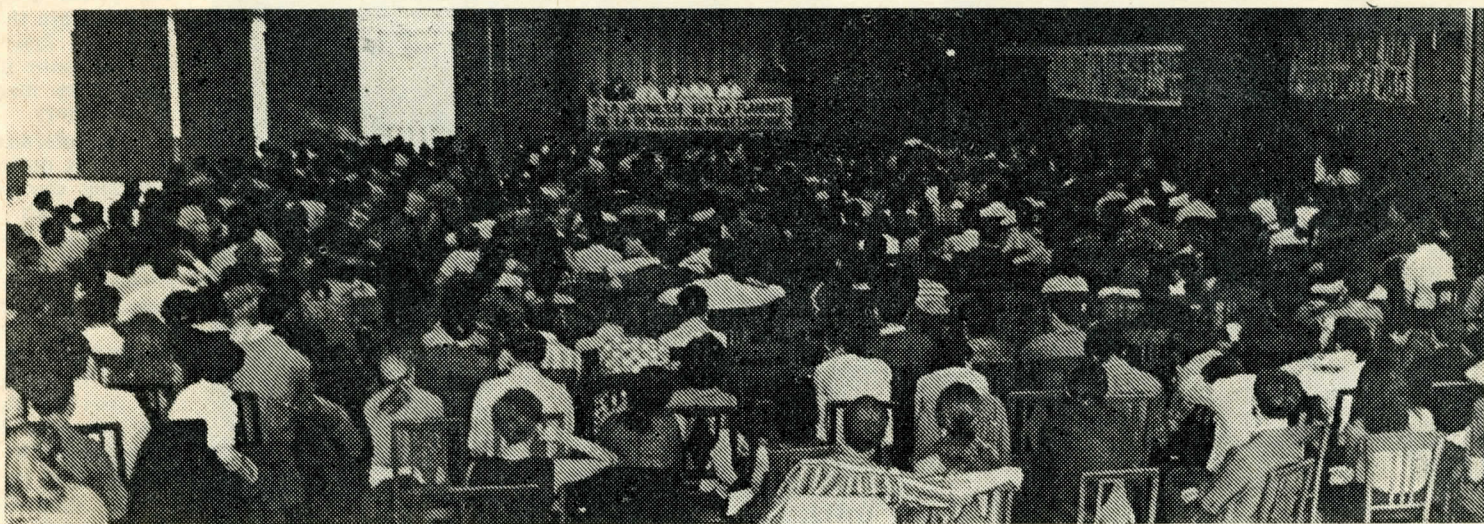
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REVOLTES NATIONAL ASSEMBLY



THE Young Socialists' sister organization in France, Révoltes, held a National Assembly on June 24 which was attended by 1,000 young people.

Conditions faced by young people in France are becoming increasingly bad—a point which was repeatedly made by speakers from the platform. Many of the worst attacks against the working class in the country are being brought about by the Fouchet Reform—a plan to prepare for increased exploitation by the French capitalist class.

No section of the working-class youth in France has escaped this attack and for this reason there was a wide representation of both students from Universities and technical colleges, and young workers and trade unionists at the Assembly.

Claude Chisseray, the main speaker, made a call to all youth movements and trade unions to

organize together against the Fouchet Reform. He proposed a central demonstration in Paris against the attacks of the Gaullist government.

A motion was proposed to the Assembly for the setting up of a committee which would begin to campaign in factories, schools and colleges in France around the following programme:

- Down with de Gaulle's special powers.
- Down with the Fouchet Plan.
- Down with the Fifth Plan.
- Down with the law on professional training.
- For security of employment.
- Equal work, equal pay.
- Fight for the central demonstration.

A resolution calling for participation in the International Assembly of Socialist Youth in Britain from July 29 to August 5 was also proposed.

Included in the resolution was a section on the Middle East which stated that Israel was an agent of imperialism.

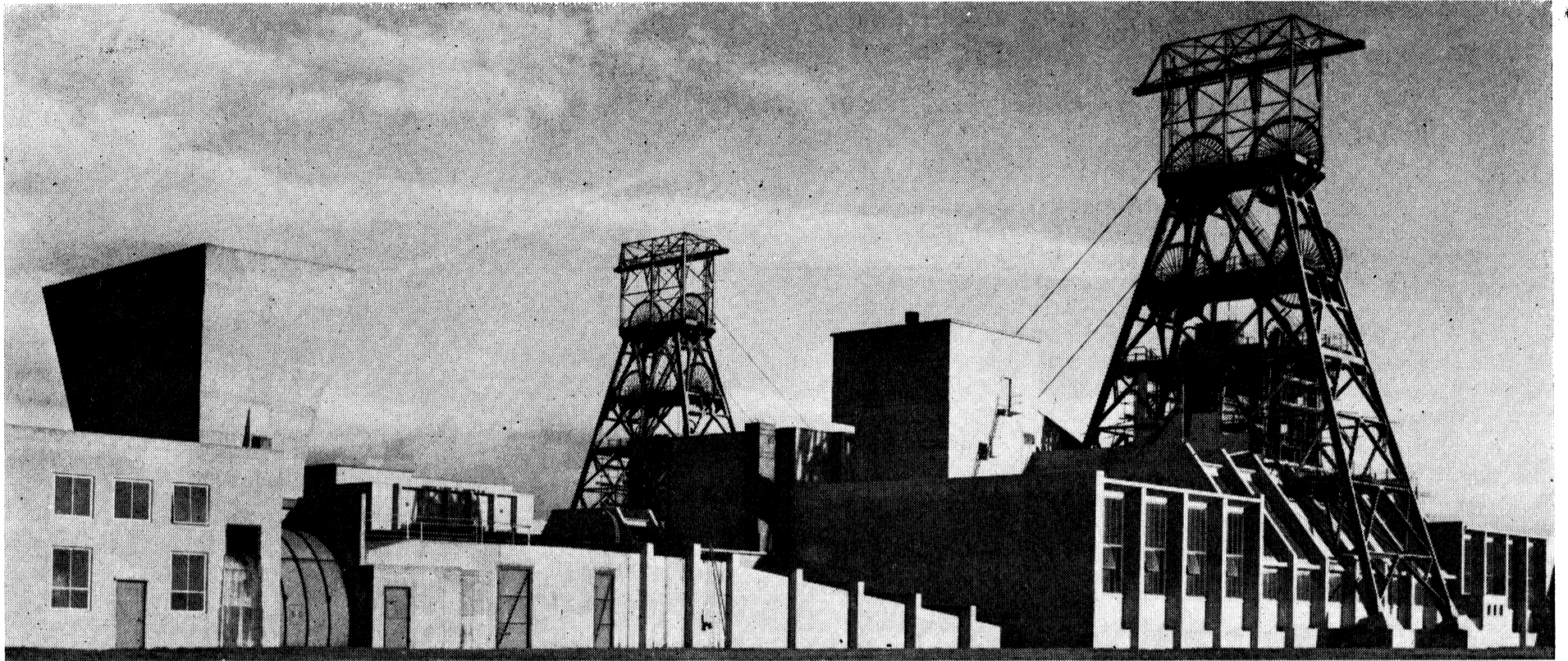
The duty of revolutionaries was to work for revolution and the destruction of the bourgeois states in Israel and in the Near and Middle East countries.

The solution to the problem of nationalities in that part of the world was in the fight for the Federation of Socialist States.

Greetings were brought to the Assembly from Belgium and Germany.

In addition to representatives from Révoltes branches throughout the whole of the country there were delegates from branches of the Young Communists at the Assembly who attended in the face of fierce pressure from the Communist Party leadership.

MY JOB MINER B



No Fair Deal for the Miner

by Dave Leaf

AS A YOUNG miner I work in an industry which is one of the chief victims of Labour's economic policies over the last two years.

The miners have always been one of the most class-conscious sections of the working class. For many years they have given loyal support to Labour as an alternative to the Tories. When Wilson was elected in October 1964 many miners felt that at last they would get a fair deal from the government after 13 years under the Tories.

In fact our hopes have been cruelly crushed. The industry has continued to decline and Labour has speeded up pit closures in order to make the industry 'efficient' and cut out the 'losses' which have been made over the last few years.

But these 'losses' only arise because we are forced to make massive interest payments to the capitalist class for money borrowed to modernize the industry since 1956 when the mechanization drive got under

way.

Last year alone over £25 million was given over to these parasites in the City of London which more than wiped out the year's surplus of £25 million and in fact turned it into a loss.

This gave the capitalist class the opportunity once more to attack the miner as a lazy idler who would never work a full week and who was ruining the industry.

Yet everybody knows that mining is one of the most dirty and dangerous occupations in the world where accidents remain high and many miners end their days with pneumoconiosis and other killer lung diseases.

This is why every miner vows that his son will never go down the pit, despite the fact that many of them, through lack of alternative jobs in the mining areas, are forced into the industry against their wishes.

Mechanization has not made the young miners' job any easier.

