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Keep Left

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STUDENTS • UNEMPLOYED AND IMMIGRANT YOUTH

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Monty Johnstone—

an apologist for Stalinism

'In the passing of J. V. Stalin the working people of the whole world have suffered an irreparable loss. . . . No man in our times has done so much as Stalin to change the course of world history through the inestimable help he has given to the poor and oppressed of the world in their struggle for freedom and a happier life. . . . For 30 years Stalin led the Soviet people from victory to victory in the face of the most terrible obstacles so that it is today well on the road to communism. . . .

'In 1922, he was elected general secretary of the Party and, following Lenin's death in 1924, he emerged as the trusted leader of the Party and world communist movement.

'His life is an example to every young socialist of courage, tenacity, faith in the people, the combination of study and action, constant devotion to principle. . . .

'On his passing we can say, as Engels said of Marx's death exactly 70 years ago: "Mankind is shorter by a head, and the greatest head of our times at that. His name and work will endure through the ages".'

Monty Johnstone on Stalin 1953

**KEEP LEFT publishes a reply
to the slanders against
TROTSKYISM (starting page 4)**

LEON TROTSKY

— founder of the

Fourth International - leader of the fight against

Stalinism - murdered by Stalin's agent in 1940

STOP PRESS—Sheila Torrance, National Secretary of the Young Socialists, informs Keep Left that Monty Johnstone is invited to a public debate on Trotskyism.



LEON TROTSKY

Capitalism

A MARXIST ANALYSIS

Can you explain what Marxists mean by capitalism?

BY 'capitalism', Marxists mean a system of production which has the following features:

(1) The means of production (the means of producing wealth)—land, raw material supplies, buildings, machinery and finance are privately owned and controlled in the hands of a small and separate class of persons, the capitalist class.

(2) Against the capitalist class stands the great majority of the population, the working class, who survive only through the sale of their ability to work—their labour power.

In other words, under capitalism labour power is a commodity.

Historically, the capitalist system is quite distinct from all previous systems, such as slavery and feudalism.

Feudalism, for example, was based predominantly on land ownership. The great majority of the population worked as peasants. For a part of the year, or week, they worked for the large landowner and for the rest of the time they worked on their own 'land' in order to grow food to eat.

Capitalist development was only possible once the peasantry was forcibly removed from the land and driven into the new industrial towns, which were developing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

What do you mean by commodity?

A COMMODITY is an item which is produced for sale on the market, as distinct from an article produced for one's own use.

Under capitalism, commodity production becomes the dominant form.

A commodity has two 'sides' or aspects. In the first place, a commodity must have a use value, that is it must be of some use to others. If not, it cannot have value. Secondly, a commodity must have exchange value.

What determines value? Why should a ton of steel have more value than a ton of iron?

Basically, because a ton of iron contains a smaller quantity of labour than a ton of steel.

If we see the economy as a vast pool of social labour, then the value of each commodity depends, in the first instance, on the quantity of this pool of labour which it contains.

In other words, if a ton of steel takes twice the quantity of labour to produce as does a ton of iron, it will be twice as valuable.

But doesn't this mean that an inefficient worker, spending longer to produce a commodity, produces more value in this time than does an efficient worker?

NO. When we speak of 'labour' we mean a quantity of 'socially necessary labour'.

What does this mean? It means the quantity of labour which is necessary to produce a commodity, given the average degree of skill, and the average quantity and quality of machinery under certain technical conditions.

Given these conditions, the

value of a commodity will depend upon the amount of labour embodied in it.

How is production organized under capitalism?

PRODUCTION is organized for profit. What does this mean?

Let us suppose that a capitalist starts with a certain sum of money, M. With this he buys commodities C. This expenditure will include constant capital, such as raw materials, land, plant and machinery.

We call this 'constant' capital because by itself it can create no new value. It is what Karl Marx called 'stored up labour' or 'dead labour'.

It can only pass on to commodities value which it already incorporates.

Secondly, the capitalist spends money upon variable capital, that is the purchase of labour power. 'Variable' because human labour alone has the ability actually to create new value.

He sets this capital to work and with it produces a commodity, say steel. Having sold this commodity on the market he realizes a sum of money, M¹, which is greater than that with which he originally started.

In other words the process can be depicted as M-C-M¹. Profit is M¹ minus M and the rate of profit is depicted as (M¹-M)/M.

With this sum of money M¹ the capitalist will re-invest in new machinery, use part for his own consumption and pay for services to him—such as interest on loans etc.

But where does the profit come from?

IT arises from the exploitation of labour. Profit can never come from simple 'cheating'—selling dear and buying cheap.

In this way any one capitalist might gain, but he would only do so at the expense of another capitalist. We have to explain profit, and its existence, on the assumption that all commodities sell at their values.

Let us give a simple example to illustrate the point. Although highly simplified it will serve to give an idea of the main principles.

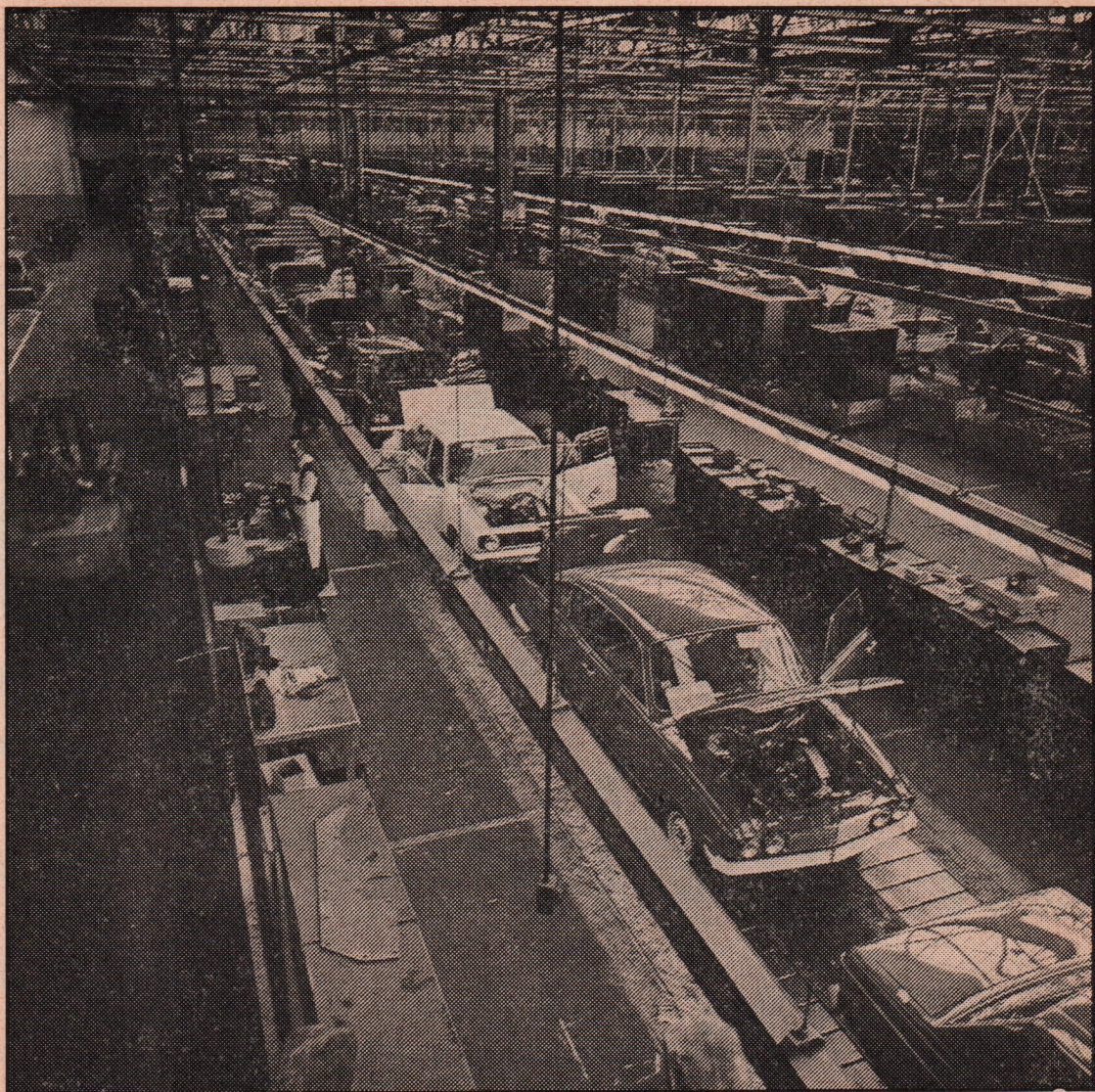
A worker, starting a new job, agrees to work for his employer for £15 over a 40-hour week. Starting work on the first Monday he is given raw materials to the value of £85. Leaving aside wear and tear on machinery, which could be taken into account in a more complicated example, let us assume that by the middle of the week he has added £15 in value to these raw materials.

In other words the employer could now sell the commodity for £100 if he so wanted.

What has happened so far? In fact the worker has already produced in value the equivalent of his wage, £15. But his working week is only half completed.

He agreed to sell his ability to work, his labour power, for the whole week, 40 hours. For the rest of the week he continues to work at the same pace and adds a further £15 of value to the raw materials with which he originally started.

In other words, the capitalist has incurred, in all, £100 in expenses (£85 in raw materials and £15 in wages). In return the worker has produced £30 in value, £15 of which he gets back in the form of wages, whilst the other £15 goes to the employer in the form of surplus value.



Capitalism—a system of production where factories, machinery, etc., are controlled by a small class of people, to whom millions of workers sell their ability to work. War and its preparation are a necessary measure for the capitalists to overcome the laws of their own system.

This is the exploitation by capital of labour. The capitalist class is able to pump out surplus value, or unpaid labour, from the working class because in monopolies the means of production are in its hands.

The vast majority of the population have no other means of livelihood except by putting themselves at the disposal of the owners of capital.

In a recent discussion of the crisis it has been stressed that it is impossible to plan capitalism.

AS we have explained, capitalism is based on the drive for profit. Each capitalist produces such commodities in such quantities and at such prices as, in his estimation, best suit this aim.

He cannot know the plans of the other capitalists in his or other branches of the economy. Nor can he accurately estimate fluctuations in demand for his commodity or the demand for other commodities.

Let us, by way of example, assume that there are three leading motor car manufacturers. Each capitalist has spent a certain amount of money on constant and variable capital, on the expectation of selling a certain number of cars in the coming year, as follows:

- A. 18,000
- B. 20,000
- C. 12,000

Let us assume however, that the demand for motor cars in this particular year does not reach the total of 50,000, on



which stability would depend.

For a number of reasons—rising unemployment, credit restrictions, foreign competition—the demand for cars in this year reaches only 40,000. In other words there is a classic case of 'over-production'.

What will happen now? Several things occur.

In the first place, prices may fall so that the market is cleared and the producers make losses or at least lower profits than they anticipated.

OR all producers may cut-back their production, leaving plant

idle or under-used and again bring losses for the producers.

OR, finally, the smallest of the three producers, unable to withstand a price cut or reduced output, may be forced out of business or be taken over by one of the other two producers.

At certain phases, especially during periods of boom, capitalists may be able to arrange 'deals' between themselves to share out markets and keep prices up. But such arrangements are usually short-lived and tend to blow up once sales begin to drop or the rate of expansion decreases.

The first of two questions and answers articles by PETER JEFFRIES on the basis of capitalist production and exploitation



Are there any other reasons why planning under capitalism is impossible?

YES. Each branch of the economy decides upon its own level of output, without any regard to the plans or decisions of the other areas of the economy.

'Stable' or 'correct' relations between them can only be established by 'chance' or 'accident'. The steel industry, for example, supplies its products to

a whole range of other industries: motors, engineering, building, etc.

Only if the 'supply' of steel meets this 'demand', and changes in it, will this part of the economy be in balance or equilibrium.

If the correct balance is struck, it cannot be the result of any consciously worked-out plan beforehand.

Marx, in his work analysing the capitalist system, 'Das Kapital', stressed in particular that a correct balance between the sector of the economy produc-

ing capital goods (that is commodities with which other commodities are made), called department one, and the part of the economy producing consumer goods (department two), was necessary for the smooth functioning of the entire economic system.

But once more, if there was a balance struck, it would and could only be a result of chance.

In other words, there is a growing contradiction between the 'planning' which takes place inside any one factory and the chaos and anarchy which reigns in the relations between factories and between the branches of the economy.

Are you saying that everything under capitalism is ruled by mere chance and accident?

NO. Although, as we explained, there can never be any planning of the system in the manner outlined above, the capitalist system is still governed by these laws.

In 'Das Kapital' Marx set out to 'lay bear the law of motion of modern society'.