Under the government's drive for 'efficiency', and with the threat of closure hanging over his head, the miner has been forced to work harder and harder.

Now the machine sets the pace for work which the miner has to keep up with.

Another result of mechanization has been the increase in supervision and discipline in the pits. Now the real function of the deputy is not to look after safety but to chase production.

Mechanization has also meant that face jobs are now more scarce for the young miner. With the decline of the industry there are in any case fewer jobs available.

But mechanization has meant that men are staying on face jobs longer than they did in the 'pick and shovel' days. This means that a young miner often has to hang around longer on some low-paid job waiting for a high-paid face job. As a result there are fewer and fewer young school-leavers entering the industry.

The apprentices' position also brings out the relationship of nationalized industries to the rest of the capitalist economy.

Many apprentices get their training from the Coal Board where conditions are often better than in private industry.

Once trained as mechanics or

electricians they leave the industry at 21 to work for private firms where wages are often much higher. In other words the nationalized industry pays for the training of skilled men for private enterprise.

The leaders in our union, the National Union of Mineworkers, have put up no fight for the miner. They have allowed this government to get away with murder.

Nor have the Stalinists in the union fought. Some of them have, in fact, argued for an incomes policy and told miners they must accept pit closures.

There has been no campaign from any of these 'leaders' to demand that all pit closures stop; that all interest payments be suspended, that the industry be re-organized and that all displaced miners be found alternative jobs which involve no loss of pay.

It is not surprising that with this leadership most young miners fail to attend their union branches and only go when involved in a dispute.

What is required is the setting up of active young miners' committees at each branch, committees which can deal with young

miners' problems: safety, health, wages and training questions.

But these problems cannot be solved merely at union level. All the questions in the industry: especially closures and wages, are political questions. They can only be tackled as part of a fight in the working class as a whole against the Labour government's policies.

This is where the YS has a vital role to play. It is through the YS that young miners can be organized around a political programme to unite them with the rest of the working class.

Opportunities in most mining areas are extremely favourable. Pit villages are notorious for their lack of facilities and their isolation from big centres of entertainment. YS branches in these villages must be based on a social as well as political programme.

In this way the Young Socialists can lead a fight amongst young miners—who form a section of the working class with perhaps the strongest traditions of militancy and struggle—to unite them with young workers from all other industries in a fight for a socialist society.

From page 2

For the defence of the Arab revolution

just a show of military strength to keep up his own political standing. The initiative was left in the hands of the Israelis.

Egypt was caught off guard because Nasser has never been more than a bourgeois nationalist, thinking only in terms of manoeuvres, limited advances and bargaining, never of a complete struggle against imperialism.

This was shown also by his

readiness to make a treaty with such an unreliable ally as Hussein of Jordan, who had to enter the war because of the growth of popular feeling amongst the Arab masses.

Whatever forces were in Jordan were in the best position to attack Israel, but Hussein was the first to agree to the ceasefire, giving the Israelis real security to continue the advance into Egypt and Syria.

Egypt has now had to withdraw troops from Yemen. There has already been one move to replace Nasser with the pro-American Mohieddin. If the CIA should succeed in removing Nasser or the Syrian leaders and replacing them with its own stooges, then we are likely to witness the kind of massacres of trade unionists and peasants that we saw in Iraq and Indonesia.

The Arab workers and

peasants are not yet defeated however. From Kuwait to Libya oil workers are taking industrial action against the imperialists. In Egypt it was the mass demonstrations of workers which prevented a right-wing takeover. In Palestine young Arabs are preparing resistance.

The Israeli workers also will soon find themselves in struggle against their own government because Dayan and his asso-

ciates are pledged to attack trade unionism.

A Marxist revolutionary leadership is the only answer in the Middle East, one which can take the Arab revolution forward and smash imperialism's hold.

Johnson, Wilson and the Israeli government may be celebrating the victory but the Young Socialists in unity with youth from all over the world are building the international leadership which will defeat

Welcome to the International Assembly



The International Youth Assembly represents a great step forward for young people in all parts of the world. To bring together hundreds of Young Socialists, many from distant countries, in order to discuss for a whole week the problems facing youth, is a tribute to the increasing strength of the forces organized around the International Committee of the Fourth International. It is a terrific blow against all those revisionists such as the Pabloites and state capitalists who concentrate their attack against the building of the revolutionary party.

Keep Left extends a specially warm fraternal welcome to the overseas delegations. Their activities over the past year, and especially since the Liege demonstration on October 15, have strengthened considerably the work of the Young Socialists. We no longer fight alone. Our youth movement is international. We are, in fact, the only socialist youth movement which is international. This is a real achievement.

The Young Socialists were the only organization in Britain to pioneer the struggle against the betrayal of the Labour Government of Harold Wilson. The Young Socialists, when they were part of the Labour Party, won outright majorities for socialist policies at the Annual Conference of 1963 and 1964.

On the eve of the General Election in October 1964 we were expelled. Keep Left, as a youth paper, was proscribed by the Labour Party in May 1962. We believe our struggle against bureaucracy has made a contribution to the activities of young people in other countries.

Now the working class, and in particular the youth, face new attacks by this Labour Government. Unemployment is on the increase. By October it may well be in the region of 600,000. The cost of living has gone up and up. There are no homes for young people who wish to get married. Landlords charge what they like for slumlike flats and rooms. Wages have been frozen for over 12 months. Meanwhile the Government plans to increase basic costs, especially for electricity and gas. These will amount to a real reduction in the purchasing power of wages.

The American war in Vietnam receives the wholehearted support of Wilson. Young Socialists are completely opposed to this war and to the role of the Labour Government.

Over the past 12 months we have been in the forefront of the struggle against Wilson's policies. The International Youth Assembly will greatly assist us in preparing a new stage of that struggle.

We will listen to everything you have to say, because without you the advance to the international socialist future is impossible.

In warmly welcoming you to Britain, we hope you will enjoy your stay here. Let us make it the most important political week of our lives.

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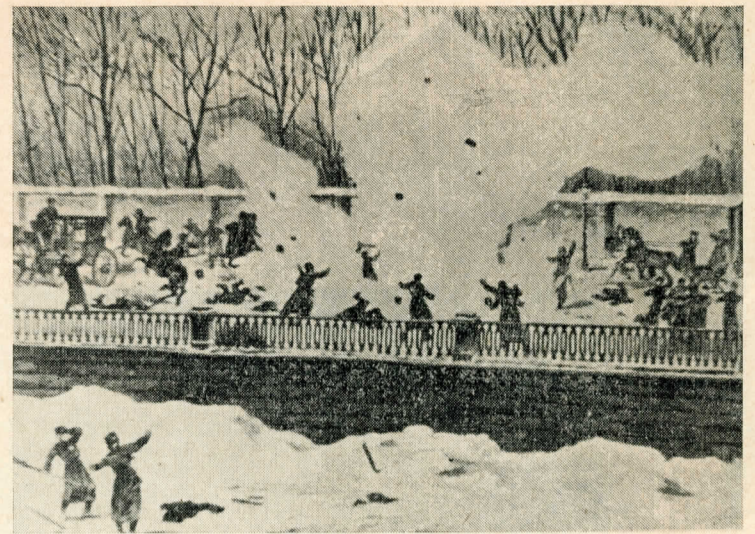
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The History of The



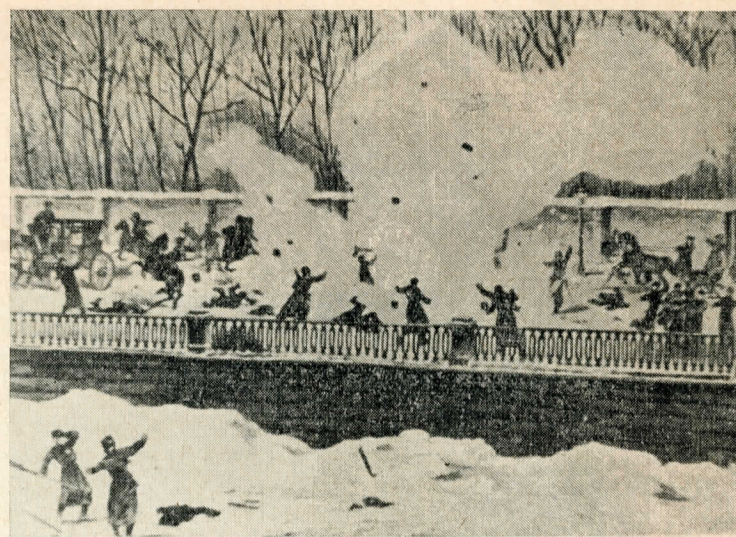
Pictures show the developments of the early Russian political movement and the Tsarist repressions at the end of the 19th Century. Above left: Plekhanov 'father of Russian Marxism' as a young man; Top right: the Narodniks believed in individual acts of terrorism; above: Lenin and the early social democrats.

Opposite Left: armed police search a passer by; Below from left to right: Siberian concentration camp for political exiles; massacre of minority peoples after the annexation of their territory by the Tsar; wagon used to transport dead bodies from the prisons; Russian prison dungeons.



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The first of a series of a

1967 brings the 50th anniversary of the greatest of human history. Fifty years ago this year the Russia. For the first time in human history the exploiters and laid the basis for a society where it would end the exploitation of man by man.

This great event was not an isolated incident. It was a fight for socialism all over the world. It gave a momentum to the working-class movement in the rest of the world. At the Congress of 1917 the Communist International was founded.

The overthrow of capitalism in Russia was a victory for the working class. What had made this revolution possible? What were the lessons to be learned from its progress?

The Russian Revolution arose essentially out of the great crisis into which capitalism internationally had been thrown as a result of the First World War. This was the outcome of the growing struggle for markets and profits among the great powers.

Of these great powers Russia was by far the most backward from the economic point of view.

Because of many historical factors: climatic, geographical and a lack of population, Russian economic development had, in comparison to that achieved in Western Europe, been extremely slow and gradual.

At the same time this backward Russian economy was

nology.

This had two results which were important for the development of the Russian Revolution.

In the first place it meant that the factories which did exist in Russia were usually very large, often amongst the biggest in the world, employing large numbers of workers in huge concentrated units in a few of the leading towns.

Secondly, this influx of capital into Russia led to a rapid growth in the working class at the end of the last and beginning of the present century.

This working class was pulled into the towns straight from the countryside. It was a 'new' working class, freed from many of

system to a chain: each was bound together in finance, etc., as part of a national economic system. The national economic system broke at its weakest point in 1917: Russia.

Or rather we should say that capitalism was broken. The Russian Revolution occurred automatically or inevitably from the economic conditions which have been described above.

The Russian working class was victorious because it was led by a Party, the Bolshevik Party, which, after many years of struggle and preparation, was able to take advantage of the favourable conditions created by the war, seize hold

The History of The Russian Revolution



Pictures show the developments of the early Russian political movement and the Tsarist repressions at the end of the 19th Century. Above left: Plekhanov 'father of Russian Marxism' as a young man; Top right: the Narodniks believed in individual acts of terrorism; above: Lenin and the early social democrats.

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dragged into economic, political and military relationships with other, more advanced capitalist countries on a world scale.

These external pressures had a great impact on internal developments of Russia itself. For example it led to a great increase in the size and functions of the State which was forced to raise an increasing volume of taxation in order to provide an army to compete with the other capitalist powers who were a continual threat to Russia.

The development of Russian economy and society was also contradictory from another point of view. Capitalism developed late in Russia: after it had been established in Europe and North America. In addition, much of the capital in Russia was foreign-owned.

When foreign capital was installed in Russia it was not of the 'primitive' type which had existed during the Industrial Revolution in Britain in the 18th century and early 19th century. It was capital based on the latest developments in science and tech-

the conservative traditions of the older European working class, which had evolved slowly over many decades.

This was the contradiction in a nutshell: 'backward' Russia found itself, on the eve of the First World War, with some of the most 'advanced' industrial units in the world, with a working class which, although numerically small, was concentrated into large numbers in a few decisive centres.

This backward Russia was thrown into conflict in 1914 with capitalist states far more powerfully-equipped from a military and economic point of view to wage warfare on the vast scale required. Thus an enormous strain was placed on the whole of Russian society which in the event proved unbearable.

It was part of the great turmoil and chaos produced by the imperialist war that the Russian working class was able to overthrow Tsardom and establish its own power in society.

Lenin and other Marxists at the time likened the world capitalist

and mobilize the workers' and peasants in a successful struggle for power.

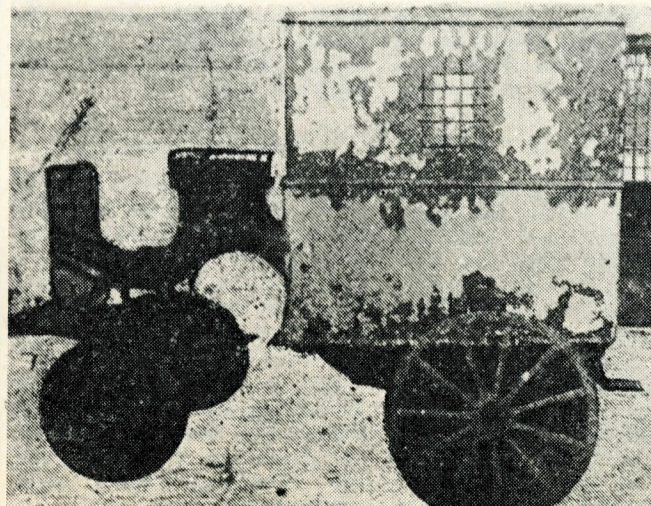
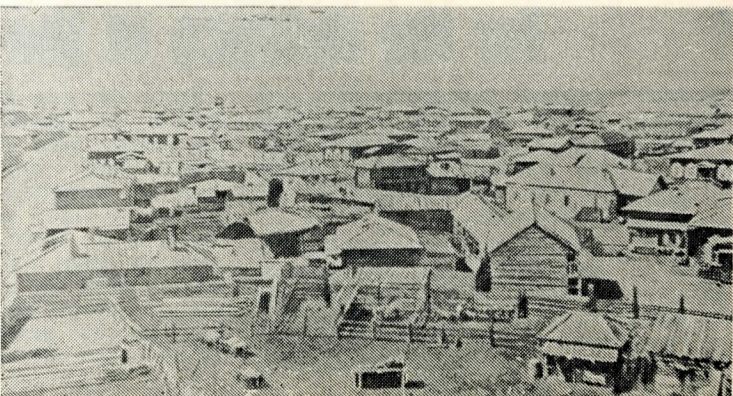
The origins of the Bolshevik Party can in fact be traced to 1898 when the first congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party met.

This Congress, meeting in Minsk, was to lay the basis for the bringing together of the scattered social-democratic groups under a central organization. At the event it was broken up by the police and the delegates were arrested.

It was really at the Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party in Brussels and then in London in the summer of 1903 that Bolshevism was born.

Before we examine the development and development of the Bolshevik Party (the subject of a later article), it is necessary to examine some of the conditions which by this time had been created in the struggle for socialism.

For many years the revolutionary movement against



The first of a series of articles by P. Jeffries

1967 brings the 50th anniversary of the greatest event of this century, if not the whole of human history. Fifty years ago this year the first workers' revolution occurred in Russia. For the first time in human history the exploited masses overthrew their oppressors and laid the basis for a society where it would be possible to abolish classes, to end the exploitation of man by man.

This great event was not an isolated incident. It heralded a new stage in the fight for socialism all over the world. It gave a tremendous impetus to the development of the working-class movement in the rest of the capitalist world. Out of the events of 1917 the Communist International was born.

The overthrow of capitalism in Russia was a gain for the international working class. What had made this revolution possible? Why did it occur in backward Russia? What were the lessons to be learned from its preparation?



The Russian Revolution arose essentially out of the great crisis into which capitalism internationally had been thrown as a result of the First World War. This was the outcome of the growing struggle for markets and profits among the great powers.

Of these great powers Russia was by far the most backward from the economic point of view.

Because of many historical factors: climatic, geographical and a lack of population, Russian economic development had, in comparison to that achieved in Western Europe, been extremely slow and gradual.

At the same time this backward Russian economy was

nology.

This had two results which were important for the development of the Russian Revolution.

In the first place it meant that the factories which did exist in Russia were usually very large, often amongst the biggest in the world, employing large numbers of workers in huge concentrated units in a few of the leading towns.

Secondly, this influx of capital into Russia led to a rapid growth in the working class at the end of the last and beginning of the present century.

This working class was pulled into the towns straight from the countryside. It was a 'new' working class, freed from many of

system to a chain: each country was bound together in trade, finance, etc., as part of an international economic system. This system broke at its weakest link in 1917: Russia.

Or rather we should say capitalism was broken. That is, the Russian Revolution did not occur automatically or arise inevitably from the economic conditions which have briefly described above.

The Russian working class was victorious because it was led by a Party, the Bolshevik Party, which, after many years of struggle and preparation, was able to take advantage of the favourable conditions produced by the war, seize hold of them

and mobilize the Russian workers' and peasants' strength in a successful struggle for power.

He, and later Lenin, demonstrated that the peasant, although involved in episodic and often violent struggles against the rich landowners, was not a consistently revolutionary class. Only the working class, bound together permanently in large numbers in factories and having no property on which to rely for a living, was consistently revolutionary in its aims.

The rapid development of capitalism at the end of the century, described above, lent great weight to the correct view of the Marxists against the Narodniks.

Marx had always paid the greatest tribute to the achievements of capitalism and that the development of capitalism in backward, feudal Russia would be a 'progressive' development.

But this tendency, while saying many things which were formally correct, took the revolutionary heart out of Marxism: they used Marxism in fact as a means merely of justifying capitalism. They were not in any way the representatives of a working-class party.