As we have seen, under capitalism the law of value operates in such a way that the exchange of commodities is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour which they embody.

This is an objective law. That is, it operates independently of whether any individual or group wants it to operate in this way, or even whether they are aware of its very existence.

As Marx said, it operates with the force of nature, just as the law of gravity operates whether we wish it or not.

In the example from motors, too many cars were produced. This imbalance is corrected through a fall in the price of cars below their values, until all the cars are cleared and production settles down to a lower 'appropriate' level.

In other words, price continually deviates from value (although dependent upon it) in such a way as to correct any imbalances in the economy which result from its unplanned anarchic nature.

But these fluctuations mean continual disruption, upset of equilibrium—changes in output, investment, production, etc.

In periods of general expansion, such as operated after 1945, these fluctuations, because they occurred on a generally rising curve of output and production, were normally 'absorbed', as it were, into the system.

Once the rate of expansion begins to slow down or there is a growing lack of confidence in the future of the system these disturbances, far from being partial or temporary, assume much greater significance.

From one branch of the economy they can rapidly spread and engender a general crisis of confidence.

Some people say that the origin of the crisis of capitalism stems from the fact that wages are too low to buy back all the products of industry. Is this correct?

THIS is perhaps the crudest example of what we call under-consumptionist theories of capitalism. According to such theories everything would be alright if wages were allowed to rise.

Then any tendency to over-production could be avoided by

allowing the workers to buy back the surplus commodities.

Such theories are nonsense in that, for the capitalist, wages are a cost, which he must struggle at all times to keep down and, if possible, reduce.

As Marx pointed out, periods of crisis are usually preceded by a period during which wages tend to rise.

Although nonsense, this under-consumptionist idea is a common belief in the labour movement. The Stalinists certainly argue in this way.

All such ideas always lead to reformism in that they start with the assumption that, given certain changes within the capitalist system, crisis and disruption can be avoided without the working class having to take power and establish socialism.

What is the rate of profit? What is its relation to the present crisis?

IN the example we gave above we showed that the basic process of accumulation under capitalism could be shown by the following schema: M-C-M¹.

What the capitalist is interested in is the comparison with the sum of money with which he ends (M¹) compared with that with which he started (M).

His rate of profit is determined by this difference compared with the original sum of money he advanced.

Each employer moves his capital to those areas of the economy where he thinks he will achieve the maximum rate of profit, commensurate with the risk involved.

In this way there is a tendency for the rate of profit in all lines of industry to be dragged into line through these forces of competition.

This striving for maximum profit stems not from the greed of the capitalist but from his constant need to keep abreast of his rivals, to modernize, innovate and generally keep up to date. Only if he does this can he remain a capitalist for long.

Why does the rate of profit tend to fall over time?

BEFORE answering this question, let us glance briefly at the general course of capitalist development over long periods of time. Going back to the distinction which we drew earlier between 'constant' and 'variable' capital, it is clear that there is a definite tendency for the constant element to grow at a faster pace than the variable element.

The average worker of today uses up considerably greater value of raw materials and capital equipment each day than did his counterpart 100 years ago.

Even allowing for the rise in the value of labour power over this period—that is a rise in variable capital—there is no doubt that the ratio c:v. has risen considerably.

Marx always refers to this ratio as the organic composition of capital. Let us give a very simple example.

Here we compare the situation over two periods of time in a 'typical' industry. (c.=constant capital; v.=variable capital; s.=surplus value.)

T ¹	T ²
c. 80	200
v. 20	40
s. 20	45

Notice several things in this example.

Although expenditure on 'v.', the wage bill, has doubled, outlay on 'c.' has more than doubled.

Now look at the situation from the point of view of the capitalist.

At T¹ he spends 80 on 'c.' and 20 on 'v.' and gets in return 20 in 's.'. This gives him a rate of profit of 20 per cent.

At T² however the situation

has changed. Now he has spent 240 (200 'c.' and 40 'v.') getting back 45 in 's.'. In this latter case his profit rate has fallen to about 18 per cent.

The contradiction of this: only expenditure on variable capital—the purchase of labour power—actually generates surplus value, from which profit comes. But with the development of industry this element 'v.' tends to decline relative to 'c.', constant capital.

But if the result of an improvement in technique resulted in your example in a fall in the rate of profit, why should the capitalist system always drive to revolutionize the methods of production?

THIS IS where we have to drop some of the simplifications in our example.

In the example we were describing the situation in one industry, or in one plant. But looked at from the point of view of the whole capitalist system, the matter is rather different.

For any one capitalist, changes in his technique may bring him initial advantages over his rivals who remain tied to the same techniques.

With new machinery, for example, the capitalist concerned will be able to increase considerably his rate of exploitation, through speed-up which the new machinery will allow him to introduce.

By reducing the value of the commodities which he produces—through a reduction of the socially necessary labour embodied in them he can considerably increase his profits. How will this work?

Although the value of the commodities which he has produced will fall, their price will remain as before—in line with that which his rivals, still working with the former techniques of production, are charging.

In this way his profits, initially at least, must rise.

But of course, once his rivals also make the technical changes which he has introduced, his initial advantage is wiped out. Indeed, to the extent that they improve on his innovations, he may find himself behind once more in the race.

In other words, technical change under capitalism can never be a planned operation, designed to meet the needs of the population: it is based on the blind, unplanned struggle between capitalists for profit.

If the rate of profit tends to fall in this way, why doesn't the capitalist system simply grind to a halt?

BECAUSE we are only talking about a tendency at work. The capitalists cannot simply sit back and allow their profits to disappear. They must take action to arrest and reverse this process.

This brings them into collision with the interests of the working class.

What methods of overcoming the tendency for the rate of profit to fall are open to the capitalists?

(1) A REDUCTION of wages below their value. This involves wage-cutting. In other words the working class must carry out the same work and eat less.

(2) Cheapening the elements of constant capital. If there is rapid technical change in those industries making capital goods

Continued on page twelve →

FOR MORE than four years, the Young Socialists, together with the Socialist Labour League, have been fighting to build the revolutionary leadership the working class needs in preparation for the sell-out of the Labour government to the Tories and the employers.

All the advances we have made in building the Young Socialists and expanding the sales of our paper *Keep Left* have been based firstly on the fighting spirit and drive of thousands of youth, who, almost alone in 1964, rallied to the call to break from Wilson.

Without their enthusiasm and devotion the growth of the movement you see today would have been impossible.

But our work has another aspect which is just as vital, though not so easily understood.

The political foundation of all Young Socialist activity, from our annual conference down to the local branch meeting or discotheque, is the theory of Marxism. The successes we achieve come only from the training of young workers and students in the basic principles pioneered and developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

That is why we defend the ideas of these revolutionary leaders when they are attacked or revised by those who have betrayed the fight to build a revolutionary leadership for the working class.

In the Young Socialists we insist that there is an unbreakable thread which binds together the ideas and activity of the greatest revolutionary leaders.

Marx and Engels first worked out the laws of development of capitalist society, and were the first to prove scientifically that the working class would be the only force able to overthrow capitalism and replace it with socialism.

Pioneer of the Party

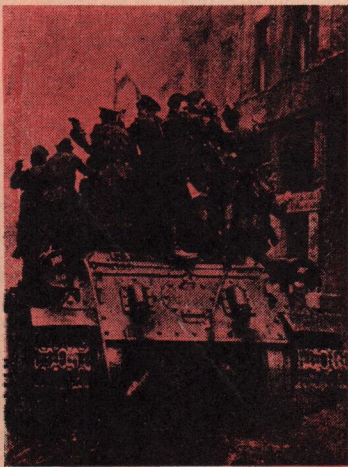
It then fell to Lenin to pioneer the type of Party that would carry through the tremendous task of organizing and leading the working class for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist rule. Lenin was the creator and inspirer of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917.

Many traitors to socialism have attempted to discredit Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution by 'proving' that Lenin was not a true Marxist.

Some, like Karl Kautsky, the traitor of German socialism after 1914, even tried to show that Marx believed in a 'peaceful road to socialism' through parliamentary elections.

These enemies of Marxism knew that its strength lay in the continuity of revolutionary struggle and theory and that the future victories of the working class could only arise out of an understanding of the past and all its lessons.

The revision of Marxism is an attack on the links in this revolution-



Hungary 1956—alliance of workers and intellectuals swept away Hungarian Stalinists for two glorious weeks.

Monty Johnstone —an apologist for Stalinism

Robert Black replies to the slanders against Trotskyism which appeared in 'COGITO' discussion journal of the Young Communist League



Leon Trotsky reads the Dewey Commission Report on the Moscow Trials—an independent US inquiry which completely exposed Stalin's frame-ups.

ary chain, its only aim being to disrupt the work of Marxists in building revolutionary leadership.

Today, the enemies of Marxism, and in particular the leaders of the British Communist Party and Young Communist League, are desperately trying to 'prove' that the Young Socialists and Socialist Labour League are neither Marxist nor Leninist.

Their latest attack is in the last issue of 'Cogito', the discussion journal of the YCL, the entire edition being devoted to one topic—Leon Trotsky's ideas.

It is hardly surprising that the Stalinist leadership of the YCL should mount this slanderous attack on Trotskyism. All over the world, from Vietnam to Mexico, young workers and students are fighting against imperialism.

In France in May and June the dangers of this resurgence of youth became clear to the international Stalinist leadership.

Here, for the first time in Western Europe, Trotskyism established itself as a genuine revolutionary alternative to Stalinism and social democracy.

At the end of May, France stood on the brink of a socialist revolution. Factories, universities and schools were occupied by workers and students. The state machine was visibly disintegrating.

The capitalist class was transferring its cash and gold to Switzerland.

Only the French Communist Party stood between the working class and power. Its collaboration with de Gaulle in agreeing to elections as a means of 'cooling off' the mounting revolutionary struggle was decisive in confusing the workers.

It led them back to work without the main issue being resolved—the removal of de Gaulle and the development of a movement for workers' power.

This enormous betrayal has been a

big lesson for the working class not just of France, but the whole world.

Even within the Soviet Union itself, a growing body of opposition to Stalinism is developing. Students, artists, writers, scientific workers are coming to the fore in the fight to cleanse the Soviet Union of bureaucratic corruption, repression and privilege.

The Soviet working class, for 40 years trapped in the grip of the Stalinist police machine, is stirring.

Individual workers have joined with groups of intellectuals in opposing the frame-up trials of Soviet writers and others fighting the bureaucratic regime of Kosygin and Brezhnev.

The same alliance which, for two glorious weeks, swept away the Hungarian Stalinists in 1956—until Soviet tanks and armour returned to Budapest to crush the workers' councils—is slowly being formed.

It is the ideas of Trotsky and the International Committee of the Fourth International that will fertilize and guide these movements to victory, not only in France and Britain, but in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. That is why it is so important for the Stalinists to begin the attack now.

'Cogito's' attack on the Young Socialists is not the first made by the Stalinists on Trotskyism. The battle between Trotskyism and Stalinism began in 1923, culminating in the three infamous Moscow Trials of 1936-1938.

It was in these frame-up trials that the leaders of the Russian Revolution, Lenin's closest comrades, were accused and convicted of treason and counter-revolutionary activities, and afterwards executed in the cellars of Stalin's secret police.

It is impossible for the youth today to imagine the scope and intensity of the Kremlin's onslaught against Trotsky and the Fourth International.

Not only the Party and resources of the Soviet state but the entire international movement was devoted to witch-hunt all and sundry suspected of the least sympathy with Trotskyism. The full nature and scope of this campaign is well documented in the 'Moscow Trials Anthology' (New Park Publications Ltd., price 12s. 6d.) and should be read in conjunction with this article.

YCL members should note well the despicable record of their own Party leaders who vied with the Kremlin in vilifying the leaders of the Russian Revolution and organizers of the Soviet state, the Red Army and the Third Communist International.

But today there are new problems facing the Stalinists. It was one thing to present Trotsky to the world as an agent of Hitler when the workers of the world were in retreat before the rising ride of fascism.

Many in their desperation saw in the Stalinist rulers of the Soviet Union their sole hope of survival.

In periods of great defeats, bureaucracy is better able to steal what the working class has previously won. But more than that.

In coming forward as the conservator of past gains, Stalinism was able to present its revolutionary opponents as disrupters of unity and traitors to the cause.

Khrushchev's secret speech

Today the job is much harder. In fact, it is impossible. For one thing Khrushchev's 'secret speech' in 1956 (contained in the 'Moscow Trials Anthology') lifted at least a corner of the vast and bloody curtain which had officially concealed Stalin's crimes against communism.

And secondly the working class is no longer on the defensive as it was in the 1930s.

Stalinism and imperialism face a working class confident that its newly-won post-war prosperity can be defended against attacks from all quarters.