The most serious struggle which Marxists had to engage in however was the battle with Economism. The Economists were those in Russia who drew a sharp line between political

of The Russian Revolution 1917

dragged into economic, political and military relationships with other, more advanced capitalist countries on a world scale.

These external pressures had a great impact on internal developments of Russia itself. For example it led to a great increase in the size and functions of the State which was forced to raise an increasing volume of taxation in order to provide an army to compete with the other capitalist powers who were a continual threat to Russia.

The development of Russian economy and society was also contradictory from another point of view. Capitalism developed late in Russia: after it had been established in Europe and North America. In addition, much of the capital in Russia was foreign-owned.

When foreign capital was installed in Russia it was not of the 'primitive' type which had existed during the Industrial Revolution in Britain in the 18th century and early 19th century. It was capital based on the latest developments in science and tech-

the conservative traditions of the older European working class, which had evolved slowly over many decades.

This was the contradiction in a nutshell: 'backward' Russia found itself, on the eve of the First World War, with some of the most 'advanced' industrial units in the world, with a working class which, although numerically small, was concentrated into large numbers in a few decisive centres.

This backward Russia was thrown into conflict in 1914 with capitalist states far more powerfully-equipped from a military and economic point of view to wage warfare on the vast scale required. Thus an enormous strain was placed on the whole of Russian society which in the event proved unbearable.

It was part of the great turmoil and chaos produced by the imperialist war that the Russian working class was able to overthrow Tsardom and establish its own power in society.

Lenin and other Marxists at the time likened the world capitalist

and mobilize the Russian workers' and peasants' strength in a successful struggle for power.

The origins of the Bolshevik Party can in fact be traced back to 1898 when the first Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party met.

This Congress, meeting in Minsk, was to lay the basis for the bringing together of the scattered social-democratic groups under a central organization. In the event it was broken up by the police and the delegates were arrested.

It was really at the second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, meeting in Brussels and then London in the summer of 1903, that Bolshevism was born.

Before we examine the foundation and development of the Bolshevik Party (the subject of a later article), it is necessary to examine some of the battles which by this time had been won in the struggle for socialism.

For many years the revolutionary movement against Tsar-

ism and the overthrow of Tsardom.

He, and later Lenin, demonstrated that the peasant, although involved in episodic and often violent struggles against the rich landowners, was not a consistently revolutionary class. Only the working class, bound together permanently in large numbers in factories and having no property on which to rely for a living, was consistently revolutionary in its aims.

The rapid development of capitalism at the end of the century, described above, lent great weight to the correct view of the Marxists against the Narodniks.

Before a Marxist Party could be built in Russia battle had also to be done with a tendency which wished to use Marxism not as the instrument for the achievement of socialism but to justify the development of capitalism: this group was the Legal Marxists, the leading representative of which was Peter Struve.

This group argued that capitalism was the next 'stage' of society—after feudalism was capitalism.

Its members pointed out that

and economic questions.

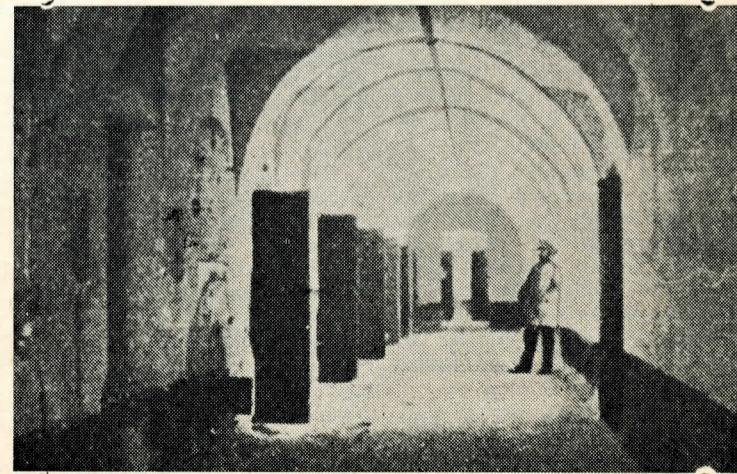
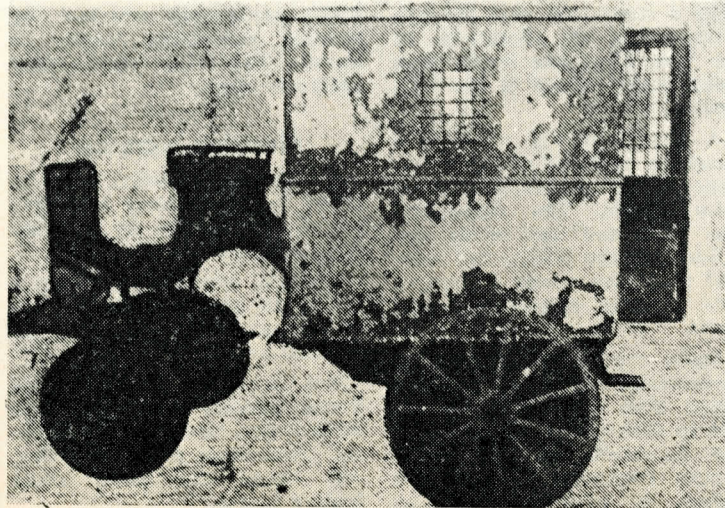
They argued that the struggle of the working class could only proceed on economic questions, i.e. questions of wages, hours, factory conditions, etc. The political struggle—the struggle for power—was the responsibility of the intellectuals. There was no possibility, they argued, for a real workers' party that could unify these struggles.

Lenin and the other Marxists showed in their writings that this distinction was false: that all economic questions were ultimately political questions, that the consciousness of the working class had to be developed in the course of political struggles.

This battle, which finds its highest expression in Lenin's pamphlet 'What is to be Done?' (1902), was also connected with the question of the type of party which would be required to conduct the struggle against Tsardom and for the dictatorship of the working class.

It was out of this struggle against the Economists, and later within the Marxist movement itself, that the Bolshevik Party was born. This will be the subject of our next article.

the developments Russian political and the Tsarist re- the end of the 19th ve left: Plekhanov ssian Marxism' as ; Top right: the believed in individual ism; above: Lenin y social democrats. left: armed police sser by; Below from : Siberian concentra- r political exiles; minority peoples exation of their the Tsar; wagon port dead bodies ions; Russian prison



Stalin leader of the Soviet bureaucracy set out to silence all



Rakovsky



Kirov



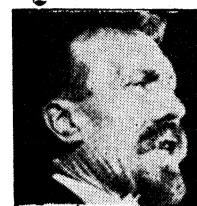
Zinoviev



Radek



Bukharin



Rykov



Tukhachevsky

the old Bolsheviks and even his accomplices

Thirty years ago Stalin and his henchmen began the second of the infamous Moscow trials. Lenin's closest followers were liquidated after show trials in which they were forced to make 'confessions' to crimes they had never committed. Stalin had the cream of the Russian military murdered. In this way he launched the biggest counter revolution the world has ever known in which thousands were either killed or herded into concentration camps. From his exile Leon Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International, fought against Stalin and stood by the conquests of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Keep Left features part one of this series on the Moscow trials to show the historic role of Stalinism.

The Moscow Trials

by PHILIP NORRIS

ON JUNE 11, 1937, the Soviet press carried a brief announcement. It reported that Tukhachevsky, Marshal of the Red Army, and seven leading commanders, had been arrested and charged with spying for a foreign power.

On the next day the papers said that all eight had been tried, found guilty and shot. Another Red Army leader, Gamarnik, was said to have committed suicide two weeks earlier.

In the next few weeks, thousands of the best military men of the Soviet Union were executed. They included all but two of the judges who were supposed to have sat on the military court of June 11. (In fact, no trial took place at all.)

Records captured from the Nazi High Command reveal the glee with which this news was received in Berlin. When the German forces marched into Russia in 1941, they met an army which had been smashed and demoralized — not by the imperialists, but by Joseph Stalin.

Only the heroism of the Russian workers later changed defeat into victory.

In 1937, however, the leaders of Communist Parties like the one in Britain hailed the unmasking of these 'spies' as a great victory for the USSR under its glorious leader, Stalin. Only Trotsky, writing from exile in Mexico, could correctly show how Stalin's actions were endangering the future of the first workers' state in the face of imperialist hostility.

Not the end

The Tukhachevsky purge, which destroyed the finest defenders of the October Revolution, was neither the beginning nor the end of the process.

In August 1936, the trial began in Moscow of Zinoviev and Kamenev. These two old Bolshevik leaders abjectly 'confessed' before the world's press to plotting with Trotsky on behalf of Hitler.

They declared that they had arranged the murder of Kirov in 1934 and planned to have Stalin and other leaders killed. The Communist Parties began a stream of lies and slander against Trotsky and his son, Sedov, as 'fascist agents'.

Then, in January 1937, Radek and Piatakov 'confessed' at a new trial. They said they had also been plotting with Trotsky and Hitler to overthrow the

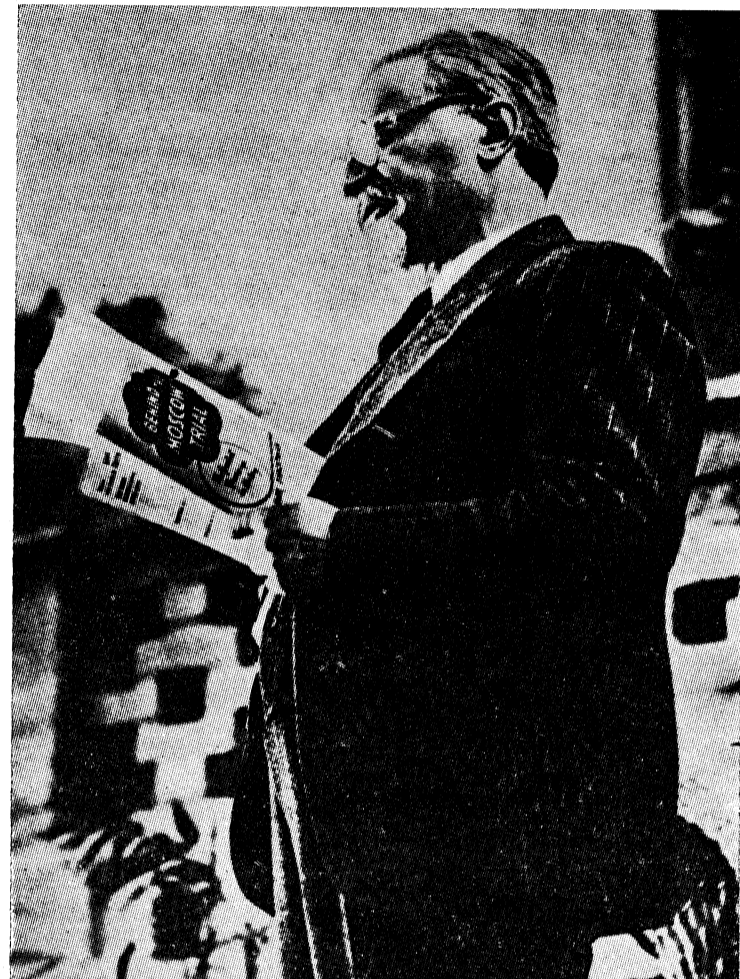
Soviet regime. It was never explained why Zinoviev's 'confession' had not mentioned this.

In March 1938, at the third and last of the show trials, Bukharin 'confessed', with Rakovsky and Rykov. Their 'crimes' went further than the others and stretched back to 1921! Alongside them in the dock was Henry Yagoda who, as head of the secret police, had been in charge of gathering 'evidence' for the 1936 and 1937 trials.

While the CP bosses expressed their complete confidence in the 'confession', Trotsky was able to drive a horse and cart through every one of the allegations. In any case when one reads them today, their lunacy is glaringly obvious.

A great fuss was once made about the 'mystery' of these confessions. But the explanation is quite simple. The defendants who 'confessed' had wives and children in the USSR, and were told that they would be spared only if they co-operated with Stalin.

Stalin represented the Soviet bureaucracy which had come to power after Lenin's death. He had to destroy and discredit the Old Bolsheviks who had been Lenin's comrades in 1919 and before, in order to reach an



LEON TROTSKY: International leader of the struggle against Stalinism. He was murdered in Mexico by Stalin's men in 1940.

agreement with imperialism.

But, having done this, he was forced to go on to kill off his own supporters. In 1937 and 1938 he had most of the former heads of the secret police shot. In the same period he imprisoned:

10 People's Commissars, 3 secretaries of the Central Executive Committee, the chairman of the State Bank, 3 members of the Politbureau. Every one of these was a faithful 'Stalin man'.

Many thousands of Communists went to their death refusing to 'confess' or slander Trotsky. Stalin particularly attacked the younger generation, whom he feared. The YCL was purged again and again.

Notable service

No wonder Mussolini wrote in 1938: 'Stalin is doing a notable service to fascism by mowing down his enemies'.

Kosygin, whose work to get a deal with the imperialists goes on today, is carrying on the Stalinist tradition.

But a new generation of Soviet workers will destroy the bureaucracy, return to the workers' democracy of Lenin's day, and reveal the truth about Stalin's crimes.

Books to Read on The Moscow Trials

The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes by Alexander Orlov. Published by Jarrolds.

Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials by Leon Trotsky. Pioneer Publishers, USA.

The 20th Congress and World Trotskyism (including the Secret Speech of Khrushchev, New Park Publications.

The Case of Leon Trotsky—the Dewey Commission Report. Published by Harper and Brothers. New York and London 1937.

VIETNAM VIETNAM

by Felix Greene

Published by
Jonathan Cape London

Price 30s.

THIS is a book that all Young Socialist branches should have in their libraries.

Mainly consisting of excellent photographs it should prove invaluable at YS meetings to illustrate lectures.

Many articles have been written in Keep Left about the war in South-East Asia but Felix Greene's collection shows more clearly than words why the Young Socialists support the National Liberation Front against US imperialism.

Starting with the primitive agricultural methods used by the peasants of the countryside and the poverty of Vietnam the book shows the legacy of 100 years' imperialist rule.

The French colonialists, regardless of the standard of living of the Vietnamese people, exploited the country solely in the interests of their own economy.

Great emphasis is placed on the resourcefulness and courage of the Vietnamese and the barbarous methods used by the American government in trying to subdue them, after it continued occupation following the defeat of the French forces at Dien Bien Phu.

Included in the book are pictures of young girls and boys training as soldiers for the National Liberation Front. Felix Greene shows the schools set up by the NLF in the jungle and the guerrilla fighters welding captured US weapons by the fire in a hideout.

Illustrations of the defence of North Vietnam are equally impressive. Again the part played by the youth is enormous. A 16-year-old boy can be seen taking messages during an air raid.

The book also makes quite clear the horrifying methods of warfare that are used by the US government to hold onto Vietnam.

The torture, bombing and

mutilation of men, women and children bring out in stark reality the farce of talking about peace negotiations. Only the victory of the NLF can bring an end to the slaughter in Vietnam.

Some of the photographs of atrocities included in the book have been published by US newspapers with pride.

An aged civilian is shown trussed up and labelled like an animal. Villages and crops are seen, destroyed by bombing. Young guerrillas are dragged along the ground by tanks. Small children are hideously burned by napalm.

Greene himself calls the war in Vietnam a 'moral disaster for the United States'. It is on his conclusions about the war that I part company with him.

Imperialism is not concerned with morals. Vietnam represents not a mistake for the United States government but the intensity of class warfare between the capitalists and their henchmen and the workers and peasants.

Thus it is that the United Technology Centre in Redwood City California captured a contract for 100 million pounds of an 'improved' napalm jelly.

The big military powers discuss the uses of napalm. 'The US combat forces in Vietnam are finding that the older formulations [of napalm] leave much to be desired, particularly in adhesion.'

They are referring to the capacity of the napalm to stick to a person's skin and slowly burn him to death.

What the book does reveal is the tremendous courage of the Vietnamese people and their determination to rid themselves of imperialist oppression. Many of the pictures are of very young people who are taking up the struggle against US imperialism which was begun against French imperialism over 20 years ago.

Reviewed by Karen Blick



Yevtushenko makes peace with Stalinism by Karen Treacher

ONCE there was a poet called Yevtushenko who challenged the Soviet bureaucracy in the name of artistic freedom, the Russian Revolution and the rights of Soviet youth.

The other day this same poet turned up at the Holy Shrine of Fatima in Portugal to hear the Pope pray for peace. He saw huge crowds of poor and sick people tearing at the nun's habit of Sister Lucia, only survivor of three shepherd children who in 1917 claimed to have received a message from the Virgin Mary.

Not until 1927—a year of international crisis for capitalism—was the Virgin's message revealed. If the Pope and all faithful Catholics would consecrate the world to her, then Russia would be rescued from Communism and returned to Christianity.

In this way the Catholic Church, the ideological right arm of the ruling class in back-

ward countries like Portugal, where people long for miracles to relieve their misery, hoped to hoodwink the exploited masses by painting Communism as Satan. In Portugal today Communists are beaten up in court and thrown into Salazar's jails.

None of this seems to bother Yevtushenko. At a time when Communist Party leaders are rushing to enlist the churches' aid in heading off the revolutionary upsurge of youth, he plans a poem on the 'rare and great experience' of Fatima.

Yevtushenko, now 34 years old, comes from a family with strong revolutionary traditions. His great-grandfather, a Ukrainian peasant, was exiled to Siberia for burning down a landowner's house.

One of his grandfathers, a leader of the East Siberian Peasant Movement, who became a Red Army Commander, disappeared in the purges of 1937. The other grandfather vanished

about the same time—arrested on a trumped-up charge of being a Latvian spy.