The mounting world crisis of imperialism will test out in battle all those political parties and groups which claim to be Marxist, including those which masquerade as Trotskyists.

Continued over page →

In this situation the old method of slandering Trotsky as a fascist agent will no longer wash.

Something more subtle is called for. Something 'fair' and 'objective'.

Who better then to take on the job than Monty Johnstone, one time editor of 'Challenge', the YCL periodical, and now a leader of the 'liberal' wing in British Stalinism.

Monty Johnstone, according to the issue of 'Challenge' (May 1, 1954) when he was appointed as editor, joined the YCL in 1941.

Since then he has held quite a number of responsible positions in the movement. These include being full-time district organizer of the Young Communist League in the Midlands, chairman of the National Student Committee of the Communist Party and YCL National Education Organizer.

That is very interesting because in 1945 the same Monty Johnstone joined the Revolutionary Communist Party, the British section of the Trotskyist Fourth International, and remained a member of it until 1946.

We would like to know from Johnstone on what basis did he join the RCP.

Was it as a result of a genuine attempt to break from the politics of Stalinism, or did Johnstone's 'respon-



Krushchev's 'secret speech' lifted the corner of the bloody curtain.

sible positions in the movement' include that of a Stalinist spy within the ranks of the Fourth International?

We are not dealing here with what Johnstone might term 'personal abuse and innuendo'. We think that YCL as well as YS members have a right to know about Johnstone's political record as it is intimately bound up with his activities today as an opponent of the Fourth International.

Let us make it clear. We are not saying that Johnstone was a spy. We only point out that this is the only conclusion one can draw if he made no break with Stalinist politics after he joined the RCP.

On the other hand, if the break was genuine, then we have a further difficulty in explaining his return to Stalinism and being employed by the Communist Party as a full-time worker.

Was Johnstone's period of membership of the Trotskyist organization unknown to the British Communist Party leaders?

Again, if it was known, how are we to explain Johnstone's subsequent

rise to influence in the YCL and Communist Party, except on the basis that he was trusted by Party leaders as a loyal Stalinist and anti-Trotskyist?

These questions, we insist, have to be cleared up and only one person can do it—Monty Johnstone himself.

As we have already pointed out, Johnstone claims to be opposed to the 'old sectarian habits and attitudes and bureaucratic resistances' which have held up the 'objective critical and self-critical analysis' of the roles of Stalin and Trotsky in the revisionist movement².

We shall see that Johnstone certainly has much to be self-critical about. What, for example, did he have to say in 'Challenge' about the trial of Rudolf Slansky, executed along with 13 of his comrades for alleged crimes which, it is now admitted, were never committed?

'Slansky former general secretary of the Czech CP and 13 associates were found guilty of spying and sabotage for the US and its satellites. Many were shown to have acted as spies in the labour movement since the pre-war days. These people unwillingly confessed their crimes in the face of the irrefutable (sic) testimony of fact, documents and the evidence of witnesses.'³

All this 'evidence' has been proved to be utterly fraudulent and worthless, Mr. Johnstone. Surely it is time, in view of your support of the Dubcek 'liberals' in Czechoslovakia, for a little 'objective critical and self-critical analysis'?

As if this white-wash of judicial murder were not enough for Johnstone, he concludes his article in 'Challenge' by recommending similar methods for the British workers' movement, presumably for the benefit of his ex-comrades of the RCP:

'Such activities can and must be rooted out in this as in other countries wherever this takes place; through the vigilance of the workers the movement is rendered stronger and healthier.'⁴

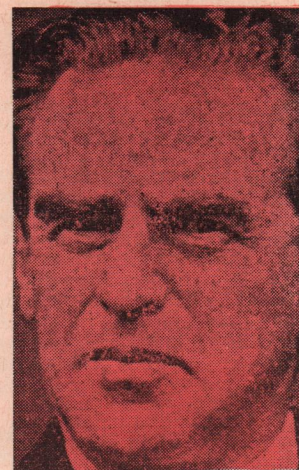
Johnstone knew they were innocent

Johnstone, who applauds the murder of the innocent 14 Czech communists as making the workers' movement 'stronger and healthier' had access to Trotskyist literature which advocated all the time that these men were completely innocent.

For his period in the Revolutionary Communist Party, Johnstone had received, like all its members, a training in the counter-revolutionary nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy. He knew as well as anyone who had been a member of the British Trotskyists that not only Slansky, but all the countless victims of Stalinist trumped-up charges and mock trials were innocent.

But that did not prevent him from

2. Ibid., p. 2.
3. 'Challenge', January 10, 1953.
4. Ibid., January 10, 1953.



Rudolf Slansky, former general secretary of the Czech CP.

lending himself to the justification of his own comrades' murder. In using the columns of the YCL journal to poison the minds of thousands of young workers against those struggling for some degree of workers' democracy in Eastern Europe, Johnstone proved himself to be a man totally devoid of any political scruples or principles.

But even that was not enough for Johnstone. In the same article, he takes up the opportunity of Slansky's alleged 'treason' to once more pour out all the old pre-war slanders against the Bolshevik leaders framed up in the Moscow Trials:

'But the sending of spies into the Russian labour movement did not cease with the 1917 Revolution. . . . Before the (last) war, in a series of trials, a number of highly-placed officials in the state and Communist Party were found guilty of carrying on spying and wrecking activities for Nazi Germany. This Fifth Column was smashed only just in time, otherwise when the Nazi invasion came, it could have wrought tremendous harm. . . .'⁵

No 'self-critical' inhibitions here! This was the lie peddled round the British labour movement so energetically by Johnstone's political tutors, Messrs. Dutt, Pollitt, Klugman and Gollan.

Johnstone took it off the shelf, dusted it down and dished it up again in 1953, just to make sure that the new generation of YCL members could be 'enlightened'.

But we have not finished with Johnstone's journalistic record. On March 5, 1953, Stalin, the grave-digger of the Bolshevik Party died.

Johnstone, above all others in the YCL, knew the true history of Stalin, the leader of the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union and the wrecker of revolution throughout the world. This he had been taught in the Trotskyist movement. And yet who was selected by 'Challenge' to write its obituary to the dead murderer of literally millions of innocent Soviet communists and citizens?

Who else but Monty Johnstone!

'In the passing of J. V. Stalin the working people of the whole world have suffered an irreparable loss. . . . No man in our times has done so much as Stalin to change the course of world history through the inestimable leadership and help he has given to the poor and oppressed of the world in their struggle for freedom and a happier life. . . . For 30 years Stalin led the Soviet people from victory to victory in the face of the most terrible obstacles so that it is today well on the road to communism. . . .'

'In 1922, he was elected general secretary of the Party and, following Lenin's death in 1924, he emerged as the trusted leader of the Party and world communist movement.'

'His life is an example to every young socialist of courage, tenacity, faith in the people, the combination of study and action, constant devotion to principle. . . .'

'On his passing we can say, as Engels said of Marx's death exactly 70 years ago: "Mankind is shorter by a head, and the greatest head of our times at that. His name and work will endure through the ages".'⁶

We reproduce the key sections of this article because we think it is the most significant thing that Johnstone has ever written. We recommend its study not only to all YCL members, but to those who now collaborate with its author in the awarding of the 'Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize'.

According to the 'Black Dwarf' of December 3, 1968:

5. Ibid., January 10, 1953.
6. Ibid., March 14, 1953.

'The jury will consider works published or submitted in typescript. The prize (to the value of £100) will be awarded each year to a work which contributes to the development of Marxist thought'.

Among those who are to sit as judges on the submitted works are E. H. Carr, the historian of the Russian Revolution, and Christopher Hill, who has specialized in a study of the English bourgeois revolution of 1640-1649.

These two judges are of a very high academic standing and achievement. They should look very closely at the academic credentials of some of their colleagues, most notably of Mr. Johnstone himself, who in his obituary of Stalin captions his picture with the following lie: 'Stalin in 1918—organizer of the Red Army'.⁷

No doubt Mr. Carr, who is a stickler for facts, will have something to discuss with Mr. Johnstone when the committee meets to begin its work.

The same must be said of Christopher Hill, who broke from the Communist Party after 1956 on this very question of Stalinist suppression and distortion of historical evidence. We advise him, too, to check over Johnstone's essays in the field of historical writing and research.

We are fully aware that many, apart from Johnstone, went and are still going along with the crimes of Stalinism. But many of these supporters of Stalinism defended at the same time what they believed to be a basically correct political line.

As our opponents, such people deserve political respect in the treatment of their ideas, however wrong and reactionary they may be.

Again, others broke, or tried to break from Stalinism after 1956. Of these many played an important part in strengthening the Socialist Labour League and 'The Newsletter', helping to lay the foundations for the future Trotskyist daily paper.

For all of these people, principles, however mistaken, predominated over personal gain or prestige.

A record of historical distortion

Johnstone's record is one of historical distortion of the most opportunist kind. As an historian he does not come up to E. H. Carr's bootlaces. Carr's 4,000-page 'History of the Bolshevik Revolution'—still incomplete—has done an enormous amount to unravel the complexities of that period.

Without agreeing completely with his historical method, which tends towards empiricism, or all of his political conclusions, Marxists can still pay tribute to his tremendous powers of scholarship and studious objectivity.

Then there is on the committee Tamara Deutscher, wife of the late Isaac Deutscher. Like her husband, she is a person who represents a certain political line which one can either oppose or agree with. Deutscher's great achievement was, of course, his three-volume biography of Trotsky, begun when the Bolshevik leader's name still equated treason in the minds of all Communist Party members and supporters. Deutscher's work did a great deal to break that barrier down.

In the past we have clashed with Isaac Deutscher on the most fundamental questions of Marxism—the role of the party, the nature of Stalinism, the foundation of the Fourth International and the use of the Marxist method itself.

But we feel that Deutscher would not approve of the presence on the committee bearing his name of a man whose whole political aim has been the slandering of Trotsky and Trotskyism.

If these scholars and publicists wish to award prizes for what they consider to be the best Marxist work of the year, that is, of course, entirely their own affair. But we suspect that they, along with Tamara Deutscher, are being involved in a political manoeuvre based on an alliance against Trotskyism between the Stalinists, represented by Johnstone, and the 'New Left Review', represented on the committee by its editor, Perry Anderson.

The 'New Left Review' has had as

7. Ibid., March 14, 1953.



Trotsky (left), Lenin (centre), Kamenev (right) were honorary presidents of the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party in July 1917. (See page six.)

Continued over page →

Monty Johnstone—an apologist for Stalinism (from p. 5)

chequered a career as Monty Johnstone. It originated out of the fusion between the 'New Reasoner', a group of ex-Communist Party intellectuals who broke from the Party after the revelations about Stalin and the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution, and the periodical 'The Universities and Left Review'.

Over the last two years its policy has been brought more and more into line with the requirements of the 'liberal' apologists for the Kremlin bureaucracy and its international agencies. Johnstone himself first wrote for the magazine in its January-February 1967 issue on this political line of 'liberal' Stalinism.

Johnstone's appearance in the 'Review' heralded a constant stream of anti-Trotskyist articles, notably by one Nicolas Krasso, whose main aim was the defence of the Stalinist theory of 'socialism in one country'.

Krasso's work was so studded with lies and half-truths that Tamara Deutscher was forced to come out in print against him:

'I do not wish to enter into the core of the debate between Mandel and Krasso, but I really must object to any selective or inaccurate quotations from Isaac's works.'⁸

Relations will not be improved on the committee by Johnstone's use of the same method, even down to the use of the same mis-quotation in his 'Cogito' article on Trotskyism. But we will return to this question when dealing with the article in more detail.

We should conclude this analysis of the record of Johnstone with a word of advice for the committee's other members.

Marxism is, above all, an historical science. Those who claim to practice it and who sit in judgement on the interpretation of others must surely first be able to square accounts with their own political past.

Johnstone, whom, we must assume, participates on the committee with Communist Party agreement, has not shown the least inclination to do so. His political past remains so obscure that he can only loosely be called even a Stalinist.

His collaborators on the committee should, we suggest, demand at the first opportunity that he give an account of that political past. The development of Marxism requires it.

Though Johnstone raises a very wide

range of issues, some are more important than others. We feel that it is particularly important to give close attention to: Trotsky's relations with Lenin and the Bolshevik Party; Stalin's theory of 'socialism in one country'; the Moscow Trials; and the Stalinist bureaucracy today.

Trotsky and Lenin

Johnstone's first task in his 'Cogito' article is to attack the political, theoretical and programmatic links that bind the work of the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League today with Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution. To do this, he has to show that Trotsky was not, even after 1917, a real Leninist member of the Bolshevik Party, never 'fitting himself into the ranks and hence being prepared to submit himself to its collective leadership' . . .⁹

Trotsky himself never concealed the fact that from 1903 to the outbreak of the February Revolution of 1917, he was on the wrong side on the question of the organization of the revolutionary party.

Indeed Johnstone quotes from Trotsky to this effect. But then he asserts that the 'Socialist Labour League do not wish to dwell on this'. Hoping to prove his point, he quotes from 'The Newsletter' of April 1, 1961:

'On the question of party organization Trotsky admitted that he was wrong and Lenin was right when he joined the Bolshevik Party in 1917, and ever afterwards he defended Lenin against the people who tried to use Trotsky's early writings on organization against Leninism.'

We fail to see how this quotation from 'The Newsletter' backs up Johnstone's assertion that 'though they (the SLL) are normally without equals when it comes to looking into people's political pasts (Johnstone no doubt has justified fears on these grounds), they have no taste for it when the subject is Trotsky. "What is the point of all these details about the disputes between Lenin and Trotsky in the early 1900s?" they ask Communist Party members'.¹⁰

We will repeat again for Johnstone's benefit that the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists consider, as Trot-

sky did after 1917, that Lenin was always right on the question of centralized party organization. We fight for these principles in the building of the revolutionary party in Britain against Johnstone and the distorters of Bolshevik history.

But what of Trotsky's role after he joined the Bolshevik party, as a member of which, in Johnstone's own words, he 'was to play an outstanding role'¹¹ in the October Revolution?

It is worth noting in passing that at the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party in July 1917, the honorary presidents elected were Lenin, Zinoviev, Kollontai, Kamenev, Lunarcharsky and . . . Trotsky.

The voting figures for elections to the Party Central Committee also reveal the standing of Trotsky in the eyes of the Bolshevik Party leadership even at that early stage.

The top four secured (out of a maximum possible votes of 134), Lenin 133, Zinoviev 132, Kamenev 132, Trotsky 131.

It is a well-documented fact that Lenin's political attitude to Trotsky changed sharply in the struggle to prepare the Bolshevik Party for power in the last weeks before October.

Right up to the end, Lenin had to fight constantly against the right wing of the Party (headed by Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin) who still clung to the illusion of a possible alliance with the left wing of the Menshevik Party.

At a meeting of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik Party on November 14, (a week after the uprising) Lenin paid tribute to the resoluteness of Trotsky in the fight against those who sought a compromise with the Mensheviks:

'As for conciliation I cannot even speak about that seriously. Trotsky long ago understood that unification is impossible. Trotsky understood this and from that time on there has been no better Bolshevik.'¹²

Johnstone is unable to ignore this remark of Lenin's. He must therefore cast doubt upon its authenticity. He chooses to call it 'a remark that Lenin is alleged on Trotsky's authority to have made in November 1917' . . .¹³

In a footnote to this innuendo, Johnstone adds the following slur:

'Trotsky reproduces a proof of an allegedly suppressed page of the Minutes of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviks'.¹⁴

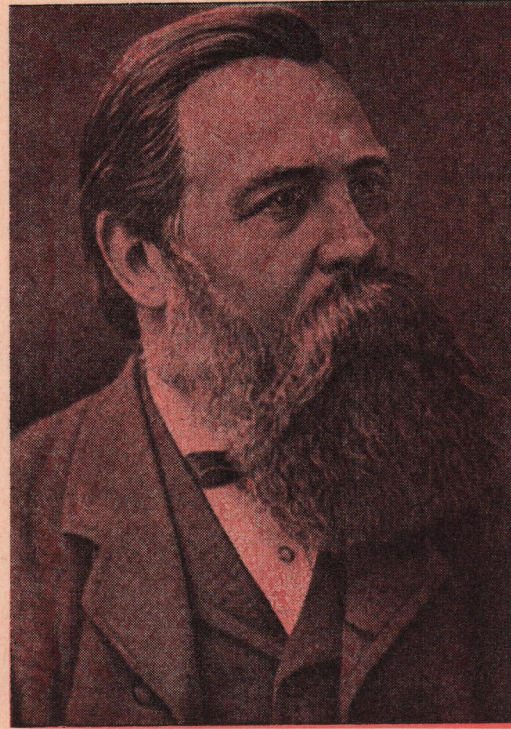
Here we have two contradictory statements. First it is an 'alleged' remark made only on Trotsky's authority. Yet in the footnote he tells us that a reproduction of the minutes of the meeting in question exists, and that far from it being only an 'alleged' remark of Lenin's, only its suppression by the Stalinists is doubtful!

The reader can check the reproduction for himself on page 102 of the 1962 edition of 'The Stalin School of Falsification' by Trotsky. But if we check the latest edition of Lenin's collected works there is not the least trace of this speech.

Volume 26 does include three very short speeches Lenin made on November 14, 1917—but they were at a session of Bolshevik Central Committee and do not touch on the subject we are discussing.¹⁵

What has happened to this speech, the minutes of which Johnstone claims were only 'allegedly suppressed'? The answer is very simple. In making up the book containing the minutes of this session, the Stalinist censor (this was in 1927) struck out the offending page, scribbling in the left-hand margin the words 'junk this' (see reproduction on this page).

Luckily the proofs of this page had already been made up from the galleys before they were broken up on the instructions of the bureaucracy. They were quickly passed on to the Left



Opposition by print workers sympathetic to Trotsky.

It was this same slur against Trotsky by casting aspersions on Lenin's praise, retailed first of all by Krasso in the 'New Left Review', No. 44, that provoked Tamara Deutscher's rebuke to which we have already referred.

Trotsky did become a Bolshevik Mr. Johnstone. It was as a Bolshevik that he organized and led the Red Army, helped to shape the major policies of the Soviet state, Communist Party and the Third International. And it was as Lenin's closest comrade in the leadership of the Party that he joined with him in Lenin's last fight—against bureaucracy and the growing negative influence of Stalin at all levels of the Party.

Again, much of the documentary evidence for this can be found in the 'Moscow Trials Anthology'.

Trotsky fought for the continuation of the Bolshevik tradition and programme against the rise of bureaucratic Stalinism. That is why Johnstone is at such pains to drive a fictitious wedge between Trotsky and Lenin at this crucial period of the Russian Revolution. This leads directly on to the central issue in dispute between Trotskyism and Stalinism: that of 'socialism in one country'.

'Socialism in one country'

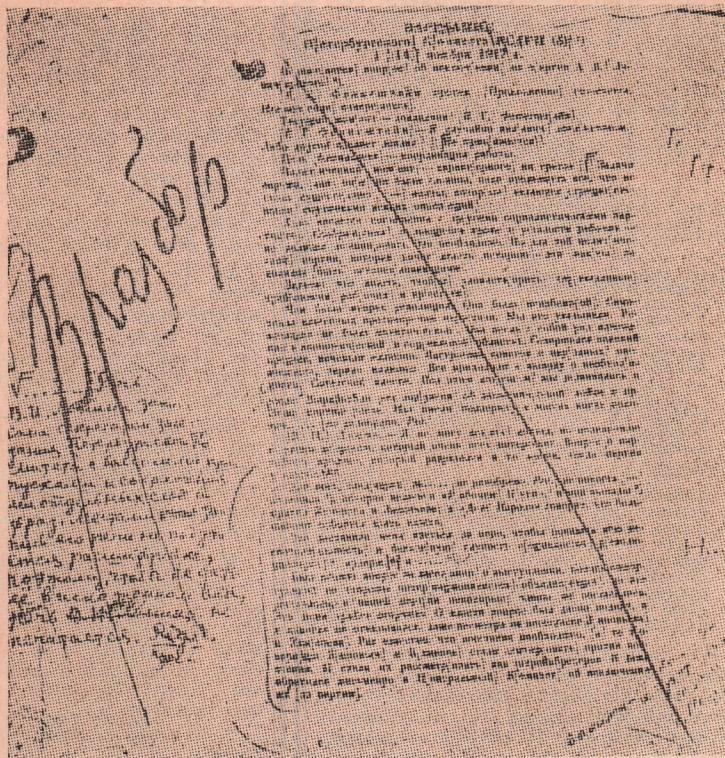
No revolutionary, from the earliest days of Marx and Engels onwards, had envisaged that a fully developed socialist society could be constructed in one country.

Marx and Engels dealt with this question many times, first of all in the 'Communist Manifesto':

'National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the capitalist class, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life. . . . The supremacy of the working class will cause them to vanish still faster. United action of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the working class.'¹⁶

Marx returned to this theme two years later after the rich experience of 1848—the year of revolutions in Germany, Austria, France, Hungary and Poland.

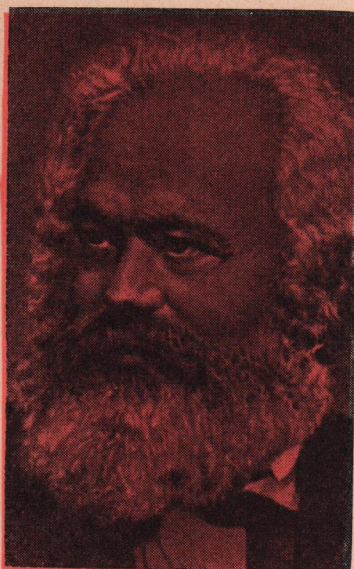
'It is our interest and task to make the revolution permanent, until all the more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, until the working class has conquered state power, and the association of all workers, not only in one country, but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the workers of these countries has ceased, and



The suppressed page of the Minutes of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviks reporting Lenin's remarks about Trotsky. The handwriting in the left-hand column is that of the Stalinist censor—it says 'junk this'.

11. 'Cogito', p. 7.
12. Trotsky, 'The Stalin School of Falsification', p. 105.
13. 'Cogito', p. 8.
14. 'Cogito', p. 8 (footnote).
15. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 26, pp. 275-276.

16. Marx-Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 51.



Marx (above) and Engels (left) both saw the necessity for the united action of the working class of the 'leading civilized countries'.

that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the workers.¹⁷

Lenin and the Bolsheviks were thoroughly grounded in this internationalist Marxist tradition and method.

It was based on the world-wide nature of the capitalist mode of production, and on the dominance of the technically most advanced nations within that world system.

Far more than the feudal society which preceded it, capitalism was based on the world division of labour. The whole world economy, crowned by a small group of rich and powerful capitalist states, functioned according to this basic principle of advanced production.

Certain nations, such as the colonial areas of Africa and Asia, were used by the European and later American capitalists as sources of cheap raw materials and basic foodstuffs, while advanced mechanized production remained largely confined to the most developed capitalist states.

In this way, a basic division of labour between nations was built up, distorted as it was by the exploitation of the more backward by the more advanced nations.

Again, between the more advanced states, the principle of the world division of labour still operated. Nations such as Germany came to specialize in heavy industrial goods, while France concentrated on consumer, agricultural and luxury products.

Each nation more and more, through

the development of trade and the increasing tendency towards specialization, became dependant on the world economy and its world monetary and commercial system.

Banking itself, as an expression of trade under capitalist production, became a specialized activity in its own right, certain nations such as Britain and Switzerland carrying out this service on behalf of other capitalist states.

By the 20th century, the world economy had fallen completely under the sway of the banking and industrial trusts of a handful of imperialist powers. The stage was thus set for the First World War and the revolutionary crisis that it set in motion.

The Bolshevik Party was well prepared for this world crisis of imperialism. Internationalism had been written into the Party's programme from as early as 1902:

'The development of international exchange and of production for the world market has established such close ties among all nations of the civilized world, that the present-day working-class movement has to become, and has long become, an international movement. That is why Russian Social Democracy (in 1903 to split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks—R.B.) regards itself as one of the detachments of the world army of the working class, as part of international Social Democracy'.¹⁸

The leadership of the parties of Second International betrayed this basic principle of internationalism. On the outbreak of the 1914-1918 war, they called upon the workers to defend and extend the frontiers of the capitalist nation state. They did so because, in reality, they had succumbed to the illusion that it was possible to build socialism within these state frontiers.

The reformist degeneration of the Second International was therefore closely bound up with the nationalist corruption of its leadership.

As early as 1879, the German right-wing Social Democrat Vollmar had put forward the notion of 'socialism in one country' as a thinly concealed justification for his pre-occupation with the defence of capitalist state frontiers and his indifference towards the struggles of workers in other lands. 'Socialism in one country' was in origin a reformist theory, refurbished after Lenin's death in 1924 by Stalin and his supporters, as they fought it out against the Leninist, Internationalist wing of the Bolshevik Party.

We have already quoted from the writings of Marx and Engels on this question. It is now essential to refer to Lenin as the leading authority in the epoch of imperialist war and workers' revolutions.

The Russian Revolution tore the Soviet Union out of the political grip of world imperialism, and placed its economic resources at the disposal of the state. But it did not end the Soviet Union's dependence on world trade

and the international division of labour.