Some of Yevtushenko's best poetry describes childhood experiences in Siberia: in 'Weddings' he describes the one-night weddings of the Siberian recruits who were rushed to the front to defend Moscow against Hitler's troops in 1941.

In the same year he saw 20,000 German prisoners marched through the streets of Moscow. The crowds hissed their hatred at the German generals but thrust bread and cigarettes into the hands of the ordinary soldiers; 'The soldiers were no longer enemies'.

Yevtushenko began to write in 1949, when the best of the older writers were dead or dying in Stalin's concentration camps, and the literary prizes went to hacks who didn't ask awkward questions.

He learned to include the name of Stalin in every poem he

wrote. At the same time he noticed the 'barely disguised anti-Semitic articles in the press', and 'the privileged position of some officials who, besides their salaries, received additional sums or sometimes twice as much'.

He saw 'tall blocks of flats grow up in Moscow, destined for the bureaucratic elite, while thousands of Muscovites lived in tiny, wretched, over-crowded rooms'.

When Stalin died in 1953 he saw people crushed to death in the huge crowds swirling round the coffin. Soon after, he was stunned by the news that the Jewish doctors who had been arrested in the 1930s for plotting against the government were in fact innocent.

In 'Zima Station' (1956) the poet describes his return to his hometown and his attempt to work out what was going on in Russia at this time.

He is disturbed by the drunkenness and unhappiness he finds

there, by the farm manager who lords it over the ordinary workers, by the old railwayman who says there are no real youth nowadays, only 'bossy kids' who make 'smooth and obvious speeches' at Komsomol meetings.

He decides to reject the superficial verses of the Stalin era and write a new kind of poetry—honest and critical.

He soon ran into trouble. Under Stalin writers who spoke their minds were simply murdered; Stalin's successors prefer a system of punishments and rewards. In order to avoid killing literature stone dead, they let writers out on a leash but as soon as the writers' criticisms cut too deep they have to be dragged to heel.

After the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution the bureaucrats were very sensitive. So, in 1957, Yevtushenko was banned from the Literary Institute and

Continued on page 12, col. 5—>

International Assembly

FIFTY years ago, in October 1917, the Russian working class, led by a revolutionary vanguard, the Bolshevik Party, threw off the shackles of Tsarism, native capitalism and foreign imperialism in Russia and set up the Soviet Union, the first workers' state.

With the subsequent degeneration of the Soviet Union and the Communist International under the Stalinist bureaucracy, and in particular the betrayal of the German working class by the Comintern to Hitlerite fascism, Trotsky, in 1938, founded the Fourth International to continue the revolutionary international programme of the October Revolution.

Trotsky's fight both inside and outside the Soviet Union was directed against the Stalin clique and for the Bolshevik Party to return to the revolutionary spirit of Lenin's day.

The Young Socialists carry forward the traditions of the October Revolution and Trotsky's fight against the betrayals of the social democrats and the Stalinists and for the fight to build a revolutionary alternative to these agents of capitalism in the working class.

The fight of the working class has always been an international struggle of the classes and it was for this principle of working-class solidarity internationally that Trotsky lived, fought and died.

In this year of the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution once more the crisis of world capitalism threatens to plunge the working class into the abyss of another imperialist world war.

The US aggression against, and the planned destruction of the revolutionary peoples of South-East Asia is a symptom of this crisis. For this reason Young Socialists are fighting to build a mass revolutionary youth movement both in Britain and internationally.

The International Assembly of Youth taking place in the south of England between July 29 and August 5 provides an opportunity for young workers and students all over the world to discuss together the problems facing youth in the present era of world capitalist decline.

This camp will give a great impetus to the work of constructing an international socialist youth movement fighting as the vanguard of the international working class in its struggle against capitalism.

We conduct this struggle under the direction of the Fourth International against the decaying ruin of this world capitalist system.

Forward to the International Assembly!

Long Live the October Revolution!

Build the Fourth International!

Gerry Moorat,
Watford YS.

Fighting for trade unionism

AT AN ice cream factory where I work the management has very little regard for their employees.

The young people who work there are made to work very hard, in most cases for as little as £4 10s. a week. They work an eight-and-a-half hour day, with three quarters of an hour for lunch and ten minutes break in the morning and afternoon.

If the employers want them to work overtime they do not ask, they just tell them.

EDITOR'S POSTBAG

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

Several young people have been sacked for refusing to work overtime. Once or twice girls have worked from 7.30 in the morning until 8 o'clock at night, because they have had to.

Most of the young people who work at this factory are aged 16 to 20.

On several occasions, girls have cut themselves and there have been no first aid facilities available.

When Young Socialists went down to hold a discussion with the workers there to organize a union, five of them signed union forms. When the management saw them with YS members they chased them inside the building, even though it was their lunch break.

Other workers took forms but as a result of pressure from the management all the workers were intimidated and later threw the forms away.

The Young Socialists, however, have by no means finished with this ice cream factory. At the meetings we now run regularly every Saturday in the town centre, we will ask for support from local trade unionists.

Secretary,
A North-West YS
Branch.

Class warfare

BY CALLING for the victory of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam the Young Socialists have distinguished themselves from every other political tendency in this country.

We can be proud of this record.

Warfare in Vietnam is class warfare. On one side are the Vietnamese workers and peasants fighting for socialism in their country.

On the other side is United States imperialism fighting to retain a foothold in Asia so as to stop the spread of revolution beyond

Vietnam. The United States is aiming for the re-conquest of China by capitalism.

Our way of helping the NLF is to recognize that the NLF can only gain victory with the assistance of the workers in the advanced capitalist countries, such as Britain and the United States.

Thus the Young Socialists' stand is completely different from those who are horrified by the war, who call for 'peace talks' or whose position is neutral.

The position of these people is the same as those who say that they are neutral in a strike. They end up in the camp of the bosses.

The call for 'peace' talks,

will prepare the best kind of answer to imperialism and to the Stalinist bureaucracy—an international revolutionary youth movement which can lead the working class in all its struggles on the road to taking power..

BD,
Southall.

Campaigning

THE Merseyside Federation of Young Socialists recently launched a mass recruiting campaign for the National Assembly.

Part of this campaign includes public meetings, one of

Police in Liverpool

IN Liverpool, where I come from, the police are our worst enemy. We cannot stand outside a fish and chip shop without the police coming up and pushing us around.

If we are asked by the police where we live and we tell them our address, the police say, 'Don't tell lies, you don't live there'.

They start pushing us around. If one of us lifts up a hand to shield himself, the police takes him in, batters him up, and then charges the

which has been made by the Russian bureaucracy, amounts to an attempt to strangle the Vietnamese revolution.

That is why Kosygin flies to America to have a friendly, grandfatherly chat with Johnson and it is why the hot-line between Moscow and Washington is, on the admission of both, being used more and more often.

This is the real meaning of Stalinist 'peaceful co-existence'. To cover up their own treacherous role the Russian bureaucracy has been making slanderous attacks on the Chinese in typical Stalinist style.

In an article in the Russian newspaper 'Red Star' Vladimir Zhukov says that there have been regular meetings between America and Chinese diplomats in Warsaw.

These meetings were used, he says, to plot anti-Russian demonstrations and to prepare the way for the escalation of war (!)

This, he adds, has made it more difficult for the Russians to help the Vietnamese.

This is the height of cynicism. The bureaucracy knows very well that for the American imperialists it is but one step from war in Vietnam to war in China. Russian 'help' for the NLF amounts to having talks with Johnson.

This is the same policy which the Russian bureaucracy has consistently carried out since 1925.

Stalinism can only betray the working class.

At the International Assembly of Socialist Youth we

which was held at Kirby, which has the highest youth population in the country (and the highest youth unemployment).

With our van decorated with posters, made by YS members, youth speakers addressed a large meeting, explaining the international nature of the capitalist crisis and the need for an International Revolutionary Party, as the only way to lead the working class to victory.

YS members who were selling Keep Left and distributing leaflets, reported immediate response, particularly from the youth, on the question of internationalism.

Two farm workers pointed out that agricultural workers have recently been refused wage increases by the government because they were not amongst the 'lower paid'.

They explained how they worked between 60-70 hours a week for as little as £12. They agreed with need for an International Youth Movement.

One youth who works at Vauxhalls' factory said: 'The machines and conveyor belts seem to be going faster and faster in our factory. I'm coming home a nervous wreck and I've got no chance of a rise. I like the idea of an international movement to fight the bosses.'

We received over a dozen promises for deposits within a few days, including two adult trade-unionists who whole-heartedly agreed with the policies of the Young Socialists.

Kirby YS member.

youth with assault.

In our street, one lad aged 14 was put in an Approved School for stealing a box of apples. While in the school one of the masters called him a 'black bastard' and hit him with an iron bar.

He ran away and the police came to his home at 6 a.m., knocked his mother up and searched the house, getting all the children out of bed.

Fourteen other lads ran away at the same time because the master had been hitting and picking on them.

There should be an immediate investigation into cases of police brutality and violence against youth in Approved Schools.

Liverpool Exchange YS
Member.