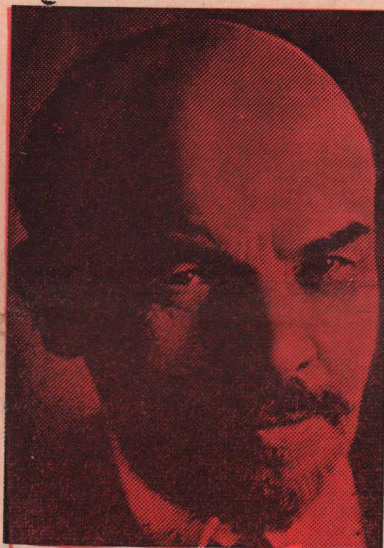
Only with the spread of the Revolution to the most advanced capitalist countries, and eventually to the whole world, would a harmonious relationship be established between the Soviet and world economy. While the Soviet Union remained isolated from the rest of Europe and the United States of America, its war-battered economy, however resourceful the policies of the Bolsheviks, would suffer immense strains and distortions.

In turn, this economic pressure exerted by the world market would frustrate the building of a developed socialist society, free from bureaucracy and with a flourishing of the arts and sciences.

Johnstone insists that the Stalinist theory of 'socialism in one country' was basically correct, that 'the course of revolutions in the world, which today sees a growing socialist camp challenging the old imperialist camp, has in no small measure, confirmed Stalin's broad perspective'.¹⁹

Leaving aside the question of the whereabouts of this 'growing socialist camp' (where has it been growing?) we must make it clear that here Johnstone challenges the entire teachings of Lenin on the question of internationalism.

Let us first deal with the lie that 'Lenin, in the last period of his working life, was coming more and more in practice to adopt such a perspective' (the perspective of 'socialism in one country'. R.B.).²⁰



Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

Let Lenin speak for himself.

November 7, 1917. The day of the Russian Revolution. Lenin moves a re-

19. 'Cogito', p. 24.
20. Ibid., p. 29.

18. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 6, p. 29.

17. Ibid., p. 110.

solution before the Petrograd Soviet, ending with the words:

'The Soviet is convinced that the workers of the West European countries will help us to achieve a complete and lasting victory for the cause of socialism'.²¹

Again on November 7, 1917:

'We believe in the revolution in the West. We know that it is inevitable, but it cannot of course be made to order. . . . We shall conduct organized fraternization in the trenches and help the peoples of the West to start an invincible socialist revolution'.²²

January 7, 1918:

'That the socialist revolution in Europe must come and will come is beyond doubt. All our hopes for the final victory of socialism are founded on this certainty. . . .'²³

January 24, 1918:

'We are far from having completed even the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. We never cherished the hope that we could finish it without the aid of the international working class. . . . The final victory of socialism in a single country is of course impossible. . . . The Russian began it—the German, the Frenchman and the Englishman will finish it and socialism will be victorious'.²⁴

March 7, 1918:

'International imperialism . . . could not, under any circumstances, under any conditions, live side by side with the Soviet Republic, both because of its objective position and because of the economic interests of the capitalist class embodied in it, because of commercial connections, of international financial relations. In this sphere a conflict is inevitable. This is the greatest difficulty of the Russian Revolution, its greatest historical problem—the need to solve international problems, the need to evoke a world revolution, to effect the transition from our strictly national revolution to the world revolution. This problem confronts us in all its incredible difficulty. I repeat, our salvation from all these difficulties is an all-European revolution. . . . At all events, under all conceivable circumstances, if the German revolution does not come, we are doomed'.²⁵

November 8, 1918:

'The complete victory of the socialist revolution in one country alone is inconceivable and demands the most active co-operation of at least several advanced countries, which do not include Russia'. (Emphasis added).²⁶

December 5, 1919:

'We always said that the victory of the socialist revolution, therefore, can only be regarded as final when it becomes the victory of the workers in at least several advanced countries'.²⁷

November 26, 1920:

'The Mensheviks assert that we are pledged to defeating the world bourgeoisie on our own. We have, however, always said that we are only a single link in the chain of the world revolution and have never set ourselves the aim of achieving victory by our own means'.²⁸

December 6, 1920:

'While capitalism and socialism exist side by side, they cannot live in peace: one or the other will ultimately triumph. . . .'²⁹

April 21, 1921:

'But we know perfectly well that it will take at least ten years only to complete the first stage of this "one" condition (the electrification of the countryside—R.B.); this period can only be conceivably reduced if the workers' revolution is victorious in such countries as Britain, Germany or the USA'.³⁰

End of February, 1922:

'But we have not finished even the foundations of socialist economy . . . for we have always urged and repeated the elementary truth of Marxism—that the joint efforts of the workers of several advanced countries are needed for the victory of socialism'.³¹

Here is Lenin's written record on the question of socialism in one country—or at least a small part of it, for at every stage in the work of

21. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 26, p. 241.
22. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 26, pp. 291-292.
23. Ibid., vol. 26, p. 442.
24. Ibid., vol. 26, pp. 465-472.
25. Ibid., vol. 27, p. 92.
26. Ibid., vol. 28, p. 151.
27. Ibid., vol. 30, pp. 207-208.
28. Ibid., vol. 31, p. 431.
29. Ibid., vol. 31, p. 457.
30. Ibid., vol. 32, p. 350.
31. Ibid., vol. 33, p. 206.

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MOSCOW TRIALS Anthology



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Monty Johnstone—an apologist for Stalinism (from p. 7)

the Party and International, Lenin constantly proceeded from and returned to these basic principles of internationalism.

No better antidote

There is no better antidote to the narrow and smug nationalism of Stalin and his present apologists than 'The Third International after Lenin' by Trotsky, particularly its section dealing with the 1928 draft programme of the Communist International.

Here Trotsky hammers home the basic Marxist truth:

... an international communist programme is in no case the sum total of national programmes or an amalgam of their common features. The international programme must proceed directly from an analysis of the conditions and tendencies of world economy and of the world political system taken as a whole in all its connections and contradictions, that is, with the mutually antagonistic interdependence of its separate parts.³²

Socialism by harnessing in a planned way the world's economic resources based on a further development of international trade and the division of labour, does not abolish the interconnections between national economies. It begins to overcome the distorted and exploiting aspects of this mutual interdependence, but far from abolishing it, raises it to a far higher degree of intensity.

The theory of 'socialism in one country' flew completely in the face of the facts of economic life. How could socialism be built in a single country when even capitalism, since its inception as a dominant mode of production in Europe at the beginning of the 19th century, had proved itself unable to evolve within the boundaries of the old nation state?

Johnstone never even faces up to this question, let alone answers it. Instead we get the half-hearted apology:

'Stalin's argument was that the spread of the revolution to the West was obviously the most desirable thing, but that with the delay in this Russia had no alternative but to set itself the aim of building socialism in the belief that she had all that was necessary to complete this'.³³

But the whole substance of Marx's, Engel's and Lenin's fight for internationalism was that 'socialism in one country' was not an 'alternative' to world revolution. It was impossible.

True, as Lenin pointed out, the Soviet Union had all that was necessary to achieve socialism: i.e. the rule of the working class, the monopoly on foreign trade and the beginnings of a planned and nationalized economy. But these levers for socialism were of a national character only.

Nothing more could be achieved on a national scale. The issue would finally be resolved in the arena of world class struggle and economy. Johnstone, by abstracting the Soviet economy from the international class struggle and the pressures and contradictions between the Soviet economy and the economies of the imperialist nations, passes off Stalin's formula as the best alternative to world revolution.

It was, and remains, nothing of the sort. It is a reactionary Utopia, which has conditioned in a direct and tragic way the policies followed by the world communist movement over the last 40 or more years.

But even Stalin at one time was an opponent of his own theory. In the Spring of 1924, Stalin gave a series of lectures at the Sverdlov University on 'The foundations of Leninism'. Later the same year the lectures were published in book form, and in the first edition we can read the following lines:

'The overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian government in one country does not yet guarantee the complete victory of socialism. The main task of socialism—the organization of socialist production—still remains ahead. Can this task be accomplished, can the final victory of socialism in one country be attained, without the joint efforts of the proletariat of several advanced countries?

'No, this is impossible. . . . For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, particularly of such a peasant country as Russia, are insufficient.' (Emphasis in original.)³⁴

Such a categorical denial of 'socialism in one country' even Lenin never surpassed! But in all subsequent editions of the same book, the speech was re-written as follows:

'But the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country does not yet mean that the complete victory of socialism has been assured. After consolidating its power and leading the peasantry in its wake the proletariat of the victorious country can and must build a socialist society'.³⁵

What was in May 1924 'impossible' became, after only a few months, a task that 'can and must' be done!

Johnstone makes no reference to this typical example of Stalinist somersaulting.

Let us now examine the performance of the Soviet and East European economies today, thus checking over Johnstone's claim (to which we referred earlier) of the existence of 'a growing socialist camp challenging the old imperialist one'.³⁶

Johnstone refers to the 'fiasco' of Trotsky's methods in considering the 'possibility of the productivity of labour growing faster in the predominant capitalist countries than in Russia'.³⁷

But despite the advances secured by the industrialization of the Soviet Union under the five-year plans (advances which Trotsky correctly attributed to the viability of a planned economy and not to the wisdom of the bureaucracy) the problem of labour productivity still bedevils the growth of the Soviet economy, particularly its agriculture. The productivity of labour (labour being the foundation of all wealth in any society) is the surest guide to the viability of an economy in relation to any rival system.

No Marxist would dispute that a developed socialist economy will achieve a higher level of labour productivity than even the most advanced capitalist state. Socialist production is not just a question of nationalized property relations, though these lie at its core.

Upon this foundation of planned and nationalized economy must arise a technical and scientific superstructure which, by harnessing the initiative and skills of the working population through democratic planning and control, will outstrip the most productive of capitalist nations.



Soviet space achievement

The level of techniques can not on the achievements, tremendous USSR are in this field. No, the level and utilization of technique can only be truly ascertained on the basis of its ability to reduce the quantity of

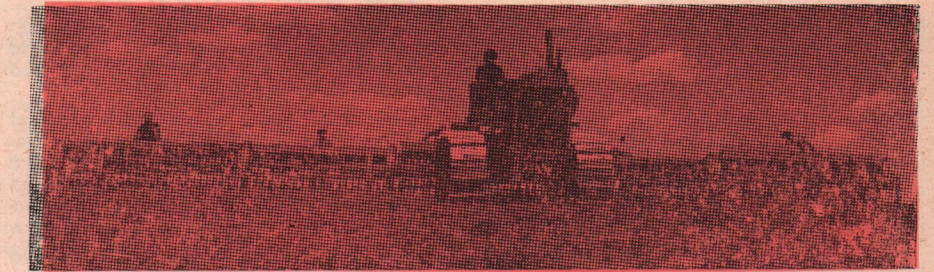
and do not touch on the subject we are discussing.³⁸

What has happened to this speech, the minutes of which Johnstone claims were only 'allegedly suppressed'? The answer is very simple. In making up the book containing the minutes of this session, the Stalinist censor (this was in 1927) struck out the offending page, scribbling in the left-hand margin the words 'Junk this' (see reproduction on this page).

Luckily the proofs of this page had already been made up from the galleys before they were broken up on the 1917.

More trade links

It is the Soviet, and not capitalist governments, who since the war have made all the running in the campaign



labour time required for the process of production.

We must therefore measure the USSR against its main capitalist rival, the USA, not only with the yardstick of property forms. Here the Soviet Union, even in a distorted way, undoubtedly points out the road the whole of mankind will travel.

No, we must also measure the two systems in terms of their utilization of labour time, in terms of the mastery they have achieved over productive technique. In doing so, we in no sense decry the immeasurable sacrifices that the Soviet people have made for the cause of communism, both on the battlefield and in the factory, mine and field. Neither should these sober judgements be construed as a questioning of the necessity to re-organize the world on socialist lines. These points are of course not in dispute.

But Marxists do have a duty to say what is, and also what is not. Trotsky rightly said in 1928, in criticism of the same bureaucratic smugness that Johnstone now exudes:

'Harsh truth and not sugary falsehood is needed to fortify the worker, the agricultural labourer, and the poor peasant. . . . Instead of telling the fibs about having realized 90 per cent socialism, we must say to them that our economic level, our social and cultural conditions, approximate today (1928) much closer to capitalism, and a backward and uncultured capitalism at that, than to socialism'.

Trotsky, in the same work ('The Third International after Lenin', pp. 66-67) reminds the complacent bureaucracy of Lenin's realism on this basic problem:

'Russia (the land of poverty) will only become such a land (the land of plenty) if we cast away all pessimism and phrasemongering; if clenching our teeth, we gather all our might, strain every nerve and muscle, if we understand that salvation is possible only along the road of international socialist revolution that we have entered'. (Lenin's Collected Works, First Russian Ed., Vol. 15, p. 165.)

Far from this problem having been solved by collectivization and industrialization of the USSR, it has been made more acute. Every step forward made by the Soviet economy (and with what tremendous waste in human life

Output per worker in Soviet agriculture is only a quarter of the corresponding US output.

for more trade links between east and west. Mr. Johnstone was no doubt in full favour of the Communist Party's national campaign during the years after the war for increased trade between Britain and the Soviet Union. If this is so, he was in his political activity, at least, conceding the point that the Soviet economy cannot develop as an isolated economic unit. Nevertheless even to this day, he clings to the Stalinist myth of 'socialism in one country'!

The intimate relationship between the capitalist and non-capitalist economies is now far more readily admitted in Stalinist circles.

Valentin Kudrova, Soviet economist, in examining the relative efficiency of the Soviet and US economies, comes to some conclusions that should disturb Johnstone's complacency:

'As regards overall investments, the USSR is close to the US level (roughly 90 per cent) and for production investments and overall accumulation it has already achieved noticeable superiority. But since this superiority is observed in conditions when the national income is only 62 per cent of the US national income, a certain strain is felt in the Soviet economy, a strain which must be eliminated by greater efficiency in production'.³⁸

What progress has been made towards overcoming this strain, imposed on the Soviet economy by its 50-year isolation from the benefits of the international division of labour organized on a socialist basis?

'If we go into the structure of metal-working equipment, the lag of the USSR is patent. For instance, the share of forge and die press equipment in the USSR is 15 per cent of the total, in the USA it is 24 per cent. Since 1960, no appreciable change has taken place in this ratio'.³⁹

On the question of the use of materials, Kudrova finds the Soviet economy (which Johnstone claims to be 'socialist') lagging behind:

'As a rule, the rate of expenditure of raw materials in the USSR is still higher than in the USA. For example, to generate one kilowatt hour of electric power the USSR expends 428 grams of standard fuel, the USA 355. For every ton of steel smelted in the USSR we produce 0.73 tons of pig iron, whereas the US figure is 0.67 tons. For every ton of rolled metal we turn out 1.5 tons of steel, the USA 1.4 tons; expenditure of rolled metal and castings per unit of output in the USSR is roughly 40 per cent higher than in the USA'.⁴⁰

Thus from raw material to finished article, the amount of wastage is getting on for double that of the USA. Is this evidence of what Johnstone calls a 'fully-developed, prosperous harmonious and cultured society'?⁴¹

Let us finally deal with the vital vanishing, owing to the development of the capitalist class, to freedom according to the world market, to urgent lower in the mode of production and in conditions of life. . . . The supremacy of the working class will cause them to still faster. United action of the can this civilized countries at least, is one's asser-first conditions for the emancipation of the working class'.⁴²

Marx returned to this then had been years later after the rich experience of 1848—the year of revolutions in socialism many, Austria, France, Hunga main".⁴² Poland.

'It is our interest and task to be built revolution permanent, until all, as Johnstone admits, Russia was burdened with 'growth of bureaucracy, repression and gross inequality, the official

32. Trotsky, 'The Third International after Lenin', 1957 edition, p. 4.
33. 'Cogito', p. 24.

34. Stalin, 'Lenin and Leninism', 1924 Russian Edition, p. 40.
35. Stalin, Collected Works, vol. 6, p. 110.
36. 'Cogito', p. 24.
37. Ibid., p. 27.

38. 'World Marxist Review', October 1966, p. 12.
39. Ibid., October 1966, p. 11.
40. Ibid., October 1966, p. 11.
41. 'Cogito', p. 30.
42. Ibid., p. 30.

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hypocrisy and the stifling of artistic freedom⁴³, what, then, is socialism?

According to Johnstone, it is not only a society which permits the 'riding roughshod over the democratic rights and organs of the Party and the people, carrying through wide-spread arbitrary and brutal persecutions in which many of the finest Russian and foreign revolutionaries met a tragic end—his great crime which the Soviet Union and the international communist movement are still paying for dearly today'.⁴⁵

As far as the fruits of the Soviet economy are concerned, they still accrue largely to the privileged Party and state bureaucracy, resting for its support on the top layers of the middle class, the skilled workers and richest collective peasantry.

This gross distortion within the Soviet economy does not invalidate the socialist type of the USSR's productive relations. But it does reveal how far still has to be travelled before capitalist norms in distribution of the products of the economy are overcome.

The solution to that problem lies not only with the Soviet working class, who will have to cleanse the Soviet state of bureaucracy and excessive inequalities.

The Western working class must enter into the struggle overthrowing the rule of capitalism and uniting the world economy with those countries already dominated by a planned economy. That is the whole essence of Trotskyism, of the theory of permanent revolution and, quite naturally, Johnstone is utterly opposed to it.

The Moscow Trials

We have already drawn attention to Johnstone's shameful record on the Moscow Trials and the post-war purges in East Europe. What we now have to study is the way in which he attempts to separate into distinct and unrelated parts the 'good' and 'bad' deeds of Stalin:

'Stalin, whilst leading in an extraordinarily difficult international situation the laying, development and defence of the economic and cultural (sic) foundations of socialism—his great historical merit—was riding roughshod over the democratic rights and organs of the Party and the

people, carrying through wide-spread arbitrary and brutal persecution in which many of the finest Russian and foreign revolutionaries met a tragic end—his great crime which the Soviet Union and the international communist movement are still paying for dearly today'.⁴⁵

Johnstone's self-appointed task now becomes clear. Stalin's political line of 'socialism in one country' has to be preserved at all costs. So the purges and trials must be presented as something distinct from the political line of the Party under Stalin's rule.

Yet Johnstone knows full well that the vast majority of those condemned at the Moscow Trials were opponents of the theory of 'socialism in one country', even if they were not all members of the Trotskyist wing of the joint Left Opposition. Even the right-wing group around Bukharin met its death partly because it opposed the acts of repression against the left.

Is Johnstone trying to say that Stalin had these Bolsheviks purged by mistake? That he did not know they were innocent? Surely not, Mr. Johnstone. Stalin knew as well as you that they were innocent of all charges of wrecking and spying. Therefore the motives for their murder could only have been political.

Lenin's comrades had to be destroyed because they embodied, with all their weaknesses and vacillations, the last barrier between the Stalinist bureaucracy and total power, the last vestige of the Leninist International heritage that remained a constant and nagging threat to the nationalist and conservative ambitions of the rising bureaucracy.

For Johnstone, the Trials are a stinking albatross hung round the neck of Stalinism. Somehow, they must be ditched as an aberration of an otherwise correct political line:

'It is to be hoped that the Soviet Union will soon officially revise these trials, which are said to be still "under investigation"'.⁴⁶

Despite Johnstone's obvious impatience, which we can readily appreciate ('the absence of a public revision of former support for the Trials by British Communists provides an opportunity for the SLL in particular to harrass us persistently on this question'.⁴⁷), the Kremlin, we are afraid, is going to disappoint Mr. Johnstone and his 'Liberal' friends in the Communist

Party. Far from softening in its attitude towards past victims of the Stalinist bureaucracy, it is fast restoring Stalin to his pre-1956 position of near-infallibility.

For example there is the case of Alexi Kosterin, 56 years a Party member, who returned his Party card 'to free myself from Party discipline which deprives me of the right to think'.⁴⁸ Kosterin who is an opponent of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, warns of:

'A quiet but insistent rehabilitation of the name and anti-human deeds of Stalin. . . . In our Party at present it is forbidden to argue, and it is not permitted to think'.⁴⁹

According to the same 'Times' article:

'Mr. Kosterin emphasized his faith in Marxism-Leninism and his opposition to the imperialists'.⁵⁰

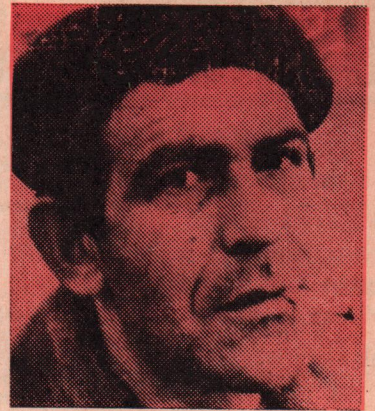
Then there are the numerous cases of the arrest and trial of Soviet writers and intellectuals on charges of committing acts hostile to the Soviet state system. Yet not one of those tried and convicted was an anti-communist.

Indeed, many stated quite openly that they were ardent partisans of communism and wished only, through their writings, to draw attention to bureaucratic defects which were frustrating the building of a socialist society. When such people are put on trial in rigged courts, and sentenced to hard labour, how can Johnstone argue that the Soviet Union is a socialist society, that 'since Stalin's death in 1953, many of the most negative features of Stalinism spotlighted by Trotsky have been dismantled'⁵¹?

We would very much like to hear, to name only one victim of Soviet 'justice', Pavel Litvinov's comments on this absurd statement by Johnstone.

Then there is the testimony of Piotr Yakir, the son of the General executed along with thousands of other army leaders, in the great military purges of 1937:

'The inhuman lynching of intellectuals is the logical culmination of the atmosphere of recent years in public life. The naive hopes for a thorough cleansing of our public life which were instilled in us by the decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses have not borne fruit. Slowly but surely the process of restoring Stalinism goes on. . . . It would, after all, be possible, without violating the proper bounds of Party discussion, to say honestly of various persons that they did not organize terrorist actions, did not engage in espionage



Yuli Daniel (above) and Pavel Litvinov (below), recent victims of Stalinist 'justice'.

age, and did not sprinkle broken glass into foodstuffs (one of the charges made against the Bukharin opposition at the 1938 Trial.—R.B.). It would, after all, be possible to relate also what they accomplished while in their high positions. But the great Civil War services of the People's Commissar for National Minorities (Stalin) remain with us to this day, alongside the unrelieved wrecking activities of the then People's Commissar for the Armed Forces and Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council Leon Trotsky.'

Yakir (an historian) concludes his denunciation of the new Stalinizers with the following indictment of current political trends in the Soviet Union:

'We remind you once more: languishing in the cruel conditions of hard-labour camps are people who dared to think. The silence of each one of you will be a step towards another trial of a Daniel or a Ginzburg. Slowly, with your silent consent, a new 1937 may arrive'.⁵²

And it is Johnstone who accuses Trotsky of being 'out of touch with Soviet-reality'.⁵³

Johnstone's case for the self-reform of the bureaucracy would have found a more gullible audience up until about four years ago. But today, his cocksure chatter about 'the initiative of forces within the Communist Party (which Trotsky had written off as "disintegrated", "dead", and "no longer the vanguard of the proletariat")'⁵⁴. (The bracket and quotes are Johnstone's.) will find no new buyers, least of all in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

Indeed, the party of Brezhnev and Kosygin (whom Johnstone presumably does regard as 'the vanguard of the proletariat'), is more and more being openly attacked in East Europe and the USSR on precisely these grounds.

A Party which does not permit free thought and discussion can only be described as dead, disintegrated and no longer the vanguard of the proletariat. Unfortunately for Johnstone and company, the 'liberals' are going to be caught with their trousers down. The battle will be between the entrenched Stalinist bureaucracy and the forces of what Johnstone rather prematurely calls 'a mythical Soviet section of the Fourth International'.⁵⁵

If Johnstone considers the Fourth International a 'fiasco'⁵⁶ and its Soviet supporters 'mythical', why the 35-page article, with the promise of two more instalments to follow? (The last will examine 'Trotskyist policies today'—why bother to examine the policies of a movement which proved to be a 'fiasco'?)

52. 'Novoye Russkoe Slovo' (New York), February 25, 1968.
53. 'Cogito', p. 33.
54. Ibid., p. 33.
55. Ibid., p. 33.
56. Ibid., p. 7.

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Stalin (left) destroyed Lenin's closest collaborators, including Rykor (next to Stalin in photo), Kamenev and Zinoviev (right).

43. Ibid., p. 32.
44. 'World Marxist Review', October 1966, p. 10.W

45. 'Cogito', p. 30.
46. Ibid., p. 35.
47. Ibid., p. 35.

48. 'The Times', October 29, 1968.
49. Ibid., October 29, 1968.
50. Ibid., October 29, 1968.
51. 'Cogito', p. 33.

Business — strictly business

'The Weapons Merchants'

by Bernt Engelmann
translated from the
German by Erica Detto

Published
Elek books Ltd. 1968
25s.

By Mary Healy

'What most people don't realize is that there is just as much money to be made from the wreckage of a civilization as from the upbuilding of one.' (Rhett Butler of 'Gone With the Wind', a blockade runner.)

'THE WEAPONS MERCHANTS' is about the businessmen who rely on destruction to make a profit.

Bernt Engelmann has made a detailed study of who these people are, how they obtain and sell weapons and their relationship to national governments.