US Military Nightmare

IN Vietnam the American effort to defeat the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is failing. In South Vietnam the greatest area is controlled by the NLF and the most populous and cultivated region—the Mekong Delta—is devoid of US troops with the exception of enclaves which are continually overrun.

US and puppet forces entered the Delta but have withdrawn as contact is negligible. The US is so harrassed that invasion is impossible and this

révoltes

POUR LA CONSTRUCTION DE L'ORGANISATION RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE DE LA JEUNESSE

Annual
Subscription
£1 (post
included)

allows the NLF to move closer to Saigon.

Thousands of troops are used for defence of installations. North-east of Saigon is the 'Iron Triangle' which has been in Communist control for years.

The United States launched a major operation to rout the National Liberation Front. Vast areas were razed but the NLF were so well entrenched that when the US withdrew they took control again.

∴ the Central Highlands, the most strategic area of South Vietnam, the NLF is taking the offensive in spite of the use of this area as an experimental range for napalm, etc.

Da Nang airfield is continually attacked and its most modern jets destroyed. In the Northern provinces the US is suffering their heaviest casualties. Their positions are overrun and recently the NLF raided the jail of one of the main towns and released 300 of their comrades.

The US is in a critical position and so they launched an invasion of the demilitarized zone. After a week the US withdrew its troops.

To paralyze the DRV military effort and bring her to the conference table intensive air raids are carried out daily. But even here the advantage is with the Vietnamese who have shot down hundreds of planes.

The DRV has not been brought to the conference table despite all the pressure put on it by 'neutrals' and by the Soviet government, which plays its role of policeman between capitalism and the working class.

The YS must call for the military victory of the NLF and the DRV. We must relate this to the crisis of capitalism in Britain and the struggle against the Labour government for the advancement of the revolutionary youth movement—the Young Socialists.

Barry Mills,
Hackney YS.

'Humber-side Voice'

RECENTLY in the Hull University Socialist Society we have, on several occasions, come into political conflict with a group supporting a paper called 'Humber-side Voice'.

Instead of opposing our ideas and campaigns with concrete suggestions and arguments these 'socialists' have replied with bureaucratic manoeuvres. This has underlined, for us, the importance of paying some attention to these somewhat obscure groups.

'Humber-side Voice' is associated with 'Voices of the Unions', a paper with which that inveterate 'left' Jack Ashwell of the Transport and General Workers' Union has been associated.

The group of petty-bourgeois 'theorists' who, through the publication of 'New Left Review' use high-sounding phrases to cover up the fact that they are prostrate before bourgeois ideology, also have connections with the paper.

This month's edition of 'Humber-side Voice' carries an editorial which clearly underlines the lack of class con-

sciousness of not only this, but many other 'left' phrasemongering groups which have so often opposed the policies of the Young Socialists.

First of all we read: 'Socialists in Parliament now have a chance to exert their influence.

Arguments about "loyalty" should cut no ice nor should question of personality. All MPs . . . have only one loyalty and that is to the mass forces that put them in power!' Very good!

Perhaps this is a genuine call to make the 'left' MPs fight against the Wilson government and its anti-working class policies? But further on we find:

'Cries of "Wilson must go" will undoubtedly be heard, but it would be fatal to dissipate energy in a fruitless leadership struggle which, if successful, would probably throw up one much worse.

'In terms of the parliamentary dog-fight Wilson is still a first-class performer. The fact that he has not got an original idea in his head should make it easier for us to supply him with a new set of ideas.'

What utter rubbish! The contradictions are manifold; first of all we are told that it is not question of personality—true—but then we have a discussion on why Wilson cannot be removed.

The question is treated as one of defeating an individual with some nasty ideas.

For us the slogan 'Wilson must go' means that the so-called 'left' MPs must defeat the whole bureaucratic machine of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

In doing this they will have the support of thousands of workers who voted Labour and who are now coming into conflict with the wage freeze and rising unemployment.

Wilson can't just push the working class around. The Young Socialists' organization exists because we know that workers will see through reformism and Stalinism and smash capitalism, Wilson and all, for good and never give up their gains without a fight.

Wilson's head is by no means empty. He has lots of ideas on how to carry out the bankers' instructions in Britain, Aden, Suez, etc.

It is about time that the fakers around 'Voice of the Unions' and 'New Left' realized that Wilson will not be changed. The real fight is one which involves the building of a Marxist alternative to Labour, or else we face being washed away by the rising tide of events.

I.G.
Hull YS.

May Day Film from Glasgow YS

GLASGOW Young Socialists have made a short film of the May Day demonstration in London, and of the campaign in Glasgow which was held beforehand to get people to go to London.

The film, which is in colour, starts off with a branch meeting of Govan YS, held a fortnight before May Day to discuss the various anniversaries which the Young Socialists would be celebra-

ting on the demonstration.

This is followed by a recruitment team campaigning in Rutherglen shopping centre on a Saturday afternoon. The film then moves on to the demonstration in London itself. There are shots of the march lining up and moving off and then of various sections of the demonstration as it moves through London.

Dispersed throughout this part of the film are close-ups of each of the fifteen magnificent floats built by London Young Socialists.

The film ends with the meeting held in Hyde Park after the demonstration. It was shown in Glasgow at a rally held by Glasgow and Edinburgh YS on Sunday, June 11. Any YS branch which wishes to borrow the film should contact the Glasgow Federation.

Irene Wilson,
Maryhill YS, Glasgow.

Causes of Racialism

THE root cause of all racialism is social, i.e., bad housing, shortage of work, etc.

'Challenge', the monthly paper of the Young Communist League has in its May edition an article on Southall which shows just how far that organization has travelled politically.

The capitalist class all over the world requires the working class to be split amongst themselves in order to divert them from the class struggle.

In Southall the local racialist organizations campaign constantly (the BNP got more votes than the Communist Party in the local elections). The local paper has regular letters from members of the BNP and other racialists.

The only way of fighting racialism is in the unity of the class in struggle against the common enemy.

On a recent demonstration against the wage freeze and unemployment, organized by Southall Trades Council, the local Young Communist League and the Communist Party branch refused to march with the YS and their banners.

Such people prefer to carry on with just propaganda (the CP also writes letters to the local paper) as though racialism is just a question of confused individuals.

Is it just coincidence that the racialists come out onto the streets every time Wilson carries out an attack against the working class. The neo-Nazis emerge in Germany just as the German employers try to solve their problems at the expense of the German working class.

Just to add to the confusion already created in their article in 'Challenge' the YCL call on the government to strengthen the laws against racialism—this same government which strengthened the Immigration Act!

There is also on the same page a report on a speech on India by the local 'left' MP Sidney Bidwell in which his solutions for the famine are the usual ones of contraceptives and Oxfam.

He did not, according to the report, raise the question of the economic domination of the imperialist nations.

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Paper of the Workers' League USA
Room 8, 243 E.10. St. NYC 10003, USA

Bidwell would deal the biggest blow to racialism by showing what the real causes of the problem are; by fighting Wilson's attack on the working class (which is assisted by racialism); by calling for an attack on the employers; by calling for the nationalization of the basic industries under workers' control without compensation.

The local YS, which held the demonstration against the wage freeze when the Trades Council backed out, is recruiting immigrant youth into the Young Socialists. (The local Communist Party branch, as far as I know, has a separate branch for immigrants.)

We are fighting for the unity of the working class so that we will be able to lead the struggle to smash capitalism in this country as a prelude to a world social revolution, which will mean the end of racial ignorance.

Tony Richardson,
Southall.

Nationalism and the Arab Revolution

FOLLOWING the discussion in the columns of Keep Left on whether the Young Socialists should support Scottish nationalism, the question was fully discussed at our very successful regional school in Edinburgh.

We re-affirmed the YS policy of opposition to such nationalism in an advanced capitalist country like Britain as an instrument of the ruling class to divert and divide the working class.

The Arab-Israeli war and the impossibility of the Arab leaders to defend the Arab revolution raises again the question of our attitude towards nationalism and wars for independence.

The Young Socialists are right to support the Arab people and their struggle for national unity against imperialism and its agency in the Middle East—the state of Israel.

We do not support the propaganda pouring out of every Tory newspaper and the BBC.

Israel was set up in 1948 by the imperialist powers to divide the Arab people and to maintain control over the rich oilfields. The demands of the Israeli ruling class and the US government show clearly the designs of imperialism on the gains made by the Arab revolution.

We cannot remain neutral in such a struggle. We must defend the Arab revolution. At the same time we call for the unity of the Arab and Israeli working class against the real enemy—imperialism.

Lenin in his pamphlet

'Socialism and War' explains simply the attitude of socialists toward war and points out that wars of national liberation in backward countries can be progressive and we should support them.

But at the same time both he and Trotsky (in his theory of permanent revolution) point to the need for a revolutionary party of the working class if the tasks of national unity and democratic rights are to be achieved.

The course of the war shows the weakness of the nationalist leaderships against imperialism and the betrayal by the Stalinist bureaucracy in subordinating the working class to their power politics.