It is the governments themselves which carry out the larger part of the armaments trade. The United States sells most weapons, and South Africa is one of the customers of the Soviet Union.

lucrative

However, selling weapons is also a very lucrative business for private enterprise. Profits of up to 200 per cent are described. One Danish businessman decided to export guns rather than cheese and butter, when he found he could make 43,000 dollars on one deal alone!

The relationship between governments and private arms dealers is an ambivalent one. Governments do not wish to suppress an industry which is very useful to them, but they want to stop arms from being sold to their enemies.

Assassination may be a way out. Engelmann began his investigation in an attempt to track down the assassins of a dealer who supplied weapons to Algeria (the Algerians were fighting the French government for independence).

He discovered that one of the assassins was Christian Durieux — a member of the French secret police and a former Nazi.

Sam Cummings, the President of the International Armament Corporation (Interarmco), is in far less danger. 'Interarmco' is the world's biggest private weapons dealer, and sells only to countries which the United States government supports.

Interarmco is based in America, but has branches in most of the European countries. It has its own factories and produces an illustrated catalogue: 'Buy weapons from Interarmco'.

arrangement

Interarmco has played an important part in South American politics. When American big business interests in Guatemala felt threatened by the dictator Guzman, they arranged with Cummings to arm Guatemala's neighbours.

Guzman then had to buy more arms from Interarmco and get help from Moscow to do so. This triggered off an internal uprising in which all parties were armed by Interarmco.

Guzman was replaced by a military junta which was supported by the United Fruit Company. Cummings had made his first millions and secured a place in the weapons market.

After the Second World War, Interarmco agents toured Europe looking for war weapons.

'In Scandinavia,' Cummings said, 'It was a tragedy, they took all the German arms and dumped them in the sea.'

Everything that was found, including Spanish Civil War weapons, was cleaned up and made available on the market at great profit.

Interarmco also uses the smaller European dealers to obtain and distribute weapons. These dealers get their weapons in a variety of ways. Governments sell captured weapons, and 'sub-standard' material is siphoned off from government factories to the international weapons market. Rifles can be sold as sports equipment.

A few alterations are made to them so that they are unfit for military purposes, according to military codes.

Arms dealers need not believe in the efficacy of their weapons. Sam Cummings has sold the Armalite rifle from Cuba to Kenya, but this is his private opinion of it:

'If I was a Marine in Vietnam and was given one of these new Armalites, I'd throw it away and say I'd lost it and try to get one of the Russian rifles off a dead VC. They're the best.'

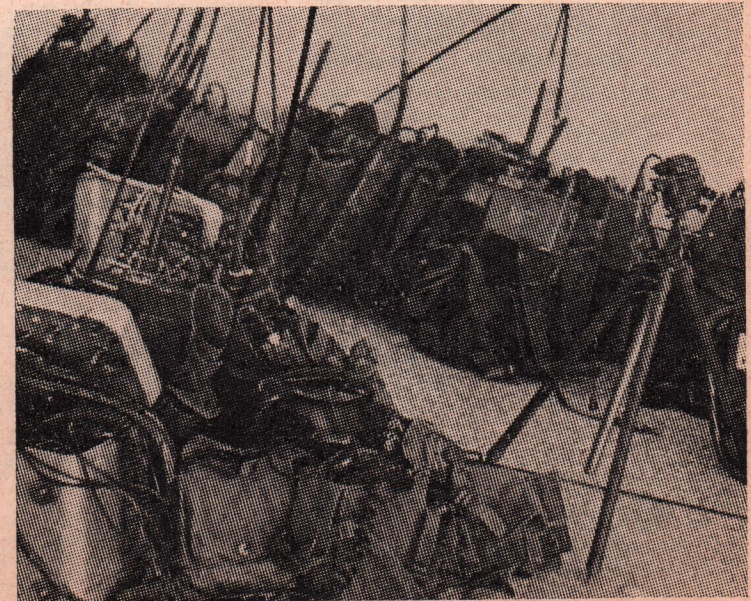
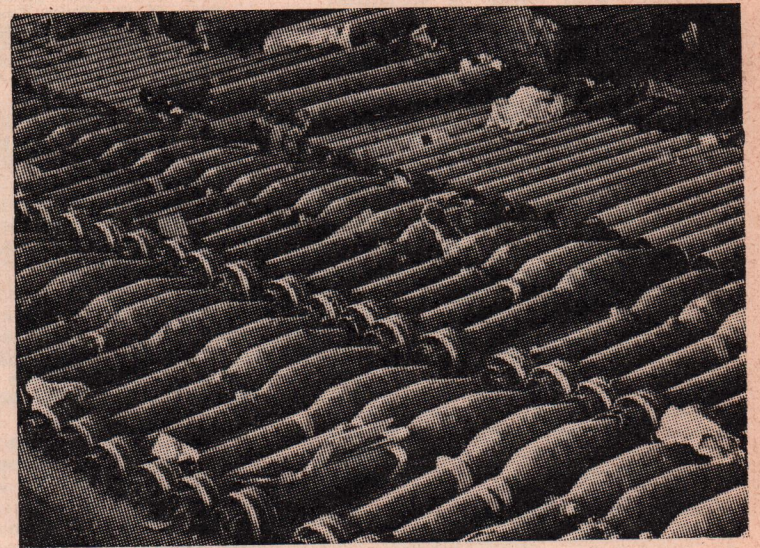
This is an extremely effective book, within certain limits. The author is concerned with describing certain aspects of the armaments industry, rather than with explaining it.

out of date

As the book was written in 1964 some parts of it may be out of date. At the end the author suggests that the smaller arms dealer is increasingly having to join the big arms organizations to stay in business.

A study of the armaments provided in the Biafran-Nigerian war would be very interesting, but the book was written before this took place.

Nevertheless 'The Weapons Mer-



Above: Stored up weapons awaiting sale on the world market.

chants' does show how one of the most profitable, and the most deadly of capitalist industries, flourishes.

A study of this industry is a study of private enterprise in its most extreme form; weap-

ons of destruction sold, like everything else in capitalism, to make a profit.

Engelmann himself suggests a suitable motto for Interarmco, 'Only business—strictly business'.

Monty Johnstone—an apologist for Stalinism (from p. 9)

The truth is, of course, that both Johnstone and the Kremlin realize that Trotskyism is far from mythical. Indeed, Johnstone, in his typically back-handed way, pays tribute to the work of the British section of the Fourth International:

'The last three years have seen the appearance for the first time in Britain of a youth organization—the Young Socialists publishing the monthly "Keep Left"—that directly and openly declares its adherence to the doctrines of Leon Trotsky. On the basis of a high level of political activity and propaganda against imperialism and racialism, the betrayals of the Wilson government, America's war in Vietnam and NATO, they have attracted to their ranks hundreds of sincere young people who, like the members of the Young Communist League, seek a revolutionary way out of the blind alley of capitalism.'⁵⁷

Being taken for a ride

But of course, Johnstone cannot leave the matter there. This 'high level of political activity' (something that most YCL branches are unable to sustain, we might add) is based on policies 'which, we shall seek to demonstrate, can only result in dividing rather than advancing the movement both for the immediate and the long-term objectives desired by their members'.⁵⁸

In other words, all these 'sincere young people' are being taken for a ride by Trotskyism and the leadership of the Socialist Labour League.

You are wasting your time, Johnstone! You will not be able to play off the youth against the older members of the Trotskyist movement, because,

as you point out yourself, the YS is a movement which openly declares its solidarity with Trotskyism and the Fourth International.

But Johnstone is not the only one worried by the growth of Trotskyism. This has been the subject of discussion within all the communist parties, none less than the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Internal party documents

Several internal Party documents have come to light which reveal in some detail the fears the Soviet bureaucracy harbours in the face of the re-birth of Trotskyism in the west and its impact on the tempo of the anti-Stalinist struggle in the USSR.

On the one hand, we have the rapid increase in military and literary works which attempt to restore the tarnished image of Stalin (Chakovsky's novel 'Blockade' is a case in point) while at the same time, a spate of books and pamphlets attacking Trotsky and Trotskyism, laying special emphasis on Trotsky's Jewish origins.⁵⁹

The evidence is overwhelming. The Stalinist bureaucracy, together with imperialism, is preparing its forces for a showdown with the working class.

De Gaulle bans Trotskyist organizations in France while the French Communist Party and Moscow remains silent. Similarly, the bureaucracy tightens the lid holding down the artistic and intellectual freedom of the Soviet people—and de Gaulle remains silent.

The bargain has long ago been struck between imperialism and the rulers of the Kremlin—that is the whole essence of 'socialism in one country' and its logical development into peaceful co-existence and the peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism in the countries of the capitalist world.

Where does 'Cogito' fit into this pattern?

It is not too hard to work out Johnstone's political motives. This new style 'liberal' approach to Trotsky (which appears to yield on so much, and yet concedes nothing in terms of the basic political line of Stalinism), is tailored to meet the requirements of the newly-won allies of the YCL in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, the 'International Socialism' group, the 'International Marxist Group' of Tariq Ali and Pat Jordan, and the Young Liberals.

Bogus 'united front'

The first two organizations both claim to be Trotskyist, which has not, of course, prevented them from uniting in a completely unprincipled fashion with the Stalinists in a bogus 'united front' in 'solidarity' with the Vietnamese people.

(The full implications of this alliance have been amply dealt with in 'The Newsletter' in a series of articles by Cliff Slaughter.)

The 'new line' adopted by Johnstone suits all these opportunists. The Stalinists can keep Stalin, while being able to dismiss the purges as in no way a result of Stalin's line. Meanwhile

their pseudo-Trotskyist allies in the VSC can mouth their revolutionary phrases and mumble their devotion to Trotsky without in any way disrupting the smooth working of the committee, whose main job is not to aid the Vietnamese revolution, but to fight the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists.

Johnstone's attack on Trotskyism is an integral part of the political preparation of this new alliance against the building of the revolutionary party in Britain.

We are ready

The Young Socialists will use Johnstone's attack as a basis for educating its members in the principles of Marxism and the 45-year fight by the Trotskyist movement to defend them against all revisions and distortions.

The price paid by the working class for the Stalinist betrayal of principle was and remains enormous. Only Trotskyism provides the theoretical key to the understanding of the complex nature of Stalinism and its counter-revolutionary role in the world workers' movement. That is why Johnstone attacks it.

And in Britain, it is only the Young Socialists that gives the political training to young workers and students necessary for the defeat of Stalinism and social democracy and the building of a genuine communist party to lead the socialist revolution.

To Johnstone and to all other slanderers of Trotskyism we have only one thing to say—If the fight is on, we are ready.

57. Ibid., p. 1.
58. Ibid., p. 11.

59. 'The Observer', December 15, 1968.

Northern Ireland

For a workers' and farmers' government

Keep Left Reporter

TOWARDS the beginning of December Unionist Prime Minister O'Neill appeared on television with the warning that Northern Ireland stood 'on the brink of chaos'.

Later that week he was to sack his own Home Affairs Minister, William Craig, who had issued what amounted to an open challenge for the leadership.

This crisis in the Unionist party reflects the even bigger political and social crisis in Northern Ireland. The old loyalist rallying-cry 'Ulster is British'—used by O'Neill in his broadcast—has little appeal for the working class of the six counties, while on the right the supporters of the Rev. Ian Paisley make their own preparations.

Thousands of 'special constables' have now been recruited into the police force, which is already armed.

Under the Special Powers Act, these police are at liberty not only to break up demonstrations, but to imprison without trial and search premises without warrant.

After a brutal police attack on the October 5 civil rights demonstration in Londonderry, Craig imposed a complete ban on demonstrations inside the walls of the city.

But the working class in Northern Ireland is on the move.

In the latter part of November thousands of workers and students demonstrated through Derry in defiance of Craig's ban.

Defiance

During these demonstrations, and also the November 30 rally in Armagh, bands of right-wing extremists were protected from the marchers by police who at other times allow them complete freedom to roam the streets armed with pick-axe handles, clubs and batons.

Meanwhile civil rights leaders have attempted to play down the sharpness of the situation with appeals for 'calm'.

Middle-class reformists can do little else.

Northern Ireland, because of its long period of imperialist exploitation by Britain, expresses in a very acute form all aspects of British capitalism's crisis.

Whole sections of industry are in decline, foreign investment is rapidly drying up, wages are low and unemployment a chronic problem.

It is in this situation that the trade union bureaucrats and the Stalinists call merely for a more 'democratic' Ulster.

They do this, of course, because a real solution of the 'civil rights' questions would mean mobilization of the working class to challenge the whole capitalist alliance with Britain.

In fact their reformist programme opens the door for Paisleyism to swing a section of Protestant workers behind the idea that the only way to preserve their jobs and their standard of living is to deny Catholic workers the most elementary rights.