The professional confuser now says—if we support Arab nationalism then we must now support Scottish nationalism.

But entirely different questions are involved. Scotland is an integral part of imperialist Britain and here nationalism is a reactionary force aimed at dividing the British working class.

The International Assembly of Socialist Youth will be a great step towards the building of an international socialist youth movement and will strengthen revolutionary internationalism amongst youth.

These are some of the points we should discuss at the Assembly.

Glasgow YS member.

Working for a Shipbuilding Firm

AFTER reading the Keep Left we decided to write and give our experiences as apprentice fitters.

We work for a big shipbuilding firm on Merseyside. Conditions for apprentices in our factory are extremely poor.

1. We are not allowed to work with skilled men and yet if we do a job wrongly we have to take back the can.

2. We are given drawings to work from which we have never been taught to read.

3. We are given all the dirty and monotonous jobs. They use us as cheap labour and they don't care whether we learn anything or not.

4. If we attend day school we must accept a drop of about 6s. a week in wages.

5. Our tools consist of three spanners, which don't fit the jobs anyway, one hammer and a chisel. For any other tools, the money has to come out of our pockets, out of a wage of £4 7s. before stoppages.

We say these conditions are deplorable and that youth and adults must join together to fight the bad conditions of youth in industry.

Terry Shaw, Charlie Sands,
B. Lead.

Glasgow Young Socialist's trip to Loch Katrine



Member of Glasgow Young Socialists braves the water whilst the rest look on.

Rallies for International Assembly

YOUNG SOCIALISTS from all over the Midlands took part in a YS rally held in Birmingham on June 18.

Miar Davies, Central Committee member of the Socialist Labour League, opened up the meeting in a hall where the walls were decorated with portraits of Lenin, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov, Bukharin and Trotsky, leading Bolsheviks of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

She stressed the continuity of the struggle of the working class for an international leadership.

Socialism could not be achieved in one country alone, it had to be fought for internationally.

In the Soviet Union under Stalin Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition opposed the conceptions of Joseph Stalin and the theory of socialism in one country.

John Edwards, national committee member of the Young Socialists, said that the keynote to the International Assembly of Socialist Youth to be held in August was the fact that young people were coming many miles and raising enormous sums of money to attend.

The Young Socialists in Britain had to be prepared to make the Assembly an enormous success.

YS MEMBERS from Glasgow and Edinburgh held a public meeting in the Grand Hotel, Edinburgh, on June 11 in preparation for the International Assembly of Socialist Youth this month.

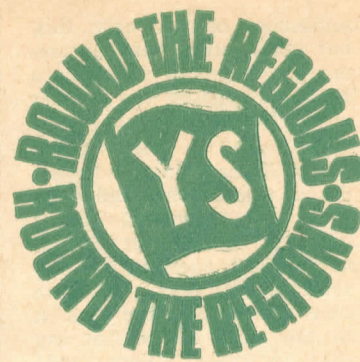
Opening the discussion YS national committee member Myles Buchanan said that the main campaign in line with the Assembly was the building of the Young Socialists.

Following the rally Glasgow Young Socialists have been building two new branches in Paisley and East Kilbride with recruitment teams. Scottish Young Socialists are hoping to do well in the national recruitment competition.



In the Sea . . .

Young Socialists from West London get an uninvited shower whilst paddling in the sea at Brighton. They were on a London Regional outing.



New Yorkshire Federation

OVER the last few weeks a new Federation has been set up in the important mining area in Yorkshire centred on Pontefract, Normanton and Wakefield.

While working for May Day in Leeds some young people from Pontefract were contacted. They expressed interest in setting up a branch. Premises were obtained in the area and canvasses arranged with Keep Left. There was great enthusiasm for the policies of the YS and its regional programme.

At the Yorkshire Miners' Gala held in June the YS had a large force recruiting and selling KL.

At this Gala the YS were by far the strongest force present—the YCL and the Communist Party were hardly in evidence.

Premises have now been obtained in Wakefield following the Gala and it is intended to start another branch in this area and integrate it into the Federation work.

Tennis

THE CENTRE COURT at Wimbledon had nothing on the excitement and enjoyment at Sefton Park, Liverpool, when the Merseyside YS Federation spent a day there early in June.

In the ladies' final M. Tomlinson beat J. Farley 6-4, 6-5. The men's final was postponed as time ran out.

HEATS

Ladies :
M. Tomlinson (Bootle) bt. P. Burge (Kirkby) 3-0, 3-0; J. Farley (Exchange) bt. F. Burge (Kirkby) 3-0, 3-0; A. Tomlinson (Bootle) bt. A. Feix (Exchange) 3-0, 2-1; R. Hunter (Exchange) and L. Chong (Kirkby) drew. Semi-final: J. Farley bt. A. Tomlinson 3-0, 3-0.

Mens :
D. Hunter (Kirkby) bt. R. Hunter (Exchange) 3-2, 3-2; R. Thompson (Exchange) bt. J. Hughes (Exchange) 3-2, 2-3, 1-0; T. Grant (Bootle) bt. P. Levy (Exchange) 3-0, 2-1. Semi-final: R. Thompson bt. D. Hunter 2-1, 3-0.

South West London Five-a-side contest

By Ray Waterman (Wandsworth)

TEAMS competing in the South-West London Five-a-Side football contest came from South and South-West London YS Federations.

The tournament kicked off with the Sierra Leone Students versus the University of Surrey Students. The first five minutes brought some very hard and fast football. Unfortunately the University of Surrey goalkeeper met with misfortune when he dived for a ball from the Sierra Leone forward.

This accident, however, did not deter Surrey who won 3-2.

Sierra Leone, however, did not lose any of their subsequent

matches. Wandsworth team never looked like making much headway with a weak forward line and a lack of scoring power.

Streatham started well with two fine wins over Wandsworth (2-1) and Clapham Common (5-0) but failed to produce the same inspiring football for their two following matches.

Clapham Common were not able to produce any exciting

moves but they never gave up trying throughout the contest. Sierra Leone went on to win all their subsequent matches showing a fine ability to switch from attack to defence which proved the key factor to winning the competition.

A girls' team from Vauxhall played an unladylike exhibition match against Wandsworth and very justifiably won 2-1.

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Sierra Leone Students	4	3	0	1	10	5	6
University of Surrey	4	2	1	1	9	7	5
Streatham	4	2	0	2	9	6	4
Wandsworth	4	2	0	2	3	3	4
Clapham	4	0	1	3	4	14	1

From Page 9

the Young Communist League, but later reinstated.

Poems like 'Babi Yar' (1961) which hints at the existence of anti-Semitism in Russia, and 'Stalin's Heirs' (1962) drew an immediate response from the youth. Thousands came to his poetry readings; his books sold out in one day.

Khrushchev praised his conduct abroad, then suddenly called him home. Yevtushenko was forced to make a public apology for publishing his autobiography abroad without permission of the Writers' Union.

Since then Yevtushenko has published no books, and until recently he has not been allowed out of the Soviet Union. Last year however he was one of the select few allowed to attend the secret trial of the writers Sinyavsky and Daniel.

Both writers received long sentences in labour camps for 'slandering Soviet society'. Their works were completely distorted in order to represent them as 'moral monsters', fascists, CIA agents, etc., etc.

Daniel wrote 'Moscow Calling' because he 'felt that there was a real threat of Stalinism'. In Sinyavsky's story 'The Trial Begins' a youth who advocates world revolution is arrested for being a Trotskyist. Another story 'Lyubimov' parodies Stalin's theory of socialism in one country.

What was Yevtushenko's reaction? 'I agree with what was done with them. . . . Should they be allowed to wash their dirty linen outside their own country?'

Like the indignant letter writers who accused the two authors of slandering 'the holy of holies—the motherland', Yevtushenko remains steeped in Stalin's religious nationalism. He wants to purify 'the spirit of revolution' but has no theoretical grasp of what was involved in Stalinism. His internationalism is mystical, essentially passive:

O my Russian people, I know you.
Your nature is international.
Foul hands rattle your clean name.
I know the goodness of my country.

And so his poetry becomes increasingly superficial and evasive.

Yevtushenko recently refused to attend the 4th Congress of the Writers' Union. The highly bureaucratic nature of this union is obvious from the fact that only 12 per cent of its members are under 40, compared with 71 per cent in 1934.

Its leaders play a major part in stifling young writers of any promise.

But as long as these young writers remain isolated from the struggle to build revolutionary parties they must retreat into silence or become tame dogs of the bureaucracy.

The best support we can give them is to lead the international working class by building the Young Socialists in Britain.

In the course of that struggle many young people will want to express their experiences in the form of poems, stories, articles. The pages of Keep Left and the coming commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution offer them their opportunity.

English translations of Yevtushenko from:

The Poetry of Yevgeny Yevtushenko 1953-65, tr. George Reavey, Calder and Boyars. *Yevtushenko: Selected Poems*, Penguin (1962).