The answer to Paisley, and to the scandals of discrimination in housing, education and employ-

Continued on page twelve →

BOB SHERWOOD

AS we go to press we have heard that the trial of American Trotskyist, Bob Sherwood, has been deferred to January 16. He is on trial in Canada under Section 50F of the Immigration Act.

If the trial, which was to have taken place in December, goes against him, it means Sherwood will face deportation.

As a draft resister,

Sherwood emigrated to Canada. Like many others he did not want to go and fight in Vietnam.

This case could set a dangerous precedent for other immigrants to Canada who have followed the same course as Sherwood.

The charge against him is based on a court action taken in Chicago following his participation in a

Civil Rights campaign against school segregation. In the United States, however, such a charge is considered so negligible it is not even listed as a criminal offence.

In his statement Sherwood says that the United States and Canadian governments are both acting in collusion to prevent him, as a member of the Trotskyist Workers' League, from pursuing his activities.



Paisleyites in Armagh armed with clubs attacked civil rights supporters and pressmen whilst they held virtual control of the city. The police did not interfere in any way.

WORLD NEWS

Italian strike 'astonishingly effective'

TWO ITALIAN farmworkers were shot dead by police in Avola near Syracuse on Monday, December 2. Militant action broke out throughout the whole of the country, culminating in what the capitalist press described as an 'astonishingly effective general strike' on December 5.

This latest wave of unrest in Italy started with a sit-down on the main railway line at Fondi on December 1 in protest against the closure of a hospital in the area.

The murder of the striking farmworkers provoked demon-

Keep Left Correspondent

strations on the following day and by December 4 these had swelled to a demonstration of 30,000 in Rome, with the university under occupation by the students.

Seven thousand marched through Florence behind the red flag and demonstrations took place in Naples, Turin, Milan and Genoa.

Big marches were held all over the country on the day of the general strike.

Obviously an extremely explosive situation is developing in Italy very similar to that in France during the days of May and June in 1968. Italy, however, is a country with a much weaker state machine.

The actions being taken by the workers and students all over the country have one main cause: the complete political and economic bankruptcy of the Italian ruling class; this can only be resolved by the Italian working class taking power.

The bourgeoisie in Italy has one of the most reformist Communist Parties in the world—in 1945 it disarmed the working class and handed control back to the bosses.

Today it desperately tries to hold back the working class. Recently its reactionary activities have run to making overtures to the Roman Catholic church—a body whose history is riddled with reaction and suppression.

For several years the capitalist political parties have formed new coalition governments every four weeks, and there is now speculation that a new one is to be announced with Communist Party and 'Socialist' ministers.

Whether or not this is true, one thing is definite; a stronger

Continued on page twelve →

The franc weakens: Big attacks launched on workers and students

By Ray Efford

IN ORDER to carry out the austerity programme designed to put value back into the franc, the dictatorship of General de Gaulle has increased its repressive measures against students and high school pupils and deliberately provoked the working class.

At the nationalized Renault factory, one of the most militant factories in the May-June strike of 1968, the Christmas bonus was withheld. When a half-day token strike was called against this move the management broke off the bi-annual wage negotiations and therefore annulled the guaranteed yearly 4 per cent increase.

The Minister of Education, M. Edgar Faure, has given increased powers to the rectors of the universities which in effect make them police agents.

They have the right to banish students for five years and close the universities to all except bona-fide students.

A strike was immediately called by students in many universities and support was given by the left-wing teachers' union.

At Nanterre university on December 16 riot police ringed the building and identity checks were held at the barriers, erected during the night.

After a mass meeting striking students left the building for a demonstration, held between rows of riot police.

At Toulouse police intervened to remove 200 students who were occupying the university administration building. The students' union called for a day of action on December 18 in support of their fighting members.

From a report in 'The Times' (December 20) it appears that very little took place in the universities on that day.

On December 19 the government withdrew the police and the identity checks from the universities, but further threats were made against militant students—cancellation of scholarships and military call-up deferments.

In the high schools agitation against repression did not peter

out as it did in the universities. Pupils are still fighting against the closure of one big Paris high school and this has led to the arrest of the 17-year-old leader of the Lycee Action Committee.

Both at the Renault factory and in the universities the leadership has been unable to put up any fight against government measures.

In the universities the leadership is hopelessly confused by the actions of the government and reduced to counterposing the threats of the government with anarchistic threats of their own whilst taking little action.

In the factories the Stalinist leadership is scared of calling for an all-out fight against wage-cutting.

It is no coincidence that on December 4 the student leaders were in conference with the Stalinists. Both are essentially reformist and must oppose the construction of a revolutionary leadership.

As in Britain, wage-cutting in France can only be fought in a struggle against the de Gaulle regime and the capitalist system.

Apprentices and junior workers fight back

National conference calls mass demonstration for February 23

APPRENTICES and junior workers planned to fight back against attacks on their wages and living standards at a national conference attended by 150 delegates and visitors on December 7 in Manchester.

The conference, which lasted all day, voted for a mass demonstration and rally of apprentices and junior workers in London on February 23.

The centre of the campaign would be the demand for the implementation of the AEF youth charter.

This charter on apprentices' pay and conditions, agreed in 1962, has never been fought for by the union.

The rally, to which prominent union leaders would be invited, would bring young workers' demands before the labour movement and the press.

Conference also proposed to lobby the AEF National Committee and call a national one-day strike on a date to be decided at the February 23 rally.

A national committee, representing factories in all the main industrial areas in Britain, was elected.

Conference carried resolutions demanding full negotiating rights for apprentices and junior workers, 100 per cent trade unionism amongst youth and repeal of the Prices and Incomes Act.

YS Conference

Other resolutions opposed the module training system, condemned the sell-out of the engineers' pay claim and called for the replacement of those NC members concerned.

It was decided to fight against the 'strings' and work for a mass attendance at the Young Socialists' annual conference in Morecambe next Easter.

Delegates also resolved to broaden the movement beyond engineering to encompass all young workers.

The report was given by Hughie Nicol, Sunderland apprentice and NC member of the YS.

He called for the recruitment of the hundreds of thousands of unorganized youth into the unions. This movement would have to carry through the task because the union leaders feared the power of the youth.

Apprentices had to understand the crisis of world capitalism and why the reformist union

leaders betrayed in such a period. The cutting of apprentices wages by Vickers in Barrow was part of the Geddes Report.

At no time did the AEF try to spread the strike, alert the trade union movement or get publicity. Yet the Barrow apprentices stayed out for six months.

What youth needed was a leadership equal to its fighting capacities. That was the purpose of the conference, he said.

Adult support

After a full discussion on the report, a Lucas, Liverpool shop steward gave fraternal greetings from the All Trades Unions Alliance.

He spoke of the November 22 sell-out of the engineers' claim after 18 months of negotiation.

'Only the employers gained,' he said. 'The Jenkins' budget after the Bonn talks wiped out the

6s. the day it was negotiated. On top of that we have had devaluation and steep price rises.

'Those who hedge on productivity are no better than Scanlon.

'If youth strike today it would be different from 1964. Because since then the adults have had

a big experience in Labour government and trade union betrayal.'

The All Trades Unions Alliance was fully behind the apprentices in their struggle, he said, to the biggest applause of the day.

Capitalism

● from page three (Department I) this will arrest the tendency for the value of 'c.' to rise.

(3) Increase in the length of the working day. The capitalists may try to impose longer hours on the working class, as they did

after the defeat of the General Strike in 1926. Or they may cut down on meal and tea breaks.

(4) Increase the rate of exploitation. As we saw when we examined the source and origin of profit, we established that the working day is in fact divided into two parts—that part during which the worker produces value equivalent to his wage and the remainder, during which he produces surplus value for the owner of capital.

The struggle between the working class and capitalists in industry is based upon a struggle about how the working day or week shall be divided.

In our example above, we assumed that it was in fact divided equally between the classes.

But let us assume that the capitalist now introduces new machinery, increases the pace of work, so that only one day (as against two and a half days in our example) are actually spent by the worker in producing the £15 which is equivalent value to his labour power.

This means that the rest of the week is now available for the production of surplus value.

This increased exploitation may result from new methods of organization and wage payment.

We should note that it is perfectly possible for the rate of exploitation to rise along with an increase in wages. We cannot know the rate of exploitation simply from the level of wages. A highly paid worker can, in fact, be more exploited than a lowly paid worker.

(5) Foreign trade and the export of capital. If the capitalists can, through foreign trade, get access to cheaper raw materials and supplies of food, this will help them to overcome the tendency against the rate of profit.

Cheaper food will allow them to pay lower wages and cheap raw materials help check the tendency for 'c.' to rise as against 'v.'

These factors were very important for British capitalism in the nineteenth century. Through their dominance over a powerful Empire they were able to stabilize their profits at home.

But in the 20th century the export of capital, that is the actual export of constant capital abroad, has become more important for all the leading capitalist countries.

We shall go into more detail about this in answering further questions. But the leading capitalist countries of Europe and North America, to the extent they can invest abroad, rather than at home, where wages may well be lower and raw materials plentiful, are able to ease the pressures in the domestic economy against the rate of profit.

Please note!

Robert Black's article answering the recent slanders made against Trotskyism has been given precedence over our usual features due to its great importance for our readers. We would like to thank our contributors and assure them that their material will appear in next month's issue.

Editor.

Can you show the effect of all these factors in a simple illustration?

TAKING the figures which we had before to illustrate the tendency for the rate of profit to fall over time, we can now incorporate some of these counteracting factors outlined above.

T ¹	T ²
c.80	180
v.20	30
s.20	50

What has happened? 'c.' has now only risen to 180 as a result of technical changes in this department; the wage bill, instead of doubling, has only increased by 50 per cent, the result either of wage-cutting or sacking; the rate of exploitation has increased considerably, for some of the reasons which we outlined.

What is the net result of these changes? Instead of falling, the rate of profit has in fact gone up; to nearly 25 per cent.

What is the importance these counteracting tendencies?

THERE IS no automatic force which determines whether the rate of profit will actually fall.

On the contrary, the end result is the outcome of a continual struggle between the two classes.

The capitalists are forced always to take measures to drive down the conditions of the working class and alter its conditions of work.

As we shall see later, war and the preparation for war, by destroying surplus capital, are also necessary measure to which the capitalists are driven to overcome the laws of the system.

N. Ireland

● from page eleven ment is the uniting of the working class behind a programme for a workers' and farmers' government in Northern Ireland, which would break from Westminster and pose immediate unity of action with the workers of the South and of Britain.

Such a programme would include:

- Nationalization of the land, the building industry and engineering.
- A stop to all closures and redundancies due to the merging or failure of big companies.
- All such factories to be kept open under workers' control and their affairs investigated by workers' commissions.
- All democratic rights to be guaranteed.

This would convince the lower middle classes and the small farmers that there is an alternative to the power of the monopolies and the fascist movement being built up as a result of Paisleyite actions.

9th Annual Conference of the Young Socialists Morecambe April 5-6

Spend your Easter weekend with us at the biggest event of the year.

YOUR WEEKEND TIME-TABLE

FRIDAY 10 p.m.—TRAVEL overnight to Morecambe from the social or discotheque in your local area, in luxury coaches on the motorways.

SATURDAY 8 a.m.—ARRIVAL in Morecambe, leave your luggage at the hotel and look around.

SATURDAY 2.30 p.m.—ANNUAL CONFERENCE of the Young Socialists opens to discuss the socialist alternative to Wilson, and how to take a lead in the trade unions.

SATURDAY 8 p.m.—Civic reception by the Mayor, free buffet and **GRAND DANCE** at the Winter Gardens ballroom to the Orange Bicycle and a top-line supporting group.

SATURDAY NIGHT—Bed and Breakfast in Morecambe's comfortable hotels.

SUNDAY 9.30 a.m.—CONFERENCE re-assembles to discuss the struggles of international revolutionary youth, and how to build and expand similar movements overseas.

SUNDAY 5 p.m.—RETURN by coach to build the biggest revolutionary youth movement ever seen in Europe.

Last year one thousand two hundred delegates attended our conference. It was a great success. This year we expect even more to attend what promises to be the most outstanding socialist youth conference of 1969.

Saturday evening at 8 p.m.
DANCE TO THE

ORANGE BICYCLE

I would like to join the Young Socialists/come to the Morecambe Conference.

Name

Address

Special Interests

Deposit : s. d. (cost approximately £3 10s. 0d.)

Send to Sheila Torrance, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

Italy

● from page eleven form of rule is required by Italian capitalism if it is to retain its control over the workers and peasants.

As in France, the oppressed class is prepared to fight back, heroically in many cases, but the lessons are there for all to see. The building of a revolutionary party as a leadership in the historic task of overthrowing capitalism is the only way that such a goal can be attained.